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CORRESPONDENCE

WITH

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IN

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AND WITH

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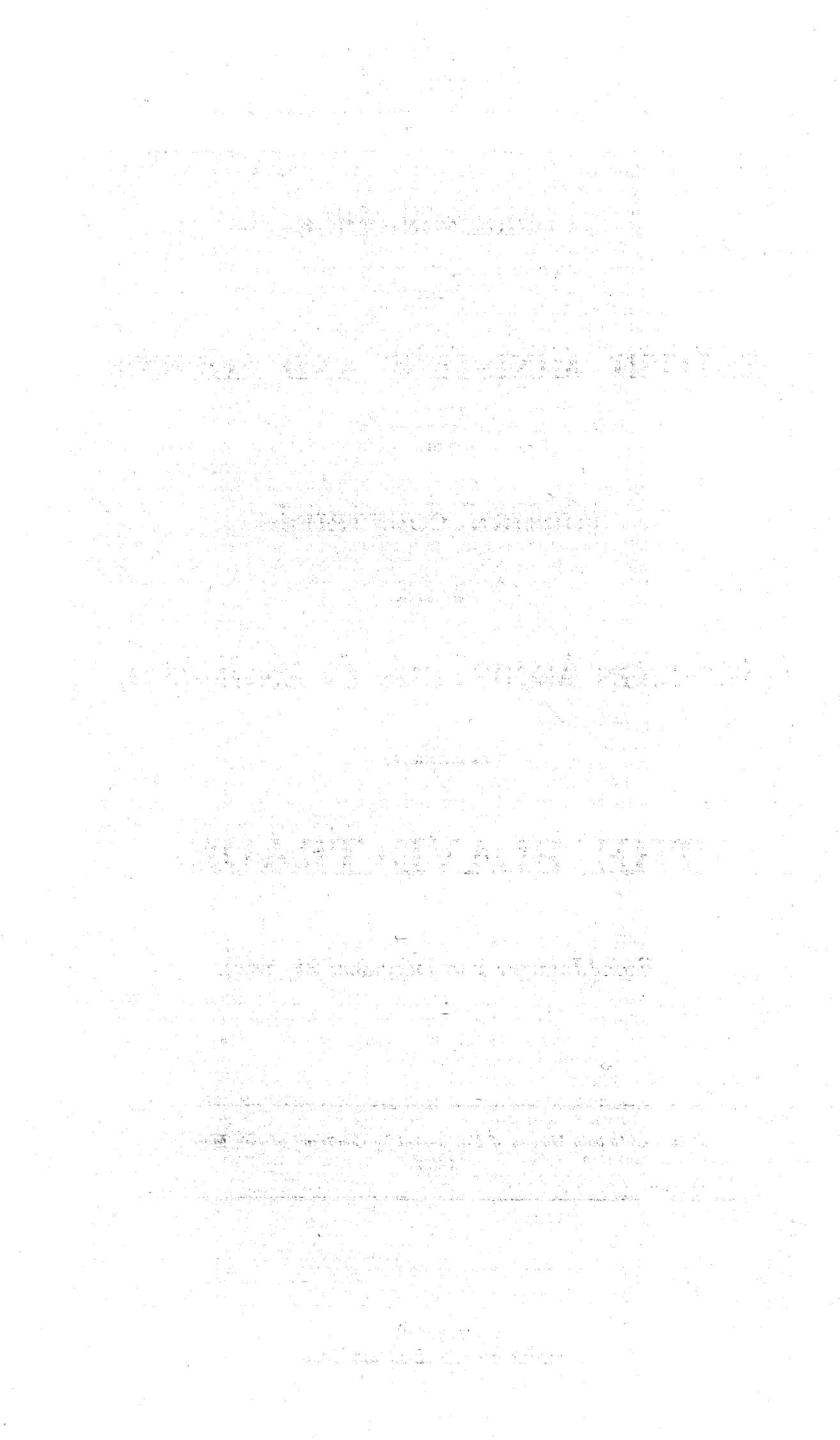
THE SLAVE TRADE.

From January 1 to December 31, 1862.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
1863.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.



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THE
OFFICE OF THE
SECRETARY OF THE
NAVY
WASHINGTON, D. C.
JANUARY 10, 1918
MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY
SUBJECT: [Illegible]

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[Illegible text]

[Illegible text]

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Class B.

CORRESPONDENCE

WITH

FOREIGN POWERS.

AFRICA. (*Consular*)—*Bight of Benin.*

No. 1.

Acting Consul Mc Coskry to Earl Russell.—(Received January 10, 1862.)

My Lord,

Lagos, December 2, 1861.

I AM sorry to have to report that, since the visit of Captain Bedingfeld to Abbeokuta, and only two days after the signature of the new Treaty with that officer, a human being was sacrificed in open day in Abbeokuta.

The Alake expresses his regret at the act, but confesses his inability to control his people; and I believe that we have heretofore attributed to him more influence and power than that to which he is entitled, Abbeokuta being composed of the refugees from numerous independent towns and territories, each having its representative town bearing its name in Abbeokuta. It is only for purposes of general interest that the Alake can be looked upon as representing the whole community: on all other occasions each town considers itself entitled to do as it would have done in its independent state, and it does so notwithstanding any promise of the Alake and Elders to the contrary; in fact, any Treaty with Abbeokuta should be signed not only by the Alake and his Chiefs, but by the heads of the different townships and their Chiefs as well.

The Alake is extremely anxious that Mr. Townsend, the missionary, should return to Abbeokuta, and repeatedly urged Commander Bedingfeld to promise he would ask the Government to send him back.

Mr. Townsend is a person who possesses great influence over the Alake and people of Abbeokuta, and has been so long in the habit of directing the affairs of Abbeokuta, that he would not brook any interference; and between him and any Consular officer there, I should anticipate the recurrence of a similar struggle for the direction of affairs as that between the late Mr. Consul Campbell and the Rev. Mr. Gollmer, which was only ended by the latter being sent to Abbeokuta, where he could no longer interfere in the affairs of Lagos.

Mr. Samuel Crowther, junior, a son of the Rev. Samuel Crowther, now up the Niger, arrived here lately from England. This young man has his house and business in Abbeokuta, but the Alake and Chiefs will not permit him to go there on the ground that he has been instrumental in preventing the return of the Rev. Mr. Townsend. On the same grounds they will oppose the settlement in their territory of the emigrants from America, unless the Commissioners, Messrs. Campbell and Delany, succeed in re-establishing a better understanding.

I have failed in both cases in inducing the Alake and Chiefs to adopt any course more favourable to the parties concerned.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. Mc COSKRY.

No. 2.

Acting Consul Mc Coskry to Earl Russell.—(Received January 10, 1862.)

(Extract.)

Lagos, December 5, 1861.

WE have taken some steps to reconcile the followers of the ex-King Kosoko with the people here, and I have no doubt with a little caution in a short time they may come here to trade without the smallest chance of any disturbance; in fact, the people under Kosoko have lately manifested the greatest friendship to us, and more deference to our authority than many of the people of Lagos. They have at Palma established a port from which they export over 500 tons of palm oil; if they were permitted to come to Lagos to trade the port of Palma would no longer be needed, the facilities for shipment being much greater here. Kosoko now having no hopes of again reigning in Lagos, can no longer have any object in keeping up feelings of animosity between his followers and the followers of his rival.

No. 3.

Acting Consul Mc Coskry to Earl Russell.—(Received January 10, 1862.)

My Lord,

Lagos, December 7, 1861.

SINCE writing my last despatch relating to Abbeokuta I have received from Commander Bedingfeld a letter reporting that the Alake and Chiefs have, in answer to a letter from him, given some explanations about the last human sacrifice, which under the circumstances we are bound to accept as satisfactory.

I transmit herewith three inclosures:—No. 1, Commander Bedingfeld's letter; No. 2, letter of Alake and Chiefs; and No. 3, letter of Christian converts in Abbeokuta in reference to the same subject.

I have also received to-day a letter from the Alake and Chiefs informing me that they have withdrawn their prohibition against the return of Mr. Samuel Crowther, jun., and requesting me to join Commander Bedingfeld in writing to England—they do not say to whom—that the Rev. Mr. Townsend should come out once more to see them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. Mc COSKRY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 3.

Commander Bedingfeld to Acting Consul Mc Coskry.

Sir,

"Prometheus," Lagos, December 6, 1861.

IN consequence of the report of the fresh case of human sacrifice at Abbeokuta, after signing the Agreement with me, I wrote to the Alake and Chiefs for an explanation, and I have now the honour to inclose a copy of a letter I have received from them and the Christian converts. Considering how little real power the Alake has, I think we must consider this reply as satisfactory, and if you approve of it I will write to that effect.

I have, &c.
(Signed) NORMAN B. BEDINGFELD.

Inclosure 2 in No. 3.

The Alake and Chiefs of Abbeokuta to Commander Bedingfeld.

Aké, November 29, 1861.

THE Alake and Chiefs send their respects to you and wish you health.
The Alake and Chiefs do thankfully acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated Lagos the 18th instant, and in reply to which they have to confess with regret, that in

reality another human sacrifice has been offered against their wish, and without their knowledge; and they beg to inform you that although they are the authorities of the town, there are some hundred townships in Abbeokuta, each of which had its King and Chiefs, whilst in their ruined towns each had its different way of worshipping its gods, and each town now manages its affairs here, and only an important case is usually brought before the Alake. Some of these towns offered human sacrifices annually, which other towns never did; this practice they have continued to carry on since, and they must be specially spoken to before they can be prevailed on to give it up.

When the Treaty was signed by the Alake and Chiefs the townpeople in general were not aware of it, and to make it known the Alake and Chiefs took at once into consideration the appointment of a fit day for a public meeting to be held when the purport of the Treaty would be publicly made known to all people, and ere this day arrived this human sacrifice had already taken place, which having come to the hearing of the Alake and Chiefs greatly grieved them, not only on account of the breach of the Treaty, but because it was done greatly against their wish; consequently the meeting day was deferred till the 27th instant, and a hasty reply to your letter also, according to request, has been postponed, for it has been resolved on not to return a reply till the meeting has been called, and the Treaty be rehearsed to the different townships, and their unanimous consent be received.

The meeting was subsequently held on the above-mentioned date; it was well attended both by the natives and Europeans. A strict order was then given, accompanied with threatening, to any township that may henceforth venture to offer human sacrifice. The assembly being asked whether they would keep the Treaty, all unanimously answered they would do so.

Having now been assured by the people in general, the Alake and Chiefs have, therefore, seized the first opportunity to express their utter ignorance of this act, and to inform you of the terms they have come to with the people respecting the same, and they have now solemnly promised to hinder those townships from any more offering human sacrifice, and strong measures will be taken with any township that would henceforth do it; and any town that may in future sacrifice human beings must either leave the town, otherwise the Alake will leave it for them.

(Signed)

THE ALAKE, his ✕ mark.

APESI, of Eruroon, his ✕ mark.

APESI, of Kenita, ✕ his mark.

OKONLOMO, his ✕ mark.

Written by me, D. Williams, by order of the King and Chiefs.

Inclosure 3 in No. 3.

Letter from Christian Converts at Abbeokuta to Commander Bedingfeld.

Aké, December 2, 1861.

WE, the Undersigned and Church people send our respects to you, and wish you health.

In consequence of the human sacrifice offered lately by one of the townships in Abbeokuta, and the news we have gathered from the King and Chiefs respecting it, we have been made to write you briefly and report the same to you, trusting it will meet with favourable reception.

When the news of this sacrifice came to our ears we went to the King and Chiefs and remonstrated with them on the subject; in return they expressed their utter ignorance of the act; asked us to be patient and see what would be done towards it; assured us that after making a strict law against it, any one that may in future break that law will be forced to leave the town.

According to the King and Chiefs' promise, the meeting was held on the 27th ultimo, when the Treaty was publicly rehearsed to the people, after which strict law was made against it, and to which all present gave their consent, and promised no more to do such thing.

Seeing and hearing the King and Chiefs and people, we are confident that they meant to keep their promise, for the King and Chiefs are very much against human sacrifice. Henceforth we would be watching their movements; whatever we see and hear we will always inform you of, and will never conceal this sin if committed by the King or townpeople.

The townships that are accustomed to offer human sacrifice are Igbein, Imo, Ikereku, and Owu.

We remain, &c.
(Signed) ISAAC OYEDALO.
JAMES FISHER.
JACOB OKUBOYE.
ABRAHAM OUTILO.
JOSHUA TOBO.
JOB ORIBASAN.
MATHEW OLUWOLE.
THOMAS LEWU.
JAS. WRIGHT.
BENJAMIN SOTIGO.
JOSIAH SUMOLE.
JAS. SODERN.
&c. &c. &c.

No. 4.

Consul Freeman to Earl Russell.—(Received January 10, 1862.)

(Extract.)

Madeira, December 31, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 23rd instant, transmitting to me under flying seal two despatches to be forwarded to Dr. Baikie in command of the Niger expedition; instructing me, if possible, to reopen the communications which at one time existed between Lagos and the interior.

No. 5.

Acting Consul Mc Coskry to Earl Russell.—(Received February 10.)

(Extract.)

Lagos, January 6, 1862.

THE state at Porto Novo is satisfactory; trade is uninterrupted, and the King pays the greatest attention to his last Treaty engagements, although the situation of his territory and the advice of the slave-dealers in his neighbourhood are inducements to the contrary.

The war before Ijaye languishes, and is not prosecuted on either side with any spirit; it would almost seem as if without new exciting causes it might die out.

I have no authentic information of any projected movements of Dahomey, but as the export Slave Trade from his ports continues uninterrupted he must have in view some operation for a supply of slaves.

No. 6.

Acting Consul Mc Coskry to Earl Russell.—(Received February 10.)

(Extract.)

Lagos, January 7, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that in pursuance of the policy of amalgamating under our protection the people of Kosoko in Epé, and those of Docemo here, I concluded to try what effect a visit of the Chief Tapa from Epé would have on Docemo and his people. Tapa had expressed to Commander Bedingfeld, when he was at Epé, a great wish to see Lagos now, and a half promise had been given that, when circumstances permitted, he might come. This Chief has been found, throughout all our negotiations with Kosoko since his expulsion, a man fully to be depended upon, on account of his great good sense and his control, not only over his own retainers but over Kosoko himself. We had, therefore, nothing to apprehend by receiving him as a visitor for a few days.

Docemo was informed when Tapa was expected to arrive, and requested to warn his people against offering any insults to him or those who would be with him; there seemed, however, to be little occasion for this, as when he arrived on the 12th ultimo, he was most enthusiastically welcomed by the population, who crowded the river's bank as he passed down to the "Prometheus," anchored off Government House. A few days after his

arrival a meeting between him and Docemo was arranged. The latter, when told what our views were, entered into them much more readily than was expected.

After another friendly intercourse with Docemo and his Chiefs, Tapa left for Epé. They entreated me to ask the British Government to appoint a place, if not in the town itself, in the island, on which they could build a town, and live under our protection, and have the same facilities to trade enjoyed by Docemo's people. Kosoko would renounce all claim to the sovereignty, and submit to any terms the Government might be pleased to impose. After all that has been written and said about Kosoko, it might appear imprudent to permit his return; but when the Government is established, and a force to support it, I see no danger to apprehend. We always find Africans much more docile and respectful when they have opposed us, and have been fairly overcome, than those we befriend and patronize. The first exclamation of Tapa, when he saw the change on shore and the steamers and vessels in the river, was, "This is no longer a native town, it is white man's; we could never do this." This will be the feeling of all; they will see they have no chance of regaining their power, and they will gradually succumb, and be carried down by the tide of civilization.

On the whole, whether Kosoko return here or not, Tapa's visit here has done good.

I took the opportunity to send to Kosoko the present of plate originally sent out for him, giving to Tapa himself the china set, now much mutilated, that accompanied it. This present being sent to him now, will show him that we can forgive when we see reason to believe his conduct will justify us in doing so.

No. 7.

Acting Consul Mc Coskry to Earl Russell.—(Received February 10.)

My Lord,

Lagos, January 7, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inclose the Return of produce, as far as I have been able to obtain them, of the exports from the several ports in the Bight of Benin. The Return from Lagos, Palma, and Badagry can only be regarded as correct, the means of communication between here and the other ports not enabling me to get more than an approximation to the truth.

Whydah alone is now to be looked upon as the slave-exporting station; shipments may occasionally be made at other places, but the slaves will in most cases be found to have collected there. At Aghwey and Popoe a civil war interrupts legitimate commerce, but I have heard of no slaves being shipped thence of late.

There is a decrease of the exports of produce, owing to the generally disturbed state of the countries in the Bight of Benin.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

W. Mc COSKRY.

Inclosure in No. 7.

RETURN of the Export from Lagos, from July 1 to December 31, 1860, and January 1 to June 30, 1861.

Month.	Number of Casks.	Old wine gallons.	Weight of Ivory.	Number of Bales Cotton.	Weight.
1860			lbs.		
July	1,030	130,405	1,525		
August	591	88,378			
September	1,267	151,286			
October	907	122,738	196		
November	404	52,945	15		
December	787	117,328			
1861					
January	456	56,479			
February	831	100,026	882		
March	632	89,394			
April	720	89,025			
May	859	115,363			
June	352	46,460			
	8,836	1,159,627 3.865 tons.	2,618	1,303	118 lbs. each bale.

Palma, 1,200 tons oil; no cotton.

Badagry, 1,600 tons oil; no cotton.

(Signed)

W. Mc COSKRY.

No. 8.

Earl Russell to Acting Consul Mc Coskry.

Sir,

Foreign Office, February 20, 1862.

I HAVE to acquaint you that I approve your proceedings, as reported in your despatch of the 7th ultimo, relating to the affairs of Lagos.

I am, &c.

(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 9.

Consul Freeman to Earl Russell.—(Received March 14.)

(Extract.)

Lagos, February 8, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship, herewith inclosed, extract of a Report by Commander Bedingfeld, of Her Majesty's sloop "Prometheus," respecting a trip he made last month to Ijebu Odé.

Commander Bedingfeld is the first European officer who has been to Ijebu and seen the King, and the result of his visit appears highly satisfactory.

A permission to Kosoko to settle in a private capacity in this island would certainly tend to tranquillize the surrounding neighbourhood, the more so as his Chief, Tappa, a most intelligent and civilized man, cannot be persuaded to leave him, and will not, though repeatedly urged to do so, settle in this island, unless Kosoko be allowed to return also.

Inclosure in No. 9.

Commander Bedingfeld to Acting Consul Mc Coskry.

(Extract.)

"Prometheus," Lagos, January 20, 1862.

IN compliance with your wishes, I left Lagos for Ijebu at 10 P.M. on the 12th, accompanied by Lieutenant Dolbin. I intended to reach Eginie market early on Monday morning, where I had an appointment to meet the Epé Chiefs, but my canoemen did not manage to get down before 4 P.M., the market being nearly over.

Kosoko's Chiefs had left. Tappa and four of the other Chiefs had gone as far as his farm on the opposite side, and had left a canoe to give him immediate intelligence should I arrive. This was done, and he came over about 7 P.M. I gave him your message for Kosoko, also a promise that if I heard anything with reference to them from the King of Ijebu, I would endeavour to see them before I returned to Lagos.

I regret to inform you that the same evening news arrived from Odé of the treacherous attack of the Ibaddans and Ijebu Rémoes, on a party of the King's people. The facts reported to me are as follows:—

The Ijebu Rémoes, who have been of late in rebellion against the King of Odé, had been making overtures of peace, to which he at last consented. They then requested him to send some of the elders and principal men to the ruined village Ikerriku to ratify the Treaty. The King accordingly sent a party of forty men, amongst others, one of his near relatives: they had, however, no sooner arrived than they were set upon by a large party of Rémoes and Ibadans, and all cruelly murdered. The King sent me a message that, in consequence of this the whole town was in a state of mourning and confusion, but that if I still wished to come on he would see me. I accordingly made my arrangements, and we started for Odé at 8 A.M. on Tuesday morning, arriving at 4 P.M.

As soon as I arrived at Odé I sent a messenger to the King.

We were well received and comfortably lodged in the strangers' house, Mr. Turner arriving shortly after, the following day being fixed for our interview with the King.

The visit to the King (Awgelli) was at about 7-30 P.M. We found him living in a small house, he having declared he will not go into his larger house, or have the streets cleaned, until the Ibaddans are driven out. He is a good-looking middle-aged man, and I should think, from his conversation, intelligent. On being introduced I offered to shake hands, when his people began to exclaim, being afraid I should poison or bewitch him; but he at once held out his hand, and gave me a hearty shake. I afterwards explained to him that white men could not injure him in that way, and I was glad to see that he had

more confidence than his people. He told me they had mixed so little with the whites that they were unaccustomed to their ways, and I must not think anything of it. He also said that the custom of the country was to see the King at night, but that he would have seen me in the daytime had it not been that during the whole day his yard had been full of people wailing and weeping for the men that had been killed.

We then had a conversation of upwards of two hours about the war, and more particularly with regard to a letter of Consul Foote, in which he declared that he had promised to stop powder and guns going to Icorrodu market, on condition that the King should open the Eginie market for Lagos people; that he, the King, had done as the Consul wished, but afterwards the promise had not been kept on the part of the Consul; that powder and guns still went to the market to enable his rebellious subjects and the Ibaddans to come and kill his people. He could not understand how we could be his friends and also the Egbas', and still supply their natural enemies with ammunition.

I explained to him that we could not stop the supply of one unless we did the same to all without going to war; that we did not wish to interfere with their wars, except to convince them that they prove the ruin of their country, stopped all legal trade and the advance of civilization.

He said he could not understand it, and that Consul Foote having made the promise, it ought to be kept by a people professing to have "only one face," as he expressed it, or in other words, always to keep their word, and not say one thing and mean another.

I begged them to let me see the letter, The following is the passage which the Chiefs declared was interpreted to them as a promise. Consul Foote's letter is dated Aké, 16th April, 1861. The words are:—"The Consul proposes to prevent any powder or arms being sent from Lagos at all, if the King of Ijebu will allow trade." They also inform me that when some of the Chiefs met Consul Foote and Captain Jones, this was explained to mean arms and powder being sent to Icorrodu.

I cannot help thinking this a most unfortunate passage, as it is next to impossible to make an African understand the difference between a proposal and a promise. If they once get it into their heads that we try to use words that have more than one meaning, they will no longer have any faith in our Treaties or negotiations, but will look with suspicion on all we do.

The Ijebus are determined to push on a vigorous war with the Ijebu Rémoes and the Ibaddans, and there seems now no chance of putting a stop to the war, which may last for years, unless some communication can be had with the Ibaddans, or, on the other hand, we have sufficient force here to take an active part ourselves on one side or the other.

The Ibaddans having been constantly at war since they formed themselves into a nation, consisting of rebels from all the surrounding tribes, are much better soldiers than either the Ijebus or Egbas, and will not be easily subdued by them. Moreover, the King of Dahomey will most probably assist them, and, since my return to Lagos, I have information that an offer has been made by him to a house here for 2,000 stand of arms (money down). It is very possible, therefore, that Abbeokuta may be in considerable danger.

The Owjally dismissed me with every assurance of personal friendship, stating that he would always be glad to see me, and thanked me for coming, and that if we would only help him to drive away the Ibaddans, "the cause of all the wars," he would do his utmost to open out his country for legal commerce. He also begged that we would consider Kosoko's case, and let him come back to Lagos, as he had already been a long time in his country. He spoke in high terms of the character of Tappa.

He also begged me to look into the affairs of the Eginie market, as he thinks he ought to get some dues from it. He appointed Mr. Turner, as he did not know anybody else; but although the Chiefs acknowledged Mr. Turner to be a well-meaning man, they seemed to have no great faith in his discretion. He did his best, however, to make us comfortable on our passage up and down, in procuring canoes, carriers, horses, &c., but I fear as an interpreter he is not to be depended upon: it was fortunate for me that I had another with me; they differed frequently on very important points.

After an exchange of presents, and having done everything in our power to conciliate the natives and Chiefs (we were the first white officers that have ever been allowed to see the King—the Rev. Mr. Champness, Wesleyan Mission, having been the only white man previously), we left Odé on the morning of the 17th instant, the King sending two messengers with us, and arrived at Eginie at 2 P.M., having had friendly interviews with some of the headmen of the villages we passed through.

I trust our whole visit will have done much to enlighten their ideas upon the character of Englishmen.

Immediately after my arrival at Eginie I started for Epé, fortunately falling in with

Tappa on the way, coming from one of his farms. On the 18th I had an interview with Kosoko and his Chiefs. Kosoko declares that he will severely punish any of his people that disturb the market, but complains much of Mr. Turner's management there. The man who flogged the Lagos man at Icorrodu he immediately sent for, and he will be sent to Lagos that the case may be inquired into: there is also a man and woman lately sold at Otta that Tappa will send up in a day or two. We left Epé at 12:30 P.M., in a fast canoe of Tappa's for Eginie, and having completed our arrangements there, left in our own canoe at 3 P.M., arriving at Lagos at 7 A.M. on the 19th.

Odé bears about north-north-east from Eginie on the hill, twenty-five miles distant, the country most beautifully undulating forest-land, which has been extensively cleared, as far as the eye can reach, in numerous fields for corn. I have never seen so much cultivation in any part of Africa I have visited. The road, nearly the whole way, is completely shaded, the land not being allowed to be cleared closer than twenty feet of either side of the road, or what we should call in England a "bridle path." The villages are numerous, large and clean; the houses substantially built of a bright red clay. The town of Odé is surrounded by a thick wall and deep ditch of twelve miles in circumference; the town itself is somewhat scattered inside the walls, the houses being separate from each other on account of fire. It is well supplied with good water from a stream a mile and a-half distant from the centre of the town, but they seem to have no wells; this stream opens out into the lagoon, about six miles to the westward of Eginie, but is not navigable. The principal food of the people is corn; cassada is hardly known, and little used.

The King is elected by the elders from one of the late King's sons, without reference to seniority, and when once made King he can never again come out of his house in the daytime, although he may move about privately at night, when he is not supposed to be known.

The principal Chief, called Oglibouyogy, is supposed to attend constantly on the King, and he also must remain out of sight in the daytime. The second Chief, Oluwo, is the principal business man, who receives all visitors, tries all minor offences, and is also the head of the Elders when there is a trial for life; having tried the case, the King only can pronounce sentence of death. The position of an Elder is hereditary to the heads of the principal families; they are called "Appéno." The King's messengers are also men of some influence, and are called "Banghala."

The religion, like other Africans, is gross fetishism, and they occasionally sacrifice both human beings and animals.

The King requests you will make arrangements about the duty to be paid at Eginie market, and also that he may know what you intend to do with Icorrodu.

No. 10.

Earl Russell to Consul Freeman.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, March 24, 1862.

WITH reference to the robberies committed in the year 1860 on the loads belonging to the Niger expedition on their passage through the country over which the Abbeokutan Chiefs claim to exercise jurisdiction, I have to instruct you to inform me whether any steps have been taken by the Alake and Chiefs of Abbeokuta to make good the value of the articles stolen, as demanded in Mr. Acting Consul Hand's letter of the 27th of August, 1860.

In the event of their not having made good the value of the articles in question, you will bring the subject again to the notice of the authorities at Abbeokuta, and you will state to them that, if they wish Her Majesty's Government to believe in the sincerity of their professions of friendship, they must cause full restitution to be made for the goods which were stolen.

No. 11.

Consul Freeman to Earl Russell.—(Received May 12.)

(Extract.)

Lagos, April 8, 1862.

FOR nearly two months past it has been known here that the King of Dahomey had left Abomey on a slave-hunting expedition, but in what direction he intended to carry his ravages, or by what number of fighting men and Amazons he was accompanied, it was

impossible, owing to the various conflicting reports, to ascertain. At one time it was said that he was marching on Porto Novo with an army of 50,000 warriors. Shortly after rumour increased his followers to 80,000, and Abbeokuta was said to be the doomed city. The inhabitants of the surrounding farms and villages flocked panic-stricken into the town, where everybody was under arms: scouts were sent out, and the day was even specified when the Dahomian army was expected before the gates.

It was soon after stated that the army had gone to the North, and had destroyed a town belonging to the Ibaddans, so the people of the farms and villages around Abbeokuta returned to their homes. This report, however, turned out also to be false, and it was at last announced that the King, satisfied for the time being with the terror he had created in the country, and fearing the approach of the rains, had returned to Abomey.

The public mind was thus reassured again, when suddenly intelligence reached Abbeokuta that the town of Ishagga, only fifteen miles distant, containing a population of 4,000 inhabitants, had been destroyed. This at last was no false report; two or three people had escaped, one of whom, a man in the employ of a Mr. Robbin of Abbeokuta, had been wounded. They reported that the Dahomians had come down upon the town at night, and when the inhabitants awoke in the morning they found themselves surrounded on every side, and were mercilessly butchered by their enemies. Horsemen who rode out from Abbeokuta to reconnoitre, stated that only the very young children had their lives spared, and that the army was occupied all night in boiling the heads of the dead in order to take back their skulls as trophies to Abomey. Abbeokuta was in a state of great excitement for a few days, expecting the advance of the Dahomians; but the latter, after a day or two of rejoicing in the ruined town, returned home satisfied, for this year, with their success.

Information has now been obtained from stragglers, who escaped the general carnage, that the greater part of the population of Ishagga was carried off into slavery, and was not massacred as at first stated; and it is probable that the skulls taken to Abomey were only those of men who fell in the fight.

The destruction of Ishagga was an act of vengeance on the part of the Dahomians for the treachery of its inhabitants towards them on the occasion of the late King Gezo's defeat before Abbeokuta. Ishagga had at that time been oppressed by the Egbas, and applied to Gezo for protection; and when he passed through the town with his army the people received them as friends; but at the same time sent tidings of their approach to Abbeokuta. The Egbas were thus fully prepared, and defeated Gezo, who vowed that vengeance which has now been so relentlessly taken by his son.

Neither the Alake nor people of Abbeokuta have made any application to me for assistance, first, because they think they are capable of defending themselves, and secondly, because they have been persuaded to believe that if they trust too much to the English, and allow them too much influence in Abbeokuta, the result will be a British occupation of the country.

I have entered into all these particulars respecting the movements of the Dahomians, to point out to your Lordship that their policy is directed by a cunning and subtlety that makes them most dangerous enemies. The King, when he starts on a foray, never informs his followers whither he is going, and if any particular place is specified, it is pretty sure that he is not going there. The hatred of the Dahomians to Abbeokuta is unconquerable, and they long for an opportunity of revenging the defeat of the late King Gezo. Many people think they will never again venture to attack that town, but it appears to me that they are merely waiting their opportunity to take the Egbas when unprepared; and the fact that they can now keep the whole country disturbed by the rumours of their approach, and then, after the public mind is reassured, suddenly fall upon a town but a few hours' march from their enemy's capital, shows that they can act with a secrecy and rapidity which will some day prove fatal to the present prosperity, and, perhaps, the political existence of their rivals. Their success this year will have given them encouragement, and if some steps are not taken to cripple their resources, next year may see an expedition on a larger scale return to Abomey, like now, victorious.

I inclose herewith, for your Lordship's information, two letters I have received from the Rev. Mr. Gollmer, one of the Church missionaries, formerly of Lagos and now of Abbeokuta, respecting some native converts to Christianity at Ishagga, who have been carried off by the Dahomians. Mr. Gollmer's request is one which is at the same time difficult to comply with, and yet impossible, from motives of humanity, to refuse. The captives, with the exception of Mr. Doherty, are all natives, and consequently we have no positive right to claim them, and if we ask as a favour that they should be given up, we incur, in the event of the King of Dahomey's compliance, an obligation of gratitude

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towards that Chief which might place us in an awkward position if we subsequently adopt an attitude of hostility towards him.

I have therefore written to the King of Dahomey the letter of which the inclosed is a copy, and which I trust your Lordship will be pleased to approve. If the King proposes that the captives should be ransomed I do not think we can demand more, and I presume, from Mr. Gollmer's letter, that the Church Missionary Society will take some steps to obtain the funds required for the purpose.

Inclosure 1 in No. 11.

The Rev. C. Gollmer to Consul Freeman.

Sir,

Abbeokuta, March 20, 1862.

YOU have no doubt received intelligence of the destruction of Ishagga by the Dahomian army on Saturday March the 15th.

Ishagga was an Egbado town of about 5,000 inhabitants, and only about sixteen miles west of Abeokuta.

The Church Missionary Society has had a station at this place for the last seven years, during which time a mission-house and church were erected, and a small congregation and school established.

Since the destruction of Ishagga on Saturday last, we hoped from day to day to hear that Mr. William Doherty, the Church Missionary Society's Native Agent (a Sierra Leone man), with the members of our Church there, had escaped, but not having received any tidings respecting any one of them, we must fear that they have either all been killed, or were carried away.

A Dahomian fugitive now at Abbeokuta states that an Oyibo was carried away in an hammock, and there being no European residing at Ishagga then, we were led to think it might be Mr. Doherty.

My object in writing is to request your Excellency to assist us in recovering Mr. William Doherty, and our church members who may have been made captives, from the King of Dahomey, by an application from Her Majesty's Government.

I beg to annex a list of the names of the men, women, and children missing.

I have, &c.

(Signed) C. A. GOLLMER.

-
1. Mr. William Doherty, native name Osotou and Ajiboso.
 2. Uriah Doherty, native name Ajayi
 3. Peter Doherty, native name Owolabi } Servants.
 4. Simeon Ilupoyi, an elderly man.
 5. Jenny Ayawo, his wife.
 6. Abraham Binutu, a young man.
 7. Rebecca Binutu Ambose, his wife, a young woman.
 8. Moses Osoko, a young man.
 9. Mary Nono, an elderly woman.
 10. Phoebe Iwolode, ditto.
 11. Rebecca Lasiku, a young woman.
 12. Jane Remilekun, ditto.
 13. Lucy Ilupoyi Onitou, about 4 years.
 14. Peter Ogusi Lasiku, about 5 years.
 15. Amelia Ogusi Lasiku, infant.
 16. Philip Binutu, infant.
 17. Thomas Labokun, about 9 years.
 18. William Jones, native name Ogujobi.

Inclosure 2 in No. 11.

The Rev. C. Gollmer to Consul Freeman.

Sir,

Abbeokuta, April 1, 1862.

ON the 20th ultimo I had the honour to address you on the painful subject of the destruction of our neighbouring town, Ishagga, by the army of the King of Dahomey, when

some eighteen persons connected with the Church Missionary Society as agents and otherwise were lost, whom I requested your Excellency to assist us to recover by an application from Her Majesty's Government to the King of Dahomey.

Yesterday I obtained various particulars respecting our lost friends, but I will only mention the important fact that none of our people were killed, but all were carried towards Abomey.

My informant is an eye-witness; a man who was captured with the Christians in the Church Missionary's house at Ishagga, but escaped from the Dahomians whilst crossing the River Iyewa, and who is now at Abbeokuta.

Our friends being alive there is hope. May I again request your Excellency to do all in your power to recover our lost friends? And should they not be given up without a ransom, I, in the name of the Church Missionary Society and our friends in this country and in England, pledge myself to pay any reasonable amount of ransom-money, especially for Mr. W. Doherty, the Society's valuable native agent.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. A. GOLLMER.

Inclosure 3 in No. 11.

Governor Freeman to the King of Dahomey.

Government House, Lagos, April 8, 1862.

THE Undersigned, Governor of the British Colony of Lagos, sends his salutation to Badahun, King of Dahomey, and begs to acquaint him that he has heard how the Dahomian army has destroyed the town of Ishagga, in the vicinity of Abbeokuta, and carried its inhabitants into captivity.

Now among the prisoners taken, were eighteen individuals of various ages, in the welfare of whom the British Government takes a deep interest. Mr. Doherty is from the British Colony of Sierra Leone, and he and the other persons are Christians like the British nation.

The Governor of Lagos, therefore, demands of the King of Dahomey that the eighteen persons whose names are on the list inclosed should be restored to him. They have done no harm to the King of Dahomey or his people, and why, therefore, should he detain them? He wars against those whom he considers his enemies; but these people cannot be of the number, and the Governor, therefore, expects they will be delivered up.

(Signed) HY. STANHOPE FREEMAN.

No. 12.

Earl Russell to Consul Freeman.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, May 23, 1862.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 8th ultimo, reporting the destruction of the town of Ishagga by the Dahomian army, and the steps taken by you to procure the release of some native converts to Christianity who have been carried away into captivity by the Dahomian forces.

I have, in reply, to state that in the present instance you did right, from motives of humanity, in endeavouring to procure the release of the unfortunate Christian prisoners from Ishagga.

No. 13.

Earl Russell to Consul Freeman.

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 23, 1862.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith, for your information, a copy of a despatch to Dr. Baikie, together with copies of two letters which, by my directions, have been addressed to the Admiralty. You will learn from these papers that Her Majesty's Government are about to send an expedition up the Niger to communicate with Dr. Baikie, and I have to desire that you will give the officer who may be placed in charge of the expedition, the benefit of any advice or assistance that you may be enabled to afford.

It is not impossible that you may have received advices from Dr. Baikie later than than those which have reached Her Majesty's Government, and that he may have made a requisition upon you for supplies.

Should this be the case, you are authorized to furnish him with such things as he may require to the value of 200*l.*, in addition to the goods sent out to him from this country, to be forwarded to him by the vessels about to ascend the river.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

Inclosure 1 in No. 13.

Earl Russell to Dr. Baikie.

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 23, 1862.

IN my despatch of the 23rd of December last, I informed you that under the circumstances reported in your despatch of the 10th of September last, I authorized your remaining at your present post for another year. I have not since the return of the steamer sent to communicate with you last year, received any further advices from you, and I am not, therefore, aware whether the reasons which determined you in September last to remain in Africa still hold good. I am unwilling, however, as long as there is any probability of the navigation of the Niger being developed, to lessen that probability by withdrawing you, and more particularly until I have received further accounts from you. I therefore authorize your remaining at your present post until further orders, and I have directed supplies to be forwarded to you accordingly.

You will transmit to me by the opportunity that will be afforded to you by the present expedition, a full report of your proceedings during the past year, together with a statement of your views as to the best means of developing the resources of the Niger, and any information which your experience may lead you to believe will be of use to merchants in this country, who may be desirous of embarking in the trade of that river.

You will also furnish me with a statement of your expenses during the past year, together with an estimate of the probable annual cost of maintaining the station established by you at the Confluence.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

Inclosure 2 in No. 13.

Mr. Layard to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, May 23, 1862.

WITH reference to my letter of the 21st ultimo, requesting that the Senior Naval Officer on the African Station might be warned, with the view to his making the necessary arrangements, that it was the intention of Her Majesty's Government to send an expedition up the Niger at the proper season this year to communicate with Dr. Baikie, I am now directed by Earl Russell to acquaint you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that the main object of the expedition is to convey supplies to Dr. Baikie, and to learn from him whether the experience of another year confirms the favourable opinion entertained by him as to the results likely to be obtained by keeping up the establishment formed by him at the Confluence of the Niger and the Tchadda Rivers, and generally what probabilities there are of the river being permanently opened to foreign commerce.

I am to transmit, for their Lordships' information, a copy of a despatch to Dr. Baikie, which it is proposed to forward by the officer in charge of the expedition.

His Lordship desires me, in conclusion, to add, that he is of opinion—in which doubtless their Lordships will concur—that it would on every account be advisable that not less than two vessels should be detailed for carrying out this expedition, one of light draught of water for navigating the upper portion of the river, and the other a heavier class of vessel capable of ascending the river as far as the "Espoir" proceeded last year. The Commander of the latter vessel might have discretionary instructions to await the return of the smaller vessel from the Confluence as long as he can do so with safety to the ship, with reference to the periodical falling of the water in the river.

Inclosure 3 in No. 13.

*Mr. Layard to the Secretary to the Admiralty.*Sir, *Foreign Office, May 23, 1862.*

WITH reference to my other letter of this day's date, I am directed by Earl Russell to state that his Lordship is of opinion that the officer in charge of the Niger expedition should be furnished with instructions for his guidance in the not impossible contingency of the decease of Dr. Baikie, or of his finding, on his arrival at the Confluence, that the Doctor is absent on an expedition into the interior.

In the former case the officer in command of the vessel proceeding to the Confluence should be directed to obtain possession of all the papers and effects, public as well as private, of Dr. Baikie, to pay whatever debts may be due to the natives, and to make suitable presents to those Chiefs who have befriended Dr. Baikie during his somewhat lengthened residence in the interior. Lord Russell would more particularly point out King Masaba as a Chief who ought to receive some recompense for the support afforded by him to the expedition at a time when, owing to the failure of the contemplated expedition in 1860, Dr. Baikie was left entirely destitute of means.

In the event of Dr. Baikie being absent, the officer in command of the gun-boat should endeavour to communicate with him, if possible, and should have a discretionary power to wait for that purpose a certain time at the Confluence, taking care, however, to commence his return voyage in time to insure his not being detained on his descent by the falling of the water in the river; and should he be obliged to leave without communicating with Dr. Baikie, he should leave the supplies destined for him in the charge of some trustworthy Chief, and on this point the officer will have to use his discretion.

It would be on every account desirable that an officer who has had some experience of the Niger should, if possible, accompany the present expedition, and Lord Russell is of opinion, in which he doubts not their Lordships will concur, that the services of Lieutenant Glover might be advantageously employed on this occasion.

I am, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

No. 14.

Consul Freeman to Earl Russell.—(Received June 12.)

(Extract.)

Lagos, May 9, 1862.

THE American schooner "*Seamew*" is reported to have shipped a cargo of slaves from Whydah shortly before my arrival here in January last; and on the 25th of March a screw-steamer, supposed to be the "*Noc d'Aqui*," made a successful shipment of 1,600 from the same port. She took in her cargo so rapidly that she did not even anchor, but merely backed stern in. So perfectly are the cruizers watched and their movements known, that the "*Noc d'Aqui*" was able to steam into Whydah only a few hours after Her Majesty's ship "*Wrangler*" had left to communicate at this place with the Senior Officer, Commander Bedingfeld.

No. 15.

Consul Freeman to Earl Russell.—(Received July 10.)

My Lord,

Lagos, June 7, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to report that Mr. T. C. Taylor, Her Majesty's Vice-Consul for Abbeokuta, arrived from England by last mail, and left this for his post on the 28th ultimo, which he reached on the 30th. I beg to inclose herewith a copy of a letter I have just received from him, by which it appears that the Egbas will not receive him in his Consular capacity.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HY. STANHOPE FREEMAN.

Inclosure in No. 15.

Vice-Consul Taylor to Consul Freeman.

Sir,

Abbeokuta, June 3, 1862.

I REGRET to inform you that the King and Chiefs of this place have not yet decided to receive me in a Consular capacity; and not having seen any of them, even privately, I am, of course, unable to state the correct or whole grounds on which their objection or indecision rests. Meetings, I understand, are being daily held on the subject, and the Rev. Mr. Townsend is doing all he can to bring the matter to favourable issue, but it is doubtful whether he will be able to succeed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) THOS. C. TAYLOR.

No. 16.

Consul Freeman to Earl Russell.—(Received July 10.)

My Lord,

Lagos, June 3, 1862.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch of the 23rd of December, 1861, instructing me to communicate, if possible, with Dr. Baikie, I have the honour to state that it has been my constant endeavour since my arrival to open up a safe road to Rabba, and to exert myself generally to obtain a cessation of hostilities between the tribes of the interior.

On the 22nd of February I dispatched Lieutenant Glover on a mission to Ibadan, but he was attacked by the fever, and returned to Lagos in a very precarious state.

Since that time Lieutenant Glover's professional duties have detained him at Lagos; but the arrival of Her Majesty's ship "Investigator," Lieutenant-Commander Lefroy, enabling him to absent himself for a short time, he started again on the 28th ultimo. The people of Icorodu objected to Mr. Glover's passing, and he has now left for Ijebu Ode to persuade the King of that place to allow him a free passage through his territory into that of Ibadan. If he fails there, he will try the way of Abbeokuta. If once he can reach Ibadan, he can safely dispatch a messenger thence to Massaba, King of Nupe, who will have the letters sent down to Dr. Baikie at Lukoja. I have written a letter to King Massaba in Arabic, as he will certainly find people around him who understand that language; and have begged him to facilitate, as far as he can, the communication between Dr. Baikie and the authorities at Lagos.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HY. STANHOPE FREEMAN.

No. 17.

Consul Freeman to Earl Russell.—(Received July 10.)

My Lord,

Lagos, June 9, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship, herewith inclosed, a copy of a Report I have addressed to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle touching the political condition of this part of Western Africa, and the relations of this Government with the surrounding tribes

I have not much doubt that matters will be satisfactorily settled with most of the tribes; but I have some slight misgivings with regard to the Egbas, who are showing a determined spirit of opposition to our views.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HY. STANHOPE FREEMAN.

Inclosure in No. 17.

Governor Freeman to the Duke of Newcastle.

My Lord Duke,

Lagos, June 4, 1862.

THE influence which the establishment of British rule in Lagos will have on the suppression of the Slave Trade in the Bight of Benin, is every day becoming more and

more apparent; but by measure as the ultimate power we shall obtain to that effect exhibits itself in the prospective, so the extensive ramifications uniting the internal slavery with the slave-exporting depôts on the coast unfold themselves to view, and the disgust and loathsomeness with which the inhabitants of the surrounding towns and villages see their means and facilities for exporting slaves gradually diminishing, and the Trade itself threatened with extinction, manifest themselves by opposition, on every side more or less declared, to this Government.

This Government is, in fact, an object of suspicion and mistrust to all the surrounding country; first, because the general fear is that the territory of Lagos will gradually extend itself until it swallows up all the neighbouring States; and secondly, because if the natives maltreat their slaves the latter can run here for protection, and are then enabled to redeem themselves from servitude.

All this, however, would be unimportant, as the distrust and dislike would gradually fade away when the public begins to find their interests advanced by an increasing British trade; but unfortunately they retaliate upon us for the injuries they imagine we have inflicted upon them in abolishing the Slave Trade by an opposition which this Government will be forced to put down by strong measures, if it is to exert any beneficial influence in the country.

The Egbas, inhabitants of Abbeokuta, who have been preached up as the nation through whom civilization and Christianity are to be spread throughout Africa, will, I fear, prove the most troublesome of the surrounding tribes, unless they are forced into acquiescence with our views.

Abbeokuta is a town of but recent origin, the Egbas, driven out of Yoruba, having chosen that site for a settlement. While yet poor and powerless, and at a time when Lagos was the most renowned slave-depôt on this coast, English missionaries and merchants went among them, who did not, however, venture for long after to attempt settlements at Ibadan, or any of the more powerful and warlike towns. As the Egbas increased in wealth and numbers they increased also in pride and presumption, and, unfortunately, the English residents at Abbeokuta, rather than lose the influence they had acquired amongst them, took their side of every question, and published it to the world; but no one out of Africa heard that their adversaries also had strong reasons for believing themselves to be in the right. Thus arose the war with the Ibadans, which was undertaken by the Egbas professedly for the relief of the town of Ijaye, besieged by the Ibadans, but in reality to obtain a monopoly of commerce by closing all the roads from Lagos into the interior except that by Abbeokuta. It is, moreover, a fact that the Egbas kidnapped, and sent down to the coast to be sold into slavery, a greater number of the people of Ijaye, whom they professed to be protecting, than did the Ibadans, who regarded them as rebels, and consequently lawful prize as slaves.

The Egbas have been defeated at Ijaye, but are still arrogant in the extreme. To all the offers of mediation made by late Acting Consul Mc Coskry they have replied most insolently, telling him not to interfere in their affairs, as, when it is good for them, they can make peace for themselves.

It is even expected, by many residents here and at Abbeokuta, that they will refuse to receive Her Majesty's Vice-Consul, Mr. Taylor, who left this place for his post a few days ago, but I can scarcely believe they dare carry their opposition to such an extreme.

In spite of this ill-feeling towards us they boast to their enemies that they are the white man's friend; and that they can afford to throw away powder because the white man brings it to them. In this way, and from the undeniable fact that we have always supported the Egbas more than they merited, it now comes about that their opponents will not believe in our wish to deal fairly with both parties, the Ibadans even reproaching us with having sent British officers to show the Egbas how to fight. This is due to the late Captain Jones, 2nd West India Regiment, having ill-advisedly attempted to pass over to the Ibadan from the Egba camp and failed, and the Ibadans, who knew an English officer was with the Egbas, naturally would not believe but that he was instructing them in the use of their fire-arms, inasmuch as we have on other occasions sent officers to instruct them in their defence against Dahomey.

The King of Ijebu Odé has also always held by the side of the Egbas through jealousy of the Ibadans; and, indeed, the only Chiefs who can really be trusted by the British Government are, Kosoko, of Epé, and Sogí, King of Porto Novo. These two Chiefs were originally our greatest opponents, both being men of strong determination, but at last they found it was useless to resist an attack of British forces, and will never again place themselves in the position of having their towns destroyed by our gun-boats.

Even petty towns, scarcely deserving to be called anything more than villages, and

but a few hours' journey from this island, are following the example of the Egbas, who have of late begun to kidnap Lagos people whenever any of their runaway slaves redeem themselves here.

Scarcely ten days ago a slave from Abbeokuta brought a charge against his mistress of ill-treatment, and an intention to sell him. The case was tried in the Slave Court, and the sentence was given that the slave should pay the amount of his redemption to his mistress, and receive letters of emancipation. The money was paid, but the mistress vowed vengeance against the Superintendent of the Liberated African Yard, a Sierra Leone emigrant, should the slave not be restored to her; and news has just arrived from Abbeokuta that some of the family of the said Superintendent have been seized. Arbitrary proceedings like these must, of course, be stopped at once.

The foregoing sketch of the state of this country will enable your Grace to perceive the difficulties which beset us on every side in our attempts to bring about peace between the contending tribes; still, peace must be obtained, for without it there can be no roads open to commerce in the interior, and the trade of Lagos cannot improve. Our offers of mediation, for some time past, have invariably been met with jealousy of our avowed friendships, mistrust of our motives, or suspicion of the use we shall make of our power. All these have to be overcome, and it is only by the exercise of great perseverance that it can be done, though I feel confident of eventual success.

On the 22nd of February I dispatched Lieutenant Glover, commanding Her Majesty's gun-boat "Handy," on a mission to Ibadan to try and obtain peace, but illness forced him to return.

Not having any one else to whom I could confide so delicate and important a task, and Lieutenant Glover being detained here by his professional duties, I have been obliged to leave the matter in abeyance until last week, when the arrival of Her Majesty's ship "Investigator," Lieutenant-Commander Lefroy, enabling him to leave again, he started on a second expedition on the 28th ultimo. The route selected was through Icorodu, a large village situated about a mile and a-half from the shore, at the extreme north of the lagoon, which gives to the latter its name of "Cradu," or more properly "Corodu Water."

The following day, having received unsatisfactory news from Mr. Glover, I started myself, and reached Icorodu in the evening. I found the gates shut, and the place in a great state of excitement, and though eventually the gates were opened to me, I then refused to enter, and returned by night to Her Majesty's ship "Handy," in Icorodu Bay. It appears that Lieutenant Glover, who was accompanied by an escort of ten men of the 2nd West India Regiment, besides his own carriers, who were armed, had entered the village without encountering the slightest opposition, and was well received by the old Chief. Unfortunately, however, there was an Egba among his party, and immediately he was discovered the whole place was in a commotion. All the men turned out, armed with their guns, spears, and bows and arrows, vowing they would have this Egba's blood; and it was with difficulty Lieutenant Glover could get him in safety to the house where they had taken up their quarters.

The hatred of the Icorodu people towards the Egbas is caused by the war between the latter and Ibadan, which has ruined their trade; and at this very time a town called Makun, distant only a few hours from Icorodu, is being besieged by one of the war Chiefs of Abbeokuta.

During the whole night drums were beating, and the young men called to arms; but the next morning the excitement calmed a little, and messengers were sent down to entreat me to come up. I accordingly went, but though I remained four-and-twenty hours, the Chiefs and people would not give in respecting Mr. Glover's passage through their country, and it was quite evident that they would not be persuaded but he was going to help the Egbas in besieging Makun.

Not wishing that Lieutenant Glover should attempt to force his way, we withdrew with a warning to the Chiefs and people, that until a satisfactory apology was made for their behaviour, and every facility offered us in traversing their country, their market would be stopped, and all canoes attempting to communicate with it would be seized and confiscated. This measure will, I trust, soon bring them to reason.

Lieutenant Glover has now gone to Ijebu Odé to endeavour to obtain a passage through that country to Ibadan, but as it has always been refused hitherto I am not very sanguine of success. If he can once reach Ibadan direct without passing through Abbeokuta, I have not much doubt he will be able to persuade the inhabitants to give up the war; and if the Egbas then still refuse, they must be forced into peace by stopping their trade.

This, however, being a very strong measure inasmuch as many English traders are

concerned, I should only have recourse to it as a very last resource ; and then I shall have the support of nearly all the principal merchants of Lagos, as they see that the temporary injury to commerce would lead to a beneficial result by putting an end to the wars, which give a trifling monopoly to the Egbas, but are undermining commerce generally.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HY. STANHOPE FREEMAN.

No. 18.

Consul Freeman to Earl Russell.—(Received July 10.)

My Lord,

Lagos, June 10, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to transmit, herewith inclosed for your Lordship's perusal, copy of a despatch I have addressed to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary for the Colonies, recommending that Kosoko and his Chiefs be allowed to return to Lagos.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HY. STANHOPE FREEMAN.

Inclosure in No. 18.

Governor Freeman to the Duke of Newcastle.

(Extract.)

Lagos, June 7, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to state that since my arrival here now nearly five months ago, I have been repeatedly entreated by Kosoko for permission to return that he may die in his own country, as he is now an old man. His Chief Tappa has already been here on a mission to urge his master's suit, and I have promised to use my best endeavours to obtain from Her Majesty's Government the boon he asks.

Having given the matter my most careful consideration, I am convinced that Kosoko's return to Lagos would have a great and beneficial effect in the surrounding country, and would greatly tend to the prosperity of Lagos.

The question may be considered as a matter of policy, or one of sheer justice ; in so far as justice is concerned, we ought certainly to allow Kosoko's return. We dethroned him, and banished him from Lagos because he would not bind himself by Treaty to abolish the Slave Trade and other customs repugnant to our feelings, as a civilized people. We placed Akitoye, and subsequently his son Docemo, on the throne, because they consented to sign the Treaties we required of them. They, however, were obliged in outward appearance to do what the British Government told them, though secretly they have infringed daily every Article of the Treaty. Until the cession slaves were sent off nightly to Porto Novo for Whydah ; and within the last few years virgins have been sacrificed to appease the fetish, or "Spirit of the Bar." We have now occupied Lagos, and given a pension to the reigning King ; and we should have done the same by Kosoko in 1852 had we then wished for possession of the island. Kosoko by the law of the country is the rightful heir to the throne instead of Docemo ; but the kingly power being now done away with, and our own established, I think we ought not to keep him any longer an exile from his native land.

With regard to the advantage of Kosoko's return, I have also no hesitation in strongly recommending it to your Grace. He and his Chiefs have all become merchants and farmers ; and were they to establish themselves here they would bring to this island the greater part of their commerce and their produce. Palma would cease to interfere in any way with the trade of Lagos ; for an arrangement might be made to levy our Customs dues there also. Further, Kosoko has a very great influence in all the surrounding country, and his consenting to place himself and his people directly under the control and jurisdiction of this Government would tend greatly to bring back confidence in British rule.

Kosoko has felt the power of the British Government, and will not do anything to incur their displeasure again ; in fact, there would be more likelihood of Docemo attempting to regain the Government of the island than of Kosoko raising an insurrection ; for the former is a weak man, easily swayed by those who have nothing to lose, and everything to gain, by disturbances. Both eventualities are, however, as improbable as their success would be impossible.

No. 19.

Mr. Layard to Consul Freeman.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, July 23, 1862.

I AM directed by Earl Russell to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 7th of June, reporting the probability that the Chiefs of Abbeokuta will refuse to receive Mr. Taylor in his Consular capacity, and on this subject I am to state that his Lordship will address you further when he shall have been made acquainted with the final decision of the Chiefs in this matter.

No. 20.

Mr. Layard to Consul Freeman.

Sir,

Foreign Office, July 23, 1862.

I AM directed by Earl Russell to acquaint you that a box containing a coat of mail and gauntlets has been forwarded to your address by the packet appointed to leave Liverpool to-morrow with the African mails. The articles in question are sent at the suggestion of Lieutenant Glover, as a present from Her Majesty's Government to King Masaba: and if the expeditionary vessels appointed to ascend the Niger this year to communicate with Dr. Baikie should not already have started on their voyage, you will forward these articles to their destination by the officer who may be in charge of the expedition.

In the event of the expedition having sailed, you will consult with Lieutenant Glover, if he is still at Lagos, as to the best means of communicating with King Masaba.

I am, &c.

(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

No. 21.

Consul Freeman to Earl Russell.—(Received August 11.)

(Extract.)

Government House, Lagos, July 1, 1862.

THE frequency with which cargoes of slaves have been exported from the Bight of Benin, within the last few years, tends to prove that the Slave Trade is rather on the increase than on the decrease in these parts.

It may naturally be asked, how is it possible that so many slave-vessels can succeed in evading the British cruizers? But that question is easily answered. Till very recently the vessels cruising in the Bight of Benin habitually visited Lagos at the time of the arrival of the monthly packet to obtain their mails, and the captains of slavers were well aware that for a few days at such periods the coast would be clear for them.

But even without this facility the slave-traders have many means of ascertaining the movements of the cruizers, and the arrangements of the slaving-vessels are so perfect that these may be searched without anything being discovered to condemn them; and yet in a few hours after the man-of-war is out of sight, they can embark a slave-deck, ship a cargo, and set sail.

The wholesale and barbarous massacres in Dahomey which have aroused the indignation of the whole civilized world, are also closely connected with the Slave Trade; and paradoxical though it may appear, it is nevertheless true, that without the great yearly export of human beings at Whydah, the fearful human sacrifices at the annual customs at Abomey could not be kept up. It cannot be denied that human sacrifices take place occasionally, and at many points periodically, along the whole of tropical West Africa; but those in Dahomey are so atrocious, both in the number of victims and the cruelty with which many of them are murdered, that they naturally excite the horror of mankind, and demand the interference of the Christian nations to put a stop to them, and with them to the export trade in slaves, which alone furnishes the means of continuing them.

In the Kingdom of Dahomey agriculture is at a stand-still, and legitimate trade next to nothing; the population of the villages is most scanty, and liable to be called out at any moment to go on some slave-hunting expedition, and sometimes they are hunted down themselves. Much gold is said to exist, but it is not worked or even sought for. Terrorism rules everywhere, every man is afraid of his neighbour; and though probably each individual would willingly throw off the despot's yoke, no one can be found to lead the van in the

struggle for liberty. The King's will is law, and a superstitious dread of his power supports him; yet he himself is in daily and hourly dread of being poisoned. Much has been said of his wealth, and be it what it may, it is derived from the Slave Trade; he is, in fact, the great slave-dealer. Every year he summons all the people of Abomey and the surrounding villages to attend him on an expedition, the men, and even some of the women, to fight, and the rest of the latter to carry provisions. Some doomed towns are destroyed, and several thousand human beings carried into captivity. The King claims all the captives, and pays the captors one dollar for each as prize money, besides providing them with their arms and ammunition. These slaves are subsequently sold by the King to the traders at an average price of 80 dollars each, and a duty of 4 dollars is levied on their exportation. Thus the King obtains his revenue with which to support his satellites, and can spare a portion of the captives to sacrifice at the customs, and keep up the reign of terror, which is his only guarantee for safety.

Hitherto all the endeavours of Her Majesty's Government to induce the Kings of Dahomey to abandon the Slave Trade have resulted in failure. A Treaty was concluded in 1852 with King Gezo, by which the British Government agreed to pay him a subvention for three years to compensate for the loss of revenue he would incur by giving up the Slave Trade; the Treaty was broken by Gezo a few months after he signed it, owing to which he never received any of the subsidy. On a subsequent occasion when he expressed himself willing to sign the Treaty and keep to the stipulations, Her Majesty's Government refused to grant the subsidy, on the plea that having broken his faith once, he should now have no compensation for his loss of revenue. No measures were, however, taken to enforce his keeping the Treaty, and it has thus, like most of the others in these parts, remained a dead letter.

It must not be forgotten that all this took place when there was little or no export of slaves from Whydah; Lagos being then the great slave-depôt. On account of this very circumstance the Consulate was removed from Whydah to Lagos, and thus the current of slave exportation was turned from the latter to the former place.

No. 22.

Consul Freeman to Earl Russell.—(Received August 11.)

(Extract.)

Lagos, July 3, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship herewith copy of a despatch I have addressed to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, announcing that I have given permission to Kosoko and his people to return to Lagos, and detailing the reasons which have induced me to take this step.

Inclosure in No. 22.

Governor Freeman to the Duke of Newcastle.

(Extract.)

Lagos, July 1, 1862.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 7th of June, I have the honour to state that, at the earnest and oft-repeated entreaty of Kosoko, I started on the 17th ultimo in Her Majesty's steam-vessel "Investigator" to visit Epé.

We did not arrive at our destination till after sunset, so I delayed going ashore till the following day, when I landed at noon, and was received by Kosoko, his Chiefs, and people, with every honour and great demonstrations of joy and satisfaction.

According to the custom of the country, the first day was passed in feasting and merry-making, and every Chief but Kosoko joined in the wild national war-dance—an event which formed an epoch in the history of Epé; for on no former occasion had the old Chiefs, like Tappa and Possoo, condescended to dance.

On the 20th ultimo, Kosoko having intimated to me his desire to have a confidential interview with me, I paid him a visit in his private house, accompanied by Lieutenant Glover, and had a long conversation with him and three of his principal Chiefs, in the course of which he again beseeched me to give him permission to return to Lagos without delay. The principal reasons which he adduced for his unremitting urgency, I could not but acknowledge to be valid.

First, he said he was an old man, and could not live much longer; and were he to die in a foreign country, he could not, by the customs of his tribe, receive those funereal

honours due to his position, which circumstances would be a reproach to his memory, and a stain on the honour of his children.

Secondly, he said that as the war in the interior still continued, and the Ibadans are determined to make their way down to the coast, the Jebus cannot long hold out, in which case, if Odé should be taken, Epé must also be destroyed; for though friendly to the Ibadans, it is too rich a place for the wild ruffians of which their army is composed to withstand sacking it.

Lastly, he said that the King of Jebu, on whose territory he only lives by sufferance, has declared that if his army is successful against the Ibadans, he will then come down and drive Kosoko and his people out of Epé.

It was further pointed out to me that some months must elapse before the necessary preparations for the return to Lagos of so many people as form the following of Kosoko can be effected; and it was therefore of great importance to them to obtain, without delay, permission to return, in order that they may at once commence those preparations.

Moved by the force of Kosoko's arguments, I consented to grant the boon demanded, provided that, at a public assembly of the Chiefs and people, it should be unanimously agreed to accept my terms, which were, that they should place themselves unconditionally under the British rule, and should claim neither lands, houses, nor any other thing by right of former possession, but should go to Lagos as though they were immigrants arriving for the first time, and quietly establish themselves on any spot I might choose to grant them. A general meeting was accordingly called, and my terms, though hard, were at once accepted with evident content, and to the great surprise of the European merchants of Palma, who were present at the express invitation of Kosoko, and who had all along persuaded themselves that though Kosoko and his family, and perhaps Tappa, wish to return to Lagos, Possoo and the other Cabooceers are doing too well in their trade to leave Epé.

I started on my return on the morning of the 21st ultimo, and Kosoko will in a few days send down a messenger to see the site I may fix upon, on which to locate his followers.

No. 23.

Consul Freeman to Earl Russell.—(Received August 11.)

(Extract.)

Lagos, July 7, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to report that Mr. Vice-Consul Taylor returned to Lagos on the 13th June, having been rejected by the people of Abbeokuta, and dismissed from their town in the most insulting manner. I inclose herewith copies of two despatches addressed to me by that gentleman, detailing the circumstances of his rejection.

I trust your Lordship will approve of the letter I addressed to the Alake and Chiefs of Abbeokuta, respecting the state of our relations, a copy of which, as also copies of the Alake's letters to me, I inclose herewith.

I have thought it advisable to send Mr. Taylor back to England, as I see not the slightest chance of the Egbas changing their mind at present.

Inclosure 1 in No. 23.

Vice-Consul Taylor to Consul Freeman.

Sir,

Abbeokuta, June 5, 1862.

I HAVE the honour, and at the same time the mortification, to inform you of a public interview that I had yesterday afternoon with the Alake and Chiefs of this place, which seems to have been granted for the purpose of conveying to me, in the most public manner possible, their decision not to allow a British Vice-Consul to reside in their country.

They complain of broken promises on the part of England:—

1st. That England had promised to assist them against the Dahomians, but looked passively on at the destruction of Ishagga.

2nd. That Captain Jones, who had been sent to instruct them in the art of gunnery, after remaining only a few days in their town, and leading them to believe that he would do great things for them, went back to Lagos, to bring up, as he said, trained men to instruct them, but instead of returning as he had promised to do, sent them only an insulting letter.

They said also that they had two classes of foreigners in their country already, missionaries and merchants, and had no room for a third, and summed up by requesting Mr. Townsend, who, of course, was present at the interview, to beg that I would leave their town. The King and Chiefs arising, as if by previous concert, to depart. Immediately after delivering this request, it was, perhaps wisely, not translated to me until my return with Mr. Townsend; and from the apparent harmony and good understanding that seemed to exist between him and the people at the meeting, I confess that their rejection came upon me with surprise.

The complaints as to broken promises, &c., on the part of England amount to nothing; the great cause of the refusal being, as I am well informed, lest the Consul should, by-and-bye, as at Lagos, be superseded by a Governor.

Thus far, I have, as regards the formalities and etiquette of the country, placed myself entirely under the guidance of Mr. Townsend, who has kindly given me accommodation in his house, and who now advises me to leave at once. But here I find myself in a difficulty; for if, without making any allowance for the ignorance and, perhaps, under all the circumstances in some measure justifiable suspicions of the people, I take them at their word and leave abruptly, without any endeavour to reconcile matters, it may for a long time, if not for ever, effectually bar the door against our Government sending out an official Representative again, and thus the development of commerce in one of the finest, if not the finest, country in Africa would be materially marred, or, possibly, entirely suppressed, and the door opened to very formal, instead of friendly, relations between the Egbas and our new Settlement at Lagos, which, being so contiguous to each other, and so connected in business, would be most inconvenient, and, indeed, could scarcely long exist without an open rupture being the result, even if the present refusal do not be considered such a rupture. On the other hand, it is possible that neither your Excellency nor the Home Government might approve of my condescending, on the part of England, to endeavour, after such a decided rejection, to remove the foolish suspicions of the people, and thus bring about, if possible, a better understanding.

Under these circumstances, and as Mr. Townsend, who appears to be not only a sort of king here, but seems, also, to be fully aware of the movements, and even of the inmost thoughts and feelings of the people, advises me that it would be useless and imprudent of me to at all press the matter just now, I shall remain passive until favoured with your instructions how to act.

I have, &c.
(Signed) THOS. C. TAYLOR.

Inclosure 2 in No. 23.

Vice-Consul Taylor to Consul Freeman.

Sir, *Lagos, June 25, 1862.*
I REGRET to inform you that it became impossible for me to remain at Abbeokuta as I had intended, sufficiently long to receive instructions from you relative to the matters mentioned in my despatch of the 5th instant.

On the 6th I was seized with an attack of remittent fever; but notwithstanding this, the Alake and Chiefs sent daily, and oftener, to know why I had not gone, and ultimately, on the morning of the 11th, they sent word that if I remained another night within the walls of Abbeokuta the house would be burnt over my head. I had requested the Rev. Mr. Townsend to go and say to the Alake that, after his rejection of me, I could not, of course, abide in his town; but that I was unwell, and wished to remain merely a few days until I should be so far recovered as to enable me to undertake the return journey with safety. This, however, Mr. Townsend declined to do, on the grounds that he did not consider he would be justified in making such a statement. The Rev. Mr. Champness, of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, had kindly consented to go to the Bashorun on the subject, but was ultimately persuaded by Mr. Townsend that to do so would be useless. Mr. Champness then offered me accommodation in his house, notwithstanding the threats of the people; but seeing that they were so determined to get me away at once, and observing, above all, that Mr. Townsend, for some reason best known to himself, shared in this anxiety for my departure, I considered that it would be wrong of me, by accepting Mr. Champness' invitation, to place both him and myself in a position so critical and anomalous. I accordingly, though little able for the journey, left Mr. Townsend's house on the evening of the 11th, and, as you are aware, arrived at Lagos about 11 o'clock on the night of the 13th. But having, on Monday the 16th, been seized with a renewed attack of fever in an

aggravated form, and accompanied with dysentery also, I have been unable, until now, to communicate these facts to you in writing. Perhaps I should mention, for your information, that although Mr. Townsend was, for some time prior to my arrival at Abbeokuta, quite aware that the Egbas had fully decided to reject me, yet he told me nothing of this until two or three days after my interview with the King and Chiefs, when I made some remarks on the good understanding that seemed to exist between him and the people, particularly at our interview with them, and taxed him with having been previously aware of their decision, and he admitted that he had been so for at least five days before my arrival.

The Egbas seem to be under some strange infatuation, which, it is to be feared, may be ruinous to them. Within the last three years they have lost five tributary towns. They are at war with Ibadan, on one side, have the hostile Dahomians on another, and now insult England, on the third. The war with Ibadan rages as fiercely as ever, and with so little prospect of peace that when I was at Abbeokuta the destruction of the cattle seemed to be seriously entertained, indeed had, I was informed, actually commenced, that, in the event of a siege, they might have more ground on which to grow provisions. Such is their state, and yet they indignantly refuse all offers of mediation for a peace.

Awaiting your Excellency's instructions as to my future movements as soon as I have quite recovered, I have, &c.

(Signed) THOS. C. TAYLOR.

Inclosure 3 in No. 23.

The Alake and Chiefs of Abbeokuta to Consul Freeman.

Sir,

Abbeokuta, June 11, 1862.

THE Alake, Bashorun, and Chiefs of Abbeokuta send their respects to you, and wish you health.

They desire to acknowledge the receipt of your letter recommending Thomas C. Taylor, Esq., as Vice-Consul of Her Majesty the Queen of England to them, and are very sorry to say that, having received no previous intimation respecting his coming to them as Her Majesty's Consul here, they are unable to accept him; for the missionaries, merchants, and officers who ever came here were accustomed to give previous notice, and people were usually sent to escort them, sometimes as far as a day's journey; why not with Mr. Taylor, Her Majesty's Consul?

The Alake and Chiefs hope it will not be taken as an insult to the Queen of England, for she has done much good to them; she has sent back freely to them their captured children, also missionaries and merchants with the view of Christianizing and civilizing their country, and they hope always to do all what lies in their power to manifest a friendly disposition to her. They are sorry to say that they have seen things arise leading to spoil the friendship that exists. They are very sorry that any such cause should arise.

The Egbas took the advice of the missionaries, and left off their former wars, and pursued agriculture to supply the English merchants with cotton, oil, and other produce, but the Ibadans (who had taken possession of their land) and the Dahomians would not cease to disturb them.

Many promises have been made by the English of preventing the Dahomians from disturbing them; but, alas! a town of theirs very near to them, called Ishagga, was destroyed early this year; the converts and their teacher were carried away. Besides all this, Mr. Roper, a European missionary, was captured and chained by the Ibadans; such conduct white people have never experienced here.

I remain, &c.

(Signed) D. WILLIAMS,
Clerk to the Alake.

Inclosure 4 in No. 23.

Consul Freeman to the Alake and Chiefs of Abbeokuta.

Lagos, June 14, 1862.

THE Undersigned, Governor and Commander-in-chief in and over the British Settlement of Lagos and its Dependencies, begs to acknowledge the receipt of the letter under date the 11th June, addressed to him by the Alake, Bashorun, and Chiefs of Abbeokuta.

The Alake, Bashorun, and Chiefs of Abbeokuta say in their letter that they are unable to accept Mr. Taylor as Her Majesty's Vice-Consul because his coming was not previously announced. The Undersigned cannot believe this to be the true reason for the rejection of Mr. Taylor; and if it really be so, he must observe that the Egbas cannot value the friendship and support of England, or they would not reject him for such a mere formality. The Egbas have often expressed a wish, either directly or indirectly, through the British Resident in Abbeokuta, to have an English Consul sent to them, and if they have changed their minds they should have said so in a friendly manner, instead of dismissing him in the insolent and haughty way they have done, and then putting forward an excuse so shallow that a mere child could see its falseness.

Her Majesty the Queen was graciously pleased to appoint a Vice-Consul to reside in Abbeokuta in order to cultivate and increase the friendly relations which formerly existed between the English and the Egbas, and the latter, by refusing to receive him, have grossly insulted Her Gracious Majesty. They have not insulted Mr. Taylor, for they had no objection to him personally, but only in his official capacity. They have not insulted the Undersigned, for he was merely obeying the command of his Sovereign in sending Mr. Taylor on to Abbeokuta with a recommendation to the Alake, Bashorun, and Chiefs. They have not insulted the British nation, for there are British merchants and others still living in Abbeokuta in peace and friendship with the natives. But they have insulted, and grossly insulted, our Gracious Sovereign, and her only; and every Englishman who is a real Englishman at heart will feel this insult to his beloved Queen, and be indignant against those who have offered it, more than if it had been offered to himself.

What is the use of the Egbas professing gratitude to the Queen of England for restoring to them their captured children, sending them missionaries and merchants, and conferring other favours on them, when they refuse to accept her messenger of friendship? How can the Alake, Bashorun, and Chiefs be believed by the Queen when they say one thing with their mouth and another by their actions?

The Undersigned agrees with the Alake, Bashorun, and Chiefs of Abbeokuta that things have arisen to spoil their friendship; but who has caused these things to arise? Who have robbed loads from the messengers of the Queen of England going to the Niger, and never made compensation for the stolen things? Who insulted the Representative of the Queen of England, late Acting Consul Mc Coskry, telling him not to interfere in their affairs, as they can make peace with their enemies when it is good for them? Who made a Treaty with Her Majesty's Government, through Commander Bedingfeld, on the 7th of November last, and have since perpetually broken the 1st Article of the same by not closing the road to Okeodan and other places by which slaves are sent to the coast for exportation; and further, by not punishing those of their own people who have broken this law? Who have been kidnapping and selling into slavery hundreds of the inhabitants of the town of Ijaye, whom they professed to be protecting? Who have been trying to kidnap women in Lagos and send them up to Abbeokuta? Who have been seizing Lagos people in Abbeokuta; and who have been threatening to stop the Lagos canoes, instead of applying to the proper authorities and Courts in Lagos for redress or justice? Who have been besieging the town of Makun at the request of a neighbouring King, and without any complaint of their own against the townspeople, and thus stopping commerce with the interior of Yoruba? Who has done all these things but the Alake, Bashorun, and Chiefs of Abbeokuta? And yet the Undersigned, Representative of the British Government, has but rarely been heard to protest, trusting always that the establishment of Her Majesty's Vice-Consul would smooth all difficulties, and remove all cause of disputes.

Has not England granted assistance to Abbeokuta against Dahomey when asked to do so; and did the Alake, Bashorun, and Chiefs ask assistance this year when Ishagga was destroyed? Do they consider that it is the duty of the Undersigned to keep watch for them, to inform them when the Dahomians are coming, and then to protect them? Do they not rather know, that when they require aid they must ask for it?

It is perfectly unimportant to the prosperity of the Colony of Lagos whether the Egbas receive or reject the British Vice-Consul, and the Undersigned will therefore merely send him back to England, and leave to Her Majesty's Government to demand the reparation they may choose for the insult offered to Her Majesty by the Egba authorities; but the Undersigned will always hold the Alake, Bashorun, and Chiefs of Abbeokuta responsible for any injury done to the persons or property of British subjects, Lagos people, or others under the protection of the British Government, as well as for any injury or insult offered to the Lagos Government or the Colony itself.

Finally, the Undersigned, as a true friend of the Egbas—and a far truer friend than those who tell the Egbas he is their enemy—would earnestly advise the Alake, Bashorun, and Chiefs to repair the error they have committed before it is yet too late. If they now

beg the Undersigned to send back Mr. Taylor, apologise for the indignity offered him, and accept him as a medium of friendly relations between the two Governments, Her Gracious Majesty will, no doubt, be pleased to overlook the previous affront; but if they refuse, and allow him to return to England and say how the Egbas, once the friends of the British, have insultingly dismissed him from their town, with the threat that if he did not leave immediately they would burn the house he was in over his head, they will incur the just and severe anger of Her Majesty's Government, the consequences of which the Undersigned will not enlarge upon, as not only the Alake, Bashorun, and Chiefs, but every individual Egba can well imagine them himself.

(Signed)

HY. STANHOPE FREEMAN.

Inclosure 5 in No. 23.

The Alake and Chiefs of Abbeokuta to Consul Freeman.

Sir,

Abbeokuta, June 24, 1862.

THE Alake, Bashorun, and Chiefs, desire me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of June 14, with their best respects and greetings.

They are sorry to give offence: they desire their acts not to be viewed in that light. They beg leave to say that they do not in any sense mean to be disrespectful, or to be thought ungrateful to Her Majesty the Queen of England; they are exceedingly sorry their acts should appear to be so. They hope to be able by-and-bye to explain their conduct so as to give a right view of it. They beg most respectfully to decline your Excellency's offer, and to acknowledge your kindness in renewing it after they had sent Mr. Taylor away.

I remain, &c.

(Signed)

D. WILLIAMS.

No. 24.

Consul Freeman to Earl Russell.—(Received August 11.)

My Lord,

Lagos, July 8, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 23rd May, informing me that Her Majesty's Government are about to send an expedition up the Niger to communicate with Dr. Baikie, and instructing me to give the officer in command any advice and assistance in my power.

A courier from Dr. Baikie reached this after much difficulty about three weeks ago. He brought, besides a letter to me demanding supplies, a packet of despatches for your

Lordship, which I transmit by this mail.

The supplies asked for I shall not attempt to send overland, as they could not reach Lukoja much before the expedition up the Niger, and it would not, therefore, be worth while to run any risk for the sake of gaining so little time.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

HY. STANHOPE FREEMAN.

No. 25.

Earl Russell to Consul Freeman.

Sir,

Foreign Office, August 23, 1862.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 7th ultimo, together with its inclosures, relative to the refusal of the Chiefs of Abbeokuta to receive Mr. Taylor in his official character as British Vice-Consul at that place, and I have to acquaint you that I approve the letter which you addressed to the Chiefs relative to their conduct in this matter.

You will inform the Chiefs that, after the insult offered by them to the Queen and people of this country, no Consular officer will be sent to Abbeokuta until an ample apology shall have been made by the Chiefs of that place for their treatment of Mr. Taylor.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

RUSSELL.

No. 26.

Consul Freeman to Earl Russell.—(Received October 13.)

My Lord,

Lagos, August 8, 1862.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 7th of July, I have the honour to state that, in order to bring about a better understanding with the people of Abbeokuta, I proposed to pay the Alake a visit.

My proposal has, however, been rejected by the Alake and Chiefs for the present, upon the plea that the people of Abbeokuta are too excited against the English for a visit from me to do any good.

It is unfortunate that this attempt of mine to obtain an opportunity of explaining openly to the Egbas the position we hold towards one another should have failed, for every day is widening the breach between us caused originally by our objecting to, and not assisting them in, their war with Ibadan; and then increased by the idea which designing people have put into their heads, that a Vice-Consul was only sent to Abbeokuta to be superseded eventually, as at Lagos, by a Governor.

Mr. McCoskry, late Acting Consul, has been acting as Commissioner in the Slave Court since my arrival here, and in the course of his duty has given free papers to a few slaves who have run away from Abbeokuta.

Probably the Egbas will not believe that British law and justice are the causes of their losing their slaves, for whom, however, redemption-money was to be paid, especially as their advisers, some of the British missionaries in Abbeokuta, in the journal they publish, called the "Iwe Irohin," openly blame this Government for not sending back their runaway slaves; though they cannot be ignorant of the fact that the fate of the slaves, if returned, would be either death or brutal ill-treatment, and afterwards re-sale to some other place, probably Whydah.

Whether or not the Egbas think Mr. McCoskry acts merely according to his own caprice, and without regard to British law, they are determined to have their revenge of him; and his agent at Abbeokuta has been threatened on various occasions. One day a party of 100 armed men entered his factory with intent to rob the place, and they were only persuaded to depart on the payment of 14*l.*, which the Chief said was the value of a runaway slave, whom he considered ought to have been returned to him by this Government. Other people have sent notice to Mr. McCoskry's agent that they are coming to obtain indemnity for the loss of their slaves; and the Alake and Chiefs, though applied to, say they can do nothing, and the money had better be paid.

Another Egba has caused to be seized in Abbeokuta some relations of Mr. Davis, Head of the Liberated African Yard in Lagos, because there happens to be a runaway slave of his in that Department.

I have sent a remonstrance to the Alake and Chiefs demanding the release of Mr. Davis' relations, and restitution of the money taken from Mr. McCoskry's factory. I much fear, however, that my remonstrance will have little effect, for the Alake and Chiefs seem to have no power. The real cause of all the disputes with the Egbas is that there is literally no Government. There is unquestionably a large party devoted to commerce and desiring peace; but, on the other hand, there is the war party which, though small, does what it likes, there being no Head with sufficient power and authority to control them.

These considerations induce a fear that we shall not bring the Egbas to reason by any but coercive means. When Dahomey organizes another expedition against Abbeokuta they may, perhaps, again seek our friendship; but I rather doubt it, as they say the English are strong on the coast on account of their ships, but can do nothing inland. If they persist in their opposition, stopping their trade from Lagos to Porto Novo would, I am certain, soon bring them to terms, as it is a measure which would be felt by every member of the community.

I therefore trust that your Lordship will sanction my adopting this course if I should think it necessary.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HY. STANHOPE FREEMAN.

Consul Freeman to Earl Russell.—(Received October 13.)

(Extract.)

Lagos, August 10, 1862.

HAVING only received the inclosed copy of a letter addressed to the Commodore late last night, I have barely time to forward it to your Lordship with a few hasty observations.

I have every reason to believe in the truth of Mr. Euschart's statements, as I was informed some time since from Whydah that the King of Dahomey had sent down to that town to say that as he had heard a great deal of Dutchmen, but had never seen one, if there should be one at Whydah he was desired to come up to Abomey.

My letter to King Badahun has never received a reply, which is accounted for by the brutal massacre of the prisoners from Ishagga. No Sierra Leone emigrant but Mr. Doherty having been taken, the sixteen men and sixteen women mentioned by Mr. Euschart were probably dressed up in European clothes and called Sierra Leone emigrants to impress the Europeans with the King's little dread of their power.

I cannot help thinking that Mr. Euschart's estimate of the Dahomian army is much overrated, when it is considered the immense space 50,000 of even the best disciplined troops would cover, and the length of time they would take marching past.

Inclosure in No. 27.

Commander Perry to Consul Freeman.

Sir,

"Griffon," at Little Popoe, August 6, 1862.

I THINK it my duty to lay before you, with as little delay as possible, the following information concerning Dahomey.

On the 5th of August when at anchor off Little Popoe, I received a letter from the shore stating that Mr. Euschart, a Dutch merchant residing at Popoe, had just returned from Dahomey, and that he had news of great interest for my ear.

This Mr. Euschart I have had frequent conversations with; and I have every reason to believe that his information is most accurate, trustworthy, and reliable. I therefore borrowed a surf boat from a Dutch brig then lying in the roads, and having manned her with ten of my own kroomen I with great difficulty effected a landing, two boats out of three that tried the beach that day being capsized, owing to the very heavy surf.

I give the substance of Mr. Euschart's information as closely as possible. I jotted it down in my note-book during our conversation.

It appears that Mr. Euschart went to Whydah on trade business in the middle of June, and on the 24th June, while still at Whydah, he received the stick of the King of Dahomey, with an instruction that his presence was required at Abomey, Mr. Euschart tried every method of evading the journey, but without avail; the Cabooceers of Whydah plainly telling him that he would be carried to Abomey as a prisoner, if he did not at once willingly obey the King's message.

Accordingly at 1 p. m. of June 26th having provided himself with six hammock men, he left Whydah for Abomey escorted by an armed party of Dahomians; reached Alada, the old residence of the King of Dahomey the same evening; June 27th, 1 p. m., left Alada and arrived at Tabour at 10 p. m.; June 28th, 5:30 a. m., started for Kannos through swamp—very little water over swamp and easily passed; 9:30 a. m. started, and arrived outside Abomey at 7:30 p. m.: the road the whole way having been very good.

He was at once shown into a very fair house and told to remain there during the night.

June 29.—Received a message from the King that he was to be presented the next day.

June 30.—Entered walled part of town through Royal gate; received there by two head Cabooceers, who saluted him, saying, King had never seen a Dutchman, King's father had never seen a Dutchman, and now they had plenty of people to kill they were very glad to see a Dutchman.

He was then ordered to drink the King's health four times, after which the Cabooceers danced round him, singing and firing guns.

He was then conducted to King's palace and received there by Prime Minister, who told him the King would receive him next day.

July 1 —Received by the King, who was seated outside of palace on a raised dais surrounded by Amazons. He saluted the King in European style. The King at once got up and shook hands with him, said he was very glad to see a Dutchman, and continued talking

in Portuguese for about ten minutes ; he was then ordered to return to his house and keep inside three days.

July 5.—He was brought to the market-place, where he was told many had been killed the night before. He first saw the body of Mr. Wm. Doherty (a Sierra Leone man), late a Missionary and Church Catechist at Ishagga ; the body was crucified against a large tree, one nail through the forehead, one through the heart, and one through each hand and foot : the left arm was bent and a large cotton umbrella in the grasp.

He was then taken to the market, where the King was seated on a raised platform from which he was talking to the people much "war palaver," and promising them an attack on Abbeokuta in November ; cowries, cloth, and rum were then distributed. In front of market-place rows of human heads, fresh and gory, were ranged, and the whole place was saturated with blood ; the heads evidently belonging to some of the Ishagga prisoners who had been killed during the night, after having been tortured in the most frightful manner.

Until July 10th Mr. Euschart was ordered to remain quiet in his house, and not to move or look out after sundown.

July 10.—The ground shook violently ; evidently, from the date, the effect of the earthquake felt at Accra. Mr. Euschart was at once brought to the market-place, where he found the King again seated on the raised platform surrounded by Amazons. The King told him that the "ground shaking" was his father's spirit complaining that "customs were not made proper."

Three Ishagga Chiefs were then brought before the King and told they were to go and tell his father that "customs should be better than ever ;" each Chief was then given a bottle of rum and a head of cowries, and then decapitated. Twenty-four men were then brought out bound in baskets, with their heads just showing out, and placed on the platform before the King ; they were then thrown down to the people, who were dancing, singing and yelling below. As each man was thrown down he was seized and beheaded, the heads being piled in one heap, and the bodies in another ; every man who caught a victim and cut the head off, received one head of cowries (about 2s.).

After all were killed Mr. Euschart was conducted home.

July 11.—Taken to another part of the town, where exactly similar horrors were being perpetrated.

July 12.—All the platforms were taken down, and the programme appeared to be, firing guns, singing and dancing all day ; there were no more public sacrifices for ten days, but it is supposed many took place during the nights.

July 22.—Taken to see the "grand customs" at the palace of late King, at the gates of which two platforms had been erected. On each platform sixteen men and four horses were placed. Inside the house was placed another platform, on which were placed sixteen women, four horses, and one alligator : the men and women were all Sierra Leone people captured at Ishagga, and were dressed in European clothes ; each group, sixteen men, seated or rather bound in chairs placed round a table, on which glasses of rum were placed for each.

The King then ascended the platform, where he adored the Dahomian fetish, and seemed to make obeisance to the prisoners, whose right arms were then loosed to enable them to take up the glasses to drink the King's health. After the King's health had been drunk, the effects of the late King were paraded and worshipped by the people as they passed ; a grand review of the "troops" then commenced, and as each marched past, the King harangued them and promised the sack of Abbeokuta in November.

Nearly the whole of the troops wore fire-arms ; a few select corps had rifles, but the greater part were armed with flint-lock muskets.

The artillery consisted of about twenty-four guns (12-pounders) ; the number of troops altogether could scarcely have been less than 50,000, including 10,000 Amazons, all apparently well-disciplined troops. After the review was over the prisoners were beheaded, their heads being hacked off with blunt knives ; at same time the horses and alligators were despatched, particular care being taken that their blood should mingle with that of the human prisoners.

When all was finished Mr. Euschart was permitted to leave Abomey, which it is needless to say he immediately did, having received the magnificent "viatica" of eight heads of cowries (16s.), one piece of country cloth, and two flasks of rum.

Mr. Euschart firmly believes that Abbeokuta will, without a doubt, be attacked by the whole Dahomian army towards the end of November.

I have, &c.
(Signed) T. L. PERRY.

No. 28.

Consul Freeman to Earl Russell.—(Received October 11.)

(Extract.)

Lagos, September 5, 1862.

IN reply to your Lordship's despatch of the 23rd June, informing me that the expedition up the Niger this year would be confined to conveying supplies to Dr. Baikie, and that Her Majesty's ship "Investigator," Lieutenant Commander Lefroy, would be employed for this purpose, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that the instructions from the Admiralty having been transmitted through Commodore Edmonstone, who was at Ascension, Lieutenant Lefroy did not receive them until the 23rd ultimo, and on the 28th he left Lagos, having been delayed two days by the roughness of the sea on the bar.

A further delay will be experienced by his having to proceed to Fernando Po for the supplies for Dr. Baikie, which were forwarded by Her Majesty's Government to that Island.

I trust, however, that the "Investigator" may have reached the mouth of the Nun on the 3rd instant, where she will have found Her Majesty's ship "Brisk," Captain Luce, waiting to coal her and start her on her voyage up the Niger. In spite of the lateness of the season, the lightness of her draft will, no doubt, enable her to perform her up and down journeys without any mishap.

No. 29.

Consul Freeman to Earl Russell.—(Received October 11.)

My Lord,

Lagos, September 5, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 23rd July, acquainting me that a box containing a coat of mail and gauntlets intended as a present from Her Majesty's Government for Massaba, King of Nupe, had been forwarded to my address by the mail-steamer which left Liverpool on the 24th July, 1862.

The box in question was duly delivered to me from the mail-steamer on its arrival here on the 21st ultimo, and I forwarded it by Lieutenant Lefroy, Her Majesty's ship "Investigator," to Massaba, King of Nupe, accompanying it with a letter to that Chief.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HY. STANHOPE FREEMAN.

No. 30.

Consul Freeman to Earl Russell.—(Received October 11.)

My Lord,

Lagos, September 8, 1862.

I REGRET to have to inform your Lordship that affairs in the Benin river are in a very disturbed state, and without the employment of a considerable force peace and safety to life and property cannot be restored.

On the 24th of May the factory of Mr. R. C. Henry was attacked and plundered of a considerable amount of property, and his wife grossly insulted and obliged to fly through the bush and take refuge at another factory, Mr. Henry being absent at the time at the bar. Mrs. Henry has since died from the effects, it is to be feared, of the excitement and exposure.

On receiving information from Mr. Henry, I applied to the Senior Naval Officer to send a vessel down to the Benin. Her Majesty's ship "Bloodhound" was ordered to the Benin in consequence; Lieutenant Stokes, her Commander, being instructed to inquire into the matter. Lieutenant Stokes, however, did not even cross the bar, and returned without investigating the affair, or bringing me any further information than I had received before.

Having received another letter from Mr. Henry, I applied again, on the 28th July, to the Senior Officer to send a vessel down, which he promised to do so soon as he should be able.

In the meantime, however, Mr. Henry went down to Fernando Po in the mail, and there stated to Her Majesty's Consul, Captain Burton, that he could not return to Benin unless the matter were taken up by Government.

Captain Burton upon this made a requisition on Her Majesty's ship "Bloodhound," to take Mr. Henry back. This time Lieutenant Stokes crossed the bar, and remained three weeks in the river, while Captain Burton, who had accompanied him, went on a trip up to the town of Benin. The "Bloodhound" subsequently came on to Lagos, bringing Mr. Henry and Captain Burton; and the latter gentleman addressed me a letter, of which I inclose herewith a copy.

Lieutenant Stokes, however, reported nothing to me, and anchored so far out that his Senior Officer, Lieutenant-Commander Glover, could not signalize with him from Her Majesty's gun-boat "Handy" inside this river. The "Bloodhound" thus left again without my being able to communicate with Lieutenant Stokes.

I doubt not but that I shall soon hear from Captain Luce, R.N., Senior Officer in the Bights, whether he has taken any measures, and I will then inform your Lordship; and if I can possibly manage to leave my post, I shall proceed myself to Benin. Unfortunately, however, in consequence of the lack of Government officials at Lagos at present, the direction of every department falls upon myself, which of course prevents me from going any distance from the seat of the Government.

As Mr. Henry has expressed to me his intention of bringing his affair forward in England, I think it my duty to mention that he is perpetually in dispute with the natives. In the present case, he came out to collect bad debts, partly on account of his creditors, he having failed in business. He addressed me a letter from the mail-steamer on his way down the coast, informing me that he was going to collect debts to the amount of 20,000*l.*, and he wished to know to whom he should apply for redress in the event of any outrage being committed on him.

From this he appears to have been prepared for an outrage, and, I fear, did not try to avoid it, hoping thereby to obtain the interference of Her Majesty's Government to collect his debts, and little dreaming the lengths to which the natives would go, and the sad consequences which would result to his own family.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HY. STANHOPE FREEMAN.

Inclosure in No. 30.

Consul Burton to Consul Freeman.

Sir,

Lagos, August 30, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to bring the following circumstances to your notice.

On the 28th of July I received an emergent application from Mr. Henry, a merchant in the Benin River, stating that he could not return there without assistance from Government. I offered to conduct him back and to remain in the river until your wishes were known, to which purport a requisition was made by me upon Lieutenant-Commander Stokes, Her Majesty's ship "Bloodhound."

We left Fernando Po on the 1st August, and entered the Benin River on the 3rd. On the 4th the supercargoes requested me, provisionally, to suspend the trade, and on the 6th August the whole affair was officially reported to you. The boat, however, was capsized; the man Rugg, who commanded her, was drowned; and her crew of four or five Kroomen have been made prisoners and are still held for ransom by the villainous Yakri men.

Whilst awaiting your reply, Lieutenant-Commander Stokes and I, accompanied by Messrs. Henry and White, visited the cities of Warru and Benin. My conclusion is that the state of anarchy now existing in the lower river cannot be modified by the Kings and Princes of those once important places.

During our absence, however, Her Majesty's ship "Bloodhound" was enabled to lend important aid to Messrs. Harrison's factory, which the Kroomen had threatened to burn.

When informed of the loss of the boat it was judged advisable to visit Lagos in person and to lay the details before your Excellency. The "Bloodhound" had remained nearly three weeks in the River Benin without any effect. Nothing, indeed, but the strongest measures, which of course I was not authorized to undertake, can put us in possession of the villain Akabwa. He is extensively connected, has some power of his own, and his village is situated up a narrow creek some fifteen miles from the sea.

Matters have been allowed to proceed to such a point that the removal of trade from the Benin to its eastern neighbour the Escados is, perhaps, the sole measure that would cause the rendition of the criminals.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RICHD. F. BURTON.

No. 31.

Earl Russell to Consul Freeman.

Sir,

Foreign Office, October 23, 1862.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 8th of August last, reporting that the Egbas at Abbeokuta have, in one instance, imprisoned some relatives of Mr. Davis, the head of the Liberated African Yard at Lagos; and in another case have robbed Mr. McCoskry's agent at Abbeokuta, in retaliation for the refusal of the authorities at Lagos to give up to their owners some slaves who had escaped thither from Abbeokuta; and I have to acquaint you that I approve of your having demanded from the Alake and Chiefs of Abbeokuta the surrender of Mr. Davis's relations, and the restitution of Mr. McCoskry's money.

With regard, however, to your request that you may be authorized to stop the trade from Lagos and Porto Novo to Abbeokuta in the event, which you anticipate, of the refusal of the Alake and Chiefs to accede to your demands, I have to state to you that I think it will be advisable to refrain, for the present, from taking any hostile measures such as you suggest against the Abbeokutans.

Her Majesty's Government would prefer that time should, if possible, be allowed for the present hostile feeling to subside, which has not unnaturally been engendered on the part of the Abbeokutans by finding that their slaves have a secure refuge in the neighbouring Colony of Lagos.

If, however, the Abbeokutans should refuse to release Mr. Davis's relations and to compensate Mr. McCoskry for his losses, you will warn them that, sooner or later, Her Majesty's Government will exact reparation for any injuries which may be committed on British subjects; and you will consult with Commodore Wilmot as to any measures short of actual hostilities which it may be practicable to adopt with the view to bring the Abbeokutans to reason, but you will not carry any such measures into effect without reference to me.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 32.

Mr. Layard to Consul Freeman.

Sir,

Foreign Office, October 31, 1862.

I AM directed by Earl Russell to refer you to his Lordship's despatch of the 24th of March last, by which you were directed to report whether any steps had been taken by the Alake and Chiefs of Abbeokuta to make good the value of the articles belonging to the Niger Expedition which were stolen in the year 1860, whilst on their passage through the country over which the Abbeokutan Chiefs claim jurisdiction.

As no report has been received from you on this subject, I am to desire that you will inform Lord Russell what steps you took in execution of the instructions conveyed to you in his Lordship's despatch of the 24th of March; and, in the event of restitution not having been yet made, you will again call upon the Chiefs of Abbeokuta for compensation.

I am, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

No. 33.

Consul Freeman to Earl Russell.—(Received November 11.)

My Lord,

Lagos, October 3, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that I have received a letter from the Bashorun and Chiefs of Abbeokuta, informing me of the decease of the Alake on the 4th September.

The late Chief possessed so little influence in the country over which he was Sovereign, that I fear there is little chance of this loss to the Egbas having any influence on their policy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HY. STANHOPE FREEMAN.

No. 34.

Consul Freeman to Earl Russell.—(Received November 11.)

My Lord,

Lagos, October 8, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to report that Her Majesty's ship "Griffon," Commander Perry, captured off Whydah, on the 23rd ultimo, a vessel, name and nation unknown, fully equipped for the Slave Trade, but with no slaves on board, having been prevented from shipping a cargo by the presence of Her Majesty's ship "Mullet," in the Whydah Roads. The vessel was brought into Lagos harbour on the 29th ultimo, and was condemned to Her Majesty on the 3rd instant in the Vice-Admiralty Court of this Settlement.

This is the first slaver that has been taken in the Bights for four years, and I trust it will be followed by other captures; for the slave-depôts at Whydah are overcrowded at present, and every effort will be made to make a shipment.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HY. STANHOPE FREEMAN.

No. 35.

Consul Freeman to Earl Russell.—(Received December 13.)

(Extract.)

Lagos, October 29, 1862.

I REGRET to have to inform your Lordship that a shipment of slaves on board a steamer under French colours* was effected at Aghwey at about 11 o'clock on the morning of the 20th instant. The number of slaves shipped was 1,007.

This successful shipment is another proof of the correctness of my opinion, stated on several occasions to your Lordship, that it is impossible to suppress the Slave Trade by cruisers alone, however active and energetic their commanders may be, as the slave-dealers find means of obtaining most precise information respecting their movements.

In the present instance, the cruisers were all on the alert, expecting the steamer which was to have shipped the slaves at Whydah, but the coast being so closely watched, the slaves were sent by lagoon to Aghwey to be embarked there. Her Majesty's steam-sloop "Griffon," Commander Perry, seeing a French steamer appear, gave chase, but the suspected vessel turned out to be a French man-of-war, the "Lamotte Piquet," Commander de Fevre. The "Griffon," however, had burned all her fuel in the chase, and was forced to proceed to Fernando Po to coal, when the expected French slaver ran in, and succeeded in carrying off her cargo.

No. 36.

Consul Freeman to Earl Russell.—(Received December 13.)

(Extract.)

Lagos, November 1, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to report that Her Majesty's ship "Investigator," Lieutenant-Commander Lefroy, arrived in the Lagos Roads from the Niger on the evening of the 25th ultimo.

The next morning, in attempting to enter the river, she went ashore on the west side of the bar, owing to her course being laid on the old marks, the bar having entirely changed during her absence of two months from Lagos. About half-past 4, however, she got off again with a rising tide, and steamed out to the anchorage.

The ship was but little strained, and the only casualty was the loss of a white man, who jumped into the sea to try and save a very fine horse that Lieutenant Lefroy was bringing down from the Niger for me.

The "Investigator" afterwards entered the river on the 27th, and she will proceed to Sierra Leone in a day or two to repair any damage she may have sustained.

I regret to say that Lieutenant Lefroy was unable to communicate with Dr. Baikie, the latter gentleman being absent from Lukoja on a journey to Kano and Sokoto.

The "Investigator" having left the stores at Lukoja proceeded up to Rabba, from whence Lieutenant Lefroy journeyed by land to King Massaba, who was encamped with his army about seven days' journey distant, and who sent down horses to bring the party up.

* This vessel turned out to be the Spanish steamer "*Noc d'Aqui*," owned by M. Zulueta, of Cuba.

King Massaba was very pleased to see a British officer, though he was evidently annoyed that his friend Mr. Glover had not been sent. He was delighted with the coat of mail presented by Her Majesty's Government, saying it was a proof he is not forgotten in England. Lieutenant Lefroy also delivered to King Massaba a letter from me, informing him of the cession of Lagos to the British Crown, and begging him to combine with me to open and make safe the roads in the interior.

The King said that he was then at war at the wish of the Emir of Sokoto, chastising and taking the country of the Gamberi, who for years have interrupted the direct communication between Sokoto and Rabba. He then added that he would make it his first business, on his return from the war expedition, which would be ended in two or three months, to send down messengers to me and open the road as far as his influence extends, as he is very anxious for trade with the English.

There seems, at the present moment a slight bending towards peace between the Egbas and Ibadans.

If any substantial result should accrue from the negotiations, I shall immediately endeavour to send off messengers to the Niger, to communicate with King Massaba and Dr. Baikie.

AFRICA. (*Consular*)—*Bight of Biafra.*

No. 37.

Consul Burton to Earl Russell.—(Received January 10, 1862.)

(Extract.)

Lagos, November 20, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to report that, on the 8th October, Commodore Edmonstone offered me a passage in Her Majesty's ship "Arrogant," which I accepted, for the purpose of finding a gun-boat at Lagos to enable me officially to visit the oil rivers. We left Fernando Po on the 10th ultimo, arrived at Lagos on the 14th October, and there I was delayed a fortnight by a slight attack of the usual seasoning-fever.

Commander Bedingfeld, Senior Naval Officer of the Bights Division, was proposing to visit Abbeokuta, and I availed myself of his kind offer to accompany him. On the 29th ultimo we set out in two gigs, manned by kroomen, the party consisting of Commander Bedingfeld, Dr. Eales, of Her Majesty's ship "Prometheus," and myself.

Our ascent of the river (seventy-six to seventy-seven miles from Lagos to Abbeokuta) occupied four days, and I assisted Commander Bedingfeld in making a sketch-survey of the river.

With respect to the Ogun, or Abbeokuta River, it is perennially navigable for flat-bottomed steamers and large boats as far as Igáon, a village about twenty-six miles distant from Lagos. Beyond that point, gigs and canoes can make Agbameya, the town landing-place of Abbeokuta, and even Aro, six miles beyond Agbameya, during the greatest part of the year.

Yoruba generally appears to be sufficiently provided with water-communication, forming a great contrast to British India. The lagoons everywhere subtending the coast, are a natural system of canalization, and the influence of such highways upon cotton exportation cannot fail to be of the utmost importance.

Arrived at Agbameya on the 1st November, we mounted horses, and, accompanied by two gentlemen of the Church Missionary Society, rode over the eight miles of ground between the landing-place and Aké, the head-quarter village of Abbeokuta, or, as it is locally called, Understone.

During our week's stay at Aké I saw, in company with Commander Bedingfeld and Dr. Eales, the Alake, or Chief, who calls himself King, of Abbeokuta, four times. I also embraced every opportunity of making myself acquainted with the position of affairs, now in a somewhat abnormal state, and with the prospects of cotton-growing and the return of peace.

Though expecting to find some exaggeration in the published accounts upon the now-popular subject of cotton-growing, I was pleasantly disappointed with Yoruba. The country and the climate are both admirably adapted for the shrub, and, as has been remarked, they offer water-carriage till railroads can be opened. Tappa, one of the Cabooceers, or Chiefs, of Epé, has, amongst others, reported his desire to enter into the industry, and only wants an instructor from Europe. His example will be followed by others, if encouraged, and if proper persons (not any chance-comer, with a black face and a glib tongue) are sent out by the Cotton Association, cotton will soon rival the palm tree as an extinguisher of the Slave Trade.

But at Abbeokuta cotton-growing now labours under the disadvantage of a war. The first export was in 1854, when, under the superintendence of the missionaries, a few bales found their way to the coast. The growth, it is reckoned, doubled every year till about September 1859, when hostilities began. The Cotton Association of Manchester confidently expected for that year 20,000, and received only 3,447, bales.

Still I look forward to better times.

Cotton may be bought at Abbeokuta for 3*d.* to 4*d.* per lb. cleaned, and shipped at Lagos for 4*d.* to 4½*d.* It is always worth 6*d.* in the English market. Freightage is at

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present 1*d.* per lb., as dear as Indian and about double the American; but the steamers have, as it were, a monopoly. On the seaboard, a longer and a better staple, rather resembling the Egyptian than the Indian, can be made to grow. I have visited the cotton-fields from Baroda to Texas, and have rarely seen the various requisite conditions for producing a first-rate article so well combined as in Yoruba.

The Egbas, or people of Abbeokuta, are a race of farmers, bred to moderate work, and the population (about ten souls per square mile) makes the country independent of immigration. There is, at present, far too much liberty, or rather licence. The Alake has neither the power nor the state of the smallest Indian Rajah; moreover, as usual in these African semi-Republican tribes, "every man," as their own proverb has it, "is King in his own house." This, however, will cease. As individual wealth and importance increase, some man will succeed in making himself King.

The war between Abbeokuta and Ibadan has already lasted twenty-one months. The nominal cause, advanced by the Abbeokutans, is a patriotic and laudable desire to recover the ancestral soil of which they were dispossessed about half-a-century ago, when the great Moslem-Fula movement, pressing northwards from the Niger upon Yoruba, drew Yoruba south upon the Egbas, and occasioned intestine feuds which ended in the dispersion of the latter tribe.

The real object of the war is rather of the present than of the past. Abbeokuta, considerably puffed up by the attentions of England, and by dealing with missionaries, merchants, and others, who pay court to her, has resolved to constitute herself sole medium and channel of trade between the interior and the maritime countries, which exclusion from the seaboard the Ibadans of course will not endure. The proceeding is purely African. It is found throughout the country southwards. At Brass, Bonny, Calabar, and Cameroons, for instance, the towns are mere settlements of factors, or middle men, who live in plenty and idleness upon brokerage between the "bushman" and the white trader. Abbeokuta naturally aims at the African's *summum bonum*—wealth without work. Ibadan of course demands a free passage to the sea-coast, ever a *sine quâ non* of African prosperity.

The quarrel is now waxing stale, but it is complicating itself. The people of Ijaye were the *cheval de bataille*. Attacked by the Ibadans, they called in to their assistance the Abbeokutans, and they have had occasion to regret the step. The hapless tribe has, it is said, seen some thousands of their number sold off by their allies, who look upon them as Commissariat, seized by their enemies and pawned by themselves to prevent starvation. Of late the Abbeokutans have been informed that the Moslems of Ilori are ready to attack Ibadan, a diversion in their favour which, if it take place, will end well for Moslem and badly for Pagan rule. On the other hand, the Ibadans are reported to be intriguing with the King of Dahomey, who, it is said, is already preparing the sacrifices which inaugurate his annual "commando."

The Abbeokutan style of campaigning has been excellently described by the late Captain A. T. Jones, 2nd West India Regiment. It is a truly futile affair. With respect to the letter of that lamented officer, I have to differ with him on one point—his severe treatment of the Egbas for neglecting the ordnance presented to them by the British Government. Had those guns been swivels, wall-pieces, or "zamburaks," they would have been prized and used. Brass 6-pounders are far beyond such barbarians; as the African saying is, they "eat too much powder."

On Thursday, the 7th instant, the Alake and his Civil Chiefs signed, at the instance of Commander Bedingfeld, a Treaty of three Articles:—

1st. They undertook to close all the coast-roads where Ijayan subjects could be exported.

2ndly. They bound themselves to abolish, for ever, human sacrifices.

3rdly. They promised never again to close the Lagos road, but to permit the merchants to hire carriers from that port.

This procedure was the purest complaisance on their part. They promised to enforce exactly what they could not enforce. Hardly had we returned to Lagos before we heard of another human sacrifice at Abbeokuta, perpetrated in open day, and which the Rulers confessed that they were powerless to stop. As all their warriors are volunteers, after the feudal style, an occasional kidnapping of Ijayes may be defined to be their pay, allowances, and rations. One point conceded, however, is important. If the Lagos road be really kept open, the war must die a natural death. As it is, both parties are, I believe, right tired of fighting, though each is unwilling to confess the fact, and perhaps they are at times buoyed up by delusive hopes. At any rate, the Abbeokutans unhesitatingly rejected, in public, our hints touching mediation.

No. 38.

Earl Russell to Consul Burton.

Sir, *Foreign Office, February 26, 1862.*
I AM directed by Earl Russell to transmit to you the accompanying copy of a letter from the African Steam-Ship Company, complaining that a demand has been made by King Pepple upon their agent in the Bonny River for the payment of the sum of 400*l.* in respect to their hulk "William Money," which is used as a store for the reception of fuel for the use of Company's steamers, and not for purposes of trade.

I am to desire that you will inquire into this matter; and if you should find that the demand made upon the African Steam Company's agent is not borne out by the stipulations of the Treaty of the 3rd of October, 1850, between Her Majesty's Government and King Pepple, you will give the King to understand that he cannot be allowed to enforce it, and that he will be held responsible for any charges that he may levy on British shipping that are not authorized by Treaty.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

Inclosure in No. 38.

Mr. Campbell to Sir J. Emerson Tennent.

*African Steam-Ship Company (incorporated by Royal Charter),
3, Mincing Lane, London, February 12, 1862.*

Sir, I HAVE the honour to state that the Directors of this Company have received notice from King Pepple that he has resumed the sovereignty of the River Bonny and its dependencies, and he demands payment of the sum of 400*l.* on this Company's hulk "William Money." This vessel is used as a store for the reception of fuel for the use of Company's steamers, and not for the purposes of trade.

The Directors are anxious to know if there is any Treaty in existence between Her Majesty's Government and King Pepple by which anchorage or other dues are governed, or if there is any authorized scale of rates, and they have desired me to beg the favour of a copy of same, if any such exist.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DUNCAN CAMPBELL, *Secretary.*

No. 39.

Consul Burton to Earl Russell.—(Received March 14.)

(Extract.) *Cameroons Mountains, January 14, 1862.*

I REGRET that an accident has delayed me for nearly three weeks upon these mountains, and has prevented my forwarding the three-monthly Returns, &c., from Fernando Po.

I have the honour to inform your Lordship that on November 21, 1861, I left Lagos in Her Majesty's ship "Bloodhound," Lieutenant-Commander W. D. M. Dolben, and proceeded officially to the "oil rivers." On December 13 the tour was brought prematurely to a close. I was unable to visit the Old Calabar by the illness of the crew, thirteen Europeans out of fifty-five, besides the Commanding Officer and the Chief Engineer, being prostrated by fever.

Perhaps the remarks which occurred to me during the twenty-two days of active work may be deemed worthy of being communicated to your Lordship.

On November 24 we entered the Nun (Niger) River. The Consular jurisdiction of the Bight of Biafra begins westward at Cape Formosa, but where that cape is nobody knows; I am therefore doubtful whether the Nun River is or is not under me. We spent a day lying off the new missionary station at the entrance of the great stream, and I devoted my time to inquiring into the prospects of opening up this north river to commerce and navigation.

The exploration of the Niger has hitherto been unsuccessful for two reasons. Firstly, there has been a clashing of interests, naval, mercantile, and missionary: whereas the three should follow one another in due order. Secondly, establishments upon the Niger would soon destroy the traffic of the Benin, Warri (Warree), and Brass Rivers. The

native traders therefore, egged on by others, have caused that bitter hostility on the part of the natives inhabiting the lower banks of the stream, which still continues to cost us life.

But the Niger will, when opened, export 5*l.* when the three streams above mentioned give 1*d.* I venture to express a hope that this great approach to the heart of Africa will not, at so late a period, be neglected by Government. It will tend to encourage legitimate trade—cotton, indigo, palm oil, and Shea butter, in exchange for cloth, salt, and kola nuts—far more profitable investments than the poisonous rum, and the arms and ammunition, which now form the staple of import, and which the West African merchants, with a curious perversity, will not, though aware of the fact, be persuaded to discontinue. And besides being an adit to trade, the Niger is destined to become the highroad of Central African exploration, and the means, if there be any, of diffusing light throughout the interior of the “dark Continent.”

The hostile villages are five or six in number, between Anjamá and Aboh, on the Lower Niger. They would require some correction, to be followed by the establishment of a certain comey, whose withholding is one of their principal grievances. This might easily be accomplished by two gun-boats (one being required to support the other in case of accidents); the one should be of the class “Locust” and “Spitfire,” now laid up in ordinary; the other, a smaller craft, 40-horse power. With two such vessels, I would set out in July next, and would undertake that after six months not a single shot should again be fired in anger upon the Lower Niger. I have no wish to interfere with Dr. Baikie, who is reported to be working most successfully at the confluence of the Kwora and the Chadda. But the pacification of the river near the sea is wholly beyond his power.

Lieutenant-Commander Dolben has volunteered to command on this service. Captain Alexander Grant, late of the “Dayspring,” and now an agent in the Brass River, has offered his valuable aid as a pilot.

If your Lordship honour us by entertaining the project, we would respectfully suggest the advisability of our personally superintending the outfit of the vessels; providing them, for instance, with extra accommodation, musket-proof mantlets and roundhouses, and other indispensable alterations known only after actual experience; this, however, would be but the work of a week.

From the Nun I proceeded through the Akajja creek, a line never yet passed by a vessel of war, to the adjacent easterly stream, the Brass River. The agents established there were the reverse of conciliatory. I venture to bring to your Lordship’s notice the necessity of my being provided with magisterial powers in order to deal with the peculiar characters trading upon this coast. Brass River had not seen a man of war for nearly three years, and the natives had become peculiarly insolent.

I was compelled to seize a freighted canoe in consequence of my servant, one Selim Agha, employed in the Niger expedition of 1857, having been thrown overboard after paying hire, by the two slaves who had charge of it; and after confiscating twenty-four cotton cloths which were placed on board the “Bloodhound,” I sent the canoe to the beach. The Chiefs of Brass Town were absent, debauching at what is called the annual fair upon the Niger River. I inspected, however, their settlement, and found it well defended with stockades and cannons.

After tracing the Brass River, Lieutenant Dolben and I visited Fishtown, and sketched its creek, which is too shallow for ships, but deep enough for boat navigation. On the 2nd of December he crossed the western bar of the San Nicholas River, and ascended the unexplored stream into the Brass, with which, and the sea, it forms a triangle.

On the next day we left the Brass River, and on the morning following we tried to skirt the eastern side of the San Nicholas bar. The risk of life, however, was too great, and the object to be gained too small, to justify our persevering in the attempt.

On the 5th of December I arrived at the Bonny River, and called upon King Pepple, who had landed on October 15, 1861.

He had dismissed his suite (amongst whom, I regret to say, were two Englishwomen, one unmarried), and was disputing payment with the master of the “Bewley,” a kind of collier, twenty-eight years old, and worth about 300*l.* He had hired it for 200*l.* per mensem, and when he first arrived in the river, he was expending about 5,000*l.* per annum, with the prospect of precarious “comeys.” On the former occasion, when I visited the river unofficially, I did not call upon King Pepple; he was living on board the “Bewley,” and the ship was reported to be most disreputable. The King’s greatest enemy, Kola (Annie) Pepple, has been struck, it is said, with paralysis, caused by the same excesses which crippled his master. I regret to say that Bonny still displays the disgraceful spectacle of human skulls painted and set up after sacrifice in the Juju house. Upon the whole, trade, though somewhat dull, was progressing favourably.

On the 8th of December, I proceeded in company with most of the members of the Bonny Court of Equity to New Calabar River, and visited its friendly and venerable Chief Amakri.

Two hulks had lately been sunk during heavy weather, and from one of them the oil had disappeared, partly, it was reported, by plunder. Amakri, however, promised to recover as much of it as possible, and will, I believe, keep his word. There is, of course, a feud in New Calabar, which, a few days before my visit, nearly brought on a faction fight.

The *causa belli* has been referred to the "Long Juju" upon the Niger, where the richest party, the King's, will win the day. The Bonny River contains, perhaps, 500,000*l.* sterling in British property, and it exports annually a minimum of 15,000 puncheons of palm oil—600,000*l.*

After leaving Bonny I had proposed to visit the Kom Toro or Kom River, a large outlet lying east of the so-called Andony Creek. It is wholly unknown, unnamed even in our best and latest charts; yet its King, Kombo, Chief of the Ahimbola people, who dwell near the mouth, has power to stop, at times, the whole Bonny trade.

No pilot, however, could be procured, and the inclemency of the weather caused us to hurry on in hopes to visit all the oil rivers.

Beyond the Old Calabar is another important mouth, the Rio de Rey. It is capable of supplying a large quantity of oil, and like the Kom Toro deserves an explanation and a survey. With such a craft as the little "Eyo Honesty" which I previously mentioned to your Lordship, I could lay open the whole delta of the Niger, and increase the trade fourfold.

On December 10 we anchored in Amboise Bay at the foot of the Cameroons mountains, where Victoria, the new primary station, lies. The mass of highlands is beautiful after the flat mangrove coast to the east and west, and I have every reason to believe that the anchorage is excellent and the entrance is safe, and easy even during the heavy surf of the rainy season. It is, however, the interest of Fernando Po to spread evil reports, which have been too easily credited.

On the next day we arrived at the Cameroons River and anchored off the Mission House. The trade is in a most disorderly state, simply because Cameroons, like Old Calabar, is a "trust river," and the European traders cannot or will not form a Court of Equity like that of the Bonny River. In the Cameroons there are four Chiefs: Priso Bell, Bonny Bell, King Acqua, and Dicto, all of whom are deep in blood feuds. A man, even after thirty, is liable to be called a "boy" unless he has been happy enough to murder some fellow creature. When so miscalled, the "boy" mans his war canoes, attacks the first unfortunate fisherman or small trader on the river and slaughters him in cold blood. Reprisals naturally ensue, and perhaps the "boy" is killed. Several affairs of the kind still await my arbitration.

I summoned the three principal Chiefs, and with some difficulty persuaded them to sign an additional Article to a Treaty concluded with them by Mr. Hutchinson, my predecessor, in July, 1859; and I have the honour to forward a copy of it (with the original of the Additional Article) to your Lordship. When a gun-boat shall be permanently stationed in the Bight of Biafra the agreement will be kept, but not till then. The Chiefs are thoroughly demoralized by contact with the worst class of Europeans, and one of them, King Acqua, lately required summary expulsion from a British man-of-war.

On December 13 we left the Cameroons River, when I pledged myself to return soon in order to settle the blood-money due upon the latter murders. At 10.45 p.m. in the same night we reached Fernando Po; as usual there is nothing to do there. The whole work of the Consul lies in the "oil rivers."

On December 18 I left Fernando Po in Her Majesty's ship "Bloodhound," and landed once more at Victoria.

On the next day I set out in company with the Rev. A. Saker of the Cameroons Mission, Señor Iturburu, the Civil and Criminal Judge at Fernando Po, and Mr. Gustav Mann, Government Botanist in West Africa, to explore, ascend, and survey the Cameroons mountains, an admirable site for a sanitarium, a convict station, or a colony of liberated Africans. I shall be able to report our proceedings by the next mail.

P.S.—Since requesting your Lordship's permission to set out on a mission to His Majesty of Dahomey, I have heard from reliable sources that the King, warned by the fate of Porto Novo, is ready and willing to come to terms with the British Government; thus perhaps the effusion of blood may be prevented.

Inclosure in No. 39.

Agreement with the Chiefs of the Cameroons River, signed July 8, 1859; and Additional Article, signed December 13, 1861.

Hulk "Alexander Grant," Cameroons River, July 8, 1859.

AN Agreement is this day entered into between Thomas Joseph Hutchinson, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul for the Bight of Biafra, in behalf of Her Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria on the one part, and the Chiefs of the Cameroons, in behalf of themselves and their people, on the other part.

That for the future the conditions of an Agreement made and signed on the 11th of May, 1842, between Captain William Allen, R.N., a Commissioner of the Niger expedition of 1841-42, and Acqua as well as Bell, the "two Chiefs of Dualla," be considered, as it was then declared, "to stand for ever."

That is to say, all human sacrifice for pagan worship or for other circumstances or customs be from this day henceforward entirely disused and abolished.

In confirmation of this Agreement we hereby affix our signatures and marks.

(Signed) THOMAS HUTCHINSON, *Her Majesty's Consul.*
 BONNY BELL, his X mark.
 PRIESO BELL, his X mark.
 JOSSE, his X mark.
 KING ACQUA, his X mark.

Witnesses :

(Signed) H. BAKINGTON.
 J. B. BOWERBANK.
 R. A. TAYLOR.
 ALEX. GRANT.

On further serious consideration it is likewise agreed to :—

That, in case any disputes arise between Headmen of any towns, on no occasion shall arms be used in event of arbitration failing to settle such palaver.

Furthermore, that should disputes arise between the Chief or people of one town or towns and those of another or other towns, the disputants shall request the supercargoes of the ship contiguous to the beach of said disputants to call a meeting to arbitrate on their disputes. It is also agreed that in case of friendly arbitration of this kind amongst white and black men failing to bring matters to an amicable termination, that the final settlement be referred to Her Britannic Majesty's Consul at Fernando Po.

(Signed) PRIESO BELL, his X mark.
 BONNY BELL, his X mark.
 JOSSE, his X mark.
 KING ACQUA, his X mark.

Witnesses :

(Signed) H. BAKINGTON.
 J. B. BOWERBANK.
 ROBT. A. TAYLOR.
 ALEX. GRANT.

Additional Article, signed December 13, 1861.

And it is hereby further agreed between King Prieso Bell, King Bonny Bell, and King Acqua, of the Cameroons River, and Richard F. Burton, &c., &c.

That the practice of murder for reprisals, or according to the barbarous and inhuman custom of the country, or any other pretence whatever, shall henceforth be abolished and cease for ever; and in the event of such murder taking place, the Chief of the party or town offending shall, if convicted of participation in the crime, be subjected to confinement on board one of Her Majesty's ships or to transportation to Fernando Po.

And this Agreement shall stand for ever.

(Signed) RICHD. F. BURTON.
 W. D. M. DOLBEN.
 BONNY BELL, his X mark.
 KING AQUA, his X mark.
 PRIESO BELL, his X mark.

Witnesses :

(Signed) JOHN LILLEY.
 JOHN BOWERBANK.
 R. LAYTER.
 P. Mc CULLOCH.

No. 40.

Consul Burton to Earl Russell.—(Received April 12.)

My Lord,

Fernando Po, February 22, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to report that I have made two ascents of the hitherto-unexplored Camaroons Mountain, and have discovered a magnificent site for a sanitarium, a convict station, or a negro colony. I have inclosed a Report, to be forwarded, if your Lordship thinks proper, to the Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RICHD. F. BURTON.

Inclosure in No. 40.

A Reconnaissance of "Theon Ochema," Camaroons Mountain.

"Τέτταρας δ' ἡμέρας φερομενοι, νυκτὸς τὴν γῆν ἀφωρῶμεν φλογὸς μεστήν. Ἐν μέσῳ δ' ἦν ἡλιβατόντι πῦρ τῶν ἄλλων μείζον ἀπτόμενον, ὡς ἐδόκει, τῶν ἄστρων. Τοῦτο δ' ἡμέρας ὅρος ἐφαίνετο μέγιστον Θεῶν ὄχημα καλουμενον."

"Post cursum dierum quatuor, noctu terram conspiciebamus flammis refertam. In medio autem erat excelsus quidam et ceteris major ignis, ipsa, uti videbatur, tangens astra. Is interdum apparuit esse mons altissimus, qui Theon Ochema vocatur."

[This remarkable passage in Hanno's "Periplus," chap. 16, is to be explained only by the firing of the grass and the burning solfaterra on the Camaroons Mountain.]

THE Royal Geographical Society may, at first sight, not be disposed to think much of an exploration which appears only to have reached a mountain district fourteen miles of direct, and twenty-one of indirect distance from the sea. But a little knowledge of the subject gives another view of it. Water is often wanting; provisions are never to be found on these tropical heights. The wild people are a notoriously bad, though cowardly race, and everywhere, as the late expedition to Kilima-njaro proves, if such proof be required, savages are unwilling to see their mountains ascended for the first time. Add to this, that the only escort in these lands must be krooboys; sturdy fellows, but the most arrant poltroons. They hate land-work; they mangle by inducing sore feet; they run away; and at the best of times they are fond, as Murphy is, of depending on Pat to ask Corny to think about coming some day and help to carry a small bundle of straw to repair the roof.

For nearly four centuries this magnificent pile of mountains, the "Theon Ochema" of Hanno and Pliny, has been looming before the eyes of the passing European mariner, yet the summit has been ever virgin. Two attempts have lately been made. In 1847, a Mr. Merrick, of the Baptist Mission in the Camaroons River, succeeded in emerging from the forest into the open grassy levels. But pure water failed him; his people suffered from cold and thirst, and he was compelled to return. Two years afterwards he died. In 1860, M. Gustav Mann, a young Hanoverian botanist, travelling and collecting in West Africa under the patronage of Sir William Hooker, ascended a few hundred feet, when press of time persuaded him to stop. Here, then, remained for me a mountain whose "glorious pinnacle never yet felt the foot of man."

Geographically speaking, the Camaroons Mountain is a parallelogram lying between 3° 57' and 4° 25' north latitude, and 9° 25' and 9° 1' east longitude. It is bounded on the east by the Bimbria River, a stream probably discharged by the mountains. The western limit is a branch of the Rio del Rey, or Rumbi River. The Atlantic washes the southern face, and the area towards the north still wants exploration. The distance from the southern foot to the summit, as laid down in the charts, is 14 miles; allowing the same for Country Cape, 28 miles will be its length, and its breadth from the Bimbria to the Rio del Rey is not less than 24 miles, forming an area of 600 square miles. Captain Owen, R.N., estimates the diameter at nearly 20 miles, which would give an area of about 314 miles, but he does not include the high lands to the north-east, extending to the Rumbi range.

This huge volcanic mass is one of a long line of basalt islands, beginning at the unexplored Rumbi range, and stretching from 33° north-east to 33° south-west through Camaroons, Fernando Po, Prince's Island, St. Thomas', and Ascension. It occupies the bottom of the Bight of Biafra, in the very centre of the Gulf of Guinea, where the coast of Western Africa—after that long sweep eastwards which made the later classical geographers

shear off the vast triangle south of the equator—bends almost at a right angle towards the Antarctic pole. The lands behind it being still unexplored, it is difficult to say whether this basaltic buttress to the Atlantic waters does, or does not, communicate through the Rumbi Mountains with those West African ghauts, the Sierra del Crystal. On the other hand, it may be connected by the Kwa Hills to the north-westward, and by the Bassa Mountains upon the Niger, with that mass of high ground east of Sierra Leone, and known upon our maps as the Kong Mountains.

My first visit to Victoria—the little missionary station whence the ascent was to be made—was on the 10th December, 1861, in Her Majesty's ship "Bloodhound," Commander Dolben. There I found Mr. Mann eager to begin the journey, but still "palavering" with the petty Chiefs on the road. An official visit to the Camaroons—an odious "trust river"—procured another volunteer, the Rev. A. Saker, for eighteen years a resident in these parts, a linguist and ethnologist highly respected by the people. Returning to Fernando Po to complete the outfit, for which four days sufficed, I had yet another volunteer for the expedition, which gave it an international character. Señor Atilano Calvo Iturburu, Assessor or Assistant Judge and Secretary to Government, Fernando Po, was as weary as myself of "palaver," and at least as anxious for a mouthful of fresh air. You must not confound him with certain awful personages in pepper and salt wigs and ample gowns, but rather think of him as a fast young pig-sticking Anglo-Indian Magistrate.

The dawn of the 18th December found Judge Calvo and myself lying in Her Majesty's ship "Bloodhound" off the lovely Bay of Victoria, where Mr. Saker was awaiting us. Mr. Mann had set out in advance to await us at the highest village, and we were to follow on the next morning. Precisely at 6 A.M., as agreed upon, we arose, despite the ravages of mosquitos and sand-flies, and fifty minutes afterwards found ourselves *en route* with a hurrah! The party consisted of Mr. Saker and his two kroomen, who carried his bed, his bunker, and his carefully locked box of creature comforts—the veteran traveller never lost sight of his fellows. He was accompanied by the interpreter Mr. Johnson, who having begun life as a factotum to Governor Beecroft, had settled down in his old age as a teacher in the Camaroons Mission. Judge Calvo's escort was composed of four kroomen, all of them hopeless convicts from the cuartel of Fernando Po, and King Eyo, a youth whose idleness and uselessness were admirable and exemplary even in Africa. My party consisted of six krooboyes under their head man Black Will. They were placed in charge of my steward Selim Agha, an invaluable man, a native of Tegulet, and a protégé of the late venerable Mr. Robert Thurburn, of Alexandria. He had spent a dozen years of his life at a school in Scotland, where he learned to cook, doctor, spin, carpenter, shoot, collect specimens, and stuff birds—briefly everything.

Our route lay through a bush—such is the magnificent Anglo-African term for a forest of trees often 100 feet high—composed of palms and acacias, a variety of figs and cardamoms, the kola tree (*Sterculia acuminata*), and three kinds valuable for timber, namely, the African oak (*Oldfieldia Africana*), the scrubby oak of Sierra Leone (*Sophira alata*), and the brimstone tree or yellow wood (*Mormida lucida*). This also is the region of huge grasses which extend to 4,000 feet above sea level, where dwarfened growths take their places. The whole of this country is admirably adapted for cacao (*theobroma cacao*), coffee, and sugar; it is a pity to see it wasted on plantains and koko (*colocuiia esculenta*). We twice forded the bright little mountain stream which supplies Victoria with the purest water, and ascended some tough heights, passing west of Mount Henry, a site which I at once fixed upon as a provisional sanitarium, to be prepared before the grand institution near the summit of the mountain. After four hours—2° 20' of actual walking—we entered the settlement of the Chief Miyombi, passed some outlying huts, and halted for breakfast at Bosumbo, the head-quarter village lying 23,420 feet from Victoria. These and other distances were measured by my factotum Selim, with a line supplied to me by Lieutenant Dolben. At Bosumbo Mr. Saker's French aneroid showed 29° 6', and Mr. Mann's B.P. apparatus gave 210° 5'. Temperature 67° 50'.

We now stood upwards of 1,000 feet above sea level, and at noon merrily resumed our way. The path, a mere rut, led through dense bush and grass, with a general northerly direction bending westwards. After passing through a somewhat populous district, we entered upon a vile series of rocky ridges, separated by ravines, and impassable during the rains.

At 4:30 P.M. we made Mapanya, the district of the Chief Botani, and the highest village on this part of the mountain. It lies 17,300 feet from Bosumbo; the aneroid showed 28° 23', the B.P. 207° 5'. Temperature 72° 5'.

The first person we saw was Mr. Mann, who at once informed us that he had just returned from reaching the summit. Faces fell at the announcement: it had been under-

stood that he would wait our arrival. Presently we were reassured. The time of his walking rendered it impossible that he could have been near the mysterious spot. Eventually it became clear that he had never seen his bourne.

The next trouble was the ceremonious welcome with which we were received. The Chief Botani, a yellow man with a bright blue pair of tattooed regulation whiskers, appeared before us in his royal garb, tall black tile, old scarlet and gamboge coatee of Royal Marines, and a pocket-handkerchief. Thus habited he performed a lively dance, apparently borrowed from the movements of excited poultry. I did not enjoy it. In Africa, when the King dances you have to pay for the honour.

Mapanya is the usual Bakwiri village, a single street separating four huts on the northern from two on the southern side. The site is a little clearing, well grown with plantains, and backed by a glorious screen of wooded heights. The huts are oblong, with pent roofs. The walls are of wattle, supported by posts of the strong and fibrous tree-fern, and provided with sheets of bark to keep out the wind. The roofs are thatched with palm-leaves. The inner space is divided into three "pieces;" at one end of the long walls is a closet, partitioned off by posts and party-walls; the centre, where the only door is, represents the hall; whilst the other third is devoted to the fire-place, with a platform above it for storing and drying wood. The ceiling is black, as if painted with coal tar, and the floor, which ignores a broom, is at once the chair, the bed, and the resting-place of man, woman, and child, goat and sheep, pig and poultry, to say no more.

The tribe to whom this part of the mountain belongs is called in our charts Bakwileh. The proper word is Bakwiri, from "kwiri," a jungle, and meaning literally Boyesman or Bushman. They are allied in language to Ilubu, or people of Bimbia, and their dialect is a branch of the great South African family, whose type is the Kafir tongue. The Bakwiri are a light coloured race like the Bubi of Fernando Po, and have well-made legs, like mountaineers generally. They bear a bad reputation; they are harmless only because each village of five huts has a "palaver" with its neighbours, and because the poison ordeals sadly thin their numbers. They can hardly be persuaded to part with their flocks, or even their poultry, except by the inducements of rum, a tall hat, or an English shirt. Mr. Mann's scarlet blankets excited, however, the utmost admiration. The people offered successively in exchange for one, a pig and a goat, a small boy, and a large girl.

We halted at Mapanya on the 20th December, having sent the krooboy to Victoria for a reinforcement of provisions. A lively scene met our eyes at 2 P.M. The dancing Chief Botani had been "dashed" by Mr. Mann, and had received a similar present from me. Not content with that he demanded more, which was refused. Then he and his followers, drunk with "bilám," or trade rum, attempted to seize Mr. Mann's interpreter, a child known as "Poor Fellow." They drew their long knives, and had laid forcible hands upon the little wretch when Mr. Mann energetically rescued him. Upon which the war-drum was beaten, the women began to leave the village, and the men to flock in. Mr. Saker being unarmed, there were only three of us, and the fun soon became fast and furious. We stood to our weapons, and occupied the doorways of the huts so as not to be taken in rear. Presently the fumes of the rum ceased to affect their brains, and all excitement disappeared—Botani, the Chief, wearing a very hang-dog look.

The next day, however, matters were worse. Our kroomen returned from Victoria, accompanied by the Chief Miyombi, of Bosumbo, much the worse for liquor. On being refused more rum he persuaded Botani to demand 500 "big tings," *i.e.*, 500*l.*, for his gracious permission to ascend a place upon whose top cloth would be found growing. The demand was lowered to 300*l.*, when we laughed in his face. He then ordered us down the mountain. We showed our guns, and told him that we should start up the mountain that day. Botani then declared that he would allow no carriers to accompany us. We had loads for twenty-five men, at least, and there were only fourteen: so he retired to another village, and quietly waited there to hear of our failure.

A little after noon Messrs. Saker and Calvo set out with fourteen kroomen, and reached a place in the forest which was afterwards called "Ridge Camp." The bearers were then sent back, and only nine came, causing us a trouble which brought back to my mind bygone days in East Africa. Shortly after 5 P.M. we effected a start. The distance is 6,000 feet, and there are five very bad ascents. The road is a copy of that leading to Mapanya—high pitches, ladders of rock and root, tall grasses, ridges, hollows, scrambling-places, nettles, and legions of biting ants. The palm had disappeared near Mapanya, and now we saw the last of the plantain, and the first of the graceful tree-fern. As darkness was imminent, we heard shouts above us, and those who had rested came down to assist the wearied. I arrived at 6:30 P.M., and Mr. Mann shortly afterwards brought up the rear of his luggage. At Ridge Camp the aneroid showed 27° 2'. We passed a comfortless night in the forest. The inhospitable Bakwiri had refused us water,

the ground was uneven, and the total loss of rest was a bad preparation for the hard day's work that awaited us.

Before dawn on the 22nd of December we left Ridge Camp, made a cache for our extra loads, and determined to reach water before the night. The real march began at 8 A.M. The characteristic of the scenery now was the fern—fern, fern, everywhere. Some were like palm-trees, 10 to 20 feet high, surpassingly fair to look at; others were dwarfed epiphytes, springing moss-like from the arms of their parent trees. There were beds of ferns upon the ground, and others running creeper-like up the trunks. Never had I seen a more beautiful fernery, set off as it is by the huge tropical growth around it. The path, however, was vile.

After 2,510 feet, which consumed a good hour of our valuable time, we passed under a natural arch of fallen trees, which we called "Fern Gate." The B. P. here showed 1,204°, the temperature 66°. Beyond it lay a new land. Bush and forest suddenly ceased as if felled with the axe; and, O, joy! we had emerged from the regions of the tall grasses. Nothing met the eye but a broad green slope of small moss and larger fern, all of it the *F. Nephrolapis*, based upon a rugged bed of old and degraded lava. We called this first stream Lava Bed No. 1, and specimens of it, and of the other fire-rivers long since quenched, have been forwarded for the inspection of a certain ex-President of the Royal Geographical Society, whom it were needless to name here. The direction of the bed is from 291° to due north, that is to say, it has flowed from north to south with a little easting. I afterwards found this a rule which safely guided us to the topmost peak. The craters may open irregularly and in all directions, but the lava-flow follows the direction of the wind. More expert volcanists will determine if there be any connection between the two facts. The breadth of the bed may be half-a-mile; the lower part finding little slope thins out, and ends in a dense forest. The banks are girt on both sides by giant trees; and looking down from the half-way heights, the idea of a huge fir* is suggested.

Having breakfasted and eaten blackberries (*R. apetalus*), we began the ascent at 9:50 A.M. The hunters' path led up the western edge of the lava river, and gradually curved to the eastern. It was severe work, and six particularly steep pitches presented themselves, and the way often wound up prisms of lava from 15 to 25 feet high. In the lower part, where the blocks cannot be seen, there was imminent risk of spraining an ankle. Higher up, the ascent became more rocky and bare. *Salvia* scented the air, and the surface was spangled with bright blossoms unknown even to our expert "botaniker." There was also heath, but, ah! how different from what you understand by such word—an *Ericanella* 15 feet high, thin and rugged as an old tamarisk. The bees now began to settle upon us, but no one was stung. As we ascended, the heat of the sun became terrible. The kroomen tailed off; Selim Agha remained behind in charge of them, and verily I believe saved several lives by squeezing water out of the thick mosses that hung from the banks.

The last third of the road is the most rugged of all. The bed now nears the place whence it issued, and the unequal cooling of the masses has made it uncommonly rough walking, or rather climbing. You look up and see a high, abrupt, and broken transverse wall; you reach this in half-an-hour, more than half-exhausted, and you see nothing but another. I found it impossible to keep my eyes open; something fiery and feverish had got into my veins. So requesting my companions, who were far fresher, to keep going, I lay down upon a lava block, slept soundly for an hour till 4 P.M., and was thus able to finish the ascent.

Lava bed No. 1 issues from a dwarf cone which, from its exceptional darkness, we called "Black Crater." It is a punch-bowl, opening towards the south, long extinct; the western lip rises 200 feet from the level platform below, or 356 feet measured along the slope. The crater is about 100 yards in diameter, and the circumference of its middle height may be 600 yards. The outer surface is fine cinder, mostly bare, very sparsely overgrown with now dry grass and with stunted shrubs, and there is a little green vegetation inside the crater. It is distant 8,350 feet from Fern Gate. The B. P. showed 200° 2', the temperature being 63° 25'.

Mr. Mann kindly volunteered to set out with a krooman, and to bring back a beaker of water. His offer was accepted by a most grateful public, and we afterwards named the fountain which an old Mokwiri had shown to him "Mann's Spring." Without such discovery, indeed, our work would have been trebled. By degrees our kroomen appeared with bed and baggage; five of them, however, remained behind. Another bad camping-place had been selected. The high north-east wind roared over us all night, and

* Manuscript illegible.

a change from 76°—78° to 40° Fahrenheit in a few hours is a severe trial of strength. Even at 6 A.M. the mercury stood at 48°.

A lovely morning, when the large red sun had

“Retinged the dark and livid air with bloom,”

made amends for past troubles. Before us, beyond a grassy hollow, about one mile broad, rose, separated apparently by a great gulf, the awful form of Mount Trestrail, stern, solitary, and rising one-third higher than Vesuvius, without neighbour or rival. The charts give it 5,820 feet. Captain William Allen calls it “Mongo Mt. Etindet,” which would mean the “separate mountain,” but Mr. Saker had never heard the word.

As Selim Agha and his squad did not appear at 2 P.M., we sent them a beaker of water, and set out for Mann’s Spring, distant 9,594 feet. Our direction was northerly, with a little westing. The walk is charming by contrast, winding round the grassy shoulders and folds of various hills. On the right we passed a crater, whose double effusion of lava united at the base, inclosing a clump of vivid verdure, probably the *hypericum angustifolium*, a European growth which had now become common. The path, a mere rut, struck, after forty-five minutes, into a thickly-wooded ravine, nearly the highest limit of large vegetation. After the fiery sun there was pleasure in its cool shade, and its air scented with a garden of blue labiates and white clematis hanging from lofty trees. The forest, except where herbaceous plants clothed the ground, rather resembled an English wood than an African jungle, and the birds twittered from morning to night upon the moss-bearded branches.

We at once paid a visit to Mann’s Spring. It is a little runnel of pure cold water, issuing from peaty earth, at the foot of a small rock-bank, and sinking into the dark brown mould beyond. It is embowered in blue flowers, and surrounded by nettles, which supplied us with a Scottish spinach. A few yards from it the kroomen had cleared a slope for our camp: we expected even then to remain here for some time. Shortly after our arrival all the stragglers came up, happily without an accident, except some chafed feet, which they afterwards improved into laming sores. At Mann’s Spring Camp the B.P. ranged between 199° 5′ and 200°, temperature 65°, which would give it in round numbers 7,000 feet of altitude. It is in the Tierra Temprada of this mountain, where the wooded lands of the Caliente climate below touch the Pays Brulé, the Tierra Fria, above. During a residence there, lasting from the 23rd December, 1861, to the 31st January, 1862, I made up my mind that it would be an admirable spot for a Sanitarium or a Colony. Materials for a road and for house-building lie all around. Of the 60,000 runaway negroes in Canada give me but 300, and I will make a path practicable for mules at the end of a dry season. Pestilent Lagos will require a “sick bay,” and where can a Lebanon be found equal to the beautiful, the majestic Camaroons?

Christmas-eve and Christmas-day were spent in taking bearings, and rambling about the hills, and in naming the places. According to Captain Allen the Bimbia people call the topmost heights “Mongo Ma Lobn,” or the Mount of Heaven. We loyally christened them “Victoria” and “Albert,” being then ignorant of the awful event which had destroyed Christmas merriment in Old England. As the natives have no distinguishing terms for the several heights, we thought it not ungeographical to seize the opportunity.

The ascents of “Earthwork Crater,” so called from its extreme regularity of outline, and “Mount Helen,” in honour of Mrs. Saker, who had supplied the Christmas plum-pudding, showed us a wonderful prospect. The mind was thrown back upon the wild scenes that Nature must have worked here. A wondrous confusion reigned around. A vast circle of thick white cloud, iridescent by the sun, and careering round and round us whilst we were standing in limpid air, forms a setting for the tumbled mass of craters—we counted twenty-eight—gashes, deep crevasses, thick lava beds, and ribs of scoriaceous rock, marshalled in the region before us. But after a brief *coup d’œil*, every eye was turned from the lesser to the greater giants northwards, where, clear and distinct in the thin air of morning, rose the grand presence of the Peak. It was manifestly divided into a pair of distinct heads, which at once suggested the two most fitting names. The deep metallic blue that invested the monarch of West African mountains, compared with the brown, dotted with points of blackish verdure, on the nearer rocky parallel, suggested that a chasm would separate fore from back ground. The idea proved, happily for us, erroneous.

On Christmas-day, 1861, Mr. Saker left us for a season, his presence being required at Victoria. Mr. Mann had been confined to his hammock for some time: the Judge and I therefore determined upon a reconnaissance of the Great Mountain, and at 5:30 A.M. on Friday, December 27, 1861, we set out, accompanied by three kroomen, upon our eventful walk.

Emerging from the forest that clothes the base of Earthwork Crater, we found ourselves on the grassy tract, and presently saw Mount Helen bearing $75^{\circ} 25'$. After about 2,000 feet we came upon a bed of lava, which we called No. 2. Following it up we arrived at the base of Mount Helen, distant 7,814 feet: here the B.P. showed 198° , temperature 66° , whilst on the summit it was B.P. $195^{\circ} 4'$, temperature $57^{\circ} 5'$.

Having enjoyed a pipe under one of the few wind-rung trees that dot its south-western side, we struck over a long grassy and rocky reach of mountain slope, separating us from a magnificent mountain, which, as a dutiful husband, I had named Mount Isabel. Its distance from Mount Helen is 8,648 feet, and the B.P. was $193\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$, temperature 60° . We then ascended a steep cone, after which a kind of *terre pleine* led us to a sheltered spot, which we judged well fitted for a depôt of water and for breakfast.

Before us northwards, however, was a spectacle that robbed me of appetite; there, straight in front of us, they rose in ineffable majesty, those towering peaks tangible, as it were, in the morning æther. There was no chasm. Beyond the base of Mount Isabel the ground swelled gradually upwards, forming a labyrinth of green-black lava-streams, and a congeries of grass-grown craters extending up to the main cone. A faint verdure seemed to streak the eastern slopes, which were far less abrupt than the western; a long and highly-inclined sweep of blue—the effect of fine black cinder—separated Victoria from Albert Mountain; and whilst the latter showed a distinct but small crater, the former was beautified with descending stripes of red and yellow, falling, as it were, from a cliff or niche a few feet below its apex.

I seized the Judge's arm, and urged an instant advance. He meekly shook his head, and referred me to my breakfast, which stuck in my throat. Our krooboys had required driving the whole morning, and with increased fatigue I expected a rare afternoon.

At 10:30 A.M. we arose once more with an uncommon elation of spirit; "excelsior" being now the word. The direction—path there was none—lay along the steep side of a hill, where we walked upon the edges of our feet. After a quarter of an hour we had reached, at a running pace, Lava bed No. 3. It issues from a crater below, and south-westward of, the main peak. Apparently the oldest formation, the material is overgrown with dry green moss, and crumbles like pumice under the tread. Turning the head of the stream, which is suddenly arrested by a rise, we followed a smooth groove along the eastern flank of a small cone on the proper right, and then struck across the bed towards another on the left of the lava river. The passage occupied half-an-hour. The mossy part was 800 feet broad, and the last 400 feet stretched over a stream of ruddy-black clinkers, detached stones hard and rough, which caused torture to our feet. I afterwards observed the same formations to extend under the friable outer coat of lava. Meanwhile the contrast of the small dark vein with the large, soft, green artery is curious in the extreme.

At 11:30 A.M. we reached the cone on the proper left of the stream, much encouraged by seeing that we were sensibly nearing our destination. After a ten minutes' walk along its clean-cut edge, encumbered only by tussocks of wiry yellow grass, we found ourselves again compelled to cross the same lava river higher up the bed, where, though narrower, it is far more ridgy and broken, being near its source.

This second passage led us to what appeared to be two grassy cones, which lie at the foot of the grand crater. Not knowing that they were outliers disconnected with our destination, we thought proper to ascend them. It was the last straw that broke the Judge's back. The incline was unusually steep, the surface stiff grass, and patches of hot black scoriæ; and the sun was oppressive. After a painful clamber we reached the summit, and found that the two cones were one, with a central depression. We stood on the rim of a beautifully defined crater, narrow and edge-like at the top, about 100 yards in circumference, sloping inwards like a punch-bowl, and grass-clad to the very floor, which was a jetty pavement of fragmentary lava.

There, after that waste of labour—the cone could easily have been rounded—we allowed ourselves to rest for fifteen minutes by the watch; we abandoned ourselves to the charm of the situation, and made eternal silence vocal with a cheer. We were the first Europeans certainly—probably the first men—who had ever stood within gun-shot of the giant sugar-loaf whose now-extinguished fires caught the old Carthaginian's gaze.

We then debated upon the mode of ascent. The Judge preferred the long eastern shoulder which was green with lichens as being the easier. I preferred to breast Victoria Peak by the nearest path, towards the red and yellow fire-tinged scoriæ, and to leave on the left the smooth steep black slide of dust-like lava that, separating the two eminences from afar, wore a blue tinge. At 1 P.M. we began by walking round the crater of the grassy cone; here, however, the Judge stopped. Looking at the wall before him—I afterwards found by measurement that it measured 3,300 feet along the slope—he judged it beyond his powers, and advised me to reserve it for another day. Subsequent events

almost make me regret that I had been less obstinate. But on second thoughts—no! to be the first is everything; to be second is nothing.

Descending the tufted cone I began the last ascent, accompanied by a single krooboy and by a flask of anisado and water, which the Judge had kindly lent to me. At first the walking was easy, and the slope gentle, but the loose cinders caused fatigue by slipping from under foot. Arriving after a long elbow to the left at blocks of basalt, which we afterwards called "Half-way Rocks," I turned to the right, and steadily keeping the red and yellow cliff in sight, ascended along the ragged edge of a little ridge, which afforded mossy lava to support the tread. In places there were thin scatters of a quartz conglomerate, which I never saw except upon that cone. The sun was fiery, and the high north-easter left its marks upon me for a fortnight afterwards.

At 1:30 the easier slope was surmounted, and walking became so troublesome that I preferred an occasional "all-fours." As we neared the summit my krooman sank down with thirst-glazed lips, and he was allowed to remain behind. A few moments more saw me upon Theon Ochema, where a new and unexpected set of objects met my sight.

Victoria Peak I now discovered was but the outer walls of a double crater, black, and, to judge by the eye, 250 feet deep, opening southwards, where it has discharged a prodigious lava stream, and divided into two by a thin partition wall. Unable to boil at that visit, I afterwards found the mercury rise to $193^{\circ} 50'$, temperature 60° , at the base; and at the summit of Victoria Peak $189^{\circ} 75'$, temperature 59° . Mr. Saker on one occasion made B.P. 188° , temperature 59° ; but I am disposed to doubt this observation. To the north-west of Victoria Crater lies Albert Crater, a far smaller formation, but remarkable for its high back wall, where the B.P. was $189^{\circ} 50'$, temperature $59^{\circ} 65'$. The two craters are parted by a curious V-shaped dyke of compact greystone, in large blocks, like a ruined Cyclopean wall, and 25 feet high. To the west-north-west of Albert Crater, and divided from it by a jagged wall of basalt lies Prince's Crater, by far the smallest of the three.

But these were subsequent discoveries. Time forced me fain to be content with a cursory look at Victoria Crater. By way of recording my claim I made a little cairn of stones. The krooboy had rejoined me with the B.P. apparatus, but the others had lagged behind with my poncho. The furious north-easter charging round the black summit threatened to make a Phaeton of me—to sweep us like flies off the peak; and after sundry attempts I desisted, promising myself better luck next time.

In such doings 2:30 P.M. had sped: there was a reverse to our bright medal, a night in the wild and open. The descent of the cone occupied half-an-hour. I tried the Vesuvian style of gravitation, and found the cinders so loose and the slope so great that a wreck upon the boulders studding the base was imminent. This descent occupied thirty minutes, and when I threw myself down to rest at the foot it was already 3 P.M. I had taken upwards of seven hours to finish off the five miles of ascent, and still hoped to effect a return in three hours.

I hurry over the homeward march. Arrived at Mount Isabel we refreshed exhausted nature, and hastened on after a ten minutes' halt. A wind was already blowing, which sent the mercury to 40° . Shortly after 6:30 P.M., as we passed our guide and beacon Mount Helen, a cloud-bank was all we could see in the west. The pace now became frantic: twilight, though longer upon the mountains than in the plains, is short. Before 7 P.M. we were surrounded by a darkness that could be felt. We were compelled to halt. The kroo cry, however, at last brought a response, and presently we saw fire-sticks—the excellent Selim being as usual to the fore—making their way towards us. The cold night wind whispering pleurisy kept us moving till assistance came, and we reached camp at 8:30 P.M., instead of 6 P.M., twelve hours having been employed in finishing ten miles. After the supper of hungry men we retired to rest, but not to sleep; the sun and wind had sorely burned our hands and faces, our legs ached, and that African plague, spasmodic cramps of the lower limbs, awoke me every half-hour.

In the morning the reconnoiters were distinguished from their fellows by hobbling about like cheap screws after a long field-day. Another African plague supervened. In an evil hour I made that march in a pair of loose waterproof boots, which began by softening the feet, and ended by half flaying them. Wounds in these lands are hard to heal; I have heard of a man losing his leg in consequence of a mosquito bite. Briefly, a hurt which in England would have passed away in a week, wasted thirty days of my precious time.

A variety of expeditions followed this first exploration. Messrs. Calvo and Mann ascended, on the 3rd of January, 1862, Albert Peak, left a maximum and a minimum thermometer there, discovered the V-shaped dyke above alluded to, and returned on the next day prematurely. The cause was the recurrence of Mr. Mann's complaint; a week

reduced him so low that he listened to our advice and accompanied to Victoria the Judge, now homewards bound.

On the 5th of January the Rev. Mr. Saker again joined our party. He had brought up with him Mr. R. Smith, a coadjutor, who eventually became too unwell to venture higher.

On the 13th January, Mr. Saker made the third ascent, and the first boiling of thermometer upon Victoria Peak. He returned on the next day at 6 P.M. sadly tired, and on the 15th January he descended the mountain.

Mr. Mann was as unlucky as I was: fifteen days out of the four months which in these latitudes compose the botanist's year are a terrible loss. He reappeared in camp on the 25th January, having accomplished the severe ascent from Ridge Camp to Mann's Spring in seven hours. My foot had permitted me to crawl about since the 22nd January, at present one of my lucky days. We made all preparations for a final visit to the summit without delay. The tornado season was setting in: the thunder was now above, not below us; and globular lightning shooting like Roman candles across the path is not pleasant.

At 7 P.M. on the 27th January we set out for the fourth expedition, resolved to pass two nights near the summit. The first day was spent in sketching, taking bearings, and collecting plants; we passed the hours of darkness on Mount Isabel. The next day took us to "Saker's Camp," a cone at the foot of the great mountain: beyond exploring the interior of Victoria Crater, and vainly attempting to measure the circumference of the huge cone, we did nothing. At night the cold caused itself to be felt, the mercury sank to $33^{\circ} 50'$ Fahrenheit, our waterproofs were white with hoar, and the peak was powdered with frozen dew. And yet there are those who doubt that snow has been seen on the Camaroons Mountain! The minimum thermometer upon the back wall of Albert Crater showed 27° Fahrenheit.

The next day enabled me to make a happy discovery. Mr. Mann and I started by different roads; they had told me it was impossible to ascend the blue slide between Victoria and Albert. The word is naturally somewhat irritating; I resolved, therefore, to try, and agreed to meet my fellow-traveller on the summit. At 2 P.M. we took formal possession of the place; flew the union jack; drank the health of the Sovereign Lady with our last bottle of champagne; and left our names upon a leaden plate, with two sixpences—rather a bright idea, but not emanating from my cranium.

After this ceremony, Mr. Mann returned to camp. I was not satisfied, and wanted something more, especially a view of the country to the north-east and the north-west. Accompanied by my factotum and a krooboy, I climbed up the dyke separating the two great chasms, and walked down a smooth cinder valley trending north-east between Victoria Crater and the northern wall of Albert Crater. Fortune favoured me with a sight of the utterly unknown land; the wind-driven clouds melted away, and I saw that the land to the north exactly reflects the land to the south. Still disappointed, I turned to the north-west, behind Albert Crater, and observed some suspicious cracks and gashes, long, narrow, and deep, which raised my hopes sky-high; they proved, however, thoroughly extinct, nor could I detect in them the least smell of sulphur. Disappointed, I ascended the highest wall of Albert Crater, where the krooboy was sitting, B. P. thermometer in hand.

Hardly had the candle been lighted when Selim, who had struck over certain dwarf and broken hillocks, stained with red and yellow, and lying due north of where I stood, reappeared, highly excited. When he told me the cause, his feelings were shared; we started on grand gallop, and presently met our reward.

My factotum had discovered a complete solfaterra. It lies north-north-east of Albert Crater, somewhat below the highest point, and where the downwards slope begins. Smoke arose in puffy volumes from the long lines of white marl and sulphur which, divided by small ridges of moss, ran in a northern and southern direction. During rainy weather the phenomenon must be seen from the low lands, and perhaps may still be visible from Fernando Po.

This discovery accounts for many detached reports. If, as the guides say, Mont Blanc smokes his pipe, then Ochema's pipe is not yet put out. The fiery mountain noticed by the old Punic navigator; the flames which the people of Bimbia described to Captain Allen as proceeding from the earth; the flashes seen by the cloth merchants at Camaroons River and by the people of Fernando Po,—are now satisfactorily explained. I am pleased to announce to the Royal Geographical Society of Great Britain the addition of another volcano, not wholly extinct, to the list of those already known.

Nothing now remained but to descend and dine. On the next day we again separated. Mr. Mann ascended Albert Peak to remove his thermometer, whilst I returned to camp and finished the measurements. The event of the day was a hailstorm, the stones being

of a size approaching to the inconvenient. I reached camp at 4 P.M., and my fellow-traveller arrived about an hour afterwards

All of geographical interest being now ready, on the 31st of January, 1862, I left, not without regret, "Mann's Spring Camp," where so many peaceful happy days, without sand-flies or prickly heat, had sped. The Chief Botani received me with a civility bordering on servility. After leaving his village, however, a fellow in the lower districts presented a musket at my men, hoping to make them run away and cast their loads; they had learned, however, that the danger of being shot was problematical, but that the punishment of desertion was certain. Finally, on the 2nd of February, 1862, I once more saw the scattered bungalows of Victoria, where the kindly Mrs. Saker, who would not leave the place till our safe return, received me with all hospitality.

In concluding this hurried sketch of a highly-interesting region, I must express my regret that my instruments were wholly inadequate to the task. An aneroid is the poorest substitute for the mountain barometer; I had no hygrometer; and even a clinometer was not at hand.

These few lines will, it is hoped, show the adaptability of the Camaroons Mountain for a sanitarium, a colony, or a convict station. A locale which shows every morning hoar-frost during the hot season in a region removed but 4° from the equator is not to be despised in the days when it is proposed to remove Calcutta to Simla. The Anglo-Scandinavian race cannot, it is true, thrive in all climates; but there are few, and those are valueless, in which choice of site would not make him a cosmopolite.

No. 41.

Consul Burton to Earl Russell.—(Received April 12.)

My Lord,

Fernando Po, March 1, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to bring to your notice the following circumstances:—

On the 18th ultimo I visited, accompanied by Commander Perry, of Her Majesty's ship "Griffon," and by the Rev. A. Saker, of the Cameroons Mission, the town of a petty Chief of Bimbia land, popularly called "Dick Merchant."

My object was to obtain restitution of the cattle and live-stock stolen from the African members of the Mission, two of whom have lately been beaten and assaulted by that Chief's subjects, and to insist that such outrages must cease. Our escort consisted of the crews of the first and second whalers, the latter of which was in charge of Mr. Richards, the excellent gunner of Her Majesty's ship "Griffon."

The Chief, though politely urged to do so, refused to meet me under the usual "palaver tree;" and when Commander Perry, with the sanction of Mr. Saker, and at my request, proceeded to summon him, his people armed themselves, and being about 200 in number compelled us to re-embark.

We at once returned to Fernando Po, where Commodore Edmonstone was expected on the 22nd ultimo. That officer, who arrived on the 24th ultimo, kindly supplied me, on application, with a force sufficient to obtain the required redress. It consisted of 45 officers and men of Her Majesty's ship "Arrogant," one barge carrying a 12-pounder howitzer, and one cutter armed with rockets; Her Majesty's ship afforded two cutters also armed with rockets, and the two whalers in which we had first visited the town.

I left Fernando Po at 11 A.M. on the 27th ultimo, having secured, with a view to peace, the gratuitous services of Mr. W. H. Matthews of Fernando Po, and of Mr. Johnson, one of the native missionaries who had been beaten and maltreated by one of Dick Merchant's men. Both parties had resided a long time at Bimbia, and both knew the people and their language thoroughly well.

We reached Victoria, the out-station of the Cameroons Mission, at nightfall on the 27th ultimo, and received on board Mr. Pinnock, another missionary who had been robbed and assaulted by Dick Merchant's people.

About daybreak on the 28th ultimo, we left Her Majesty's ship "Griffon" anchored, and set out in the boats, being joined *en route* by Mr. Wilson, a third member of the Mission. Arriving at Dick Merchant's town, I sent forward Messrs. Wilson and Johnson, who had volunteered to land under a flag of truce. The other vessels being stationed to cover our position, Commander Perry, Mr. Richards, and I disembarked from the first and second whalers, exactly as we did before. This time we found the Chief sitting under the usual "palaver tree." As I refused to shake hands with him, he knelt to me, and showed the utmost contrition. At the end of an hour, he and his principal men had signed four Articles, of which the original is inclosed. Commander Perry then indulged them

with a discharge of howitzer and rockets, and the sensation created warrants my believing that this part of the coast will be peaceful for some time to come.

We then visited the town of King William of Bimbia, who, after a previous Treaty with England, has lately signed a document of which a translation is inclosed. It enables the Spaniards of Fernando Po to obtain palm oil, which used to be exported from Cameroons River in British bottoms. I had, however, a peaceful interview with the Chief, and Commander Perry, on departing, discharged his rifles and revolvers, causing the same sensation as at Dick Merchant's town.

Having reached the "Griffon" at 3:30 P.M. on the 28th ultimo, we at once steamed to Fernando Po; and on the same evening I reported events to the Commodore, thanking him for his assistance, and expressing admiration of the way in which the duty had been done.

I have also offered my best thanks to Messrs. Matthews, Johnson, Pinnock, and Wilson for their valuable aid in preventing hostilities.

Hoping that your Lordship will approve of these proceedings, I have, &c.

(Signed) RICHD. F. BURTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 41.

Agreement with Dick Merchant.

MOKUNDO, popularly known as Dick Merchant, Chief of Dikolo Town, Bimbia River, and four of his principal Chiefs, consented, on the 28th of February, 1862, to the following four Articles, proposed to them, at their town of Dikolo, by Richard Francis Burton, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul for the Bights of Biafra and Fernando Po:—

ARTICLE I.

Dick Merchant and his Chiefs hereby agree to abstain from the outrages lately committed on the missionaries.

ARTICLE II.

Dick Merchant and his Chiefs hereby agree to pay, within a reasonable time, the bullocks, sheep, goats, &c., stolen from the missionaries.

ARTICLE III.

Dick Merchant and his Chiefs agree to make the most ample apology for the insult offered to us.

ARTICLE IV.

Dick Merchant and his Chiefs agree to pay a fine of twelve goats, or an equivalent, to be paid within an hour.

(Signed)

RICHD. F. BURTON, *Her Majesty's Consul, Fernando Po.*

J. LAISNE PERRY, *Commander, H.M.S. "Griffon."*

DICK MERCHANT, his ✕ mark.

YOUNG MERCHANT, his ✕ mark.

SAMPSON DICK, his ✕ mark.

SCOTT DICK, his ✕ mark.

GEORGE DICK, his ✕ mark.

Inclosure 2 in No. 41.

Agreement between the Chiefs of Bimbia and the Spanish Government.

(Translation.)

IN the town of King William, of Bimbia, this 1st day of February, 1861, by Señor D. Atilano Calvo Iturburu, Judge and Secretary to the Government at Fernando Po and the rest of the Spanish possessions of the Gulf of Guinea, in the name and power of Señor Don José de la Gandara, Governor-General of the same, on the one part, and on the other part by King William of Bimbia, for the purpose of holding conference upon the best mode of increasing trade between the subjects of Spain and those of the afore-mentioned territory of Bimbia, of avoiding questions which have in times past frequently arisen, and similarly of securing the good terms existing between these and those, the following Articles were agreed upon:—

ARTICLE I.

King William of Bimbia engages to execute, or cause to be executed by his subjects, contracts entered into with Spanish subjects, with a further promise to become security and principal payer in cases when traders make contracts with his intervention, though not in others not so made, in which he will only be obliged to make them perform their engagements.

ARTICLE II.

The Governor of Fernando Po will assist the said King William to carry into effect the engagement entered into in the last Article, should his subjects attempt to resist his orders.

ARTICLE III.

King William engages to prefer, in commerce, Spanish ships and traders to those of all other nations.

ARTICLE IV.

The same obliges himself to supply country labourers, by virtue of a contract of a certain annual value, to the Island of Fernando Po, always provided such be forthcoming; and the Governor of the Colony, on his part, obliges himself to see such contracts performed by the inhabitants of the Colony.

ARTICLE V.

The Governor offers aid and protection to the said King William of Bimbia, always on condition that the latter, on his part, fulfils, in all things concerning him, the present engagement.

Which clauses and conditions were also accepted, in parts relating to themselves, by the Chief named Prince Naco, by the so-called Dick Bimbia, present at the Conference; to which were witnesses, the Lieutenant Don José Caveiro, commanding Her Majesty's gun-boat "Caridad," Mr. Henry Matthews, Mr. Peter Nichol, and Mr. Samuel Johnson, who signed on the day, month, and year above mentioned.

(Signed)

ATILANO CALVO ITURBURU.

PRINCIPE NACO.

JOSE M. CAVEIRO.

W. H. S. MATTHEWS.

PETER NICOL.

SAMUEL JOHNSON.

KING WILLIAM OF BIMBIA, his ✕ mark.

DICK BIMBIA, his ✕ mark.

JOHN AMBE, his ✕ mark.

No. 42.

Earl Russell to Consul Burton.

Sir,

Foreign Office, April 23, 1862.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 1st of March, and I have to acquaint you that I approve of the course which you took, as reported in that despatch, to obtain redress from the Bimbia Chief called "Dick Merchant" for the ill-treatment and robbery of certain African members of the Mission, and for the discourteous reception which that Chief gave to you on your first application for redress. This result is the more satisfactory to Her Majesty's Government inasmuch as it was arrived at without having recourse to actual force.

You allude in the same despatch to a subsequent visit to another Bimbia Chief, who, after a previous Treaty with England, had lately signed a document with the Spanish authorities, of which you inclose a copy; but as you merely say that you had a peaceful interview with him, I have no means of judging either of the necessity of your visiting him or of the objects which you sought, and, I presume, succeeded in obtaining, on the occasion.

There are two points, however, in the document which you inclose that have especially attracted my attention. The one is the engagement undertaken by the Chief in the IIIrd Article, to prefer, in commerce, Spanish ships and traders to those of all other nations; the other is his engagement to supply country labourers to the Island of Fernando Po.

As regards the first, you will take an opportunity of making known to the Chief that

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the British Government cannot allow British ships and traders to be at a disadvantage within his district, as compared with the ships and traders of Spain. The British Government has no desire to obtain from the Chief commercial advantages from which other nations are excluded, but it requires to share equally in commercial advantages conceded by the Chief to any other nation.

As regards the second point, I have to instruct you to watch very narrowly the operation of the engagement to supply country labourers to Fernando Po. Such engagements are more or less calculated to give rise to a traffic in slaves, by affording a market to which captives may be brought for sale; and even though such captives should be redeemed from slavery on being purchased, and before they are sent over, under the guise of free labourers, to Fernando Po, the encouragement to slave-hunting in the interior of the country still remains the same; and accordingly every effort should be made to check a system which may tend to such a lamentable result.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 43.

Consul Burton to Earl Russell.—(Received July 10.)

Sir,

Fernando Po, May 22, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of your official letter of the 26th of February last, directing me to inquire into King Pepple's claim upon the African Steamship Company in the Bonny River.

A copy of your letter has been forwarded to King Pepple.

At present I cannot obtain a cruizer for the Bonny River, and if one were to be had, the prevalence of yellow fever, which has this year for the first time ravaged the Bights, would render it unadvisable that British seamen should at present be exposed to the climate of the Bonny.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RICHD. F. BURTON.

No. 44.

Consul Burton to Earl Russell.—(Received July 12.)

My Lord,

Fernando Po, May 22, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to report that I made two vain attempts to visit officially the Old Calabar River.

The "Bloodhound," Lieutenant-Commander Dolben, R.N., in November was compelled by sickness to leave the river.

In February the "Griffon," Commander Perry, R.N., was ordered to meet the Commodore at Fernando Po, and was by him sent to the South Coast with the mails.

On the return of the "Griffon" to Fernando Po I received intelligence (Inclosure No. 1) that an Englishman had been assaulted by a native of the Old Calabar River, and proceeded there on the 1st instant. The river is chartless, buoyless, and without pilots.

We were nearly wrecked off Tom Shott's Point by a shipmaster who had volunteered to pilot us, and we anchored off Duke Town on Sunday the 4th May.

I was at once visited by the senior supercargoes, who placed in my hands the complaints embodied in Inclosure No. 2; and their example was presently followed by the Sierra Leone emigrants, who also complained of the natives as shown by Inclosure No. 3. A meeting of the white traders was called for the next morning (Monday, 5th May), to consider the re-establishment of a Court of Equity, based upon the Articles of old Treaties concluded by the late Governor Beecroft and by Mr. Consul Hutchinson in 1856. (Hertslet's Commercial Treaties, vol. x, page 686.)

Before noon at the time appointed the Court of Equity was re-established by the white traders. A copy of it is forwarded (Inclosure No. 4) for your Lordship's consideration. Some such measure is called for by the present state of the river, which has literally been managed by the revolver for the last six months. Certain articles may appear to press heavily upon the natives of Duke Town, but I can hardly treat them otherwise. The murders and torturings, and the abominable crimes which prevail among them, render the place an African Sodom and Gomorrah.

When King Archibong was civilly requested to attend, with the "gentlemen" of Duke Town, at the re-establishment of the Court of Equity, he sent two written excuses, saying he was sick. The medical officer of Her Majesty's ship "Griffon," and Dr. Adams, of the ship "Cressy," were sent on shore, and they reported that he was well enough to come on board.

This attempt at delay failing, Archibong and his gentlemen appeared about noon. I reproached him with not having noticed the assault of a white trader, informed him that the state of the river positively required some remedy, and concluded with letting him know that I expected his signature and that of his Chiefs to be affixed to the Articles of the new Court of Equity, which would be duly submitted to him for palavering.

On the next day (6th May) Archibong again pleaded sickness. Drs. Flynn, R.N., and Adams once more visited him, and the latter reported to me (Inclosure No. 5) that the King was "in a perfectly fit state to go on board Her Britannic Majesty's steamer 'Griffon.'"

As Archibong persisted in refusing his presence, the Chairman and members of the Court of Equity, accompanied by Mr. Bigley, master of the "Griffon," formed a deputation, and proceeded to his house to explain and debate upon the several Articles. The only result was an insolent and taunting refusal on the part of the King to affix his signature. His reasons, taken down in writing by Dr. Adams, proved to be nugatory, the chief objections raised being against the abolition of compulsory breakfasts, and points already determined by Treaty.

Commander Perry had been cautioned by the Commodore to leave the river, if possible, after the fifth day. Already we had spent four, and a month appeared in prospect. I, therefore, at the request of the supercargoes, wrote to King Archibong that he was expected to sign the Articles before noon of the next day, under penalty of my proceeding to extreme measures. He simply refused, being backed up, I regret to say, by the Rev. Mr. Anderson, who on this occasion forwarded a most improperly worded protest, which he afterwards withdrew. A very different and a right view of the case was, however, taken by the Revs. Messrs. Thomson and Baillie, and Dr. Hewan, of the Old Calabar Mission. The first named wrote to me, "I cordially concur with you in the course you have adopted as needful, just, and beneficent."

After clearing out his house and preparing for the "bush," King Archibong thought better of the affair, and appeared on board before noon on the next day (7th May). He and the "gentlemen" of Duke Town signed without difficulty, and their example was followed by Tom Eyo, John Eyo, and the Chiefs of Creek Town, who, indeed, throughout the case conducted themselves with the utmost candour and friendliness. They doubtless hope to gain by a comparison with their ancient rivals.

When this point was settled, I proceeded to an examination of the assault upon Captain Lawton by Yellow Duke. Though owning that it was contrary to Egbo law to strike a white man under any circumstances, this slave-chief, who is one of the most dangerous men in the river, because he is a favourite and a creditor of King Archibong, defended himself on the grounds that he had only torn Captain Lawton's shirt.

After taking down the depositions of Captain Lawton, of Mr. McGowan, supercargo of the brig "Cressy," and of the kroöman "Dolphin," and after hearing the defence of Yellow Duke, I found the latter guilty of the assault. His fine was left to the decision of the Court of Equity, who will "egbo" or "taboo" him from the shipping unless he pays it.

The same body also took charge of Mr. Hazeley's complaint.

One of the most important clauses in the new Treaty being the opening up of the river to the white trader and the missionary, on the 8th May I proceeded with Commander Perry, R.N., accompanied by the supercargoes of Old Calabar, to inspect the several markets on the Cross River. Passing by Creek Town, I called upon the friendly old Chief Tom Eyo, and with the approval of all the missionaries and supercargoes placed upon his head a gold-laced hat, and acknowledged him as King Eyo Honesty IV.

On the 9th May, the little squadron was off Ittoo, a market about forty miles from Duke Town. We were there opposed by some sixty slaves of the Duke Town people, who, pointing their muskets, ordered us to retire. The Rev. Mr. Thomson, who knew them, landed with the intention of preserving the peace, when they laid hands upon him with some violence, and retained him as a hostage. He presently sent a message to say that his life was safe, and that if we turned down stream the people would let him go. I must add that the reverend gentleman behaved with the greatest coolness and firmness, telling us not to be influenced by his position, but to proceed up the river if we thought proper. Fearing, however, some injury to this excellent missionary, we retraced our way, and were presently joined by Mr. Thomson.

On the next day (May 10th), arriving at Duke Town, I sent for King Archibong and the "gentlemen" proprietors of the slaves, informing him of the outrage and promising that his person should be inviolate. He came on board, and readily agreed that the offenders should be given up. I asked him if he would leave as hostages Yellow Duke and Adam Archibong, whose men were notoriously the ringleaders in the affair. He replied that he would stay himself. This, however, could not be permitted. Moreover, as the Chiefs before mentioned had come on board, I refused to secure their persons. All were therefore dismissed, under a promise that the slave offenders should be produced on Monday morning (the 12th May), and that Duke Town should not be vacated by the inhabitants.

No sooner, however, did King Archibong and his Chiefs leave the "Griffon" than the people were warned out of the town. By noon on Monday the very doors and windows were removed.

At the time appointed I demanded the slaves from King Archibong, and once more summoned him on board with a promise of personal immunity. My only reply was a letter (Inclosure No. 6) from the Rev. Mr. Anderson, who from being a most violent accuser of the Duke Town people, had suddenly become their warmest and most partial friend. The reverend gentleman had manifestly heard only the native story, and had adopted in its entirety their untrue account of what had passed on board the "Griffon." Commander Perry and I were amazed at his proceedings, which were characterized in no measured terms by the supercargoes, even by those of his own congregation.

Meantime, Duke Town was filled with armed men. A report also prevailed that they were ordered, in case fire was opened, to burn down the town, thus establishing a claim to cancel old debts.

It was universally known that the authors of the outrage at Ittoo were ready to be delivered, but the King and Chiefs preferred to see their clay walls knocked down. Of course I resolved to disappoint them.

At a Court of Equity held on the same day, it was resolved to move the shipping to Parrot Island, a healthier and safer spot some miles lower down the river. I was also requested by the supercargoes to take charge of one "Iron Bar," a head Egbo or jujuman of Duke Town, and to keep him as hostage at Fernando Po at once for the safety of the supercargo, and as a surety for the offending slaves, one of whom was his property.

Iron Bar, a man of considerable power, and of a most cruel disposition, was transferred to me by Messrs. Irvine and Inglis, who held him prisoner. He is now at the Consulate, where orders have been given to treat him like a native gentleman.

The supercargoes also requested me to revisit them as soon as possible. I undertook to apply for a cruizer from Lagos, provided they could inform me that they had left Duke Town for Parrot Island.

At this season, especially as yellow fever is coming down the coast for the first time, British seamen could hardly visit Duke Town; moreover, if the shipping stay there, a month at least would be required to settle the various difficulties. As soon, however, as the season opens I shall once more proceed to Ittoo and the upper markets, and personally superintend the opening of the Cross and Calabar Rivers. The tribes of "middle-men" who now infest the coast from Benin to Cameroons, can no longer be permitted to bar the great highways which Nature has run into the African interior.

I shall meet with some opposition, as the plundering of the "bush men" is necessary to support the indolence, the pride, and the vile sensuality of the coast people. But with the permission of Her Majesty's Government, I shall (D. V.) succeed.

On Wednesday, the 14th May, I left Old Calabar for Cameroons River, when the Chairman and Members of the Court of Equity favoured me with a document (Inclosure No. 7), expressing an opinion that I had done my best.

It is with regret that your Lordship is troubled with these particulars.

Should I be honoured with approval, the path for the future appears clear to me.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RICHD. F. BURTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 44.

The Supercargoes in the Old Calabar River to Consul Burton.

Sir,

Old Calabar River, April 23, 1862.

AT a meeting held this day, on board the "Araminta," at the request of Mr. Mc Gowan, Agent of Messrs. F. Huth and Co., we beg respectfully to lay before you the after-

mentioned outrage committed on Captain Lawton of the ship "Cressy." He was on shore superintending the clearing out of a cask-house, when a man of the name of Yellow Duke got his slaves to lay hold of him, and Yellow himself dragged his shirt off him, used violent and outrageous language, and defied all and every authority.

We waited on King Archibong; it looked clearly a matter of collusion; the King prevaricated, and gave no redress. There is no use in entering into every detail, but most earnestly we ask your presence; for really, from the state of things here, they believe we can have no protection.

They have long enough put at defiance our exertions to get what is lawfully due. They are now outraging British subjects.

We have, &c.

(Signed) ROBERT Mc GOWAN, "*Cressy.*"
WILLIAM HEARN, "*Coronet.*"
WILLIAM DONALDSON, "*Parramatta.*"
WILLIAM ROY, "*Araminta.*"
IRVINE & INGLIS, "*Orozimbo.*"
JAN SANSE, "*Eendragt.*"
J. HAMERTON GREENWOOD, "*Elizabeth.*"

Inclosure 2 in No. 44.

The Supercargoes in the Old Calabar River to Consul Burton.

Sir, *Old Calabar River, April 28, 1862.*

BEING anxious to afford you all possible aid in redressing the grievances under which we, the supercargoes of this river, have been labouring for some time past, we beg to state to you that we are prepared to form a Court of Equity under your supervision, and subject to such rules as may be deemed most advisable; and we have to request your advice upon this subject. We also beg to lay before you the following, as being our principal causes of complaint:—

1st. We are subject to great loss and annoyance by the heads of Duke and Creek Towns creating and putting in force native laws touching trade, highly detrimental to us, and contrary to express Treaty; and we beg particularly to call your attention to a late instance of this kind.

By last mail we received accounts of a falling oil market, and a meeting of supercargoes was at once convened for the purpose of reducing the price here; which was done. Since that time our trade has been stopped, no oil being allowed to be sold at the new prices to any ship. This has been done by King Archibong and Tom Eyo Honesty, and is not the voluntary act of traders themselves, as several have stated that they would sell oil for the reduced price, but "dare" not, until the affair was settled by the King, which has not yet been done.

2nd. Last year a large trade was done by young men and boy traders in barrels, hogsheads, and rum puncheons of oil. At the commencement of the present year, King Archibong and Tom Eyo caused "egbo" to be blown that no one should sell oil in smaller quantity than the usual trade-cask or puncheon. No intimation was given to any supercargo until after the law was in force; and when we spoke to the King about it, he gave us no satisfaction, merely replying he was King and would make any laws he thought fit.

Now, Sir, we submit that this is an act of glaring injustice; first, to us, who are direct losers by it, as any supercargo will testify; and secondly, to the young traders, many of whom are at present unable to command the requisite means for conducting a wholesale trade, but if allowed to go on gradually would in time become useful and extensive traders.

The only parties benefited by this law are the King and a few men of position, who thus monopolize the whole trade of the interior markets to the exclusion of all others.

3rd. A similar minor annoyance is, that when a ship's house is to be made, or a cask-house built, we are compelled to go the King, who selects a man to do the work; and although we could get it done cheaper and more expeditiously by others, yet no one dare undertake the task save the particular party nominated by the King, and at his price; this completely shuts us out from the benefits of opposition, and the prices we have been compelled to pay, rather than have our people exposed to the weather, have been frequently out of all reason.

4th. Lately to avoid all this trouble and delay, Mr. Roy had an iron house sent out from England, but King Archibong has distinctly refused to allow it to be put up on shore; he gives no particular reason for this, but we all perfectly understand that it is in order to obtain the goods for the erection of a bamboo-house. We pay rent for the ground on

which these houses are built, not for the houses themselves, for which we have to pay an extra heavy price; and we cannot but consider it most unjust to be prevented from putting up any kind of building we think most suitable.

5th. For some time past we have been at issue with King Archibong respecting the rental of these cask-houses, and are very anxious to have this question definitely settled. Mr. Greenwood has been obliged to pay on account of a ship which came here to discharge cargo, and left, after a brief delay, not half loaded. Another vessel has come to him, and cask-house rent is again demanded; we had understood that an annual rent was to be paid, irrespective of the number of vessels arriving during the year consigned to any supercargo.

6th. It has long been the wish of the supercargoes to do away with the custom of giving breakfasts upon the arrival of a ship here; a most expensive and annoying ceremony.

Mr. Roy determined to give it up, but "egbo" was blown on his ship by Tom Eyo. No Creek Town man dare go on board, and even parties indebted to him were prevented from bringing their oil for some time.

7th. We find it impossible to get any satisfaction from native authority when any matter is brought up in the form of complaint, as the following instances will illustrate:—

It has always been held that our ships were neutral ground, when quarrels existed between any of the natives. A few months since this was broken through by Yellow Duke, who attacked and severely maltreated some slaves belonging to Eyo Hogan, who was at the time on board the "Araminta," Mr. Roy's vessel, and his people in a canoe alongside. Upon applying to King Archibong to know if this was to be allowed, he declined the subject, saying he knew nothing about it.

Again, Mr. McGowan has brought out for Bassa Henshaw, by special order, an expensive set of goods. Bassa Henshaw is a large trader, and a wealthy man, yet he now coolly refuses the goods, and will only take them at a most reduced price, knowing that Mr. McGowan is not likely to find a buyer elsewhere.

There is no appeal to any authority here; the King only puts these questions aside, and will not assist us in the least.

With respect to the all-important subject of debts at present owing by natives, we consider it most advisable that each supercargo should lay his own case before you for consideration; and at the same time we beg to assure you that our entire support will be given, as a body, to such measures as you may consider right to adopt for the common benefit of all.

We have, &c.

(Signed)

WILLIAM HEARN, "*Coronet.*"
 WILLIAM DONALDSON, "*Parramatta.*"
 IRVINE & INGLIS, "*Orozimbo.*"
 THOMAS LEWIS.
 WILLIAM ROY, "*Araminta.*"
 ROBERT Mc GOWAN, "*Cressy.*"
 J. HAMERTON GREENWOOD, "*Elizabeth.*"

Inclosure 3 in No. 44.

Mr. Hazeley to Consul Burton.

Sir,

Old Calabar, Duke Town, May 6, 1862.

WITH great regret I feel myself under the necessity to address you on a subject of a very serious nature, which not only myself but others from Sierra Leone, who reside here on shore, as mechanics. In times past, when the natives know that we had some one to vindicate our cause, they use to dread for disturbing any of us. But here of late, as they find no Consul or man-of-war, they treat us most disgracefully.

Sir, I shall not at all intrude upon your valuable time; but I shall just bring you two charges before your notice against two of the natives young men here.

There is one free boy whom the parents gave me at Cameroon, by the name of Moses Bell, on my way here for to train up, and he has been under the Rev. W. Anderson as a scholar.

But these seven days one of this man, by the name of Asuqua Apa, seized this boy in the market, and detain him as a prisoner until this day. The charges is he had a pig to sell, and three of us were to buy the pig. As the rest were not ready, I gave him two chairs in pledge, each of them worth the pig. When the time expired, I called him for to

receive his payment. He then refused to take any part in his country money, he wanted me for to sell him a piece of cloth under price, which I refuse. He then went, through vexations, seize this boy, and detained him. The pledge is still in his hand until this day, with the boy.

The other charge is against one Adam Ephraim Edein, who made it his business on the month of November last for to seize this very boy, and put him in irons, and bulrag me in the presence of the Rev. W. Anderson for no cause at all.

The charge was I owed a man belonging to him, which debt I deny. The man merely gave me something to exchange ; I returned the same to him ; he then refused it, and wanted me to pay him three times that amount. Rev. Anderson tried all his best to settle it, and showed him all his faults, but he could not be convinced until he took his satisfaction by abusing and beating me in the public street. And he accepted the same amount afterward, and discharge the boy.

Wish you to give these complaints your kind consideration, I have, &c.

(Signed)

WILLIAM ISAM HAZELEY.

Inclosure 4 in No. 44.

Agreement between the British and other Supercargoes and the Native Traders of Old Calabar.

AT a meeting of the British and other supercargoes and native traders resident at Old Calabar, held on board Her Britannic Majesty's steam-vessel "Griffon," Commander Perry, the following Code of Bye-laws and Agreements, subject to such modifications or additions as may be sanctioned by Her Britannic Majesty's Consul, for the better regulation of trading matters between the parties hereunto subscribing, was unanimously agreed to, and sanctioned by Richard Francis Burton, Esquire, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul for the Bight of Biafra and the Island of Fernando Po :—

Article 1. That an Equity Court be established in the Old Calabar country to keep in their integrity the following bye-laws and regulations, and that the Court shall consist of all the supercargoes, a corresponding number of the chief traders of the locality being admitted at each meeting to hear the decisions of the Court, but the Kings alone shall have a vote in the proceedings.

Art. 2. That a majority of votes at each meeting have the deciding power on any subject brought before the Court, the Chairman's vote being equal to two.

Art. 3. That this body have a monthly sitting, unless in special cases, when it may be summoned at any time ; that a supercargo each in his turn, according to seniority, be elected Chairman for a month ; and that a report of each meeting be forwarded to Her Britannic Majesty's Consul at Fernando Po.

Art. 4. That a Court-house be erected at the joint expense of the supercargoes now trading in the river, on the ground where Whitehall once stood, to be under the protection of Her Britannic Majesty's Consul, the aforesaid ground having been granted to Her Britannic Majesty's Consul for that purpose by the late King Duke Ephraim.

Art. 5. That any one member of this Court have the power to appeal against its decisions to the Consul, and until his next visit or communication all action of judgment be suspended, and if, on examining this appeal, it be found frivolous or invalid, the appellants are to be fined at the discretion of the Court.

Art. 6. That this Court shall apply the fines levied by it to the expense of the erection of the Court-house, and keeping it in order, or otherwise, as the Court may think expedient ; that the fines of palm oil be sold by public auction.

Art. 7. That any supercargo or native after receiving a formal notice to appear at the Court, and failing to attend at the time fixed for meeting, shall have half-an-hour's grace allowed, and if not present at the expiration of that time shall be considered as refusing to attend, and shall be fined at the discretion of the Court, unless he can produce satisfactory reasons for such non-appearance, in defiance of the rules of the Court.

Art. 8. That any native refusing to pay any fine that may be inflicted by this Court shall be stopped from going on board any ship in the river, either for trade or any other purpose ; and any supercargo refusing to pay a fine shall be denied the privileges of the Equity Court.

Art. 9. That all comeys be paid to the Kings, or other recognized authorities at the time, of Duke and Creek Towns, one-half to each town as arranged on board Her Majesty's ship "Alecto," by Commander Raby ; the comey to be paid at the rate of 20 coppers per registered ton, and no further claim is allowed to any person whatever beyond this.

Art. 10. That all comeys be tendered on the arrival of a vessel in the river, without any breakfast or ceremony of any kind, and if not accepted, the supercargo may commence trade immediately. The said comey to be paid, in cargo, by said ship when subsequently demanded.

Art. 11. That comeys having been paid or tendered, no hindrance shall be offered to the obtaining of wood and water for any ship's use.

Art. 12. That the ground given as a site for a cask-house to any supercargo shall be paid for in the case of hulks at the rate of 1 hogshead of rum and 300 kroos of salt per annum, and in the case of sea-going ships consigned to a supercargo who has no permanent hulk, then the same goods shall be paid for each ship loading with country produce in this river.

Art. 13. After the comey has been paid or tendered to the Kings or recognized authorities, every person desirous of disposing of any country produce in any quantities whatever to the shipping shall be at liberty to do so in his own name without hindrance or molestation from any one.

Art. 14. That in the event of any trader making an agreement to take goods from any ship at a certain rate, all such agreements shall be perfectly binding; and in the case of the goods not being paid for by the specified time, such goods may be sold for what they will bring, and any loss sustained thereon shall be made good, at the instance of the Court, by the defaulting trader to the supercargo with whom the agreement has been made.

Art. 15. That no trust whatever be given to any native trader after date hereof; and it is hereby distinctly understood, and agreed to, that no claims whatever for any trust given to any native after date of this shall be allowed to be brought before this Court as claims; but if any supercargo shall hereafter give trust, he does so on his own responsibility.

Art. 16. That in the case of already existing debts, it is hereby agreed that in order to obtain all such outstanding trust given prior to this date, any supercargo can summon before this Court any debtor or his guarantee, and upon such debt being proven, a time for payment shall be fixed by the Court, and if within that time the debt has not been paid up, then a notice shall be given to the Kings, or any other recognized authority, demanding such debtor to be delivered up to the Court until his debt be paid; and should a debtor not be delivered up according to notice, the Court shall consider the expediency of stopping trade, or adopting such measures as may ensure compliance with their demand: and further, in order as far as possible to do away with trust, it is agreed that no trade casks shall from this time be given out as heretofore, except for the obtaining of a debt already existing, and subject to the same rule as a debt.

Art. 17. That for the protection of the shipping, and in order to facilitate the adjustment of disputes or quarrels arising between supercargoes and natives, it is agreed that all such matters be in the first instance referred to the Court, and if upon investigation it be found impossible to adjust such matter peaceably, then the Court shall refer it to the Consul, and while awaiting his decision the contending parties shall be bound to keep the peace in such sums as the Court may think fit to decree, according to the circumstances of the parties implicated: and further, all disputes between white men and natives shall be without prejudice to the shipping, all parties agreeing to abide by the decision of the Consul.

Art. 18. That if at any time after the usual comey has been paid or tendered any supercargo can prove that the trade of his ship has been stopped by blowing "egbo," or by other means, direct or indirect, upon any pretence whatever, then the Kings, or recognized authorities for the time, are to be held responsible for such stoppage, and shall pay one puncheon of good palm oil per day for every 100 tons registered tonnage to said ship as compensation for loss incurred. The said oil to be paid at such time and in such manner as may be directed by the Consul.

Art. 19. That property on shore in cask-houses shall be strictly inviolate, and the Kings, or recognized authorities, shall prohibit their subjects from entering any cask-house, unless by written authority from the white trader to whom the cask-house belongs.

Art. 20. That a legally qualified pilot shall be paid at the rate of one copper per registered ton for bringing up any vessel, and the same for taking her out to sea; but unless a legal certificate be presented by a pilot, signed by Her Britannic Majesty's Consul, it shall not be allowed that the native authorities can claim any pilotage whatever. But it shall be lawful for a certificated pilot to claim one-half the foregoing pilotage when he shall not have been sent for, or his services demanded.

Art. 21. That a ship being ready to proceed to sea, or having sent for a pilot to bring her up the river, the pilot shall proceed on board without delay, under pain of forfeiture of his pilotage, and any further penalty which may be adjudged by Her Britannic Majesty's Consul.

Art. 22. That it shall be unlawful to blow "egbo" under any pretence on persons, premises, or property of any British subjects resident on shore.

Art. 23. That the Kings and Chiefs of Old Calabar pledge themselves that no British subject shall from this time be defamed on shore, or maltreated in any way or under any pretence; and if the Kings or Chiefs do so they will incur the displeasure of Her Majesty the Queen of England, and be declared enemies of Great Britain, and the men-of-war will, upon such complaint being made to them, immediately come to Calabar River to protect British subjects.

Art. 24. That these laws be considered the existing laws between British supercargoes and the native traders at Old Calabar, and all former Codes shall be by these abolished relating to trade.

Ratified under my hand and seal on board Her Majesty's steam-ship "Griffon," in the Old Calabar River, this 5th day of May, 1862.

(Signed)

RICHD. F. BURTON, *Her Britannic Majesty's Consul,*
Fernando Po.

J. LAISNE PERRY, *Commander, H.M.S. "Griffon."*

WM. HEARN, *"Coronet."*

W. DONALDSON, *"Parramatta."*

ROBERT Mc GOWAN, *"Cressy."*

WILLIAM ROY, *"Araminta."*

IRVINE & INGLIS, *"Orozimbo."*

JAN SANSE, *"Eendragt."*

J. HAMERTON GREENWOOD, *"Elizabeth."*

KING ARCHIBONG II, of Duke Town.

ADAM ARCHIBONG, his X mark.

EPHRAIM DUKE, his X mark.

BLACK DAVIES, his X mark.

EGHO YOUNG HOGAN, his X mark.

EPHRAIM ADAM, his X mark.

YELLOW DUKE, his X mark.

BASSY HENSHAW, his X mark.

TOM OFFRONG, his X mark.

GEORGE DUKE, his X mark.

HENSHAW DUKE, his X mark.

TOM EYO HONESTY, his X mark.

JOHN EYO.

KING CAMEROONS, his X mark.

EGHO YOUNG OGO, his X mark.

DOCTOR EYO, his X mark.

HOGAN BASSY, his X mark.

ANTICA AMBO, his X mark.

Inclosure 5 in No. 44.

Certificate.

Old Calabar River, May 6, 1862.

I CERTIFY that I have this day seen King Archibong, and I consider him in a perfectly fit state to go on board Her Britannic Majesty's steamer "Griffon."

(Signed)

E. ADAM, M.R.C.S.E.

Inclosure 6 in No. 44.

The Rev. W. Anderson to Consul Burton.

Sir, *Duke Town, May 12, 1862.*
IT is with great reluctance that I comply with the wishes of several of the Calabar gentlemen, and intimate to you that, after what occurred on the "Griffon" on Saturday, viz., the proposal to detain two of them as hostages, neither King Archibong nor any of his Chiefs will appear on board Her Majesty's ship "Griffon" this day.

I consent to write this only because it has been represented to me that you may be impatient to have a reply to your note to King Archibong.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

WM. ANDERSON.

Inclosure 7 in No. 44.

The Chairman, &c., of the Court of Equity in the Old Calabar River to Consul Burton.

Old Calabar River, May 13, 1862.

WE, the Chairman and Members of the Equity Court, formed by Consul Burton for the better regulation of trade in this river, beg to return him and Commander Perry our hearty thanks for their courteous manner towards us individually, and the kind efforts they have made to settle all disputes between us and the natives, and are, at the same time, anxious for his speedy return to complete the work so vigorously commenced, as it will lead to important advantages in the future to European traders.

(Signed)

RT. Mc GOWAN, *Acting Chairman.*

IRVINE & INGLIS.

WILLIAM ROY.

WILLIAM DONALDSON.

JAN SANSE.

J. HAMERTON GREENWOOD.

Pro WM. HEARN,

F. W. G. BUCKLEY.

No. 45.

Consul Burton to Earl Russell.—(Received July 10.)

My Lord,

Fernando Po, May 22, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that, on the 16th instant I visited the Cameroons River, and found the trade stopped since the 1st May, owing to the necessity of reducing the "coppers."

Considering this state of things as the beginning of long troubles, I have induced the traders to form a Court of Equity, the Articles of which are virtually the same as those signed by Mr. Consul Hutchinson, January 14, 1856. They are inclosed for your Lordship's information. On the 19th instant they were signed by the supercargoes, the British subjects (Sierra Leone emigrants), and the three principal Chiefs, Preso Bell, King Acqua, and King Bell.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

RICHD. F. BURTON.

Inclosure in No. 45.

Bye-Laws for the better regulation of trading matters between the supercargoes and native traders of the River Cameroons, passed at a meeting held on board Her Majesty's steam-vessel "Griffon," and sanctioned by Richard Francis Burton, Esq., Her British Majesty's Consul for the Bight of Biafra and the Island of Fernando Po.

Article 1. THAT an Equity Court be established in the River Cameroons to keep in their integrity the following Bye-Laws and Regulations, and that the Court shall consist of all the supercargoes, a corresponding number of the chief traders of the locality being admitted at each meeting to hear the decision of the Court; but the four Chiefs, viz., King Bell, King Acqua, Preso Bell, and Charley Dido, alone shall have a vote in the proceedings.

Art. 2. That a majority of votes at each meeting have the deciding power on any subject brought before the Court.

Art. 3. That this body have a monthly sitting, unless in special cases, when it may be summoned at any time. That a supercargo, each in his turn, according to seniority, be elected Chairman for a month; and that a report of each meeting be forwarded to Her Britannic Majesty's Consul at Fernando Po.

Art. 4. That a Court-house be erected at the joint expense of the supercargoes now trading in the river, to be under the protection of Her Britannic Majesty's Consul.

Art. 5. That any one member of this Court have the power to appeal against its decisions to the Consul, and, until his next visit or communication, all action of judgment be suspended.

Art. 6. That any supercargo or native after receiving a formal notice to appear at the

Court, and failing to attend at the time fixed for meeting, shall have half-an-hour's grace allowed, and if not present at the expiration of that time shall be considered as refusing to attend, and shall be fined at the discretion of the Court, unless he can produce satisfactory reasons for such non-appearance in defiance of the order of the Court.

Art. 7. That any native refusing to pay any fine that may be inflicted by this Court, shall be stopped from going on board any ships in the river, either for trade or any other purpose; and any supercargo refusing to pay a fine shall be denied the privilege of the Equity Court.

Art. 8. That all old palavers shall be considered as settled up to this date, and cannot be again brought forward to the detriment of trade.

Art. 9. That any vessel coming into the river for the purpose of trade shall pay to the King or head man of the town at which he may choose to anchor, the amount of ten original crews for every hundred tons of the vessel's register; in special cases, or those of resident agents, their comey to be according as they may arrange it, annually or otherwise, with the King or headman of the town at which their cask-houses are situated; and under no pretence shall any other King or head man demand any comey or dash whatever from such vessel; and, also, the said King or head man to supply the said ship with a suitable cask-house on payment of five crews.

Art. 10. That, after the usual payment to the King or head man for the use of the cask-house, if any agent or supercargo can prove that his cask-house has been illegally entered or broken into, and any property stolen therefrom by any of the natives, the said King or head man to be held responsible for the loss.

Art. 11. That any King, Chief, or trader attempting or threatening to stop the trade of any vessel or supercargo, after the usual comey has been tendered for the privilege of trading, such King, Chief, or trader shall, at a meeting of the supercargoes, be summoned before the Court to account for such stoppage, and, if found guilty of illegal obstruction, shall be punished to such an extent as may be agreed upon.

Art. 12. That any person acting as pilot shall receive as compensation the value of one original crew for every three feet of the vessel's draught.

Art. 13. That whereas several boats have been frequently stopped and taken from alongside ships, and British subjects detained and maltreated, any aggression committed either on property or persons shall be visited by immediate punishment to the parties so offending, a Special Court called for the occasion, and the heaviest punishment inflicted allowed by the laws.

Art. 14. All intentionally watered and fermenting oil offered for sale to be forfeited; and all casks manufactured for fraudulent purposes to be forfeited with the contents.

Art. 15. That for the protection of the shipping, and in order to facilitate the adjustment of disputes or quarrels arising between supercargoes and natives, it is agreed that all such matters be, in the first instance, referred to the Court, and if, upon investigation, it be found impossible to adjust such matter peaceably, then the Court shall refer it to the Consul, and, while awaiting his decision, the contending parties shall be bound to keep the peace in such terms as the Court may think fit to decree, according to the circumstances of the parties implicated; and, further, all disputes between white men and natives shall be without prejudice to the shipping; all parties agreeing to abide by the decision of the Consul.

Art. 16.* That it shall be unlawful to "blow egbo," under any pretence, on persons, persons, premises, or property, of any British subjects resident on shore.

Art. 17. That the Kings and Chiefs of Cameroons pledge themselves that no British subject shall, from this time, be detained on shore, or maltreated in any way, or under any pretence; and if the Kings or Chiefs do so, they will incur the displeasure of Her Majesty the Queen of England, and be declared enemies of Great Britain; and the men of war will, upon such complaints being made to them, immediately come to Cameroons River to protect British subjects.

Art. 18. That any native after taking trust from any supercargo or agent, and not working satisfactorily, or having no intention to pay the same, can be summoned before the Court; and, upon such debt being proven, a time for payment shall be fixed by the Court, and, if within that time, the debt has not been paid up, such debtor shall, at the discretion of the Court, be stopped from going on board the ships for any other purpose than to pay his debts.

Art. 19. That these laws be considered the existing laws between British supercargoes and the native traders at Cameroons, and all former Codes shall be by them abolished relating to trade.

* This Article cancelled.

Given under our hands on board Her Britannic Majesty's steam-vessel "Griffon," in the River Cameroons, this 19th day of May, 1862.

(Signed)

RICHD. F. BURTON, *Her Britannic Majesty's Consul for the Bight of Biafra and the Island of Fernando Po.*

J. LAISNE PERRY, *Commander, R.N., H.M.S. "Griffon."*

W. H. ASHMALL, *"Sir John Falstaff."*

W. BABINGTON, *"Moselle," Messrs. K. and W. King.*

JOHN B. BOWERBANK, *Agent to Messrs. Hatton and Cookson.*

ROBT. A. TAYLOR, *"Alex. Grant."*

ISAAC GRAYSON, *"Commerce."*

JOHN LILLEY, *Factory "Moodordoo."*

JOHN DURING.

J. T. DECKER.

ISAAC L. CLEMENES.

ROBERT G. JOHNSON.

JOSEPH TAYLOR, his ✕ mark.

WILLIAM TAMBER, his ✕ mark.

PRESO BELL, his ✕ mark.

KING AQUA, his ✕ mark.

KING BELL, his ✕ mark.

No. 46.

Consul Burton to Earl Russell.—(Received July 10.)

My Lord,

Fernando Po, May 22, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inclose an official letter, and copy of a log kept by Isaac Grayson, master of the brig "Commerce," now trading in the Cameroons River.

It is an old custom of the Cameroon men to fight among themselves for the ships newly arriving in their river. On this occasion, however, they boarded an English vessel, and caused her, I am informed, to incur considerable danger.

I venture to represent that, under such circumstances, Her Majesty's Consul should be armed with sufficient powers to punish the natives by fine, which must be raised by proceeding, if necessary, to forcible measures.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

RICHD. F. BURTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 46.

Mr. Grayson to Consul Burton.

Sir,

Cameroons, May 17, 1862.

I BEG to inclose a copy of my log since the arrival of my vessel in the Cameroons River, by which you will see the treatment I have received from the hands of Preso Bell's people, which I hope you will put a stop to.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

ISAAC GRAYSON, *Master of brig "Commerce."*

Inclosure 2 in No. 46.

Extract from the Log of the "Commerce."

May 12, 1862, 5 P.M.—CAME to anchor off Doctor's Creek, in Cameroons River, when, at 7 P.M., several canoes filled with men came on board from King Bell's Town, Acqua Town, and Preso Bell's Town, each wanting the ship to anchor at their own beach. I told them all I was not decided as to what beach I should take.

May 13.—Preso Bell's people and King Bell's people came on board, and wanted to create a disturbance. 9 A.M., proceeded up the river with Mr. Brunn, the supercargo of the vessel, in my boat, with the intention of visiting the hulks. Whilst I was proceeding up the river, the canoes of Preso Bell several times surrounded the boat, with the intention

of taking us up to their town prisoners until we brought the vessel up to their beach. We managed, however, to get away from them, and went on board the barque "Endora." Whilst there the canoes of Preso Bell waited off Captain Babington's vessel to stop the boat when we proceeded for our letters on board the "Alexander Grant," Mr. Taylor, Messrs. Horsfall's agent. I went on shore to King Bell's beach to pick out ground for sheds; having done so, I went up to his house to get a pilot to fetch the ship in; I sent him with a letter on board to the mate with instructions to do so.

Whilst the vessel was proceeding up the river Preso Bell's people passed down in armed canoes, and wanted to take possession of the vessel, with the intention of taking her to Preso Bell's town. Seeing this, I asked King Bell to render assistance in taking her again, when he armed his canoes and took her, and brought her to an anchor. During all this time, Preso Bell's people and King Bell's people were fighting on deck to have possession of her. When the vessel was under weigh, Preso Bell's people attempted to cut the stopper of the cable to prevent the vessel from anchoring off King Bell's town, but were prevented by King Bell's people. I proceeded on board with Mr. Brunn and King Bell in my own boat, and, after a long palaver with them, it was very long before I could restore peace, or get Preso Bell's people or canoes to leave the ship.

(Signed) ISAAC GRAYSON, *Master of brig "Commerce."*
JOHN JENNINGS, *1st Mate.*
JAMES S. GRAYSON, *Boatswain.*

No. 47.

Earl Russell to Consul Burton.

Sir,

Foreign Office, July 23, 1862.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith copies of a correspondence between Mr. Thwaites and this Department on affairs connected with the Bonny River.

You will perceive from the letter which, by my directions, was addressed to Mr. Thwaites on the 7th instant, that it will be necessary that I should receive from you reports upon two points. The first is, the question of the claim made by King Pepple for duties on the African Steam-Packet Company's coal-hulk in the Bonny River; and the second relates to the Tariff which has been recently published by King Pepple.

With regard to the first point, I have already called upon you for a report of the grounds upon which the claim for duties on the coal-hulk is made, and I have only now to instruct you to furnish me with a full report upon this matter.

With reference to the question of the new Tariff, I have to desire that you will inform me of the actual amount of duties proposed to be levied under this Tariff, of the amount of increase as compared with the old Tariff, and the proportion the duties levied bear to the value of the goods.

I should also be glad to know in what light the Tariff is looked upon by the traders in the Bonny River.

I have further, in accordance with what I have stated to Mr. Thwaites, to desire that on the occasion of your next visit to the Bonny River, you will communicate with King Pepple upon the subject of the wish expressed by him to have the countenance and support of the British Government in suppressing the horrible custom of offering human sacrifices.

You will inform the King that if he thinks fit to call a meeting of his Chiefs and the Headmen of the river, you are authorized to make known to them the horror and detestation with which this horrible custom is viewed by the British Government and by all civilized people, and that Her Majesty's Government will give him moral support in his determination to suppress similar barbarous proceedings for the future.

You will let Pepple, however, understand distinctly that Her Majesty's Government have no wish or intention to give him political support.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

Inclosure 1 in No. 47.

Mr. Thwaites to Mr. Layard.

Sir,

10, *Highbury Terrace*, June 28, 1862.

IN reply to your letter of the 18th instant, wherein you state that I should communicate in writing any statement I may be deputed by the King of Bonny to make respecting the affairs of his country, I beg you will lay before Earl Russell the following statements for his Lordship's consideration:—

1. The King is anxious that his country should be represented here, and wishes me to act as his Consul, if Her Majesty's Government will accept me. He states that he is desirous of increasing the trade of Bonny, which there is no doubt can be done to a great extent; and I need not remind you that the merchants of Liverpool have hitherto had almost the exclusive trade, which has been considerable; and I am instructed by the King to convey to Earl Russell that Her Majesty's Government are at no expense with Bonny, neither does he wish them to be. At the same time the merchants of England are deriving great advantages from the commerce; and he feels it only right that he should be represented here, as he has always allowed Her Majesty's Consul to enter his territory when he pleases, and gave his sanction to the first appointment of British Consul for the Bight of Biafra and Benin.

2. The Royal Mail Steam Company refuse to pay the sum of 400*l.* for comey claimed from the hulk "William Money." I am directed by the King to say that that vessel has been trading in coals, which the Company have been selling at 5*l.* per ton to the Spanish and other vessels; besides ale, porter, brandy, wines, hams, &c.

3. The King is about to establish a new Tariff, particulars of which I left with Mr. Wylde.

4. The King deplores the human sacrifices which took place in February; and states that he wrote to Commodore Edmonstone in 1861, expressing his abhorrence of such custom, which has existed for centuries, and pointed out to him an immediate remedy, viz.: The merchants in the river (and a man-of-war) to assist with their presence at a meeting of his Chiefs, and then state that they would support him in suppressing this dreadful custom, and he would guarantee it should never occur again.

5. The town of Bonny and neighbouring country are suffering from yellow fever, sixty to seventy deaths per day in the town alone. The shipping also are suffering greatly; and what is very wrong in the merchants, the ships go out unprovided with proper medical men; they are chiefly young men that have been assistants in druggists' shops for a year or two, and the King assures me they kill more than they cure, and he thinks it a matter for the immediate attention of Her Majesty's Government. Respecting the new Tariff, the King has given up trading himself; and the heavy calls upon him for presents to send up the country, improvements in the town, river-side, &c., compel him to increase the comey; and he is also anxious to build schools, which cannot be done without money, and of course when he traded himself it was a large source of profit to him.

I shall be glad of an early answer, so that I may communicate with His Majesty by next mail.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RICHARD THWAITES.

Inclosure 2 in No. 47.

Mr. Layard to Mr. Thwaites.

Sir,

Foreign Office, July 7, 1862.

I HAVE laid before Earl Russell your letter of the 28th ultimo, submitting, by direction of the African Chief, King Pepple, the following matters connected with the affairs of the Bonny River, for his Lordship's consideration:—

1. The desire of King Pepple that his country should be represented in England, and his wish that you should be recognized by Her Majesty's Government as his Consul.

2. The King's complaint that the African Steam-Packet Company refuse to pay the sum of 400*l.* for comey on duties charged in regard to their coal-hulk, the "William Money," which vessel, it is stated, has been used not only as a coal-depôt, but for trading purposes, the Company having retailed coals to Spanish and other vessels, besides selling wines, spirits, provisions, &c.

3. The intention of the King to establish a new Tariff, the particulars of which are set forth in a paper left by you at this office.

4. A statement that he deploras the human sacrifices that took place in his country in the month of February last, and his desire that a ship of war should be present at a meeting of the Chiefs to be assembled by him, with the view to countenance and support him in his determination to put a stop to this horrible custom.

5. His desire that the attention of Her Majesty's Government should be called to the class of persons sent out as surgeons on board British ships trading in the Bonny River, who, it is stated, are young men with no other qualification for the post than that of having assisted in druggists' shops for a year or two; and that the crews of British ships suffer considerably in consequence of their incapacity.

As regards the first point, I am to state that, while Lord Russell will at all times be ready to receive and to attend to any representations which you may be authorized by King Pepple to make on the affairs of the Bonny country, it will be impossible for his Lordship to acknowledge you in an official character as Consul, and to issue to you the Queen's exequatur in the same manner as is done in the cases of Consuls of European and other foreign Powers.

With reference to the second point, namely, the refusal of the African Steam-Packet Company to pay the sum of 400*l.* for dues levied on the hulk "William Money," employed as a coal-depôt by the Company, I am to state that it was in consequence of a representation made to this Department by the Company that Commodore Edmonstone was instructed to intimate to King Pepple that he would not be allowed to enforce this claim. His Lordship will, however, direct Her Majesty's Consul at Fernando Po to report whether there is any ground for placing the Company's coal-hulk on a different footing from that on which it has hitherto been placed, in regard to the immunity which it enjoyed from the dues levied on other ships in the Bonny River.

3. On the question of the Tariff I am to state that Lord Russell cannot, at present, offer an opinion; but his Lordship will call upon Her Majesty's Consul in the Bight of Biafra for a report on the subject.

4. With regard to King Pepple's wish that a British ship of war should be present at a meeting of Chiefs to be assembled by the King for the suppression of the horrible practice of human sacrifice, I am to state that Captain Burton, Her Majesty's Consul at Fernando Po, will be instructed on the occasion of his next official visit to the Bonny River to communicate with the King, and to take such steps as he may think best calculated to make known in the river the horror and detestation with which the custom of offering human sacrifices is viewed by Her Majesty's Government and by all civilised people, and he will be directed to support the King in his determination to suppress similar barbarous proceedings.

It is to be distinctly understood, however, that Her Majesty's Government have no wish or intention of interfering to give any political support to King Pepple.

5. With reference to the want of properly qualified medical men on board British vessels trading in the Bonny, I am to state that Lord Russell has no power to interfere in this matter, but that his Lordship will call the attention of the Naval Department of the Board of Trade to the subject.

I am, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

No. 48.

Earl Russell to Consul Burton.

Sir,

Foreign Office, September 12, 1862.

I HAVE received your despatches of the 22nd of May last, reporting your proceedings in the Old Calabar and Cameroons Rivers, and I have to convey to you my approval of the Agreements which you induced the European traders to sign with the natives in those rivers for the establishment of Courts of Equity to decide all disputes arising between them, copies of which are inclosed in your despatches above referred to.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 49.

Consul Burton to Earl Russell.—(Received October 11.)

My Lord,

Lagos, August 30, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that all my official correspondence of this year was lost by the capsizing of a boat conveying it to Lagos. I have also to regret that a momentary indisposition prevents my communicating by this mail.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

RICHD. F. BURTON.

No. 50.

Consul Burton to Earl Russell.—(Received November 11.)

(Extract.)

Fernando Po, August 26, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that on the 21st July, a Dr. Henry, merchant, in the Benin River, visited Fernando Po, and laid his case before me. His factory had been plundered on the 24th May, his servants had been wounded, and on the 12th June his wife, an Englishwoman, had died of fever brought on by fright.

He reported that he was unable to return and look after his property without my aid; moreover, that he and a Captain White, only ten days before his making the application to me, had saved Messrs. Horsfall's establishment at the risk of their lives.

The case being urgent I resolved to attend to it, though out of my jurisdiction, thinking that business of a higher importance had prevented his Excellency the Governor of Lagos visiting the Benin River. I wrote an urgent requisition to Lieutenant-Commander Stokes, of Her Majesty's ship "Bloodhound," which was then at Fernando Po, waiting to take me to Prince's Island for the benefit of my health. We left Fernando Po on the 31st July, anchored off the Benin River on the 3rd August, crossed the dangerous bar of that stream on the 4th, and on the next day I summoned the supercargoes and agents, together with Idyáre, alias "Governor Jerry," and his Chiefs.

The Governor and Chiefs, after the usual prevarication, absolutely refused to come on board the "Bloodhound." All the white men in the river unanimously signed a request that trade might be stopped, as the sole means of obtaining possession of Akabwa, the Chief who attacked Dr. Henry's factory. This was done on the 5th August. On the 6th I wrote officially to your Lordship, and to his Excellency the Governor of Lagos, reporting the thoroughly disorganized state of the river. On the 7th a boat was despatched to catch the mail at Lagos. Unfortunately it was capsized, and Mr. Rugg, a West Indian who was in charge of it, was drowned. The crew was seized by the people of the coast, the same tribe as the offenders—the older travellers call them the "Ussa Pirates"—and have been held in captivity till ransom shall be sent. This accident, however, was not known to us for many days.

On the 8th August Lieutenant-Commander Stokes and I set out to visit the celebrated city of Wari (Warree), which we reached after about nineteen hours' rowing. The place has become ruined since the death of King Elusa in 1848. A wooden cross in a jungle is the only trace of the once celebrated Portuguese Mission. We there saw Elusa's two eldest sons, Chamwana and Nyaouri, whom the traders in the river had represented as capable of taking their father's place, and of re-establishing a strong government. When, however, the affair of Akabwa was brought before them, they pleaded inability to cope with one so powerful.

Nyaouri followed us to the Benin River, but after a few days he ran away, being threatened, it is said, with death for interfering in the palaver.

No message having returned from Lagos, I determined, in conjunction with Lieutenant-Commander Stokes, Dr. Henry, and Captain White, to visit the city of Great Benin, whose King, in times gone by, was the most powerful Sovereign of Yoruba.

On the 17th of August, after seventeen hours' rowing, we reached Gwato, the burial-place of the traveller Belzoni, whose grave is, I regret to say, tombless. In the early part of this century Gwato contained many European factories; now there is not one. We passed the night there and set out on the next day, and having walked from 9 A.M. till 6 P.M. slept in the bush. On the 19th August, after two hours' march over the worst of paths, we entered the city. When the usual preliminary visit had been paid to the "Captain of War," the dignitary next in rank to the King, we were led to the quarters assigned to us. One of the first objects that met our sight was a negro, freshly crucified

after the African fashion, sitting on a stool with extended arms, lashed to a framework of poles. I fear it was in honour of our arrival.

We then marched over the space before the King's palace; it was strewn with human skulls and bones, like pebbles.

Our first visit to the palace showed us the body of a fine young woman fastened to the top of a tree—a fetish for rain.

During the night I heard the voice of the "Spirit Oro," and next morning we found close to our doors the corpse of a man, with broken shin bones, and a gashed throat.

Walking to the market we remarked a pool of blood where another victim had been slaughtered.

It is to be regretted that no missionary now resides at Benin city. Whatever may be said against Abbeokuta, it is still certain that such sights are now seldom seen there.

Lieutenant-Commander Stokes and I waited twice upon the King, who appeared much pleased to see us in uniform. He is a fine-looking man, still young, and of peculiarly prepossessing appearance. His palace is in ruins like the city, the effect of the diversion of the trade to Lagos, the abolition of slave exporting, and a chronic civil war with a younger brother, who has established himself near the Niger. He received my present with great affability, and promised to send a messenger to Benin River, threatening a stoppage of provisions if the Chief Akabwa was not given up. He appeared most anxious to renew trade, but I could make no promises.

On the 21st of August we left Benin city, and on the 22nd reached the river, where we heard the news of the despatch-boat being lost. It was impossible to keep the "Blood-hound" any longer without especial orders; moreover, it became evident that, without adopting the strongest measures, the outrage would remain unpunished. Nothing but removing all the European factories, four in number, and transferring them to the Escravos, or some neighbouring stream, would bring this people to its senses.

The Beninese have learned to despise Europeans. Their villages are built upon almost inaccessible creeks; and the country is so cut by streams that canoes can always procure provisions.

Nor are the white traders unanimous. Were they so they would be respected, and they could settle their own disputes. Of course out of my jurisdiction I could not undertake any forcible measures.

We steamed for Lagos on the 27th August. On the next day I landed, and reported the whole transaction to his Excellency the Governor. A sharp attack of fever prevented my writing these details to your Lordship.

On the 4th of September I returned to Fernando Po, and I shortly afterwards visited Batanga.

In conclusion, I must express my obligations to Lieutenant-Commander Stokes for the zeal and ability with which he supported me in a palaver of uncommon difficulty.

The King's favourable reception was partly owing to his satisfaction at seeing a naval officer, the first who ever visited his palace.

No. 51.

Earl Russell to Consul Burton.

Sir, *Foreign Office, November 24, 1862.*

I HAVE received your despatch of the 26th of August last, reporting the steps taken by you with the view to procure redress for the attack made by the natives on Mr. Henry's factory in the Benin River; and I have to acquaint you that although, as a rule, it is not advisable that you should interfere in questions that may arise in the rivers beyond your Consular jurisdiction, in the present instance you acted rightly in attending to the requisition made to you by Mr. Henry for assistance, and I approve your proceedings as reported in your despatch.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

Consul Burton to Earl Russell.—(Received December 20.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, London, December 18, 1862.

AS I had the honour to inform you in my letter of the 27th September, 1862, an application was at once made to the senior officer, Bights Division, for a cruizer to relieve Her Majesty's ship "Bloodhound," Lieutenant-Commander Stokes, R.N., who was compelled by yellow fever temporarily to quit the coast for Ascension. My letter was dispatched on the 28th September, and consequently must have reached Lagos on the 10th October. Captain Luce, however, as I subsequently heard, had been employed on the Gold Coast, and Commander Beamish was acting for him. As that officer sent me no reply by the mail of the 28th October, I went on board the African steam-ship "Retriever," and visited the Bonny River according to your Lordship's directions of the 23rd July, 1862. These few details will at once explain my delay in answering that letter, and also show the difficulties with which I have to contend, whilst managing a coast some 380 miles in length, with five large and five smaller centres of trade. With respect to your Lordship's previous letter ordering me to investigate the Chief "King Pepple's" claims upon the African Steam-Ship Company, I was compelled to defer proceedings by unwillingness to expose the crew of a British ship of war to the fearful sickness of the Bonny River. The first case of yellow fever broke out there on the 14th March, 1862, and the last known—it is now concealed lest men refuse to ship on board Bonny craft—was in the beginning of June 1862. During these seventy-eight days, the deaths were 134 out of an average of 280 whites; many, however, have since perished. One ship, the "Osprey," Captain Coveney, lost all her European crew, seventeen men, the master alone surviving. Five medical men died, and those of the agents and captains who survived all suffered more or less from sickness. I trust that your Lordship will deem my delay justifiable.

I am directed to report upon two points, firstly, King Pepple's claim, secondly, the Tariff recently published by King Pepple.

With respect to the first point, I have the honour to report that King Pepple's claim of 401*l.* upon the African Steam-Ship Company's coal-hulk the "William Money," lately lying in the Bonny River, is not admissible. She has during her three years' stay at times obliged a man-of-war with a few tons of coal, and she may, though I cannot ascertain that she has, supplied a few ships with trifling articles. But she cannot be looked upon as a trading vessel, and be compelled to pay heavy harbour dues as if she were sharing in the profits of the Bonny. It would, indeed, be highly desirable that the African Steam-Ship Company should have a trading hulk in each river, by which means they could increase the number and tonnage of their steamers, and do something towards removing the present stagnant monopoly. Moreover, I would strongly recommend them to remove their headquarters from the Bonny River to Fernando Po until the settlement at Amba Bay is organized. The Bonny is dangerous to ships as well as to men, and I should not be surprised to hear of one of the large steamers being lost there. The perils of the bar render this part of the voyage more feared than all the rest, and the bottoms of the vessels become so foul that their progress is greatly impeded.

With respect to the second point, the Tariff recently published by King Pepple, the affair at present stands thus. By Mr. Consul Beecroft's Treaty of 1837 the European trader was bound to pay "comey" to the extent of 5 bars per registered ton, and to receive in return favour and protection. The "comey" has been paid; the protection has never been afforded. King Pepple has now demanded per ton 10*s.* in Spanish dollars, English gold, or Bank of England notes, and the traders have simply refused to pay. In my humble opinion they are justified in this course. During the last seven or eight months trade has been almost stopped in the river, chiefly owing to the vagaries of the King, who, thoroughly demoralized by a long residence in England, threatens on all occasions an attorney, or a civil suit, a school, or a missionary.

In obedience to your Lordship's directions I submitted both the points above referred to, to the Chairman and Court of Equity in the Bonny River, and I have the honour to inclose their unanimous decision. The letter of Mr. Thwaites surprised all who saw it. It can only have been written in the conviction that those whom he addressed were wholly ignorant of the matter referred to. One of the grounds for King Pepple's being represented in England is, that he has "always allowed Her Majesty's Consul to enter his territory, and gave his sanction to the appointment of British Consul for the Bights of Biafra and Benin." This may sound well in Highbury Terrace; in Bonny it is as arrogant as it is absurd. King Pepple is a petty trading Chief, son of a petty trading

Chief, King of a dirty town which bears the same proportion to Benin and Biafra as the Isle of Man to the United Kingdom. The "improvements in the town, river-side, &c.," are mere inventions. Bonny is still the filthiest and the most barbarous place upon this coast. Respecting the "heavy calls upon the King for presents to send up the country," I may remark that these "calls" may be called by another name. "Allaputa," *alias* "Elenun, Queen Pepple," is a bushwoman, whose extensive connections amongst the bush people keep the King in his present place. Being now completely powerless, he would bribe them to take his part against his enemies. Unfortunately, the King and Queen do not agree, he being over-devoted to Venus, she to Bacchus; and on one occasion she was obliged to be forcibly removed from one of the African steam-ships in which she wished to escape, the King loudly threatening to enforce his marital rights by legal means.

Touching your Lordship's order that I should communicate with King Pepple upon the subject of abolishing human sacrifices, at the same time letting him know that Her Majesty's Government have no intention to afford him political support, I have the honour to report that during my last visit King Pepple was absent from Bonny Town; the steamer stayed too short a time for me to hold palaver with the Chiefs; and, most important reason, I was not on board an English cruiser. As was truly said by my predecessor, a Consul's moral force without a ship of war is a moral farce in these regions. Nothing would be easier than to compel the Bonny people to forego the open display of cannibalism and human sacrifice; but it might be necessary to use strong measures. The Ju-ju house is a disgrace to the Europeans who allow such a thing. The natives, however, might refuse suddenly to remove it unless the town were threatened. On the other hand, as the case of Abbeokuta proves, it would be impossible to prevent secret sacrifices; such prevention sounds to an African as absurd as the "abolition of Christianity" to an European.

The Ju-ju Bonny house may lead to another complication. The Spanish authorities at Fernando Po are urging their Home Government for a West African squadron, intended like ours, to capture slavers. All vessels taken without papers or colours will be carried before the Admiralty Court at Fernando Po, and the negroes will be liberated or apprenticed on the island. It has been openly asserted by a Government employé at Fernando Po that if any more human sacrifices—which are rather the retaliatory slaughter of war-captives—take place, they will bombard Bonny Town. As thousands of pounds of British money are there invested, I venture to submit to your Lordship that it might be as well to come to some understanding with the Spanish authorities before so regrettable an occurrence can take place.

According to your Lordship's previous permission, I shall draw a bill on the Treasury for 37 dollars, being passage-money for my tour round the rivers on board the African steam-ship "Athenian," Captain Lowry.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RICHD. F. BURTON.

Inclosure in No. 52.

Minute.

AT a meeting held on board the "Mississippi," at 4 P.M. this day, by request of Her Majesty's Consul; present, Major Burton, Her Majesty's Consul, Messrs. Bragg, Mc Intoch, Thompson, Grant, and Kenyon—

1st. Information was asked by the Consul in reference to a claim made by King Pepple against the African Steam-Ship Company for comey for the hulk "William Mooney." It is the opinion of this Court that there is no ground for the charge of trading against the "William Mooney," and that King Pepple has no claim whatever against the Company.

2nd. Her Majesty's Consul made the Court acquainted with the fact that King Pepple had applied to the Foreign Office about a new Tariff (or increased comey), and wished for information on the subject. It is the unanimous opinion of this Court that as we already pay a very heavy comey on the supposition of a protection which is not granted, that no such proposition can be entertained for a moment.

(Signed) SAMUEL CHEETHAM, *Chairman.*

Court of Equity, Bonny River, November 5, 1862.

Despatches from Dr. Baikie on the Geographical Position and the Commercial Capabilities of the Countries in the neighbourhood of the Niger.

No. 53.

Dr. Baikie, R.N., to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 1.)

My Lord,

Bida, Nípe, Central Africa, January 17, 1862.

I BEG to forward, for your Lordship's information, the accompanying geographical notes, relating principally to new positions on the map of Central Africa, or the correction of previous errors. They are, at present, rather disconnected, but I have deemed it preferable to forward them in their present state rather than run the risk of injury to, or loss of, my notes and manuscripts in this country.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 53.

Notes on the Geographical Position of the Town of Pánda.

THE position assigned to the town of Pánda, called Fánda by the Haúsa, to the north and east of the Confluence, has in all our maps and charts been incorrect, it having been placed to the south and west of the town of Tóto. The town of Eyímaha, on the north bank of the River Bínuwē, having been fixed by the observations of Mr. D. I. May, R.N., in 1854, the town of Pánda lies about fifteen to eighteen miles north-east or north-east by east from it. The town of Tóto bears from Eyímaha about north-north-east, distant twenty-two to twenty-five miles, the former being probably about the correct straight distance, and Pánda is, therefore, to the south and east, not south and west of Tóto. Pánda was destroyed in 1854, and is still uninhabited; but its position is of some importance, as its name appears in most of our maps, and it was visited by the late Mr. M. Laird in 1833-34. It continues to give its name to a large district, and it assists in assigning an approximate position for the large and important town of Tóto.

January 16, 1862.

(Signed) WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 53.

Notes on the River Gurára.

IN "Barth's Travels" (vol. iii, pp. 563 and 565), evidently from erroneous information, the River Gurára is stated to be a tributary of the Kadúna or Lafún, instead of which it is a distinct river, falling directly into the Kwóra, nearly midway between the towns of Muye and Kóto'n Karafe, where I lately had an opportunity of observing and fixing its mouth. It is a considerable stream, but at its mouth it forms no delta. Mr. Dalton ascended for a few miles in canoe during the rainy season last year (1861), at which time, he says, there is ample water and room for the entrance of one of the exploring steamers. It never approaches nearer to the Kadúna than thirty or forty miles, and takes a more southerly and westerly course. It arises among some rocks, near a place named Tšóri, in the country of Zhába (about latitude 9° 30' or 9° 40' north, and longitude 7° 40' to 7° 50' east). It passes to the southward of Záriya, or Zózo, and Kádara, crosses Gbári, and entering Díbo falls into the Kwóra. Next to the Kadúna, or Lafún, it is the largest tributary of the Kwóra between the Confluence and Yaúri. It is reported to have mostly a deep channel, but to be in many parts of its course rocky.

January 17, 1862.

(Signed) WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

Inclosure 3 in No. 53.

Notes on the Country of Gbári.

THE country of Gbári (pronounced "Gwári" by the Haúsa) is of very considerable extent, extending from the parallel of the town of Záriya, or about 11° 5' north, to within some thirty or forty miles of the town of Tóto, or about 8° 50' north. The town marked "Gwári" in Dr. Barth's map is about the extreme northern point of Gbári. It is more correctly called, by the Haúsa, "Bírni'n Gwári," or "the City of Gbári," but its native name is Sére. Gbári is partly tributary to Haúsa, partly to Nípe, and partly independent. Its inhabitants are among

the most industrious and the best disposed of any of the native heathen populations, and consequently the Gbári people are much valued as slaves, and of late years frequent slave-hunting raids and wars have been made upon their territory. Their language is allied to that of Núpe. I have several Gbári people among my followers, and can bear full testimony to their steadiness, industry, and honesty.

January 17, 1862.

(Signed) WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

Inclosure 4 in No. 53.

Note on the Route from the Town of Káffi-Abdezánnga to the Town of Gáíye.

THE route from the town of Káffi-Abdezánnga to Gáíye, in Núpe, being very imperfectly given by Barth (vol. iii, p. 570), and as it is an important and much travelled line of road, I subjoin the names of the towns. It is a seven days' quick journey, and a fourteen days' caravan travelling, the general direction being westerly.

1. Káffi-Abdezánnga, a considerable town in the country of Gbándara, about 8° 40' or 8° 50' north, and 7° 45' or 8° east, tributary to Záriya. Káffi means a stockade, and Abdezánnga is the name of its founder.

2. Gáiyam, a town in Gbándara.

3. Yankárde, ditto.

4. Gongóndara, ditto.

The River Émmu. This rises in the country of Yásko, and, running south, divides Gbándara on the east from Gbári and Gádde on the west. It then passes near Pánda, and falls into the Bínuwē.

5. Kótasi, a town in Gbári.

6. Kúrafí, ditto.

7. Kárihí, a town in Gádde.

8. Gáládíman Kwóí, a town in Gbári.

9. Dúgwi, ditto.

January 17, 1862.

10. Kaságum, a town in Gbári.

11. Tsíberi, ditto.

12. Kilánkwa, ditto.

13. Kúndu, ditto.

The River Gurára (*vide* Inclosure No. 2).

14. Small village on its banks, in Gbári.

15. Tasíbo, ditto.

16. Lamfái, ditto; called Lafái by Haúsa, capital of a small territory ruled by a Fúla, and tributary directly to the Sultan of Gwánda.

17. Kúrmin Hawáau, a small village near the boundary between Gbári and Núpe.

18. Gáíye, called Agáíya by Haúsa; capital of another small territory, also ruled by a Fúla, and subject directly to Gwánda. Gáíye is about 16 or 18 miles south-east from Bída, the present capital of Núpe.

(Signed) WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

Inclosure 5 in No. 53.

Notes on the Country of Asé or Kakánda.

THE towns marked in the map of the Kwóra, "Búdon," "Góri," and "Múye," about midway between the Confluence and Éggan (Egga), are the seats of a peculiar but circumscribed tribe, living entirely in a few towns on the river banks, or on islands, and not extending into the mainland. They have peculiar habits and language, and are exclusively canoemen, no manufactures being carried on among them. Their proper name is "Agé," but by the Ígbira they are called "Shábē" and "Hábē," and by the Núpe "Kakánda." This name of Kakánda is, however, applied by the natives of Igára to the extensive country of Bónu, between the Kwóra and Yóruba, and it is used in this sense also in Sierra Leone, which has led to erroneous ideas regarding the numbers of the real Kakánda and the extent of their country, which is in reality extremely limited. Their present numbers do not, I think, exceed 12,000 to 15,000. This small tract of country was formerly very powerful, and was allied to Igára (Ídda), but since the beginning of this century, at least, it has been subject to Núpe. The Kakánda people, until lately, engrossed the entire canoe-traffic between Núpe and the Confluence, and one of my recent endeavours has been to break up this monopoly, which has had the effect already of nearly doubling the native trade, and of reducing the price of salt in Núpe, within twelve months, fully 50 per cent., and other articles in proportion.

January 17, 1862.

(Signed) WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

Inclosure 6 in No. 53.

Notes on two Tribes named Bása.

THERE are two tribes situated near the Confluence, each bearing the name of "Bása," and therefore liable to be confounded with each other, though totally distinct in language, marks, and habits. One is situated east from Ígbira and Tóto, on the north side of the River Bínuwē, and is allied by language, &c., with Kámbari. The other, inhabiting both sides of the Confluence to the southward of the Bínuwē, is an offshoot from Núpe, the languages of each being mutually intelligible. The tribe behind Ígbira is often distinguished as "Bása-Kómo." The two tribes of "Bása" have nothing at all in common except being both very wild, troublesome people, continually at war with their neighbours or among themselves.

January 17, 1862.

(Signed) WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

Inclosure 7 in No. 53.

Note on Route from Bida, the present capital of Núpe, to Birni'n Záriya.

EIGHT to ten days' quick journey, fifteen to eighteen days' slow journey, general direction north-east.

Bída, capital of Núpe.
 Masallá'si, in Núpe.
 Lému, in Gbári.
 Mági, ditto.
 Gbórigi, ditto.
 Gbógi, on the banks of the Kadúna, ditto.
 River Kadúna.
 Zhá'n Garí, in Bása.
 Garí'n gabaz, ditto.
 Gúmna, in country of a tribe named Gulénye.
 Tégyina, in country of a tribe named Úgu.
 Úngwoi káremi } Villages in the country of a very
 Úngwoi babbá } rude tribe, named Úngwoi.
 Wúsibo, in Kamúku.
 Igára, in Gbári.
 Dawáki, ditto.

Zámman dázhi, in Gbári.
 Masáre, ditto.
 Búgai, ditto.
 Kírín kú, ditto.
 Busi, ditto.
 Maguzá, ditto.
 Birni'n Gwári, ditto.
 Sófa, ditto.
 Riyúka, ditto.
 Ká'si, in Záriya.
 Kadage, ditto.
 Zángon Yá'si, close to Birni'n Záriya, ditto.
 Birni'n Záriya has been fixed by the observations
 of Dr. Vogel, and Bída by those of Lieutenant Glover,
 R.N.

February 1, 1862.

(Signed)

WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

Inclosure 8 in No. 53.

Note on Differences between the Nomenclature of Dr. Barth and that employed by Dr. Baikie.

SOME occasional differences will be found between the generally very correct nomenclature of Dr. Barth, and that employed by me. This I account for in two ways. He often writes names as they are written in Arabic characters; while I always write them as nearly as possible to the ordinary pronunciation. Thus Dr. Barth uses "Kebbi," where I write "Kábbi," because, he says, it is so given by Arabic writers, while the latter (Kábbi) is distinctly the pronunciation in constant use, and, therefore, I prefer it. He also uses, for the same reason, "Gando" instead of "Gwándu," the combination of *g* and *w* being very difficult in Arabic letters. Secondly, he employs often the letter *e* instead of *a*, as "Keffi" (vol. ii, p. 556) for "Káffi," "zenne" (vol. ii, p. 128) for "zánni," and, in Fulfulde, "nennata" for "nánntata," also at times he uses *g* for *k*. This, as I observe the same peculiarities among the German missionaries, I ascribe to the nature of the German ear; and in Dr. Barth's case I find it equally in his Haúsa, his Fulfulde, and his Kanúri words. In Koelle's "Polyglotta Africana" this exists in also every language or dialect contained in that work. Dr. Barth also often writes *o* for *u*, as "mógo" for "múgu" (vol. ii, p. 61), "gojíya" (vol. ii, p. 433) for "gújiya" (or more correctly "gúzhiya"), "Katú" and "Kotú" (vol. ii, p. 568) for "Kóto." I have paid very constant attention to the pronunciation of words, and especially when I differ from Dr. Barth.

I always employ vowels with the Italian powers, and the alphabet I use is that of the Church Missionary Society, with some slight modifications to suit sounds not provided for by it, and which I have found chiefly in the Haúsa. Where Barth writes *ay* I use *ai*, and for *ch* I use *tsh*, that proper names may be equally read and correctly sounded by continental as by English readers.

February 5, 1862.

(Signed)

WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

Inclosure 9 in No. 53.

Note on the Spelling of the name "Bínuwē."

DR. BARTH (vol. ii, p. 465), in a foot note, remarks, "I do not know whether the members of the Chádda expedition had sufficient authority for writing the name (Bínuwē) this way:" Dr. Barth himself always using the spelling "Bénuwē." On this I have only to remark that, during our voyage, the Rev. Mr. Crowther, Mr. D. I. May, and myself, always heard it pronounced as "Bínuwē." Since my return to Africa in 1857, I have conversed with many people who know this river well, and who always say "Bínuwē." This day I called before me a man who has spent several years along this river, and I made him pronounce the name five or six times, and he sounded it most distinctly "Bínuwē." We do not doubt but that further east Dr. Barth heard the name as "Bénuwē," and this may possibly be the more correct form, but at the same time we cannot understand why he should doubt that in another locality we heard it differently sounded.

February 6, 1862.

(Signed)

WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

Inclosure 10 in No. 53.

Note on the Continuance of High Water in the River Bínuwē.

IN vol. ii, p. 475, Dr. Barth calls in question the accuracy of my relation of the period of greatest height of the waters of the Bínuwē, and in support of this he brings forward partial extracts from my published journal. My statements were made from actual personal observation and experience; his, from reports of the natives. He states that the river continues at its full height for about thirty days, or during the month of September; while we, in the "Pleiad," found that during the month of September it rose very considerably, to the extent of several feet, and only remained stationary three or four days at the very end of September. In support of his allegation he alludes to what he calls "conflicting opinions" on board the "Pleiad," overlooking that myself, Mr. May, and Mr. Dalton were engaged in daily observations and measurements, and that the smallest change

could not have escaped us; that the Rev. Mr. Crowther and Mr. Richards, the pilot, the only persons on board experienced in African rivers, fully concurred with us; that the sailing-master was misled in supposing the river to be falling by the draining of flat land after a heavy fall of rain, and afterwards acknowledged his error; and that the only persons who asserted the fall of the river were Mr. Laird's party, some of whom had got much alarmed, and were most anxious to return, and that it was they who urged the master to move downwards, though Mr. May and myself were at the time twenty to twenty-five miles off in an open boat, in a savage country, and without either supplies or aid if needed. I have always considered Dr. Barth to be wonderfully accurate in his statements, and cannot see why he should cast doubts on the personal observations of qualified persons when they do not exactly correspond with, or precisely bear out, his assertions, supported merely by hearsay.

I have during my stay at the Confluence had the opportunity of watching the rise and fall of the Bínuwē at its junction with the Kwóra during two seasons, and, after making full allowance for difference of locality, our observations of 1854 are sufficiently confirmed. A river remaining stationary for thirty days at any season of the year, and more especially at the very height of the rainy season, is quite at variance with my experience in this region. The apparently anomalous second rise of the Kwóra, alluded to by Dr. Barth, and which I have seen and watched at Jéba and at the Confluence, does not in the least invalidate my statement regarding the stationary nature of these rivers, but rather confirms it, as after five years' observations of their rises and fallings I have hardly ever found five or six days to elapse without some distinct change.

February 6, 1862.

(Signed)

WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

Inclosure 11 in No. 53.

Geographical Notes on the Countries named on the Map, Inclosure 1 in No. 2.

1. THE countries of Ígbira, Núpe, and Kámbari occupy the entire left border of the River Kwóra, from the Confluence to Yaúri, except a small and very narrow strip which makes part of the small country of Asé, which is called Shábe by the Ígbira, Hábe by the Bonú people, and Kakánda by the Núpes.

2. Below the Confluence to the sea the same (left) side of the Kwóra comprises the countries of Igára, Íbo, and of Ejó in the Delta.

3. The right bank from the sea upwards is occupied by Ejó, Abó, and some other districts of Íbo, a set of tribes nominally tributary to Benín, and often known by the nicknames of Ado or Kúkurúku; and close to the Confluence is the country of the Bása, an offshoot from Núpe.

4. Above the Confluence along this (right) bank are Wóro, a section of Bonú, the largest part of Asé or Kakánda, the smaller part of Núpe, a small part of Yóruba, and lastly Bórgú, which stretches beyond Yaúri to near the town of Gáiya, where it joins with Gúrma.

5. Beyond Yaúri the river border is occupied first by a portion of Kábbi, and a tribe of Haúsa allied to the Kabbáwa, and named Shangáwa, and then Dándi, inhabited by a tribe of Sónái origin, who occupy the low lands near the river to Zabírma.

6. Between Bonú and Yóruba are, beginning from the south, Ankanú and Akóko, aberrant sections of Yóruba, Úwe and Ógidi, allied to Bonú; Aiyaré, a curious tribe, of whose language I have compiled a small vocabulary; and Gbéde and Yágba, with an almost identical dialect, closely allied to Yóruba.

7. Behind and to the east of Ígbira and Núpe, and stretching from south to north and north-west between these countries and Haúsa, are a number of tribes almost unknown: beginning from the south, from the River Bínuwē the first is Bása or Bása-Kómo, a completely different tribe from the Bása near the Confluence; behind, and to the east and north-east, is Ékpó, called Áfo by the Haúsa, while to the north-west is Gáddé, both being tributary to Záriya. East of Gáddé, and north of Ékpó, is the country of Gbándara, pronounced Gwándara by Haúsa, in which is the important town of Káffi-Abdezànga, inhabited by Haúsas and Filáni. East of Gbándara, and between it and Dóma, is Tówáni, and north of Tówáni is Dároro, famed for its honey; north of Dároro are two small tribes, Kájé and Kwógwuru, at present in revolt against Záriya; and north of these is Káttab, equally famous with Dároro for its honey, which is carried to Záriya, Káno, and even to Azben and Sókoto; west from these is Zhába, inhabited by a wild and savage race. I am not quite certain whether Zhába be the proper name, but it is the one by which this district is generally known. In Zhába, among rocks near a place named Tshóri, arises the River Gurára, which falls into the Kwóra below Múyé. South of Zhába, and north of Gbándara, is the rocky country of Yáskwo, with a wild, almost naked, race of inhabitants; north of Zhába, and between it and Záriya, is Kádára, with a population nearly as rude as that of Zhába; east from Kádára, and north of Káttab, is Kuráma; and north of Kuráma is Kaúru, partly inhabited by Záriya people; east of Kuráma and Kaúru is Fíti or Píti, in which the Kadúna takes its rise.

8. West of Záriya, Kádára, Zhába, and Gáddé is Gbári, or, as it pronounced by Haúsa, Gwári, often rocky but very fertile and productive, and by far the largest and most important of all these countries; at its northern extremity is the town of Sése, or as it is called by the Haúsa, Bírni'n Gwári, or the city of Gbári. This, which is the Gwári of the maps, is merely the extreme northern limit of a country extending from this to Ígbira. Bírni'n Gwári has long been subject to Katsína. Great part of Gbári is tributary to Záriya, part to Núpe, and part is yet independent; the inhabitants are accounted the hardest workers and the most quietly behaved of all these tribes, and consequently Gbári are in great demand as slaves throughout Haúsa and Núpe.

9. Between the northern part of Gbári, and Núpe, and Kámbari are the Gulénye and Úgu, two rude tribes tributary to Záriya, and close to these, and allied to them in language, are the Úngwoi, the wildest of all, a tribe entirely unclad, living unsubdued on the tops of rocks and mountains. North of these is Kamúku, subject mostly to Katsína, and of which the chief towns are Kótó'n Kóro, Kwóngoma, and Wómba. Immediately behind Núpe, and extending to Kámbari, are numerous settlements of Bása, of the same race as the Bása settled near the Bínuwē. Between Núpe and Kámbari is an aberrant tribe of Núpe named Asú, but called Ébbé by Núpe, and Abewa by Haúsa.

10. South-east of the town of Láfiya-Béribéri are the Kóro, but of the other numerous rude tribes in Bautshi I am not yet sufficiently informed to write at all with certainty.

11. The country of Dóma is divided into two parts: one is Dóma proper, tributary to Záriya; the other, in the south and east, is Keyána or Arágo paying Bautshi, the two using distinct but mutually intelligible dialects.

12. All these countries possess distinct languages, of several of which I have vocabularies. The dialects of Zhába, Kájé, and Kwógwuru are partly intelligible to each other. The languages of Gbári and of Asú, or Ébbé, are nearly connected with the Núpe; those of Bása and the countries behind it are allied to the Kámbari.

Bida, March 3, 1862.

(Signed)

WM. BALEOUR BAIKIE.

Inclosure 12 in No. 53.

Corrections of some Inaccuracies of Dr. Barth concerning the Town of Tóto.

DR. BARTH in his *Travels*, vol. ii, p. 569, in speaking of the large and important town of Tóto, says that it is "under the direct government of the Sultan of Tándá (not Fándá)," but, curiously enough, the very terms he makes use of contain the proof of the error he lies under. There is a town, but no province of Tóto, and there is no such country as Tándá. Tóto is on Ígbira ground, and is nominally subject to the King (not Sultan) of Fándá or Pándá, whose title is Sémagé, not "Shemmage," as Barth has it. And the European goods received, as he says, from "Tágara," are from Igára or Ídda, which by Háusa and Núpe is called Attágara, from "Atta," the title of the King of Ídda, and "Igára," the name of his country.

Kóto'n Kárafe (not Kótun Kárfí) is a town of Ígbira, and called by the natives Igú, and it is quite distinct from Attágara or Igára.

The Limám (not "Limang") of the Háusa people is merely Headman or Chief of the Háusa and Bórnu people, under the King of Tóto.

The position of Tóto, as I have previously noted, is north-west, and not east-north-east of Pándá.

Bida, March 4, 1862.

(Signed) WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

Inclosure 13 in No. 53.

Synonymes of the Principal Countries and Towns of Sudán.

1. Aír or Ázben is called—

Ázben and	}	By Háusa.
Ázben or Ábzín		
Aúzin, by the Háusa of Káno.		
Ázben an d	}	By the Fúlbe.
Tshapárrí		
2. Timbúktu is called—
 Timúhtu, by the Moorish Arabs.
 Tumúhtu, by the Arabs of Morocco.
 Timbúhtu, by the Sónai.
 Tumbúhtu, by the Western Fúlbe.
 Tumbútu, by the Fúlbe of Háusa.
 Tambútu, by the Háusa.
3. The Sónai are called—
 Sónwai, by Háusa.
 Sónai, by Fúlbe.
4. Gágo is called—
 Gáo, by the Fúlbe.
5. Móshi is called—
 Móshi, by the Háusa.
 Mótshi, by the Fúlbe.
6. Sáí is called—
 Sáiyi, by the Háusa.
 Sáí, by the Fúlbe.
7. Zabírma is called—
 Jérma, by the Fúlbe.
8. Árewa is called—
 Mauri, by the Fúlbe.
9. Bórgrú is called—
 Bárba, by Yóruba.
 Brógun, by Núpe.
 Bírgu, by Háusa and Fúlbe.
 Abórogú, by Asú or Ébbé.
 Abírgu, by Kámbari.
10. Kámbari is called—
 Ashíngani, by Asú or Ébbé.
 (It is the Cúmbri of some writers.)
11. Yaúri is called—
 Yawúr, by the Fúlbe.
12. Kamúku is called—
 Atshíndu, by Kámbari.
13. Sókotó is called—
 Sókotó, by Fúlbe.
 Sókoto, by Háusa.
 Sókót, by Arabs.
 Sákato, by Azbénáwa or Tawareks.
14. Gwándu is called—
 Gándu, by Fúlbe.
 Gwándu, by Háusa.
 (It is the Gando of Barth.)
15. Góbir is called—
 Góburú, by Fúlbe.
16. Zámfara is called—
 Jámpara, by Fúlbe.
 Zánfara, by Barth.
17. Katshína is called—
 Kásina, by Fúlbe.
18. Fúlbe or Filáni, are called—
 Fuláta, by Bórnu.
 Apuláta, by Kámbari.
 Fuláni, by Yóruba.
 Góí, by Núpe.
 Ángwoi, by Ígbira.
 By Háusa :
 Bá Filátsi or Bá Fulátsi, *sing. m.*
 (Not Ba Féllanchi, as in Barth, vol. ii, p. 49.)
 Bá Filáta or Bá Fuláta
 Ba Filátana or Ba Fulátana } *sing. f.*
 Filáni or Fuláni, *plural, m. and f.*
19. Háusa is called—
 Áfnu or Áfunú, by Bórnu.
 Kéni, by Núpe.
 Háusa people are called :—
 Kéngi, by Núpe.
 Agána, by Kámbari.
 Abákpa, by Ígbira.
 Gámbari, by Yóruba.
 By Fúlbe :—
 Háusankéjo, *sing.*
 Háusankógn, *plural, m. and f.*
20. Bórnu is called—
 Bórnu, by the Háusa.
 Bénu, by Núpe.
 Bórnu people are called :—
 Kánakí, by Yóruba.
 Bénu, by Núpe.
 By Háusa :—
 Bá Bérberi, *m.* } *sing.*
 Bá Bérbera, *f.* }
 Béribéri, and } *m. and f., plural.*
 Bérberáwa }
 By Fúlbe :—
 Bérberéjo, and } *m. and f., sing.*
 Bárbaréjo }
 Bárbarógn, and } *m. and f., plural; or,*
 Bárbarégn }
 Siratájo, *sing.*
 Siratóbe, *plural.*
21. Hámariúwa is called—
 Hámariúwa, by Háusa.
 Hámariúwa, by Fúlbe.
22. Djúku is the
 Korórofa of Háusa.
 Ákpa, of Núpe.
23. Zhibú, in Korórofa, is the
 Chubbuñ of Vogel.

24. Záriya is called—
Záriya and Zózau, by Haúsa.
Záriya and Jája, by Fúlbe.
Bákpa, by Núpe.

Záriya people are called :—
Zózangáwa and Zéǵizéǵi, by Haúsa.

25. Núpe is called—
Ní'e and Nú'e, by Haúsa.
Anúpe, by Kámbari.
Ámpéri, by Asú or Ébbé.
Anúpe, by Ígbira.
Tákpa, by Yóruha.

26. Asú is called—
Ébbé, by Núpe.
Garí n Ábewa, by Haúsa.
Agaláti, by Kámbari.

27. Sáraǵi (town) is called—
Sáraǵi, by Núpe.
Sáre, by Yóruha.
Tsharáǵi, by Haúsa.

28. Kwágun (town) is called—
Kwókwo, by Haúsa.

29. Ikpóne is called—
Sausáuni álla Sáriki, by Haúsa.

30. Ilórin is called—
Ilóri, by Haúsa.
Ilóri, by Fúlbe.
Afunjá, by Núpe.

31. Yóruha is called—
Yáraba, by Haúsa.
Yórba, by Fúlbe.
Eiyagí, by Núpe.

32. Bonú is called—
Kakánda, by Ígbira and Igára.
Bónu, by Fúlbe.

33. The Benin districts are called—
Kókurúku, by Haúsa and Núpe.

March 8, 1862.

34. Ashé is called—
Kakánda, by Núpe.
Shábe, by Ígbira.
Hábe, by Bonú.

35. Ígbira is called—
Kóto, by Haúsa.

36. Igú, (in Ígbira) is called—
Kóto n Kárafe, by Haúsa.

37. Ékpó, is called—
Ékpe, by Ígbira.
Áfo, by Haúsa.

38. Gbári is called—
Gwári, by Haúsa.

39. Igára is called—
Attágara, by Núpe and Haúsa.

40. Íbo and Ábo are called—
Opú, by Ígbira and Núpe.

41. The Niger or Kwóra is called—
Kwóra, by Haúsa.
Edu, by Núpe.
Oya, by Yóruha and Bonú.
Móni Mó'inú, by Kámbari.
Máyo and Ísa, by Fúlbe.
Djáliba, by Mandénga.

42. The Bínuwē is called—
Ílihú, by Ígbira.
Zánfira, by Kwána (Barth).
Nú, by Djúku.
Tsádda, by Allen and Lander.

At the Confluence the Haúsa call the Kwóra "Fárin rúwa," or "The White Water," and the Bínuwē "Bákyin rúwa," or "The Dark Water," as during the dry season the two rivers have waters of very different colours—that of the Kwóra being white and opaque, while the Bínuwē waters are deep blue and clear.

43. The Lafún is called Kadúna, by Haúsa.

44. Mount Lukója (at the Confluence) is erroneously called Mount Patted in former charts, its Núpe name being Kpáti Lukója.

(Signed)

WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

Inclosure 14 in No. 53.

Note on the so-called "Kong Mountains," the characteristics of the Kwóra, and of Lake Tsád.

RECENT travels in Eastern, Equatorial, and Southern Africa, have not only removed from our maps the wonderful "Mountains of the Moon," but have also signally confirmed the views of Sir Roderick Murchison regarding the formation of this Continent, and I believe further researches will equally destroy the authenticity of the Western range, the so-called "Kong Mountains." The name "Kong" is said to be a Mandénga word, and a town of that name is marked on the maps east and north from Asánti, which I suppose to be the same with the town called by Haúsa traders "Kwóm," and which is visited by them on account of a white variety of the góro nut, said there to be abundant, and also for gold. But that there is no continuous mountain-range from thence I feel nearly certain. I have crossed the site of the supposed line in two places, namely, in Yóruha and in Bonú, and in neither could I see any distinct range.

There is somewhat in this position a wide and irregular belt of mountainous country, but the mountains are almost all detached and separate, and their distribution is too irregular and undetermined to be easily described except by reference to a map. In Bonú and in Yágba, where perhaps the greatest height is attained, the distinctness of the mountains is the most remarkable. There they rise in some cases to above 2,000 feet. Mr. May estimates one mountain in Yágba at 3,000 feet, but I think his estimate is too high.

One feature among the mountains in Bonú deserves special attention, namely, the prevalence of table-tops, which forms a very striking peculiarity. Several which I have ascended are perfectly level, presenting to the eye an unbroken surface of many miles. One which I have twice crossed is upwards of ten miles in the longest diameter of its summit, and has there towns, farms, and a population living apart from the people of the valleys.

I believe that, when fully surveyed, this mountainous tract of country will be found not to be part of a so-called "central chain," but rather a portion of the elevated country which seemingly everywhere separates the African coast-line from the more depressed interior, and that here also, though perhaps in a less marked degree, Sir Roderick Murchison's theory will be exemplified.

The Kwóra, or Niger, is not to be considered as a great river descending from lofty regions, as many of the mighty streams of Asia or America, but rather as bearing leisurely to the sea the drainings of an immense

CLASS B.

winding valley. Its great affluent, the Bínuwē, with more rapid course, and different period of rise, has more of the characters of a gigantic mountain-stream. The great valley of Sudán is separated from the valleys of the Kwóra and Bínuwē by high land running from Baútsi in one direction northerly towards Káno, and in the other easterly behind Hámarúwa, and which constitutes the water-shed between these rivers and those, as the Yaú or Komádugu Waúbe of Barth and the Shári, which pour their waters into Lake Tsáí, which must be considered not as a true lake, but as an exaggerated swamp in the centre of the great depression, having no outlet, and losing its contents only by evaporation.

Inclosure 15 in No. 55.

Note on the Difference between the Colours of the Waters of the Kwóra and Bínuwē, and the Different Nature of their Sources.

IN the Haúsa language the Rivers Kwóra and Bínuwē are, at their confluence, known respectively by the names of "Fari'n rúwa," or White River, and "Bákyi'n rúwa," or Dark Water. It was during the height of the rain-season of 1854 that I first visited this country, and at that period we looked in vain for any difference between the appearance of these two streams which might account for these designations. Again in 1857, I only saw the confluence when near its height; but since November 1859, I have had the opportunity of observing this locality at all seasons, and I have seen ample reason for the above nomenclature. During the time of full water both are equally turbid and disturbed, but throughout the dry season and period of low water the difference in the hue of the waters is very marked. The Kwóra is white and opaque, with much earthy matter, and so turbid that, as I have often ascertained when bathing and diving, a foot below the surface I could not distinguish beyond a few inches from my eyes. The waters of the Bínuwē again, are at this time clear, transparent, and of a fine dark blue, and it presents, especially when looked on from a height, a very beautiful appearance. The line of meeting is very distinct; the waters do not coalesce, but run side by side for several miles before becoming mixed. The natives around say that of these the white water of the Kwóra is the better for drinking, and I fancy that, although the clear blue water of the Bínuwē is the more pleasing to the eye, the former is of anything the more palatable. I can certainly speak to its salubrity, as, though it has formed for upwards of two years the daily drink of myself and my party, I cannot attribute any deleterious effect to its constant use.

The different colours of these rivers indicate the differences of their origin and their course. The Bínuwē, originating in rocky mountain-ranges, depends for its supply on the heavy falls of rain in elevated regions, all coming from the eastwards, and, for the most part, similar to the equatorial rains. During our ascent of the Bínuwē in August, September, and October, 1854, all the rain was from the eastwards, generally south-east, never from the west. When the cessation of the rains dries up its sources, this river merely flows tranquilly along its sandy bed, bringing with it little or no earthy or other extraneous matter, and so, until the floods from the hills again pour down, it preserves its fine cerulean tint. The Kwóra again pursues its course along a level alluvial country, receiving every few miles tributary streams and rivulets from swamps and meadow-lands, which constantly keep up a supply of organic matter, and thus render the Kwóra turbid and white.

The natives of Igára, also, call the two rivers "Ujímíni fúfu" and "Ujímíni dú lu," or the white and the black Ujímíni; which, again, is merely a corruption or alteration of the Íbo name for the river, namely, O ímíni, and which means, as most of the names of the Kwóra do, "great water."

March 10, 1862.

(Signed)

WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

Inclosure 16 in No. 53.

Note on the name "Kadúna."

MR. COOLEY, in his most instructive and suggestive work "The Negroland of the Arabs," in a foot-note at page 142, states, not on his own authority but on that of the Rev. G. C. Renouard, that "Kadúna," the name of the river named "La'ún" by the Núpe, means "little" in the Haúsa language. Mr. Cooley, with his usual acuteness, immediately afterwards doubts the correctness of this, and very justly—Mr. Renouard having been led away by similarity of words. In Haúsa the word "Kadán" signifies "little," "a few," but it has no connection whatever with "Kadúna," and is also spelt differently, the middle consonant in Kadúna being a "d," or the Arabic ج, while the second consonant in Kadán is not a true "d," but has a different power, and is equivalent to the Arabic letter ذ.

The name "Quorrana," or rather "Kworána," which occurs in many Haúsa routes, is not a specific name, but is the Haúsa word for a small stream, a rivulet, in contradistinction to "Kógi," which is "a river." "Gúli" is also often used to signify a river, but strictly it means a lake, or a body of water: thus, Lake Tsád is "Gúli Tsád," but the distinction is not always observed. Kworána has no connection, as some Germans have imagined, with Kwóra, which is a proper name.

March 11, 1862.

(Signed)

WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

No. 54.

Dr. Baikie, R.N., to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 11.)

My Lord,

I BEG to forward, for your Lordship's information, a rough map of the countries and districts of Central Africa, supplementary to that of Dr. Barth. It is not intended to show absolute positions, nor have I the results of the observations of the present expedition by me, all having been sent to England; but when corrected by the chart of the Kwóra of Lieutenant Glover, and by the positions ascertained by that officer and Mr. May, it will be found, I believe, tolerably correct, and will indicate the approximate positions of several hitherto unknown countries, &c.

Bida, Núpe, Central Africa, January 21, 1862.

Map OF COUNTRIES IN CENTRAL AFRICA



All the rivers and streams are coloured with cobalt blue, and the approximate boundaries of the various countries have been distinguished by different tints. The map includes the countries from a little below the confluence to the towns of Yákuba and Záriya, the most southern and western of Dr. Vogel's positions, and towards the southern line of Dr. Barth's travels.

The map has been drawn out under great disadvantages, which must partly account for its roughness, as I have had to work at it seated on the ground, with the paper spread out before me on the top of a small travelling box; and, from want of room in the confined place where I am living, people have been continually brushing close past me and disturbing me.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 54.

Map of Countries in Central Africa.

Inclosure 2 in No. 54.

Remarks on the accompanying Map.

THE accompanying map is intended primarily to indicate the geographical boundaries of various countries, and not, as Dr. Barth's map, to show the confines of the Empires of Sókoto and Gwánu.

Very probably further information will enable me greatly to modify and to correct the present outline. I think, possibly, all the countries behind Tóto will have to be extended northwards; also I believe the country of Káúúku is here shown too extensive, and that of Kámbari (called "Yáúri" in Barth, from its chief town) too small; but the information I at present possess does not enable me to do more.

In Núpe, Bonú and Íbira, the provinces into which these countries are divided are also shown.

Báúsi is an aggregation of numerous savage tribes, differing in language, &c., some being subject to the Fúlo Chief of Yákuba, and others independent, or in revolt.

I have attempted no filling up of the country of Yóruba, as materials for doing this with considerable accuracy exist already in England.

February 5, 1862.

(Signed) WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

No. 55.

Dr. Baikie, R.N., to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 11.)

My Lord.

Fida, Núpe, Central Africa, February 25, 1862.

1. IN reading carefully over Mr. D. J. May's interesting and instructive Report of his visit to East Yóruba in 1853, a few observations of his seem to me to require remark, and which, as the Report was, I believe, read in public at the Royal Geographical Society, I would respectfully request your Lordship also to have placed upon record.

2. In page 10 he suggests that a town or district named Adó, eastward from Hésha, may give name to a stream "falling into the Kwóra near Íddá with a similar name." Mr. May has here been led away by similarity of names; Adó is the correct name of the town near Hésha, but as to the river below Íddá, we do not yet know its correct designation. The name of Adó was given to it by Oldfield and Allen because it flows through a district sometimes called the Dá or Adó country, because the usual salutation of the inhabitants is "Dó dó," just as the Yómbians say "Okú, okú," and which has led to Yóruba and its inhabitants being styled "Okú," or as it is often corrupted, "Akú."

3. At page 15, the Chief and town, named "Eshu," or "Eshou," should be "Etshu." It is a kind of nickname, given to a powerful Chief, but by which he and his town are commonly known. It is a Yóruba word, and means "devil."

4. At page 26, the river which he names Óyi is, as he suggests, the same which falls into the Kwóra, just below Éran (Érga). Óyi is its Yárba name, but the Núpe call it Kámpí. It is a considerable stream, and in the rainy season is navigable for several miles.

5. At page 28 he mentions a small town "named Lefun, no doubt from its position *en route* with reference to the tributary of that or very like name examined in the 'Dayspring,' and which falls into the river opposite and near to it." I have made particular inquiry on this point, and believe Mr. May to have been again led away by a mere similarity of names. The name of the town is Léfún, that of the river Lafún, or as it has been long known to African geographers by its Háúsa name of Kudúna.

6. In the same page, the name of the town "Ládi," should be "Ladé."

7. In page 29 the name of the large town "Shaw," should be "Tóó," and the Chief whose title is "Kúta" is not "River King," but merely the Chief appointed by the King of Núpe to have charge of the river and its canoes, both for war and traffic, and his title is more nearly equivalent to "Admiral."

8. At page 31, the town "Nagi" should be "Énagi." It is remarkable as being one of two neighbouring towns in the centre of Núpe, inhabited by people of Bóruu descent, and for having a number of date-palms and other palms growing and flourishing in it.

9. At page 32, "Laboski" should be "Labóshí," which is one of the oldest existing towns in Núpe. The viaduct at this town, mentioned in the same page, and also another at Jángi, mentioned at page 33, are nothing but bridges of the form of an arc of a circle, the centres being 20 to 25 feet above the water. Bridges of this description are by no means unfrequent in Núpe; the people of this country being much more mechanical and constructive than the Yómbians.

10. At page 37, the name "Béde" should be "Gbédde."

11. And in the same paragraph, the expression "we are pleased to call Kakánda" is rather strong, as we first learnt this designation from the natives of Ífára, who include in their "Kakánda" Bása, Bonú, and several adjacent districts. The name Kakánda is not strictly that of any country, as that which the Núpe call so is by its inhabitants named "Asúé," and there is no real "Kakánda."

12. These imperfections seem trifling, but spelling of names correctly is of more importance than at first appears, and prevents much confusion, and even error. Were I, in this country, to ask for the town of Ládi, no one could tell me or understand me, whereas were I to say Ladé its situation would be at once indicated to me.

13. The road from the Confluence to Étshu is now open to us. I have myself travelled to the borders of Yágbá, and my messengers have been to Étshu already four times.

14. With one further remark I conclude. Mr. May has in several passages alluded to his not having been furnished with sufficient means, but it must be remembered that his excursion took place while we were encamped at Kétsa, after the wreck of the "Dayspring," when we were living "from hand to mouth," and where I had hardly presents to spare for any purpose. He was provided, certainly not amply, but as far as our means would allow. In also supposing that his scarcity of presents was the reason why the Chiefs at Hésá and at Étshu refused to allow him to proceed eastwards, he is incorrect; both of these Chiefs acted towards him with sufficient openness, and the Rev. Mr. Crowther and myself were both of us aware at the time that there was "war on the road," and that his entry into Bonú could not be effected. Having myself since that time twice travelled through Bonú, and the countries which Mr. May was prevented from reaching, and my people having penetrated through them in all directions, I am fully acquainted with their state, both then and now, and am certain that, had Mr. May been provided with five times the amount of his presents, he would have been equally hindered in his progress.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

No. 56.

Dr. Baikie, R.N., to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 11.)

My Lord,

Bárá, Nípe, Central Africa, March 3, 1862.

I BEG respectfully to submit to your Lordship the following observations for the consideration of the Royal Geographical Society or other scientific body.

I have not yet had the opportunity of reading Du Chaillu's interesting and remarkable travels, but, from a review of his work which has reached me, I learn that he suggests that a chain of mountains, which, as he believes, crosses the African continent a little south of the Equator, may account for the absence of Arabic and Mahometan progress in South Africa. But of this fact I would beg to propose another explanation.

The inhabitants of Sudán Proper are all of the negro race, while those south of the River Bínúwē are all more or less connected with the widely spread Kaffir stock, and we find that the limit of Islamism very nearly coincides with the line of demarkation between these two great races. Even north of the Bínúwē, many of the tribes approach more closely to the Kaffirs, and among them, to this day, Mahometanism has made very slight progress.

We know that the centre of Africa is composed of basins or depressions surrounded or bounded by mountain chains, but we have no reason to believe that any armed or predatory expedition has yet reached south of the line, or to the mountains mentioned by Du Chaillu. Adamáwa itself is rocky and mountainous, but behind, and to the south, towards the line, is one immense level. No later than yesterday I had a long conversation with a man who has been beyond Adamáwa, to the utmost limit of the Fúlo conquerors, or the Háúsa merchants, and he describes the whole as one grand level, covered with boundless forests; the various tribes, who are mostly hunters, living often at great distances from each other. The conquest of Adamáwa by the Filáni, is within the memory of the present generation, and before this we have no reason for believing that attempts were made to penetrate beyond. On the contrary, these rude heathen tribes were formerly more formidable, and not many generations have passed since the King of Korórofa or Wukári, now nominally subject to the Fálbe of Baútshí, led his Djúku followers far into Sudán, made successful war even on Bómu, and once brought his army to Núpe, to the mouth of the Kadóna or La'án. The Arabic geographers hardly mention any countries which can be referred to the south of the Bínúwē, and even Sahán Bello's description stops with Korórofa, or, as it is spelt in Salame's version, "Kornorfa." And in Adamáwa at present, though in the towns most are nominal Moslemis, yet in the country districts this religion has done nothing.

Seeing, then, that the limits of information, and of the spread of Islamism and Arabic conquest, both alike stopped short near the line of demarkation, is it not more probable that the fact may be accounted for by the difference of race; that the negro was nearer, and offered less resistance to the Mohometan invasion, and that the negro mind receives more readily the doctrines and dogmas of the Mahometan creed? Ethnologically considered, I believe the negro is much less removed from the Eastern in development and in mental tendencies than the Kaffir.

I do not in this include the country along the Upper Nile, concerning which I am very imperfectly informed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

No. 57.

Dr. Baikie, R.N., to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 11.)

My Lord,

Eída, Nípe, Central Africa, March 6, 1862.

I HAVE this day received intelligence, seemingly authentic, of the death of Áje, the principal Chief at Ábo, and who was much concerned in the late outrages committed on Mr. Laird's factory. It is also reported, and most probably correctly, that about 100 slaves were immolated on the occasion, such being the fearfully bloody custom throughout Ibo, and more especially at Ábo.

The death of this Chief will probably facilitate the re-opening of trade, as, notwithstanding that he was on the whole desirous of remaining friendly with us, his truculent and ferocious character made him an unpleasant person to have any dealings with.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

No. 58.

Dr. Baikie, R.N., to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 11.)

My Lord,

Bida, Nùpe, Central Africa, March 13, 1862.

IN addition to the inclosures in my despatch of the 17th of January, I beg respectfully to forward for your Lordship's inspection some further notes, which may, perhaps, be of use in throwing light upon some geographical questions relating to Central Africa.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 58.

Note on the Period of the Greatest Height of the Waters of the Kwóra, or Niger, at Timbúktu, and the Second Rise of the Waters in Nùpe and at the Confluence.

DR. BARTH has been the first, as far as I am aware, to note the seemingly anomalous period of the highest waters in the Kwóra at Timbúktu, namely, at the end of January, but I see no reason for his remark that "Englishmen have not paid much attention" to the features of this river in its lower part. He must be aware that the phenomenon to which he has alluded can only be observed during the dry season, at which period, except during the voyage of Laird and Allen in 1833-34, and who did not reach a part of the river where this anomalous rise is observable, the Kwóra has not been seen by Englishmen until the present expedition. We observed and noted this peculiarity in February 1858, and every season since I have watched for and measured it. In Nùpe it is well known, and is named "yágbé;" we call it the second rise of the river. From Búsa (how far beyond we cannot say) the Kwóra attains its greatest height at the end of September, and early in October it begins to fall. During November it falls rapidly, but towards the end of December it slackens greatly, and by the beginning of January is nearly stationary. From the latter part of January to the end of February there is a second rise, varying in extent according to place of observation. In Nùpe, as at Rábba, it varies from 8 or 10 inches to about 18 inches, according to the season; at the Confluence it is from 4 to 6 inches. During the early part of March the second fall commences, and goes on uninterruptedly until the end of June.

This is, in the fewest words, an exact description of what I have personally observed during four years. The reason assigned by Dr. Barth, vol. v, pp. 6 to 10, seems to me to be partly, but not altogether correct. The true explanation is, I believe, that the great length of the Kwóra, extending over many degrees of longitude, occasions different parts of its course to be acted on by different influences. From Yaúri downwards the river is filled chiefly by rains from April to August, from north-east and south-east, and to a less extent in September from the south-west, and thus the maximum height is attained at the end of September, and the river falls as soon as the rains cease. A great part of the upper portion of its course, again, flows through regions where the easterly rains do not last so long, and have less influence, while towards its source it receives its greatest supply from rains which come with south-west wind from the Atlantic in September, October, and November. These swell the head waters, which, flowing through level countries at a slow rate, do not reach Timbúktu till January, and after passing that place first check the early fall of the lower river, and then cause it to rise a second time, though to a small extent. The rise of the river observed by Mr. Laird at Íddá on the 22nd March, and on which Dr. Barth lays so much stress, might possibly have been caused by this phenomenon, though I hardly think so, as the second fall of the river has always commenced, as far as I have observed, early in March. It more probably proceeded from the Binnwē, which always shows a rise at the Confluence early in April, and might do so on the 22nd of March, so that Mr. Laird's ascribing the rise which he saw to "rains up the country," that is, behind Adamáwa, was, after all, the more likely solution.

March 13, 1862.

(Signed) WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 58.

Note on the "Kissour" of De Caillié.

DE CAILLIÉ calls the language of Timbúktu "Kissour," a name which has given rise to much confusion and conjecture, as the language of that city has been proved, especially by Barth, to be known by the name of its people, namely, Sónai. Having searched Barth's published volumes, however, without being able to find any allusion to this name, the following, which I learned from an intelligent Púlo who had spent some time in Timbúktu, may be of interest. He states that the mixed population, or those of half-Sónai, half-Moorish extraction, are distinguished from those of pure Sónai race by the name of "Kásuar" or "Ká-war," which may account for De Caillié's "Kissour." Since that a native of Timbúktu, whom I met in Nùpe, has been pointed out to me as of this mixed race, or as a Kásuar. Whether this term has any connection with the old geographical name "Inkizar" I am not sufficiently informed at present to offer an opinion.

March 13, 1862.

(Signed) WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

Inclosure 3 in No. 58.

Note on the Name "Joliba" or "Juleba," for the Upper Niger.

THE name of the upper course of the Kwóra or Niger has given rise to much discussion. Park wrote it as "Jóliba," a name which has since been subjected to much modification in its spelling, De Caillié using "Dhioliba," Barth giving "Dhiuliba," while Koelle and some other Germans have adopted the strange form "Dgogiba." I received the following information regarding the origin of the name from two Fúlbe (or Filáni), the one a native of Fúta Djálo, and the other, an unusually intelligent man, a native of Fúta Tóro, both of whom understood the Mandénga language.

They stated that when their countrymen, the Fúlbe, first saw the River Niger in Fúta Djálo, at a time anterior to their conquest of that region, they gave it the name of Jáli-bá, or Djáí-bá, or the "Evil River," from the Mandénga words "jáí," or "d.áli," evil, and "bá," river, meaning thereby "River of Evil People," as they believed that the "Djalúnka," or natives of the country, a very savage offshoot from the Mandénga stock, derived their evil disposition from drinking the water of the river. Another explanation is also given, namely, that the Fúlbe, who were unacquainted with the use of canoes, followed the natives into the river, where many of them were drowned; and they, ascribing this misfortune to an evil spirit in the water, gave it the name as above.

The pronunciation of the name by these two men, who both knew the upper river well, was distinctly "Jáli-ba," or "Djáliba," and not "Dhiáli-ba," or "Dhiuliba," so that possibly Park's original writing may be very nearly correct.

It is possible that the name may have some connection with "Jalúnka," or "Djalúnka," the Mandénga tribe through whose country a large branch of the Upper Niger flows, and on which is situated M'Luře, famed for its gold.

The Fúlbe and the Western Moors often call the Upper Niger "Bahr Nil," or "Bahr-u-Nil," which may have been one reason why the Niger was confounded with the Nile of Egypt, and supposed to flow into it.

March 13, 1862.

(Signed)

WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

Inclosure 4 in No. 58.

Note on the principal Divisions of the Fúlbe or Filáni.

THE following are the principal divisions and countries of the Fúlbe or Filáni:—

1. Fúta-Tóro, or Fúta of the Toróbe, on the River Senegal, and bordering on the French territories; this is considered by all Fúlbe as their parent country, and it is so in as far as Fúta-Tóro was the spot where their early wandering tribes gathered and united, where their language was formed, and whence they issued forth in all directions. It is in Fúta-Tóro that the Púlo language is spoken in its greatest purity, its dialect being assumed as the standard.

2. Gánar, to the northward, between Fúta-Tóro and the Moors, a very pure branch of the Fúlbe, but Moorish-Arabic is spoken amongst them nearly as much as their own language.

3. Bóndú, between Fúta-Tóro and Wó'of (the Ouolof of French writers). The people of Bóndú are sprung from Fúta-Tóro, but are now seated on ground from which they have driven the original Wó'of inhabitants: their language approaches very closely to that of Fúta-Tóro, but is distinguished by being mixed with certain Wó'of terms and forms.

4. Fúta-Djálo, or Fúta in the Djalúnka country, conquered and inhabited by Fúlbe from Fúta-Tóro. The language of Fúta-Djálo is very impure, being much mixed with Mandénga, and its grammatical forms being much more crude and irregular than those of Fúta-Tóro. A "Primer in the Fulah Language," published in 1859 by the Rev. C. L. Reichardt, is almost entirely in this dialect. The capital of Fúta-Djálo is Tímbo. Two names are in use for this country, the more frequent being Fúta-Djálo, derived from the name "Djalúnka;" the other is Fúta-Jálon, which as I was informed by Ouhman Zákí, late King of Núpe (who was a Púlo), means "New Fúta," or that its origin dates long after that of Fúta-Tóro.

5. Másina, on the Kwóra or Niger, behind Ségu and Timúkútu, long inhabited by Fúlo tribes, but only recently taking rank as a powerful independent State. The Fúlbe here are but little mixed, and their language ranks for purity next to that of Fúta-Tóro.

6. Besides these there is, chiefly in Fúta-Tóro, a numerous tribe of Fúlbe always reckoned distinct, with a well-marked dialect, and inhabiting only small villages and bush districts, being exclusively pastoral; among their countrymen they are always known as "Fúlbe," all the others being known and spoken of by the names of their respective tribes, as "Toróbe," "Iriábe," "Bóssoiábe," &c.; many of these bush or pastoral Fúlbe are still heathens.

March 15, 1862.

(Signed)

WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

Inclosure 5 in No. 58.

Note on the Dialects and Sub-Dialects of Fulfulde.

THE language spoken by the Fúlbe or Filáni in Haúsa and throughout Sudán is called by them "Fulfulde," which is merely the parent Fúlo language with a large substitution and admixture of Haúsa terms and words. "Fulfulde" is said to mean "It is not pure Púlo." Of these there are three well-marked dialects:—

1. The dialect of the west, or that of Kábbi including Gwándú, and Zálíra to Sái.

2. Of Árewa or Maúri, Áder, Gó'ir, Sókoto, and Zánfara.

3. Of Kárgina, Káno, Dáúra, Zínder, Záriya, Báutsi, Hamarúwa, and Adamáwa.

There are further two sub-dialects, viz:—

1. Of Yaúri and Núpe, approaching to that of Kábbi.

2. Of Ilórin and Bórgú, derived from Gúrma and Másina.

Of all these, the dialect of Adamáwa, being the furthest off, is the purest, the least mixed with Haúsa, and the one most fully intelligible to a Púlo from Fúta-Tóro.

March 15, 1862.

(Signed)

WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

Inclosure 6 in No. 58.

Note on the Lead Ore used in Sudán for staining the Eyelids, and improperly called "Antimony."

THE metallic ore used so extensively throughout Sudán and other countries for staining and darkening the eyelids has been usually, though erroneously, called "antimony." It is called by the Arabs in Sudán كحل or "kahl," which word is rendered in the Arabic dictionary by "antimoine." It is, by the Haúsa, named "tózoi" or "kwóli," from the Arabic "kuhi," and by the Bornuese it is known as "sándurim." When I first

saw it I was struck with its resemblance to galena, or lead ore, and that it is galena has been confirmed by an analysis made for the late Mr. Laird of some of this ore sent to him, which proved it to be a rich ore of lead, containing 80 per cent. of lead, with a small quantity of silver.

The entire supply for Central Africa is derived from the neighbourhood of two towns, named *Ákwona* and *Árufu*, near *Wukári* in *Korórofa*, where it is found abundantly not far from the surface, and is there purchased at the rate of about $\frac{1}{2}d.$ to $1d.$ per lb., chiefly for salt. It is used only for the purpose of staining the eyelids, for which purpose it is reduced to a fine powder, and applied by means of a metallic or wooden pencil. It is not known in *Sudán* that it has any relation to lead, which metal is well known in the *Haúsa* markets by the name of "dárma."

March 15, 1862.

(Signed)

WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

Inclosure 7 in No. 58.

Note on the States or Provinces of Haúsa.

THE original States or Provinces of *Haúsa* were seven in number, which were known by the names of the "Haú-a lókwoi," or the seven *Haúsas*. Their names are correctly given by *Barth*, but the tradition he relates concerning them differs from what I have since learned. They are:—

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------|
| 1. <i>Daúra</i> , the eldest; | 4. <i>Káno</i> , | } twins; |
| 2. <i>Katsína</i> , | 5. <i>Ráno</i> , | |
| 3. <i>Zá.íya</i> } | 6. <i>Góbír</i> , the youngest; and | |
| | 7. <i>Bíram</i> . | |

Of these *Daúra* is always acknowledged as the eldest, and *Góbír* is reckoned the youngest, and at this time *Daúra*, *Katsína*, and *Góbír* are the purest of the *Haúsa* States.

According to *Haúsa* tradition *Bíram* is the oldest seat of the *Haúsa*, and it still exists as a town on the borders of *Khadéja*; it is called "*Bíram tá gábbaz*," to distinguish it from another town of the same name on the borders of *Katsína*, and which is called "*Bíram tá Katsína*." The progenitor of the *Haúsa* was named "*Báwó*," whose son, *Kárbagari*, had six children, from whom the different States take their names. *Bíram* was the seat of Government, and from there the grand-children of *Báwó* were appointed to various posts. "*Daúra*," the eldest, was "*Sá.íki'n noma*," or Chief for Agriculture; *Katsína* was made "*Sá.íki'n káswa*," or Director of Commerce and Manufactures; *Zá.íya*, or *Zózau*, was named "*Sá.íki'n báí*," or Chief for the Supply of Slaves; *Káno* and *Ráno* were conjointly "*Sá.íki'n bába*," or Superintendents of Dyeing and the Indigo Trade; and *Góbír* was appointed "*Sá.íki'n yáki*," or War-Chief. There is probably a mixture of truth and of fable in this, but to this day these respective States preserve traces of their traditional callings. *Daúra* has comparatively little to depend on but its agriculture; *Katsína* was until the recent rise of *Káno* the chief seat of trade; *Zá.íya*, from its position among numerous wild tribes, still keeps up the supply of slaves; *Káno* and *Ráno* are at this day the great centres of the dyeing trade—the indigo-cloths, or "*túrkudis*," of *Ráno*, in particular, being reckoned the best in all *Sudán*; while the warlike, predatory *Gobiráwa* are a constant source of trouble to the Sultan of *Sókoto*. *Bíram*, alone, which took its rank, not as among the offspring of *Báwó*, but in virtue of its being the original seat of Government, is in an impoverished state, partly, however, owing to the proximity of a dangerous neighbour, a well-known scourge in these regions, *Bohári*, the Chief of *Khadéja*.

Of these States, *Góbír* alone remains mostly independent of the *Fúbe*, with whom they wage an unceasing warfare. *Ráno* and *Bíram* are both dependent on *Káno*, and included in its territory. *Daúra*, *Katsína*, *Káno*, and *Zá.íya*, are each separate provinces, but tributary to *Sókoto*. *Marádi*, though politically allied to *Góbír*, is by dialect and origin connected with *Katsína*, and the present *Haúsa* of *Dámagáram* and *Zinder* are sprung from those of *Daúra*. Of their various dialects I shall speak in a separate paper.

To *Dr. Barth* belongs the merit of having discovered, in two now obscure towns, *Ráno* and *Bíram*, two of the original *Haúsa* States, which were previously unknown to Europeans. I agree with *Dr. Barth* in thinking that the name of the so-called ancestor of the *Haúsa* people, namely, "*Báwó*," or, as he writes it, "*Bawu*," has no connection with the *Haúsa* word for slave, which is "*báwa*," and it therefore gives no support to the tradition that *Haúsa* people sprung from a *Haúsa* slave. "*Báwó*" is always called in *Haúsa* "*Káka'n Hausáwa*," that is, the grandfather or progenitor of the *Hausáwa*. We know that the *Haúsa* States formerly extended further north, and that they have encroached on the south, and as *Bé.íge* elements, though not in great number, in the *Haúsa* language it is probable that in their origin they were connected more or less with a *Bé.íge* tribe.

By a misprint in *Barth's* "*Travels*," vol. ii. p. 73. *Ráno* is said to be south-west of *Káno*, instead of south-east or east-south-east, and in the map in vol. v it is placed south, and at a distance of more than thirty miles from *Káno*, instead of about sixteen or eighteen miles.

Besides these there are seven other States and peoples, known collectively as the "*bánza lókwoi*," or the "seven good-for-naughts," or "upstarts," that is to say, they were not among the original *Haúsa* States, but have been joined to them by subsequent incorporation, or by immigration of *Haúsa* people into them. They are:—

1. *Kábbi*, sprung from *Katsína*.
2. *Haúsa* of *Yá.úri*, sprung from *Zá.íya* or *Zózau*.
3. *Á.íge*, sprung from *Góbír*.
4. *Árewa*, or *Má.úri*, sprung from *Daúra*.
5. *Shangáwa*, sprung from *Kábbi*.
6. *Zámfara*, from a *Góbír* father, and a *Káno* mother.
7. *Hausáwa n Gwári*, or the *Haúsa*, in the north of *Ghá.ri*, sprung from *Katsína*.

Barth gives the "*bánza lókwoi*" as follows, namely, *Zámfara*, *Ké.íbi*, *Ná.ípe*, or *Nyí.í*, *Yá.úri*, *Yórubá*, or *Yá.ri.úba*, and *Korórofa*. I have reason to believe, however, that this list is not quite correct, and that the names I have given are the more authentic.

March 18, 1862.

(Signed)

WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

Inclosure 8 in No. 58.

Note on the Dialects of Haúsa.

OF Haúsa there seem to be three marked dialects, possessing nearly equal claims to be considered the standard or typical dialect. These are, 1st, that of Góbir, in the west; 2nd, of Katgína in the centre; and, 3rd, of Daúra in the north-east. That of Góbir is no doubt, very pure and unmixed, and in its system of numerals, I believe, it possesses most correctly the original Haúsa mode of counting. It is, however, rather rough, and, in some words, prefers the sound of "t" to that of "l" or of "r." The dialect of Katgína is as pure as that of Góbir, and fully more pleasing to the ear. The names of the numerals, above twenty, are mostly derived from the Arabic, but in all other respects it has, perhaps, the best claim to be considered the standard dialect. That of Daúra is the softest and the most refined; but it has a larger number of Arabic words, or words derived from the Arabic. The Haúsa of Dánagá á n and of Zínder is that of Daúra.

Of other dialects, that of Káno is impure and peculiar, and it has also a large number of commercial and trading terms. The natives of Káno are very fond of the diphthong "au:" thus they say "aúduga" for "ábduga," cotton; "Aúzín" for "Ábzín," the name of a town; and "Záúna" for "Zámna," sit, &c. The natives of Kábbi speak slowly, and draw out their words. They have, also many peculiar words, as "yaúmi" for "ná na," meat; "zúntu" for "dáki," a house, &c. But of all, the dialect of Záriya is the furthest removed, and the most corrupted. This is to be accounted for by its remote position, surrounded and mixed up with numerous wild tribes, with almost countless languages and dialects.

March 18, 1862.

(Signed)

WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

No. 59.

Dr. Baikie, R.N., to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 11.)

My Lord,

Bida, Núpe, Central Africa, March 13, 1862.

I BEG respectfully to forward, for your Lordship's information, the following statistics relating to the present state of the domestic slave trade in three of the principal towns in Núpe and Haúsa.

In this town (Bida), the average daily number of slaves in the market is from 300 to 400. At present they amount to 800, owing to several recent arrivals. There being no Kakánda people here just now to carry them to Íno and the Delta of the Niger, they are being purchased one by one for domestic or agricultural labour, chiefly by people from Yóruha.

In Sókoto, the daily average number of slaves is from 600 to 800, while in Káno it reaches the enormous amount of from 2,500 to 3,000, Káno being the grand central receptacle. To ameliorate such a state of matters must necessarily be a very slow process, the work of many years; but the establishment of an English trading station at the Confluence would have these not altogether negative results:—it would first cause an increased demand for ivory and other commercial products of the interior in preference to slaves; and, secondly, by bringing salt, cloth, and other articles to the Confluence, and such goods as are now brought up from the Delta, it would cut off almost entirely the Slave Trade to the Delta, and that portion of the coast, and would thus, at least, keep the slaves nearer their homes, in a better climate, and under more considerate masters.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

No. 60.

Dr. Baikie, R.N., to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 11.)

My Lord,

Bida, Núpe, Central Africa, April 10, 1862.

I BEG respectfully to represent to your Lordship the extreme kindness which I, in common with all other Englishmen of our party, have received from the King of Núpe, as well as the very friendly spirit he has displayed towards us as representatives of our country. He has paid no attention to the various reports which many of his people brought against us, and he has been superior to the prejudices of many of his countrymen regarding white men. He was strongly urged by Sína, the late King of Ilórin, to expel us from his country, but he replied that we had done him no wrong, and that we had always kept faith with him.

I have, as far as in my power, from time to time, made him such presents as my means permitted, but I feel that all has been an inadequate return for the protection he has afforded us, and the assistance he has given us in endeavouring to establish ourselves here. This year, not having anything fit for a present among the articles I received by the "Sunbeam," I have taken some expensive articles of my own, and have given them to him; but I trust your Lordship will take into consideration his good offices, and his friendship towards England—a friendship which, if prudently directed, may be of great future service to English interests along the banks of the Niger.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

No. 61.

Dr. Baikie, R.N., to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 11.)

My Lord,

Bida, Núpe, Central Africa, April 10, 1862.

ON the 12th instant I hope to leave this place on a hurried visit to Záriya and Káno, in Haúsa, for the following purposes, viz:—

1. To inquire into the truth of a report which has reached me regarding the existence at Káno of papers belonging to the late Dr. Vogel, and, if so, to endeavour to secure them.

2. To connect our travels along the Niger with the routes of Barth and of Vogel.

There has been great opposition here to my passing through, and it has only been after three months' daily endeavours that I have, by the friendship of the King, at length succeeded, as the people say they are afraid lest I become too great friends with the Haúsa Kings, and so do not return here to them again. My stay in this place ever since Christmas last has been very tiresome to me, but as long as I had the least chance of success I did not like to give up the attempt; and besides, if I am now allowed to travel along this road once, and I return according as I have told the King, objections will in future greatly diminish or disappear.

Between Núpe and Záriya I shall pass through the country of some wild tribes, hitherto unvisited, and unknown even by name; and I shall cross also the water-shed between the valley of the Niger and the great central basin of Sudán. At Záriya and Káno, also, I wish to inquire after various commercial articles, and prices of European goods, which may serve as a guide to future adventurers and traders.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

No. 62.

Dr. Baikie, R.N., to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 11.)

My Lord,

Bida, Núpe, Central Africa, February 13, 1862.

FOR the information of persons interested in commerce with Central Africa, I beg to inclose to your Lordship a list of the prices which articles of English manufacture bear at present at the market, at Lukója. The value I have reckoned in cowries, at the rate of 1s. 3d. per 1,000 cowries, which, it must be specially noted, is the dearest and least remunerative form of trading, as where produce is taken instead, the profits mount much higher.

The demand for English goods after the departure of Mr. Laird's steamer in September last was very great, far exceeding anything I had seen previously. Had there been goods here to the value of 5,000*l.* or 6,000*l.*, I am certain all could have been disposed of to great advantage. A good deal of ivory and of Shía butter were brought to me, which, of course, I could not purchase.

This, my Lord, is a more satisfactory and direct account of the prospects of trade here than I have yet been able to transmit, and I am convinced that the time has now arrived when a due investment of capital may yield most satisfactory results, and lay the certain foundation of a great future commerce.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

Inclosure in No. 62.

LIST of Prices which English Goods at present fetch in the Market at Lukója.

Meaning of marks:—(a) In great demand; (b) In considerable demand; (c) Not yielding much profit, but necessary for trade.

Name of Article.	Invoice price.		Value in cowries.
a Grey baft (unbleached calico), 12 yards ..	4s. to 4s. 6d.	Per piece.	7,000 to 8,000 = 8s. 9d. to 10s.
b White calico, unstarched, 30 yards ..	.. ..	Per yard.	600 to 700 9d. to 10½d.
Madapollam, starched .. ..	.. ..	"	400 to 500 6d. to 7½d.
b Croydon .. ..	.. ..	Per piece.	12,000 to 14,000 15s. to 17s. 6d.
b White brocade .. ..	.. ..	Per yard.	700 to 800 10½d. to 1s.
b Muslin .. ..	.. ..	Per piece.	9,000 11s. 3d.
Turban muslin, in small pieces .. ..	.. ..	"	5,000 6s. 3d.
a Unbleached shirting, 12 yards	5s.	"	8,000 10s.
a Unglazed ditto (good) .. ..	.. ..	"	8,000 10s.
a Striped domestics, 12 yards	5s.	"	8,000 10s.
b Ticking .. ..	.. ..	Per yard.	700 10½d.
a Victoria robe, 12 yards	5s.	Per piece.	10,000 12s. 6d.
Light gingham .. ..	.. ..	"	10,000 12s. 6d.
White cantoons .. ..	.. ..	"	9,000 11s. 3d.
b Striped ditto	8s. 6d.	"	11,000 13s. 9d.
b American twill, 12 yards	5s.	"	10,000 12s. 6d.
a Romal, red and blue	2s. 10d.	"	8,000 10s.
a Blue satin stripe	3s. 6d. to 4s.	"	10,000 12s. 6d.
b Turkey red twill	4s. 9d.	"	9,000 11s. 3d.
b Ditto, stripe	7s. 9d.	"	12,000 to 14,000 15s. to 17s. 6d.

CLASS B.

Name of Article.	Invoice price.		Value in cowries.
<i>b</i> Turkey red chintz	8s.	Per piece	12,000 to 14,000 = 15s. to 17s. 6d.
<i>b</i> Madder handkerchiefs	3s. 9d.	"	8,000 to 9,000 10s. to 11s. 3d.
<i>b</i> Madras ditto	6s. 6d.	"	9,000 to 10,000 11s. 3d. to 12s. 6d.
Ventapollams, fine	9s.	"	12,000 15s.
<i>a</i> Blue cotton bandannas	3s. 9d.	"	10,000 12s. 6d.
<i>b</i> Common lilac prints, 28 yards	7s. to 8s.	"	12,000 15s.
<i>b</i> Ditto, pink, ditto	8s. 6d.	"	13,000 16s. 3d.
Fine lilac, ditto	15s.	"	22,000 27s. 6d.
<i>b</i> Half mourning ditto (wide) .. .. .	..	"	20,000 25s.
<i>b</i> Cochineal ditto	12s. to 14s.	"	20,000 25s.
Shawl pattern	12s.	"	"
<i>b</i> Popo Niceanee	6s.	"	12,000 15s.
Fine ditto	9s. to 10s.	"	15,000 18s. 9d.
<i>b</i> Cotton blankets	3s. 6d. to 7s. 6d.	Each	10,000 to 14,000 12s. 6d. to 17s. 6d.
St. Jago cloth	16s.	"	32,000 40s.
<i>b</i> Imitation native cloths (French)	4s. 6d. to 5s. 6d.	"	10,000 12s. 6d.
Ditto (large)	15s.	"	50,000 52s. 6d.
Common damask .. .. .	..	Per yard	2,000 2s. 6d.
Red baize .. .. .	..	"	"
<i>b</i> Red serge .. .. .	..	"	"
<i>b</i> Cotton velvet, red, green, black, blue .. .. .	..	"	"
Black velveteen .. .. .	..	"	"
<i>b</i> Corduroy, white or black .. .. .	..	"	"
Madder-red thread	2s. 6d.	Per lb.	4,000 5s.
Sewing-thread or cotton .. .. .	..	Per reel	200 to 250 3d. to 3½d.
<i>a</i> Needles, in papers of 25 (Nos. 1-6) .. .. .	..	Per paper	500 7½d.
<i>a</i> Ditto (Nos. 7-9, small) .. .. .	..	"	600 9d.
<i>c</i> Scissors .. .. .	..	Each	400 to 600 6d. to 9d.
<i>c</i> Razors, common .. .. .	..	"	600 9d.
<i>c</i> Ditto, better .. .. .	..	"	1,000 1s. 3d.
Padlocks, stout .. .. .	..	"	1,600 2s.
Spear-pointed knives, 6-9 inches .. .. .	..	"	600 to 1,000 9d. to 1s. 3d.
Rings, of white metal (not brass) .. .. .	..	"	200 3d.
<i>b</i> Zinc mirrors, round	2d. to 3d.	"	600 9d.
<i>b</i> Looking-glasses	3d. to 4d.	"	1,000 1s.
<i>b</i> Tin dishes and pans .. .. .	..	"	2,000 to 4,000 2s. 6d. to 5s.
<i>b</i> Brass ditto .. .. .	..	"	2,000 to 5,000 2s. 6d. to 6s. 3d.
<i>a</i> Brass rods .. .. .	..	"	800 1s.
<i>b</i> Copper .. .. .	..	"	1,000 1s. 3d.
Tin pint mugs .. .. .	..	"	2,000 2s. 6d.
Tin pails .. .. .	..	"	2,000 to 4,000 2s. 6d. to 5s.
Iron spoons, tinned .. .. .	..	"	500 7½d.
Pewter spoons .. .. .	..	"	700 10½d.
Fishing-hooks, not too small .. .. .	..	"	30 to 100 ¼d. to 1½d.
Combs, common .. .. .	..	"	300 to 400 4½d. to 6d.
<i>b</i> Snuff-boxes, round tin .. .. .	..	"	400 6d.
<i>b</i> Ditto brass .. .. .	..	"	500 7½d.
Ditto pasteboard .. .. .	..	"	400 6d.
<i>c</i> Muskets, Tower, or long Danes	8s. to 12s. 6d.	"	10,000 to 12,000 12s. 6d. to 15s.
<i>c</i> Pistols, cavalry .. .. .	..	"	6,000 to 7,000 7s. 6d. to 8s. 9d.
<i>c</i> Gunpowder, coarse .. .. .	..	Per lb.	1,000 1s. 3d.
Gun-flints .. .. .	..	Per 1,000	28,000 35s.
<i>c</i> Sword-blades, German make .. .. .	..	Each	2,000 to 3,000 2s. 6d. to 3s. 9d.
Cavalry sabres .. .. .	..	"	8,000 to 10,000 10s. to 12s. 6d.
Matchets .. .. .	..	"	2,000 2s. 6d.
<i>b</i> Beads, seed, oval, round, cylindrical .. .. .	..	"	"
<i>b</i> Coral (not imitation) .. .. .	..	"	200 to 1,000 3d. to 1s. 3d.
<i>a</i> Nappes	9d. to 10d.	"	3,000 3s. 9d.
<i>b</i> Soup-plates, willow .. .. .	..	"	1,000 to 1,200 1s. 3d. to 1s. 6d.
<i>b</i> Dinner plates .. .. .	..	"	800 to 1,000 1s. to 1s. 3d.
<i>b</i> Corner dishes, with cover .. .. .	..	"	3,000 to 4,000 3s. 9d. to 5s.
<i>b</i> White washing-basin .. .. .	..	"	4,000 5s.
<i>b</i> Pint mugs .. .. .	..	"	1,200 1s. 6d.
Quart mugs .. .. .	..	"	1,600 to 1,800 2s. to 2s. 3d.
Common tumblers .. .. .	..	"	400 to 500 6d. to 7½d.
Tobacco-pipes, long, with small bowl .. .. .	..	"	200 3d.
<i>a</i> Spirits, rum	2s. 9d. to 3s.	Per gallon	18,000 to 24,000 22s. 6d. to 30s.
<i>a</i> Gin, case of 12 bottles (trade) .. .. .	..	"	36,000 45s.
<i>a</i> Salt .. .. .	..	Per lb.	200 3d.
Silver .. .. .	..	Per dollar	4,000 5s.
The following may be disposed of to less extent:			
Silk poplins	26s. to 30s.	"	40,000 50s.
Satin .. .. .	..	"	"
Scarlet cloth .. .. .	..	"	"
Scarlet and purple plush .. .. .	..	"	"
Silk velvet. I sold a piece of Genesee velvet (red), which was bought at Lagos for 55 dollars (14l. 12s. 6d.) for what was	..	"	"

Name of Article.	Invoice price.		Value in cowries.
considered a great bargain, 13 bags of cowries (or 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ 5s.); had I been buying ivory it would have fetched 20 $\frac{1}{2}$.			
White, brilliant	16,000 = 20s.
Lead, in small bars.			
Pewter, ditto.			
Large shot.			
½ Sámfalwa, a cylindrical pale blue bead, about an inch long, very much valued.			

February 13, 1862.

WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

No. 63.

Dr. Baikie, R.N., to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 11.)

My Lord,

Bída, Núpe, Central Africa, February 13, 1862.

I BEG to forward to your Lordship, as supplementary to the list inclosed in my preceding despatch, a list of articles at present to be found at the market at Lukója, at the Confluence, which are suitable for the English market, with the average prices; also the names of a few other articles which may be obtained if inquired for.

Since we have got the river navigation opened from Núpe to the Confluence, native provisions are abundant and good, including rice, corn, yams, beans, ground-nuts, onions, &c., and were Europeans to settle at Lukója, butter, fowls, sheep, goats, and even bullocks would be brought there. Palm-oil for food, pepper, and pot-herbs are obtainable in the market at Lukója. The supplies from Gbébe and the opposite shore of the river are inferior in variety, in quantity, and in quality to those brought from Núpe, and are also much dearer, while the people are not to be depended upon.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

Inclosure in No. 63.

List of Articles obtainable in the Market at Lukója, suitable for the English Market, with the Average Prices.

Shía butter, from Núpe, of the best quality, 6*d.* to 1*s.* per gallon, according to the article used in the purchase. Salt is the best medium of exchange.

Shía butter, from Bása, badly made, and very inferior, 4*d.* to 5*d.* per gallon.

Palm-nut oil, from Bonú, the very best quality, very superior to that exported from Lagos, of a pale greenish-yellow colour, 6*d.* to 10*d.* per gallon.

Ivory, from Kábbi, Haúsa, Adamáwa, &c., 1*d.* to 1*s.* per lb. for "scriveloes," 1*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.* per lb. for teeth.

Cotton, from Bonú and Núpe, of good quality, often better than that from Yóruba, may be purchased unpicked at about $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* per lb., or cleaned from 1*d.* to 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* per lb. This only applies to the small quantity now sold, as were a regular market to exist prices would fall very considerably.

Indigo, if sought for, will be brought from Núpe and Haúsa. Though it grows at the Confluence, the natives only use the fresh leaf.

Ground nuts may be purchased in any quantity.

Béni-seed is also to be obtained plentifully.

Red pepper is most abundant.

Red wood (not cam-wood) is plentiful.

If required, hides to any number, ostrich feathers, &c., could be brought from Haúsa.

Palm oil is only made at the Confluence for food, and is too dear to be an article of commerce; but this is immaterial, as it may be obtained in great abundance, at remunerative rates, lower down the river, in Ibo.

(Signed) WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

February 13, 1862.

No. 64.

Dr. Baikie, R.N., to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 11.)

(Extract.)

Bida, Nùpe, Central Africa, February 20, 1862.

AS this may be among the last times that I may have the opportunity of addressing your Lordship on what I believe to be a subject important to English interests, I would beg respectfully, yet earnestly, to represent to your Lordship the value, as well as the expediency, of forming an English Settlement on the banks of the River Niger or Kwóra.

The Settlement which I would recommend would be confined to a trading-station and Consular establishment. An occupation of land as an English colony, as was proposed in 1841, would, I believe, at least at present, be most inexpedient; as it would not only involve England in expense, but would also lead to numerous quarrels with neighbouring tribes. A simple trading-settlement would avoid these evils, while should it, at any future time, be considered advisable to take possession of the place, its previous occupation by merchants and a Consul, would render the accomplishment of such a project the more easy.

The plan which I have now the honour to lay before your Lordship has many reasons to recommend it. It would secure preponderance and priority for English commerce, and would form a secure basis for English influence in Central Africa. It would give to England a commanding station in a country abounding with commercial products more valuable to England than to any other country. A permanent establishment would serve to keep in awe and check rude tribes, while it would be far from unpopular with the more friendly and better-disposed population. It would afford the missionary and the philanthropist a centre for their christianizing and civilizing endeavours. And, lastly, it would be bringing to a practical and useful conclusion the various Niger expeditions.

The present is, my Lord, as far as the Niger is concerned, a most favourable time. We have secured the friendship and good wishes of the most powerful Chiefs, and, especially since last year, there exists a strong and wide-spread feeling that white men are at length going to settle in Central Africa, and that our numerous visits are now about to take a more distinctly practical turn. The mind of the Central African races, and here I include even the savages near the coast, is of an eminently practical nature, and is in particular ready to seize on and understand any plan for trade. Ground has been secured and occupied; the foundation of a market laid; the navigation of the river from the Confluence upwards opened; and nothing further is required but your Lordship's sanction and instructions.

For all practical purposes a Consul with magisterial powers or, perhaps, some political function, would be here quite independent of any native jurisdiction. All around him would be considered under his sway and rule; and he would have, in fact, all the powers of a Governor; and thus the Settlement, as I propose it, would have all the advantages of a colony without its responsibilities and expenses. Were our present temporary establishment at the Confluence to be given up, even for a few months, those who came after us would not be considered our successors, but as the commencers of something new, which would involve much fresh labour and trouble and expense.

I have thus far written as if the Confluence were to be considered the most advisable spot for such an establishment, and such it no doubt is. Its position is the most central; it commands the water-highway, and it possesses communication by land, and is easily reached from the sea; it is the point of meeting of many roads from the interior; it already is a market-place; it is, as our two years' stay abundantly shows, sufficiently healthy; there is a large extent of unoccupied fertile ground, and, above all, it is already, *de facto*, in our hands.

Were I in England, I believe I could, in the course of a few minutes, show the expediency and soundness of the views I am now endeavouring to advocate, more effectually than were I to write for six months; but, though my stay here has been so prolonged, I am living on in hopes that your Lordship will send some one out to succeed me, and to represent England here, and whom I could personally introduce to the Chiefs here as your Lordship's representative. The labour and toil we have undergone has been very great, and I earnestly hope no one after us will have to go through the like, or to experience our anxieties or privations.

The nation which first effects a settlement here will be the one which will have all the prestige of priority, and be looked up to by the natives; and the people who first secure a position at the Confluence will command the navigation of the Niger, and the highway into the heart of the African continent. Were a beginning but once made, there

is nothing which English enterprise and capital may not effect, as they have so often done in much more unpromising and unfruitful regions.

In conclusion, I would merely beg to urge what your Lordship, in common with every Englishman no doubt feels, that after all the treasure and labour expended, and all the lives lost in exploring and opening up this noble river, now that the goal is within our reach, it would be a source of endless regret were some other nation to step in and rob England of the prize she has so long and so earnestly contended for.

No. 65.

Dr. Baikie, R.N., to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 11.)

(Extract.)

Bída, Núpe, Central Africa, February 26, 1862.

I FEEL it to be my duty again, respectfully, to request your Lordship to call the attention of those in England interested in the supply of cotton, to the peculiar eligibility of this portion of Central Africa as a future cotton-field. Here there are no adverse interests, no speculative political parties to interfere with our wishes, no monopolists nor capitalists to raise prices. Three-fourths of the labouring population, whether free or slave, are at liberty to have their own farms, and to sell the bulk of their own crops. Thus, though the small farmer may himself be a slave, the larger his crops the larger his profits, and in working hard he is not labouring by mere task, or simply for the benefit of his master, but for his own immediate behoof; and thus, though a large part of the population of Bonú and of Núpe are slaves, the labour on the small farms is not strictly "slave-labour."

It is from these small farms that most of the cotton comes to the market, and it is these small farmers whom any demand would stimulate. In Yóruba, more is produced by large traders, and there it has caused an increased demand and price for slaves; but here it would have, if anything, an opposite result, as it would enable many of the present serf population to effect their freedom.

I have, in a former despatch, shown how superior Sudán is as a field for cotton to the regions explored by Dr. Livingstone, alike from the greater proximity and superior navigability of the Niger to the Zambézi, as well as that here cotton is already in abundance, and cultivated by a people able and willing to work, and accustomed to its habits and rearing. Nothing further is required but increased demand, and means of purchase, cleaning, and shipping; the rest would speedily follow.

No. 66.

Dr. Baikie, R.N., to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 11.)

My Lord,

Bída, Núpe, Central Africa, February 26, 1862.

FOR the information of persons interested in the ivory trade with Central Africa, I beg to forward to your Lordship the following information:—

When I left Lukója (the Confluence) in December last, there were there, and in the neighbouring towns, from twenty-five to thirty large teeth, besides "scrivelloes," waiting to be sold to traders from Iddá for salt, powder, rum, &c.

During my canoe-voyage from Lukója to Núpe, I met with several trading-canoes bound downwards for the Confluence, and among their cargoes was a considerable amount of ivory. At the town of Egan, I was informed by a man, himself a holder of ivory, that there were at that time upwards of seventy teeth, averaging, from his description, from 40 lbs. to 50 lbs. each, and which might all have been purchased on the spot for about 2s. per lb. Subsequently, on the land part of my journey to Bída, I met upwards of twenty good teeth, on their way to the river-side for shipment.

This, my Lord, is but the every-day state of matters, and what I saw during an eight days' journey; and were a trading factory established at Lukója, three-fourths of the ivory now brought from Haúsa would be carried there, and disposed of mostly for cowries, salt, finer cloths, velvet, silks, and coral.

In this town, at present, there is a considerable amount of ivory in the market, both large and small, and, owing to the road by Ilórin to Lagos being still unsafe, at very moderate prices.

The bulk of the ivory here is from Adamáwa, which the traders bring by way of Baútshi to Záriya, from which town a certain amount is taken to Káno, for the caravans

returning across the desert, and the rest is mostly brought here, whence again the greater part finds its way to the Confluence, and the remainder is carried to Ilórin. A little ivory comes also from the westward, from Zabírma and Gúrma, but of this, perhaps two-thirds is taken to Ilórin.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

No. 67.

Dr. Baikie, R.N., to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 11.)

My Lord,

Bída, Núpe, Central Africa, March 5, 1862.

I WAS this morning witness of what is, for this country, a very interesting process, namely, the making of glass rings and armlets by natives of this country. Núpe people are famous throughout Sudán as skilful artizans, in which respect they far exceed the Yórubans, and are on a par with the Haúsa. The making of articles of glass, however, is peculiar to Núpe.

For this purpose all kinds of broken glass, broken looking-glasses, glass beads, &c., are purchased, a large proportion of the latter being brought from Káno, from the caravans from Tripoli, and the trade in these circulates a considerable amount of money.

To describe the process briefly:—a fire of dry wood is made in a conical furnace of clay, which is built 18 to 20 inches in height, and open only on the top. The fire is kept in full play by a kind of double bellows, very simple but effectual, which, being worked alternately, keep up a continuous supply of air, and thus a uniform heat is maintained, and all the smoke is consumed. A small piece of glass is then held in the hottest part of the flame until it becomes sufficiently heated and soft to adhere to the point of a rod; and when it is thus semi-melted and sticky, the rod is plunged into the remaining glass, and what is taken up is again heated until the whole forms a uniform, softened mass, and this process is repeated until all is taken up and becomes a tenacious, ductile body. One end is then seized with a pair of tongs, and it is drawn out into a long ropy-looking piece, when it is suddenly cooled and rendered brittle by being plunged into cold water.

The pieces are again taken up and heated until of a sufficient consistence for working, when rings are formed by drawing out a small piece with the tongs, curving it, and joining the two extremities before withdrawal from the fire, when the ring is detached by a smart tap on the rod, and annealed by being buried in warm ashes.

The larger armlets are similarly made, except that the mass re-heated is larger, and instead of its being rounded by the tongs, a discous form is given to it by the aid of a large flat knife and a whirling motion; it is then enlarged by being detached from adhesion to the point of the rod, while a rapid rotatory movement enlarges the ring by centrifugal force, preserving the circular form till the diameter is sufficiently large, and the circumference is reduced in thickness.

This art was brought to Núpe, as the head man told me, by his ancestors about three generations back, and has remained strictly in the hands of his family, though now the workmen are all Núpe. It is simply a rude form of working in glass, but the acquaintance with details, and with the properties of heated glass, is far in advance of anything of the kind I have witnessed in this country.

This working in glass occupies, daily, directly some fifty or sixty people, and indirectly, as an article of trade, gives employment to many hundreds, the rings and armlets being in great demand throughout Haúsa. Armlets are wore by men in Núpe as well as by women, but while men wear generally a single large one above the elbow, women wear a pair of rather smaller ones, one above each wrist, or, according to Haúsa fashion, three or four very small ones above the elbows. Men prefer black or green, while women use more red, blue, or white. Ear-ornaments of the form of a short truncated cone are also made of this glass, and in Núpe used in preference to ear-rings.

Of late they have begun to make an inferior sort of opaque glass, by melting coarse porcelain beads, sand, and trona, or sub-carbonate of soda. It is very brittle.

The Núpe people are also good blacksmiths, and fair workers in brass and copper.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

No. 68

Dr. Baikie, R.N., to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 11.)

My Lord,

Bida, Núpe, Central Africa, March 8, 1862.

I BEG most respectfully to represent to your Lordship, that, if required, a considerable amount of indigo can be obtained from this country, indigo-plants being found everywhere, and in Núpe and Haúsa being regularly grown as a crop. It is sown in March or April, and the leaves are gathered from September to December. A great part is used fresh, that is to say, the new leaves are allowed to ferment in the dye-pits, and the product is employed just as formed in the fluid. But in Núpe, and more especially in Haúsa, the method of preparing and separating indigo is understood and practised, always by fermentation of fresh stems and leaves. That from Káno, which has a faint purplish tint, is here liked the best, and I have purchased lumps weighing about 2 ounces for about the value of 1*d.*, or about 8*d.* per lb. This is, however, only to be considered as a retail price, and I think indigo could be obtained at about 6*d.* per lb., or even less. Indigo, bought in the Niger by the late Mr. Beecroft, fetched in England in small quantity a fair price, and from what I have heard his samples were but of medium quality.

Two species at least are used in the production of indigo: one, with a larger leaf, is found chiefly in Yóruba and the damper countries; the other, which is universal throughout Núpe and Haúsa, has a smaller leaf. Specimens of each were sent to the Museum at Kew by the late Mr. Barter.

The seasons of Central Africa being subject to comparatively little variation, render the annual crop of indigo very certain.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

No. 69.

Dr. Baikie, R.N., to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 11.)

My Lord,

Bida, Núpe, Central Africa, March 22, 1862.

I BEG respectfully to lay before your Lordship the following remarks on the demand for English salt in the countries along the lower part of the Niger.

From the sea up to the Confluence, a distance of more than 200 miles, the various countries along the Niger have no other supply of salt but what is received by them from palm-oil vessels. Above the Confluence other kinds of salt compete with this in the markets; but in consequence of the advantages of water carriage, a very considerable quantity of English salt has, since last year, been bought at the Confluence, and carried up by canoes to Núpe, and overland in Yóruba as far as Ilórin. At present a large part of Núpe is supplied only with this salt; when I was in this town in April and May 1860, when canoes could not pass up the river, salt was very scarce and dear, a bag of English salt containing about 40 lbs. weight selling for 24,000 cowries, or upwards of 30*s.* sterling. By our success in opening the navigation of the Kwóra last year, the demand and the supply have both greatly increased, while the price of a bag of salt of 38 to 40 lbs. weight at this place at present does not exceed 8,000 to 9,000 cowries, or about 10*s.* to 12*s.*

Of the quantity of salt brought annually to the mouths of the Niger, I have no means of judging, but it must be very considerable; only a fractional part of this reaches the Confluence, yet at that place since the departure of the "Sunbeam" in September last, I reckon that about 2,000 bags of salt or upwards, or nearly 40 tons weight, have changed hands, and this merely as a commencement of a native trade. Had an English factory been in existence, I am satisfied that during the last six months 100 tons of salt might have been disposed of at highly remunerative rates.

The late Mr. Laird charged for his salt at the Confluence originally 1*d.* per lb., or upwards of 9*l.* per ton, but last season the price was raised to 2*d.* per lb., at which rate I had to purchase salt for our use, being nearly 19*l.* per ton for an article which costs in England 8*s.* to 9*s.* per ton. Yet at this rate any quantity may be disposed of, and the usual average of native prices at the Confluence is about 3*d.* per lb., paid in cowries; were produce, as ivory, Shía butter, or nut-oil purchased with it, salt would realize nearly 4*d.* per lb., certainly a high rate of remuneration.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

No. 70.

Dr. Baikie, R.N., to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 11.)

My Lord,

Bida, Núpe, Central Africa, March 22, 1862.

BESIDES the supply of salt brought from Bilma, on the borders of the Great Desert, a considerable supply is obtained in Sudán from another source, namely, from the surface of moist meadow lands and swamps, or, as they called in Haúsa, "fáddáma." The soil being strongly impregnated with salt, the water which collects during the rainy season becomes saturated with it, and when this evaporates during the dry season salt is left abundantly on and near the surface of the ground. This occurs in the north-west, in Kábbi, in, at least, three places, namely, Ráha and Búnza, near Gwáandu, and Fógo, towards Sáí, which latter supplies the whole caravan-road to Gónja. But a fully larger quantity is obtained from alluvial swampy land along the north bank of the River Bínuwē, from Keyána, in Dóma, to Bománda, in Hárnarúwa. Of these latter places, the salt from Awayé, in Baútshi, is the most esteemed. From these localities it is carried to Adamáwa and Korórofa, where it forms a great medium of exchange, to Láfiya, Béríbéri, Káffi-Abdezánga, and Tóto, to Núpe, to Ilórin, to Záriya, and even to Káno. It is made up into loads, shaped something like a ham, which are called "gbaúra." It is, as far as I have seen it, of a dark grey or brownish-grey colour, and in small crystals. It is very well tasted, and is free from bitterness.

Another source of saline matter is from the ashes of one or more species of grass which grows abundantly in swampy places, and are found in Kábbi, in Núpe, in Baútshi, at Bománda, and also in Korórofa, Adamáwa, and some other places. The grass is burnt, the ashes are mixed with water, which dissolves the saline matter, and being evaporated by boiling, the salt is left. It is tolerably white, in very small crystals, but is not very pleasant, nor in much request, and it is only used on account of its cheapness, or in places where no other salt is obtainable. It is called "zakánko" by the Haúsa, and "lígama" by the Núpe.

Besides these, in places where salt rarely reaches, or is very dear, saline matter is obtained by simply adding wood-ashes to food while cooking, and in some countries, as in Gbárí, this is much employed. I have frequently myself when either salt was scarce, or when its price exceeded my means, had recourse to wood-ashes, and, after a little use, if not in excess, they are not disagreeable, and they remove insipidity from vegetable food. Without ashes, indeed, many sorts of green herbs remain hard, even after long boiling.

Of the salt of Bilma, or, as it is called in Haúsa, "Bálma," of "gálló," or the salt of Timbúktu, and of the surface salt of Fógo or Fóggho, in Kábbi, accounts from personal observation have been published by Dr. Barth in his volumes of travels.

From the western part of Adamáwa to Dóma, the River Bínuwē flows through a wide tract of level valley land, only here and there occasionally interrupted by small hills or erupted rocks, and it is in this alluvial soil, but on its north or right bank, that salt is found in Dóma, Baútshi, and Hámarúwa. Though level land extends on the south side to a day's journey behind Wukári, no salt seems to have been found there. Barth says that at Bománda there is "no valley formation;" but, in 1854, when we passed along the river within a few miles of it, we saw nothing near it but swampy alluvial ground, the whole surface being so covered with water that, if necessary, we might have taken the steamer there. Being the wet season, we had then no means of personally judging; but I have been informed by traders who know Bománda well, that salt is as plentiful in the alluvial soil at that place as at Awaye or Kéyana.

I inclose a list of the principal places where this surface salt is obtained.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

Inclosure in No. 70.

List of Places in the Neighbourhood of which Surface-salt is found.

- Ráha, near Gwáandu, in Kábbi.
- Búnza, near Gwáandu, in Kábbi.
- Fógo, westwards, in Kábbi.
- Kéyana, in Dóma.
- Kudúfu, west of Kéyana, in Dóma.
- Gíza, south-west of Kéyana, in Dóma.

Awaye, east-south-east of Láfiya Bériberi, in Baútshi.
 Azáia, east of Awaye, in Baútshi.
 Ribí, between Kóro and Awaye, in Baútshi.
 Kánje, south of Awaye, in Baútshi.
 Doíya, north of Awaye, in Baútshi.
 Góttó Lému, west of Awaye, in Baútshi.
 Agwatáshi, north-west of Doíya, in Baútshi.
 Wásai, eastwards, in Baútshi.
 Akiri, east of Wásai, in Baútshi.
 Akáta, south of Wásai, in Baútshi.
 Bománda, in Hámarúwa.

(Signed) WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE,

No. 71.

Dr. Baikie, R.N., to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 11.)

My Lord,

Bída, Nípe, Central Africa, March 22, 1862.

ALTHOUGH hitherto wax has not been an article of trade in the Niger, it can, if inquired for, be largely obtained. Honey is abundant in most of the neighbouring countries, and in two especially, Dávovo and Kattáb, not many days' journey from the Confluence, honey is a very important article of trade, constituting the chief means of living of the inhabitants. In the two countries which I have named, in all the villages the natives insert large earthen pots in the clay walls of houses, with the mouths outwards, which answer the purposes of hives, and from these places most of Sudán is supplied with honey.

Honey is by no means scarce at Lukója, at the Confluence, but there the supply is merely from what is found in trees in the neighbouring woods and forests.

The honey of Africa is inferior to that of Europe in flavour and in quality. It is much darker, more fluid, and with less tendency to crystallize, more resembling a brown syrup, but it is nearly the only substitute for sugar in these countries, and as such often becomes a luxury.

Having never purchased wax except in small pieces for specimens or for immediate use, I can hardly give any opinion as to the probable price, but I should fancy it would vary from about 3*d.* to 5*d.* per lb. What I have prepared myself seemed of fair quality, as good as specimens I have seen from the Gambia.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

No. 72.

Dr. Baikie, R.N., to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 11.)

My Lord,

Bída, Nípe, Central Africa, March 25, 1862.

MY attention has been directed by an article in the "Daily News" for the 29th of January, 1861, to what seems to be a very prevalent though erroneous belief among those in England who are desirous of increasing the supply of cotton from Africa. They appear to think that to secure the requisite labour, an immigration into Africa of free negroes is necessary, and an opinion from Liberia to that effect is noticed in the newspaper.

However requisite this may be at Liberia, or at other places on the coast line, surrounded by barbarous tribes little used to regular labour, it is, as far as regards the interior of Sudán and the countries on the Niger, completely uncalled-for. Here we have already many of the requisites for a supply of cotton—a productive soil, a labouring population, and the abundant existence of the cotton plant; all that are wanting are a stimulus, capital, and machinery. Indeed, I should regard an immigration of free negroes into the regions of Sudán, at least to any extent at present, as an evil rather than an advantage. The free negroes would differ from the inhabitants in feelings, habit, language; they would not amalgamate, but rather be antagonistic, or, if they did at all unite, it would most probably be by the degeneration of the immigrants rather than by the improvement of the natives. I have seen enough to convince me that while the native negroes will listen to any suggestion or obey any orders from a white man, they will not suffer the least superiority to be claimed by those who are of the same colour and race as themselves. Such an influx, too, of strangers, would certainly excite the jealousy and fear of

many Kings and Chiefs, who would, however, be glad to see a settlement of white men near them.

That Africa will, ere many years, yield Manchester a very large supply of cotton I am fully convinced, and I am equally sure that the great bulk of it will be obtained from the countries on the Niger, and my anxiety is that this traffic and this great high-road should be secured for England. And whatever may happen hereafter, I am certain that the commencement of commerce and of improvement here must be by the immediate agency of white men.

When I came here in 1857 my idea was that Africa must be advanced by Africans themselves, but experience has since led me to modify this opinion, and to believe that, though Africans may be active agents in this, it must be mainly from among those in Africa at present, and not from free immigrants, who, having learned other habits in other climes, are less able to re-adapt themselves to their parent country than white men are; and further, that no real progress will be made except under direct European superintendence.

A comparatively small sum, judiciously expended, would give cotton-growing here a sufficient impetus, not by a distribution of medals and rewards among a people by whom such things are neither valued nor understood, but by a show of trade and an offer of suitable goods for immediate purchase and exchange.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

No. 73.

Dr. Baikie, R.N., to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 11.)

My Lord,

Bida, Núpe, Central Africa, April 9, 1862.

I HAVE this day had an interview with the King of Núpe concerning the prospect of renewed trade at Lukója at the Confluence, when he stated to me that he at first gave us the ground there in consequence of the representations I made to him, in accordance with my instructions, of the anxious desire of Her Majesty's Government to see legitimate trade established along the banks of the Niger. He further stated, that he would rather that his people looked to us for supplies of such articles as they needed, than that they should be at the mercy of the countries between Núpe and the sea, and which articles would be paid for in Shía butter, ivory, cotton, &c., as he knew we were opposed to dealing in slaves. He asked me particularly whether our ships would return, to which I could only reply that I would report all his words to your Lordship, and that I trusted some arrangement would be arrived at. He concluded by stating that were either a ship or people to come from England again, he and his people would feel unwilling to receive them unless they saw me with them, as they were accustomed to me and trusted me.

I trust, my Lord, that I may not be considered as placing any undue importance on my stay here, but I cannot but be aware that I have acquired a certain amount of personal influence here, that my word is trusted, and that I am looked on as the representative of white men; and it is on this account that I have requested your Lordship, in the event of an establishment being determined upon here, to send some one out to meet me here whom I can introduce as my successor. As long as I enjoy average health, and possess your Lordship's confidence, I need not assure your Lordship that, although my stay here has been much prolonged, I should be content to remain as long as I can be of any service in carrying out your Lordship's wishes and purposes.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

No. 74.

Dr. Baikie, R.N., to Lord J. Russell.—(Received August 11.)

My Lord,

Bida, Núpe, Central Africa, April 9, 1862.

AS owing to my long stay in Central Africa I feel climate and privations somewhat telling on me, making my return to England more doubtful, I beg respectfully to inclose

to your Lordship a few simple rules which I have found useful in dealing with the various natives, or in contending against the climate, as I am desirous that my experience in these matters may be of benefit to any who, after me, may visit these regions.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 74.

General Rules for dealing with the Natives along the River Niger.

1. ALWAYS strictly keep faith and promise.
2. Except for some definite purpose, avoid interference with native concerns.
3. Learn, as fully as possible, all native customs, etiquette, politics, &c., but as quietly and unobtrusively as possible.
4. Learn a leading language, as the Haúsa or Núpe.
5. Do not be too intensely European, either in habits or in outward appearance.
6. Try to show a real moral superiority over the natives; never betray the least feeling of fear; exhibit to them ordinary articles which are beyond their mechanical skill; keep up your own position, and never relax discipline among your own people.
7. Never allow either a theft or an insult to pass unnoticed, but insist on an apology or reparation; an insult is the more necessary to be followed up, especially if given by any great man.
8. Learn and study the characters of the principal Chiefs, &c., of your district or region, and approach them accordingly. Make their friendship, but, except when necessary, never excite the envy or jealousy of one against the other, on your account.
9. Always keep good friends with some powerful Chief; and, in a town, try to have two influential friends, whom you may play one against the other.
10. Study the characters of all your intimates and acquaintances, that you may know how, if required, to use them most suitably.
11. In trading matters, be patient; all our ideas of quick dealing are unknown here.
12. Do not be too much shocked at the numerous untruths daily told, especially in trading.
13. Avoid commencing religious discussions, especially with Moslemen; but if religious topics are introduced in the course of conversation, express your opinions firmly, but temperately, avoiding all intolerance and bigotry. With Moslemen, give them and their Prophet due credit for what is good in their creed and in their practice, and, in pointing out what we consider the superior excellence of Christianity, do so temperately but fully. Intolerance of opinion, or of words, are nowhere more injurious than in controversy with Mohammedans.
14. Never give any countenance to any form of heathen worship. The African is not like the Hindú; he seems to be fully aware that the religion of white men is superior to his. If obliged, always give preference to a Mohammedan, as the worshipper of God, to an idolater. Against anything like human sacrifice always remonstrate openly and firmly.
15. Never pay any undue or excessive respect to the heathen Chiefs or Kings below the Confluence; treat them with ordinary courtesy—nothing more, and especially pay no heed to their degrading ceremonies. With the Kings of Núpe and of Haúsa, again, be more particular; in the first place, they do not expect the cringing and prostrations practised in Yóruba, Ibo, and Igára; and, in the second place, their superior intelligence, civilization, position, and influence, entitle them to a much larger share of respect and of deference.
16. As far as possible keep your temper and study patience.

(Signed) WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 74.

General Rules for Health.

1. AT first do not change suddenly from European to native food.
2. Sleep under cover, and, if requisite, under a mosquito curtain, which not only keeps out small insects, but is also in miasmatic places a partial protection.
3. Do not be afraid of the sun, but try to get gradually accustomed to it.
4. Avoid unnecessary exposure to wet, and do not sit in wet clothes.
5. Take regular daily out-of-door exercise.
6. Avoid the plan recommended by some missionaries in Yóruba of too closely shutting up houses at night ; a certain admission even of miasma is less hurtful than a close heated atmosphere, laden with nitrogen and carbonic acid.
7. After a time begin to use native food, and native cooked food, being moderate with fatty and oily matters, and let the diet be more vegetable than animal.
8. In cold or damp places some warm drink should be taken early in the morning, before sunrise, as tea, coffee, or chocolate, or in their absence, as I have long practised, some warm water-gruel.
9. In travelling, the head should be well guarded against the sun, either by a large straw hat or by a turban worn over a cap ; an umbrella is a useless incumbrance.
10. Attack the first symptoms of sickness ; fever, which is invariably remittent, and non-infectious, will always yield to the proper use of quinine ; dysentery is a much more dangerous complaint ; and no attack of diarrhæa, however slight, should be left unattended to.
11. Avoid the use of alcoholic drinks, whether native or European ; nine people out of ten can do without them altogether, and those nine will preserve their health longer and better than the tenth, and if attacked with sickness will have it less severely. The use of wine and spirits in a tropical climate does more harm than good, and their abuse kills numbers yearly.

(Signed)

WM. BALFOUR BAIKIE,

BRAZIL.

No. 75.

Mr. Baillie to Earl Russell.—(Received January 2, 1862.)

My Lord,

Rio de Janeiro, December 6, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inclose an article, with a translation by Mr. Morgan, which has lately appeared in the "Correio Mercantil," one of the principal Rio newspapers, on the condition and prospects of the Africans emancipated by the Mixed Commission of Rio de Janeiro, arising out of the policy pursued by the Brazilian Government in dealing with this portion of the black population.

The writer begins by pointing out that the original law which provided the re-exportation of these free blacks has, upon one pretext or another, been entirely disregarded; and he then goes on to show that, owing to want of good faith, insufficiency of the measures passed for their protection, and neglect of those whose office it was to have them carried out, these blacks have been gradually reduced to a condition little, if any, better than slavery itself.

The statements in the above article seem to be quite in harmony with the correspondence which has at various times taken place between Her Majesty's Government and this Legation, and show that the insincerity and want of good faith exhibited by the Brazilian Government in dealing with the question has not altogether escaped notice even in this country.

The illegality of the practice of farming out the services of these so-called emancipated Africans to private individuals appears to have been admitted by Senhor Limpo d'Abreu, the Minister for Foreign Affairs in 1853, as contrary to the spirit of the Law of 1850; but notwithstanding this, another law appears to have been passed in 1853 not to abolish the illegal practice, but simply to restrict the period of service to fourteen years. The result of this system, and of its formal sanction by the law above alluded to, is well known to every one at all acquainted with Brazil, namely, that numbers of these Africans have been, and are still being fraudulently consigned over to hopeless and irretrievable slavery.

The conduct of the Government in conniving at such a state of things will, perhaps, be less wondered at when it is remembered that members of the Cabinet are frequently personally interested in preventing any change in this respect. For instance, I am informed that the head of the present Administration, the Marquis of Caxias, has not less than 23 or 24 free blacks in his service, and the same may be said of many other Brazilians distinguished by their position and influence in this country.

As far as my own observations go, I have been unable to discern any desire or tendency towards the abolition of slavery in Brazil, or even the mitigation of its principal evils. The internal Slave Trade is carried on as much as ever; and will, probably, progress with the increasing demand for coffee, for the cultivation of which blacks are continually imported from the Northern Provinces. The so-called emancipated blacks are constantly transferred against their will from one part of the Empire to another, often under circumstances of great hardship, and to be engaged in the severest labour on their arrival.

A considerable number have lately been sent to Pará; and I am informed that all the Africans about whom Mr. Christie was in correspondence last year with Senhor Sinimbu, and from whom he obtained favourable assurances after the breaking up of the Ypanema iron foundry, were, nevertheless, all sent, either by land or by water, to the distant Province of Matto Grosso.

The external Slave Trade has undoubtedly ceased. There has been, I believe, no attempt to land slaves on the shores of Brazil for several years, and it is frequently said that a renewal of the Traffic is impossible. This may turn out to be quite true; but how far the impossibility arises from any real aversion to slavery or sense of its moral wrong, or

of the debasing influence it exercises wherever instituted, is quite another question, and I much fear that the feeling of a very large class in Brazil is rather a sullen acquiescence in a state of things which, owing to external pressure and public opinion, and other causes, cannot be helped, than from any conviction of the evils of the old system of negro importation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EVAN W. H. BAILLIE.

Inclosure in No. 75.

Extracts from the "Correio Mercantil" of November 8 and 9, 1861.

(Translation.)

I SHOWED in a preceding letter that the Law of the 7th of November, 1831, and the Decree of the 12th of April, 1832, established the principle of the re-exportation of the African. I presume that I have proved that in not complying with that promise the Government injured the right of the ill-treated Africans; that it removed from the transgressors, that, is from the slave dealers, the responsibility of their misdeeds; that it contributed towards increasing the demand for slave labour, and therefore fomented, though indirectly, the horrible Slave Trade.

Let us therefore see what pretext the Executive power availed itself of for that purpose, and what steps it took for carrying it out.

The Aviso (Order) of the 29th of October, 1834, opened the march, and it is the first of the series which I am going to unroll. In it the Government still evinced a degree of modesty; it began by expounding the reason why it did not comply with the re-exportation ordered by the Law. The Administration, in entering into that labyrinth of inconsistencies and favours to egotism, never could protect the rights of the Africans; notwithstanding the foresight of the instructions issued by the Government, they never could, from their own nature, have been fully complied with.

This illegal "Aviso" says, at the beginning of the Preamble, that the Regency "seeing that the Legislative body had not published the measure which the Government had asked for, relative to the re-exportation of the captured African, seeing the increase of the expense with those deposited in the House of Correction, and from other considerations, such as the better treatment and civilization of the Africans; the same Regency orders the Judge of the Orphans, in conjunction with the Chief of Police, to dispose at auction of the services of those individuals."

So far a valid pretext is invoked—the treatment and civilization of the Africans. From another "Aviso," however, we shall gather the nature and value of those promised favours; they are the same as those which served as an excuse, here and in other colonies, for the barbarities perpetrated against the Indians (aborigines).

The instructions which accompanied the "Aviso" comprised a system of precaution which revealed the tortuosity of the means to which the Government had recourse, and which we therefore record. Its first paragraph only permits the hiring out of the services to persons residing in the municipality of the capital.

If in this municipality it would be difficult to prevent the highest bidders from reducing the free African to slavery, as has often happened, what could possibly come to pass in the interior, on the plantations, where the same African is confounded with slaves of the same colour, races, origin, dialect, and habits; but we shall see that this same prudent reserve was shortly afterwards laid aside. It is what we say, the Government, placed on the top of the declivity, allowed itself gradually to descend from the very weight of its logic.

The first paragraph, however, immediately adds in its second clause, that the bidders are to subject themselves to deliver up the said Africans whenever the General Assembly should decide upon their lots, or the Government should have to re-export them. A vain promise! a vain hope!

Meanwhile, the 3rd clause establishes the education of the children who accompany the women.

But the provision of the greatest importance is that of the 4th clause. It says, that upon the decease of any of those Africans the person whom they were serving is obliged to give immediate information of such death to the respective Judge of the Peace for the inspection of the body, and to the Curator, who is to be present at the inquest; and it provides that, with the record of the same, the name of the deceased is to be expunged from the register of the inscription of Africans at the House of Correction. This last provision is the same as that which was ordained by the regulations of that House in regard to the individuals therein existing.

I do not require to draw your attention to the provisions still in force. Although the sale at auction was improper and illegal, of the services, or, as is usually said, of the distribution of the Africans, if permitted, it ought to have prevented the eventuality of any one of them being converted into slavery by the allegation, as we have sometimes seen, of his having died; and notwithstanding these guarantees, how many have been reduced to perpetual slavery, thanks to the negligence and benevolence of the Justices of the Peace and of the Curators! But what can we do? This is the natural result of that absurd measure.

And as this weighed on the minds of the Government, the Africans were subsequently told, at the act of being delivered up by the Judge, that they were free and were going to earn wages, to compensate the expenses of their maintenance, and to help their re-exportation, and that their wages would be deposited in the coffers of the Orphans' Court. And the 2nd paragraph of the same "Aviso" orders a small tin case to be given to the African who is hired out, which is to be hung to his neck, containing a declaration that he is free, with his signs, age, and other circumstances.

If words were acts, and promises were easily realized, we should have no apprehensions for the future of the miserable beings in question; but, unhappily, this overabundance of provisions and details fully shows what confidence the Government reposed in the respecting of its word, and the fear of seeing the expedient which it decreed being converted into a criminal speculation, that decree being expressly contrary to law.

If it could not be apprehended that such abuse would occur in the municipality of the capital, to which the measure of the above-quoted "Aviso" of the 12th of April restricted itself, and which was not to be expected from the enlargement of the circle of the bidders, out of 100 free Africans, who crossed the mountains to serve planters, it was probable that 99 would die in perpetual captivity, which they would bequeath to their children.

Well, this appeared to the Government a subject of little weight. The "Aviso" of the 19th November, 1835, extending the previous measure, declared that the services of the Africans would be sold at auction by the Judges of Orphans, to be rendered within the municipalities of all the capitals.

The "Aviso" still goes further; it adds, that the persons pretending to those services (out of the municipalities, that is, in any part of the Empire) ought to recur for permission to the Government, or to the Presidents of the Provinces.

The iniquitous work is consummated. Henceforward, as regards the Government, on the one hand, it captures some bozal (uncivilized) Africans, and, on the other, it cedes them as labourers to individuals, who go on converting them to slavery. This inconsistency could not but become evident, and perhaps it greatly influenced the weakening of the activity of the Government in the repression of Slave Trade.

This being done, what does it signify that the "Aviso," in its 9th paragraph, promises that the product of the sale should be applied to the expenses of the re-exportation for the benefit of the Africans? That the "Aviso" of the 7th of March had created a special coffer, with a treasurer and clerk, to collect the moneys produced by the sales at auction? That the wages should afterwards be deposited in the respective Collector's office?

It is perfectly evident that all these were mere formalities. No account has ever been rendered of these deposits, nor, with these means, has any commencement been made of the re-exportation of those Africans who might choose to return.

So clear was this formality, that from the Law Budget of the 21st of October, 1843, until the present, those wages, &c., began to be classified amongst the items of the ordinary income of the State.

In the next letter we shall see that in the same manner that the first promise was broken, the second was also disregarded, relative to the term within which the obligation would cease of the servitude of the African to the State, or to private individuals.

Dispose your benevolent attention. It is a curious subject matter, and it is worth while to peruse the monuments of the past, in order to meet, amidst its ruins, with a clue to the present iniquity.

It may, perhaps, be thought that it is very inconvenient to treat of such a subject.

Let the readers of the "Correio Mercantil," however, make themselves easy; we shall not be imprudent. There is no intention to raise a propaganda against acquired rights, against property, against public order. Our intuition is not of an ardent and provocative philanthropy.

Our only aim is that of drawing the attention of the Government towards the carrying into effect of the last guarantee left to the African, which is that of emancipation after having served the term by law prescribed.

This is the final consequence which we pretend to accomplish.

In continuation of the examination of the right which regulates the lot of the free Africans, I have above shown that, their re-exportation not having been effected, a commencement took place to their distribution amongst private individuals, first of all in the municipality of the capital, and subsequently throughout the Empire.

The consequences of such a measure were easily to have been foreseen. The Criminal Code, in its 179th Article, described and punished the crime of reducing free men to slavery. But how could this provision be efficacious when the commission of the crime was being facilitated, in permitting a slave-owner to mix these with the Africans whose services he had bought? It is well known the instances are very rare in which any African thus distributed has regained his liberty. A measure contained in the "Aviso" of the 15th of September, 1836, fully reveals that the Government already felt, within two years, the possibility, if not the reality, of the abuses to which we refer. It is therein ordered that on the decease of any one of those to whom Africans have been distributed, his heirs are immediately to communicate his death, in order that it might be considered if it should be proper to withdraw the African from them; but, in fact, it happened that the death was concealed, and it became difficult to ascertain, from such concealment, what Africans remained with the heirs.

When any poor victim of the Slave Trade escaped from perpetual slavery, he could not always avoid the barbarous treatment and cruelties inflicted on him, as if he were a slave; and this information is derived from the same "Aviso" of the 15th of September, above quoted.

The said "Aviso" reveals, in textual words, that some of the holders were going to deliver to the House of Correction Africans whom they did not choose to retain when attacked by incurable diseases, of which they would soon die, and which they had acquired either casually or in consequence of being over-worked, and even of rigorous chastisement.

It might be said that we are making a purely fantastical narrative, that we advance impassioned judgments unauthorized by history, against the morality of some of the hirers of free Africans. Some, at least, there may be who think that we exaggerate, who deny the barbarities and crimes resulting from the distribution of those individuals. If we, in order to confirm our assertions, could not appeal to the memory of many persons, if we could not point out the denunciating phrases, such as those of the cited "Aviso," it would at least be reasonable that we should invoke the text of a recent Law promulgated against Slave Trade.

After describing the authors and accomplices of that crime, the process of trial and competent authority, the Law No. 581 of the 4th of September, 1850, says, in its 6th Article:—

"All the slaves who may be captured shall be re-exported, at the expense of the State, to the ports whence they came, or to any other point out of the Empire, and until such re-exportation takes place, they will be employed under the guardianship of the Government, and are not in any case to be hired to private individuals."

The decided tone of this Article is more than a concluding proof of the vexations arising from the practice established by virtue of anterior Acts. The Legislature, still insisting upon the idea of re-exportation, showed itself afraid of contributing to the crime of reduction to slavery, which was almost the result of the admixture of free Africans and slave Africans. In prohibiting the hire of the services of the former, the Legislative power freed them from the barbarity of the masters, and not less from future slavery.

That Law of 1850 was a grand Law, as will be further seen; it was certainly an act of justice, that 6th Article above transcribed. But that was not all. In the first place, it was necessary literally to comply with the re-exportation of the Africans captured after 1830; and nothing had been done in this respect. In the second place, orders were to be sent to all the Presidents and Judges of Orphans, by whom concessions of services of Africans had been granted, in order to oblige possessors of those free men to deliver them up at the expiration of the term fixed for their temporary slavery. In the third place, in fine, the meaning of the law would no longer be a mere formality, an insincere promise, on the liberation of the African in the service of the State, after a certain fixed period. Now that period was already fixed, both as regards the public and private services.

The "Alvará" (Letter-Patent) of the 26th of January, 1818, the same which opened the ports of Brazil to legal commerce (on the South Coast of Africa); the same which permitted the marking of the slaves with a heated silver instrument; the same which consented to the transportation in vessels of as many negroes as the slavers might choose without paying attention to the tonnage;—that "alvará," however, contained, according

to the Convention of 1817, the following provision in the fifth paragraph:—that those slaves who were captured on account of illegal Traffic, and considered to be free, were to be delivered to the Chief Judge of the District, or to the Conservatory of the Indians, for the purpose of being destined to serve for fourteen years as free men, either in public works, or to be hired on the spot to respectable persons, under the condition of their being maintained and taught trades.

It was to revive that provision, which had been lost sight of, that the Decree of the 28th of December, 1853, No. 1,303, declares “that the services of the free Africans who might be hired out to private individuals, would cease at the expiration of fourteen years, when they should require it, with the obligation, however, of their residing where the Government may direct, and of being employed on taking service on wages.

There remains, therefore, no doubt as to the time when emancipation becomes obligatory. The Government established the principle, but the consequences were not proclaimed, and are still looked for. Thus, therefore, on one side, for political purposes, the African is bound to reside in a certain place, and to exercise some profession, as also, on the other side, the promise of emancipation ought most punctually to be fulfilled. No one certainly does dare openly to infringe the provision of the law, but it is eluded in a most scandalous manner. The African occupies the whole of his time since he has completed the term of his bondage, in imploring the grant of his letter of emancipation, until he becomes desperate, and dies. From the petition to the Emperor, to the Reports of the chiefs of establishments where he serves, or until the opinion of the Chief of Police, there are such long channels, such difficult and expensive, complicated, tortuous, and obscure bye-ways!

In our opinion, it is full time to carry the law into execution, and to do justice to the miserable sufferers. It behoves the Government to cause it to be diligently complied with, it is its duty to investigate which are the Africans distributed to private individuals or applied to public services, and to proceed to free and dismiss all those who have served their time. Let there be no scandalous partialities, nor attention to egotistical considerations. If the State requires labourers let it pay them; let it not usurp the rights nor oppress the liberty of free men. At least let the Africans be employed on reasonable wages in the public works. For the sake of a trifling economy, let not great injustice be committed.

Besides, the civilized Africans, when emancipated, are no longer mere consumers, they may and do become useful producers. In the cities they fill the markets, they buy and sell alimentary substances, vegetables, and other articles of daily consumption. They fill up a previously existing vacuum, and are very serviceable to the population and to society.

Few persons will accompany us in these reflections; such is the effect of habit; such is the power of egotism for rooting itself in the minds of the peoples. And this is no matter of wonder when the Government is the first to give an example of its conception of the rights of the miserable Africans.

Even now, by “Avisos” of the 13th of last September, the Minister of Justice requested his colleague, the Minister of Agriculture, to send 30 emancipated Africans to the President of the Amazons, who called for them to be employed in the public works. A singular kind of emancipation! It is true that the Decree of the 28th of December, 1853, above alluded to, gives the Government the option of fixing the residence of the African to whom liberty has been given; but if that comprised the wide latitude of which the Government availed itself, the Decree in question was certainly an abuse of power. The Government ought to avail itself of that power only in combining the conveniences of public security with the will of the emancipated African.

The serving for fourteen years being the sole condition on which the full freedom of the African depends, it is clear that it ought to be realized in a simple and expeditious manner. For that purpose it would never be necessary to institute litigious proceedings and tedious formalities, as declared in the “Aviso” of the 29th of May, 1847; establishing the fact of the capture at sea or on land is sufficient to settle the right of the African.

Before I conclude, allow me to make a few observations.

The Law of the 7th of November, 1831, contains an Article which appears to me likewise too severe. It is the 7th, which says, “No free African, not being a Brazilian, will be permitted to land in the ports of Brazil under any pretext whatsoever; and if landed, he will be forthwith re-exported.” The 8th Article, in such case, subjects the commander of the vessel to a fine, and to be obliged to re-export the intruder.

It is seen that the law was intended to prevent the fraudulent introduction, as free Africans, of others destined to captivity. But this measure, in this sense very legitimate, goes further than is necessary, in extending the prohibition to all free Africans who may

wish to re-enter, and comprises also those who, having left Brazil to accompany their masters, may be desirous of returning with them. To prohibit these to disembark under these circumstances is to exercise an act of great hardship to them and their masters. Wherever the freed African, arriving from abroad, exhibits the passport with which he was furnished on his leaving Brazil, besides that which ought to procure him re-admittance, it would appear that the commission of fraud would thus be avoided.

I am of opinion that Government might make a declaration to this effect, considering that the hardship of which we speak is really sensibly felt, and particularly in respect to freed black women, who, as wet nurses, for example, go to Europe with divers families, and return.

I have expounded the observations which have arisen from a hasty examination of my country's right as regards free Africans. I have now only to sum up and conclude.

I have shown that, in the same manner that the liberty of the negro, the victim of the Slave Trade, is guaranteed, his re-exportation, a consequence of the same, was also prescribed. But this was merely a sonorous word introduced into the law, the reality of which there is none, to our knowledge, save and except the example of the "Aviso" of the 12th of February, 1833, relative to some negroes captured in Pernambuco.

No attention, however, having been paid to that first and solemnly-contracted duty, the most religious scruple became necessary in regard to the other relative to the emancipation of the African at the termination of his fourteen years' service, in private or public works, fixed by the "Alvará" of the 26th of January, 1818, and the Decree of the 28th of December, 1853.

On the expiration of that term, it will not be possible to amplify it. It is iniquitous to raise difficulties and delay the emancipation of those who have served their time. On the other hand, emancipation having been granted, it ought not to be made the butt of sophistry in dragging the African from the place where he resided and maintained relations, to some other distant point, at the will of the Government, as has lately taken place, and has above been related. But the Government ought to take measures in regard to the emancipated Africans, in order to prevent disturbances and occurrences against public tranquillity from their agglomeration.

There are examples of such measures. The Resolution of the 14th of September, 1830, exacted from slaves and freemen passports on their change of domicile, to be written by their respective masters to the Justices of Peace. The Regulation of the 31st of January, 1842, confirms the necessity of passports for slaves and for free Africans, although they be in the company of their masters, dispensing with them in journeys from one plantation to another, or to villages with which they are closely connected, or when those individuals are known to the authorities. Along with these, other measures might be adopted to guarantee public order, but the emancipated should never be removed to distant provinces without attention being paid to their interests and welfare.

When the right is so clear and so positive, it is easy to comprehend the sorrow I feel at its being disregarded.

It is to revive the remembrance of it, to arouse the authorities, who are not very solicitous for those who are slighted by fortune, that I have written these letters. May the zeal of the Government be stimulated by these observations of mine.

On arriving at this point, a vast field is opened to my eyes; shall I penetrate it? Shall I treat of the Slave Trade and of slavery?

In my next letter I will reply to these two queries.

THE HERMIT.

Tjuca, November 5, 1861.

No. 76.

Mr. Christie to Earl Russell.—(Received January 11, 1862.)

(Extract.)

Rio de Janeiro, November 23, 1861.

I WOULD respectfully submit, for your Lordship's consideration, whether any instructions should be given me on my return as to the free blacks still in servitude in Brazil, and more especially as to what may be done for them after emancipation, and also as to slaves imported after the Slave Trade was illegal.

No. 77.

*Earl Russell to Mr. Christie.*Sir, *Foreign Office, February 6, 1862.*

I HAVE to call your attention to a despatch from Mr. Baillie, Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Rio de Janeiro,* a copy of which is annexed for your convenience, inclosing a translation of an article taken from the "Correio Mercantil" newspaper, containing some observations on the condition and prospects of the Africans emancipated by the Mixed Commission at Rio de Janeiro.

If the statements contained in this article are well founded, which would appear from Mr. Baillie's despatch to be the case, the Brazilian Government has undoubtedly broken faith both with these emancipated blacks and with Her Majesty's Government, under whose auspices, conjointly with that of Brazil, the negroes adjudicated upon by the Mixed British and Brazilian Commission were emancipated.

I have, therefore, to desire that on your return to Brazil you will furnish me with a Report upon the condition of the emancipated blacks in Brazil, together with any observations which you may have to offer upon the statements contained in the article extracted from the "Correio Mercantil."

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 78.

*Earl Russell to Mr. Christie.*Sir, *Foreign Office, April 8, 1862.*

I TRANSMIT to you under flying seal, for your information, a despatch which I have addressed to Mr. Morgan, Her Majesty's Consul at Bahia,† approving the assurance which he gave to Senhor Moncorvo, that all Brazilian vessels engaged in lawful commerce with the coast of Africa would not meet with molestation by Her Majesty's cruisers engaged in the suppression of the Slave Trade.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 79.

Mr. Christie to Earl Russell.—(Received June 3.)(Extract.) *Rio de Janeiro, May 3, 1862.*

YOUR Lordship referred to me, on the eve of my late departure from England, a despatch from Mr. Baillie of December 6, on the subject of free blacks consigned to the care of the Brazilian Government by the Slave Trade Mixed Commission of Rio de Janeiro, and inclosing a translation of a long article which had appeared on the subject in a Rio newspaper; and after observing that if the statements of the newspaper article are well founded, as would appear from Mr. Baillie's despatch, the Brazilian Government has undoubtedly broken faith both with the free blacks and with Her Majesty's Government. Your Lordship instructed me, after my return to Brazil, to make a report to you on the subject.

During my former residence in Brazil I addressed several despatches to your Lordship on this subject, and I refer particularly to those of May 17 and August 27, 1860, both containing summaries of previous correspondence from as far back as 1850, and to my two despatches dated May 27, 1861.

The article of the Rio newspaper forwarded by Mr. Baillie contains nothing new. Even the fact mentioned in Mr. Baillie's despatch that some of these free blacks are let out in service to the Marquis of Caxias, the present Prime Minister, was stated by me in my despatch of May 17, 1860.

Your Lordship may, I think, consider it abundantly proved by the long correspondence on this subject from Mr. Hudson's time to mine, that the Brazilian Government have not fulfilled their obligations as to these free blacks, and that they have treated evasively all demands of Her Majesty's Government, even for inquiry and information.

* No. 75.

† No. 100.

In your despatch of February 28, 1861, your Lordship instructed me, in consequence of the information which I had sent, to ask the Brazilian Government for a list of the free blacks whom they had received from the Slave Trade Mixed Commission of Rio de Janeiro, with particulars as to what had become of them; and you particularly instructed me in that despatch to use a softened tone in any communications which I might make to the Brazilian Government on this subject, in consequence of their recent energetic and successful efforts for the abolition of the Slave Trade, which were appreciated by Her Majesty's Government. I complied with your Lordship's instructions in a note to Senhor Paranhos, dated March 18, 1861, and your Lordship approved of that note. I subsequently addressed to Senhor Sá e Albuquerque, the successor of Senhor Paranhos as Minister for Foreign Affairs, a short supplemental note, dated May 14, asking that he would cause to be included in the list the children of the free blacks.

No information has yet been furnished by the Brazilian Government in reply to these requests of last year; and I have thought it well to address a note, of which I inclose a copy, to Senhor Taques, reminding him of my notes of March 18 and May 14, 1861, and further reminding him that I offered to Senhor Sá e Albuquerque the aid in this matter of a gentleman who has given particular attention to the subject, and has the confidence of Her Majesty's Legation. I have added that this gentleman's services are still at the disposal of the Brazilian Government.

In my despatch of the 27th May of last year, I stated to your Lordship some reasons for thinking that the Brazilian Government were, by their own fault, unable to give complete information, and that they had even an interest in concealing the truth; and in that despatch and in the following one I suggested to your Lordship the advisability of deliberating, and coming, if possible, to an understanding with the Brazilian Government about the future treatment and destination of these free blacks, who, with the children, may be about 10,000 in number, when they shall have been completely emancipated, according to the desire of Her Majesty's Government.

I venture respectfully to press this last point on your Lordship's attention during the interval which will elapse before you receive the answer of the Brazilian Government to my renewed demand for a list.

Mr. Baillie states in his despatch, which you have referred to me, that he had been informed that "all the Africans about whom Mr. Christie was in correspondence last year with Senhor Sinimbú, from whom he obtained favourable assurances after the breaking up of the Ypanema iron foundry, were nevertheless all sent either by land or by water to the distant province of Mattogrosso." I think that this is incorrect, and that none were sent by water or land after the commencement of my communications with Senhor Sinimbú on this subject; but I have, on the other hand, to complain, as usual, of promises of information unfulfilled, and notes unanswered; and I have now addressed a note to Senhor Taques, of which I inclose a copy, enumerating various notes of mine of 1860 and 1861, relative to the removal of free blacks to the Province of Mattogrosso and Itapura, and requesting information, without much further delay, on various points mentioned in those notes.

I am by no means disposed to feel implicit confidence in the information which the Brazilian Government may furnish on this subject. But I feel, on the other hand, that it is quite impossible to trust entirely to information as to what occurs in distant provinces, given me by private individuals, whose means of inquiry are limited, and who are of course liable to prejudice and error, or to commit myself, on the authority of irresponsible informers, to positive contradictions of what is officially stated by the Brazilian Government.

Mr. Baillie says in the despatch which your Lordship has referred to me, "The external Slave Trade has undoubtedly ceased. There has been, I believe, no attempt to land slaves on the shores of Brazil for several years, and it is frequently said that a renewal of the Traffic is impossible. This may turn out to be quite true, but how far the impossibility arises from any real aversion to slavery, or sense of its moral wrong, or of the debasing influence it exercises wherever instituted, is quite another question; and I much fear that the feeling of a very large class in Brazil is rather a sullen acquiescence in a state of things which, owing to external pressure and public opinion, cannot be helped, than from any conviction of the evils of the old system of negro importation."

Mr. Baillie also says in the same despatch, "As far as as my own observations go, I have been unable to discern any desire or tendency towards the abolition of slavery in Brazil, or even the mitigation of its principal evils."

Of the entire cessation of the Slave Trade there is no doubt whatever.

I have on several occasions reported to your Lordship, and I repeat my opinion, that its renewal may be considered impossible.

Slave Trade, and the abolition of slavery, are two distinct questions, and I have on several occasions reported that there are at present no signs of a disposition to prepare for the abolition of slavery, or to mitigate its evils.

The general strong feeling of all respectable and educated men in Brazil is satisfaction at the cessation of the Slave Trade. This satisfaction is not only not concealed, but even ostentatiously and self-gloriously proclaimed.

The general unwillingness to touch this question of slavery is fear, which, though it must be regretted, may be understood, as to the supply of labour, and interference with property.

I have, on various occasions, suggested to your Lordship the importance of endeavouring, if possible, to conciliate and persuade the Brazilian Government to measures leading to the ultimate extinction of slavery, and, in the meantime, mitigating its evils.

Her Majesty's Government have certainly done ample justice to the Brazilian efforts for the extinction of Slave Trade.

The conduct of the Brazilian Government about the free blacks is not to their honour, and is such as to throw doubts on the singleness and purity of their motives in the abolition of the Slave Trade.

When I first brought the subject of the free blacks to your Lordship's notice in my despatch of May 17, 1860, I ventured respectfully to suggest that it would be well for Her Majesty's Government, if they revived this question, to be prepared to persevere for the attainment of what they might demand, for I could not but see that this was a question likely to lead to angry correspondence and difficulties with the Brazilian Government.

Your Lordship will, I hope, now excuse me for suggesting that the conduct of the Brazilian Government about the free blacks furnishes an answer, if Her Majesty's Government desire to use it, to the Brazilian complaints, that, notwithstanding the entire cessation of the Slave Trade, the Aberdeen Act remains unrepealed. And another similar answer may be derived from another question, which I brought to your Lordship's notice in my despatch of May 24, 1861,—the number of slaves in Brazil, imported since 1831, in violation of Law and Treaty, and still held in slavery, without any effort or interference of the Brazilian authorities to terminate their illegal bondage. But in again alluding to this question, I think it right to say that these slaves are estimated at nearly a million, and that the Brazilian Government, for reasons similar to those which restrain them from endeavouring to deal with the general question of slavery, would probably receive any representation of Her Majesty's Government with strong repugnance and opposition.

Inclosure 1 in No. 79.

Mr. Christie to Senhor Taques.

M. le Ministre,

Petropolis, April 17, 1862.

IT is my duty to call your Excellency's attention to the note which I addressed to Senhor Paranhos on the 23rd of March, and my supplemental note to Senhor Sá e Albuquerque of the 14th of May of last year, requesting information as to the free blacks handed over to the care of the Brazilian Government by the Slave Trade Mixed Commission of Rio de Janeiro, under the provisions of the additional Convention between Great Britain and Portugal of 1817, incorporated in the Treaty of 1826, by which the Brazilian Government have guaranteed their freedom.

Her Majesty's Government hope that this information, asked for a twelvemonth since, will now be given without much delay.

The delay which has occurred in furnishing this information will probably justify my reminding you that I offered to your predecessor, Senhor Sá e Albuquerque, the assistance for the necessary inquiries of a gentleman who has given much attention to the subject, and has the confidence of Her Majesty's Legation.

This gentleman's services are still at your Excellency's disposal.

I avail, &c.
(Signed) W. D. CHRISTIE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 79.

*Mr. Christie to Senhor Taques.**Petropolis, April 17, 1862.*

M. le Ministre,

IT is my duty to call your Excellency's attention to notes as marked in the margin,* which I addressed to Senhor Sinimbú and and Senhor Sá e Albuquerque in the years 1860 and 1861, relative to the removal of free Africans to Itapura and to the province of Mattogrosso.

I will briefly recapitulate my correspondence on this subject with your predecessors, and explain what information I have asked for, and how much remains to be given.

Nearly two years ago, in July 1860, I first called Senhor Sinimbú's attention to a contemplated removal of blacks from Ypanema to Mattogrosso, many of whom were already at Santos on their way, and I requested information as to the free blacks among them, and an assurance that none of the free blacks should be sent to Mattogrosso against their will. Senhor Sinimbú, after communicating with the Minister of War, gave me this assurance, and further informed me that the Minister of War had ordered an inquiry to be made at Santos as to which of the blacks of the Ypanema establishment there assembled were free blacks.

On the 2nd of August, Senhor Sinimbú sent me a list of 9 free blacks among the number with which he had been furnished by the President of St. Paul's; and on the 17th of November he sent me some particulars as to 4 of the 9, which he had received from the Minister of War. On both occasions Senhor Sinimbú promised further information when the investigation ordered by the Minister of War should be completed, but from that day to this Her Majesty's Legation have received no further information. It is to be presumed that the inquiry ordered in July 1860 has been finished; the result has not been reported to this Legation.

In my note to Senhor Sinimbú of December 17, 1860, I reminded his Excellency of his promise that none of the free blacks who had arrived at Santos should be moved to Mattogrosso against their will, or without further communication with me, and I mentioned that I had learnt that all these blacks had been sent back to Ypanema. In my subsequent note of the 28th, I informed Senhor Sinimbú that I had learnt that the Minister of War had taken measures for the removal of all the blacks at Ypanema to Itapura, and I requested that an order should be immediately sent to prevent the removal of any free black to that distant and unhealthy spot. Senhor Sinimbú informed me in his reply of the 5th of January, 1861, that most precise instructions had been sent to the President of the Province of St. Paul's to prevent the removal of any free black from Ypanema.

In my note of the 17th of December, 1860, I requested information as to a number of blacks, including, I had been told, 20 free blacks, who had been removed from Ypanema to Itapura. Senhor Sinimbu replied in his note of January 5, 1861, that 59 blacks had been removed from Ypanema, not to Itapura, but to Mattogrosso, and that among these 59 there was not one single free black. I rejoined, however, in my note of the 10th of January that it had been stated in the Relatorio of the Minister of Marine of 1860, that "more than 50 free Africans had lately left the iron-foundry of Ypanema for the naval establishment of Itapura."

As to these 50 and more free Africans sent in 1860 to Itapura, Senhor Sinimbú, in his note of January 16, 1861, promised me information, but the information so promised has not yet reached the Legation.

Senhor Sinimbú also promised me, in his notes of the 15th and 16th of January, 1861, information on the following points mentioned in my notes of December 17, 1860, and January 10, 1861 :—

Whether complete freedom would not now be given to the 4 free blacks of the Ypanema establishment, who, according to the Memorandum furnished by the Minister of War, and sent me on the 17th of November, 1860, had been handed over to the Brazilian Government by the Mixed Commission of Rio de Janeiro in 1839;

As to the period of service of 18 free blacks, who, according to the Relatorio of the Minister of the Empire of 1860, Appendix No. 46, had been sent to Brillante, in the Province of Mattogrosso;

As to 30 Africans who, according to the Relatorio of the Minister of Marine of 1860, had left Ypanema for the naval establishment of Itapura;

As to some free Africans who. it was stated in the same Relatorio, were to be sent to the Arsenal of Mattogrosso.

On none of these points has any information yet been sent to this Legation.

* December 17 and 28, 1860; January 10 and June 3, 1861.

In my note to Senhor Sá e Albuquerque of June 3, 1861, I called attention to a passage in the Relatorio of the Minister of Marine of 1861, describing the difficulties attending the naval establishment of Itapura, owing to unhealthiness of climate and great distance from peopled districts, and also mentioning the departure, in the month of May 1860, of 50 Africans for the neighbourhood of Itapura.

And I requested to be informed as to the number of free Africans employed at Itapura and the neighbourhood. No answer at all has been made to this note, not even one of acknowledgment.

Her Majesty's Government are in duty bound to feel solicitude as to the condition of the free blacks consigned to the care of the Brazilian Government in pursuance of Treaty, the Brazilian Government guaranteeing their freedom. The responsibility of the Brazilian Government to that of Her Majesty as to these free blacks is not denied. Your Excellency will excuse my remarking that since the date of the last of my notes, that to Senhor Sá e Albuquerque of the 3rd of June of last year, there has been time to furnish Her Majesty's Legation with full information as to the free blacks employed by the Brazilian Government in the most distant of the places named. Her Majesty's Government cannot suppose that there do not exist, in the public offices of the central and provincial capitals, accurately-kept registers of the individuals confided, in pursuance of Treaty, to the care of the Brazilian Government. I may be permitted, further, to remind your Excellency that the Mixed Commission of Rio de Janeiro having ceased to exist in 1845, there cannot now be a single free black remaining who has not served for more than fourteen years, the period fixed by the Brazilian Government for a service of apprenticeship preparatory to complete emancipation.

Under these circumstances your Excellency cannot, I think, be surprised if, in recalling your attention to my notes to your predecessors, I express the hope that the Government of the Emperor will think it right to supply me with the information I have requested without much longer delay.

I avail, &c.
(Signed) W. D. CHRISTIE.

No. 80.

Mr. Christie to Earl Russell.—(Received June 3.)

My Lord,

Rio de Janeiro, May 5, 1862.

MR. BAILLIE mentioned in his despatch of the 6th December, 1861, that a considerable number of free blacks had lately been sent by the Brazilian Government to Pará from Rio de Janeiro. Thirty were so sent in September last to be employed on public works in the Province of Amazonas. It appears that orders were given by the Minister of Justice to deliver to each of these men a letter of freedom before their departure. I inclose copies and translations of the despatches from the Minister of Justice to the official guardian of free Africans, directing the delivery of the letters of freedom, and to the President of Amazonas directing that the men should receive for their labour the proper wages of free men.

I have instructed Her Majesty's Consul at Pará to make such inquiries as he may be able about the treatment of these men.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. D. CHRISTIE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 80.

The Minister of Justice to the Chief of Police.

(Translation.)

Most Illustrious and Excellent Sir,

Rio de Janeiro, September 18, 1862.

IT is pressingly necessary that your Excellency should, without delay, cause letters of emancipation to be written in favour of the thirty free Africans named in the list which accompanied the despatch of the Director-General of this Secretary of State's Office of the 5th instant, and, as soon as they are ready, that you should send them to the Chief of Police of this capital, to whom I, this day, give orders to deliver them to the said Africans, who are to proceed to the Province of Amazonas in the steamer which will leave for the Northern ports on the 23rd of this month.

God preserve, &c.

For Senhor Don José Joaquim de Sequeira,
(Signed) FRANCISCO DE PAULA DE NEGREIROS SAYAO LOBATO.

Inclosure 2 in No. 80.

The Minister of Justice to the President of Amazonas.

(Translation.)

Rio de Janeiro, September 18, 1861.

I APPRIZE your Excellency, for your information, and in answer to your despatch of the 21st of January last, that I, this day, give orders to the Chief of Police of this capital to send to your Province thirty free and emancipated Africans by the first steamer which may proceed from this to the Northern ports, to be placed at the disposal of your Excellency, and to be employed on the public works of your province, with such wages as may be due to free men, and according to their capacities.

God preserve, &c.

(Signed)

FRANCISCO DE PAULA NEGREIROS SAYAO LOBATO.

No. 81.

Mr. Christie to Earl Russell.—(Received June 20.)

My Lord,

Rio de Janeiro, May 17, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inclose extracts from two despatches addressed some little time since to Mr. Baillie, by Her Majesty's Consuls at Rio Grande do Sul and Pará, in reply to a circular despatch of mine to Her Majesty's Consuls in Brazil of the 12th of June last year, requesting information as to free blacks consigned to the care of the Brazilian Government by the Slave Trade Mixed Commission of Rio de Janeiro and slaves imported since 1831.

Mr. Vereker, Her Majesty's Consul in Rio Grande do Sul, estimates the number of slaves in the province imported since 1831, with their children, at about 10,000.

Mr. Vredenburg, the Consul at Pará, says that in that province he believes there are none of illegal importation.

Mr. Vereker says that in Rio Grande do Sul advertisements for sale or hire of negroes, with announcements of age, from which illegal importation would be to be inferred, have ceased of late years. In Rio de Janeiro the newspapers teem with such advertisements.

Mr. Vredenburg refers in his despatch to Mr. Baillie to an earlier despatch which he had addressed to me of the 3rd of April, 1861, giving information as to the past cruel treatment of a number of free blacks who had been let out by the Brazilian Government to the Amazon Steam Navigation Company. I now further inclose a copy of this earlier despatch. When I received it I did not think there was any immediate occasion for addressing the Brazilian Government about its contents, as there was no complaint of present ill-usage, and I was waiting, as I am still waiting, for general information which your Lordship had instructed me to request of the Brazilian Government about all the free blacks consigned to their care in pursuance of Treaty with Great Britain. This earlier despatch, however, of Mr. Vredenburg's will be interesting to Her Majesty's Government as containing proofs or indications of ill-usage to which some of these poor, so-called free blacks have been subjected under the care of the Brazilian Government.

I have instructed Mr. Vredenburg to make the further inquiries which he suggests at Manóas, the capital of Amazonas.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

W. D. CHRISTIE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 81.

Consul Vereker to Mr. Baillie.

(Extract.)

Rio Grande do Sul, October 8, 1861.

REFERRING to Mr. Christie's despatch of the 12th June last, I regret that I am only enabled to forward the following very meagre information respecting the points alluded to in that despatch.

1. The emancipated Africans who may be employed in this province are stated to be all in the service of the Government, chiefly in the war steamers. I have never received any application on the part of such persons, nor have I heard of any complaints of their being ill treated.

It may be noted here that some years since the Government constructed various

extensive works at the fortifications of this city, for which they called all available hands, including soldiers, paying wages to each. Among those employed there were few or no emancipated Africans, and it might be concluded from this circumstance that the number of such persons under the control of the Provincial Government is few. I have, however; no means here of estimating the number.

2. The Africans released since 1845 by the Provincial Brazilian authorities have been very few, and may, probably, be counted by units. Various negro families have been restored to freedom by the authorities, either because they were considered as Uruguayans or as having been granted their liberty by those entitled so to do.

3. It is impracticable, at present, to form an estimate, with any pretensions to correctness, as to the number of Africans imported into Brazil since 1831, and now illegally held in slavery in this province, as there exist no data upon which a calculation may rest; on a rough guess I would say that those persons and their children would be about 10,000 or upwards. The negroes in this province show generally remarkable ignorance both as to the periods when they were imported and as to their own ages; this forms an additional impediment to the collection of the information required.

About ten years since it used to be a common practice in this province to advertize the sale of newly-imported negroes, either betraying the period of importation by the age mentioned or announcing them as new negroes ("negros novos") My attention having been drawn to the matter I instituted inquiries, which had the effect of causing that the practice be discontinued. In this class of announcements, at present, the age is usually omitted, but the omission sometimes arises from the advanced age of the slave, the mention of which might diminish the selling price.

Inclosure 2 in No. 81.

Consul Vredenburg to Mr. Baillie.

(Extract.)

Pará, December 20, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to communicate the following information obtained by me in obedience to the circular of Mr. Christie of the 12th of June in the present year.

I am unable to learn that there are any free Africans in this Province; but in addition to those in the Province of Amazonas, mentioned in my despatch of the 3rd of April, a number amounting to 31, arrived last month from the south, and have been sent there. I have received no information about them, nor can I say how or where they are employed.

The gentleman to whom I have already alluded in my previous despatches on this subject, has written to inform me that of the number of those who had been sent from Serpa to Manáos, 6 had run away and returned to the former place, but were sent back. They complained of ill treatment, and that their wages were not paid.

I applied to another gentleman who has been residing many years in this Province, and who has been at considerable personal inconvenience and expense in obtaining the liberation of persons illegally held in slavery. He assured me that there are no Africans held as slaves who have been imported since 1831. Neither have any been advertised since I have had charge of this Consulate.

Inclosure 3 in No. 81.

Consul Vredenburg to Mr. Christie.

(Extract.)

Pará, April 3, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith some documents relative to the condition of the liberated Africans employed by the Amazon Steam Navigation Company, at their Colony near Serpa, in the Province of Amazonas, and which I have procured in accordance with the instructions contained in your despatch of the 22nd of August, 1860.

These papers were forwarded to me by a gentleman who vouches for the truth of these statements, and states that he was an eye-witness of the sufferings of the blacks, many of whom were chastised, and that the punishment was inflicted with a "vergalho de couro de peixe boi," and not with a "sipó" (supple jack) as mentioned in the "corpo de delicto."

I have also had some conversation on this subject with a most respectable person who was also for three years employed by the Company, and he informed me that while

CLASS B.

he was at Serpa the blacks were treated with great kindness, but that subsequently, under the management of Teixeira, he understood they had been used with great brutality.

I spoke to M. Pimento Bueno, the Manager of the Amazonas Company, a gentleman of great humanity and consideration, and called his attention to these facts. He admitted that the information furnished to me respecting the black Paulo was correct, and added that he had himself called the attention of the President to the circumstance; but he stated in extenuation that Paulo had violently assaulted one of the foremen or directors.

The Colony has, with the consent of the Government, been relinquished by the Amazonas Company, and the works let to a person with whose name I am unacquainted. He has kept 6 of the blacks, to whom he pays 1,200 reis a-day, with an allowance of fish and farinha.

I am informed that they are likely to be kindly treated. The remainder have been sent to Manaos, the capital of the Province, where they can earn 15 milreis a-month.

No. 82.

Mr. Christie to Earl Russell.—(Received June 20.)

My Lord,

Rio de Janeiro, May 17, 1862.

WITH reference to my preceding despatch, I have the honour to inclose a copy of a note which I have addressed to Senhor Taques, calling attention to the free blacks in the Province of Amazonas, formerly employed by the Amazon Steam Navigation Company, and requesting the Brazilian Government to give to all of them letters of emancipation, as has been done with the free blacks sent in September last from Rio de Janeiro to Amazonas, to be employed there in public works.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. D. CHRISTIE.

Inclosure in No. 82.

Mr. Christie to Senhor Taques.

M. le Ministre,

Petropolis, May 16, 1862.

YOUR Excellency informed Mr. Baillie, in a note dated December 6, 1861, that 30 free blacks, sent in September from Rio de Janeiro to the Province of Amazonas, had, before their departure, received letters of emancipation, and were to be employed as entirely free men.

I wish to call your Excellency's attention, and that of the Minister of Justice, to another party of free blacks in the Province of Amazonas, formerly in the employ of the Amazon Steam Navigation Company, at their Colony near Serpa. This Legation has been informed that these blacks were latterly ill-treated at Serpa, when under the management of a Director named Teixeira; that on the relinquishment of that Colony, six of them were left, and the remainder, the greater number, sent to Manáos; and that lately some had fled from Manáos to Serpa, where they complained of ill treatment.

I wish to ask your Excellency whether the Brazilian Government will not cause letters of emancipation to be granted to this party of free blacks, as they have been granted to those sent in September last to Amazonas.

I avail, &c.
(Signed) W. D. CHRISTIE.

No. 83.

Earl Russell to Mr. Christie.

Sir,

Foreign Office, July 8, 1862.

I HAVE to acquaint you that I approve the notes addressed by you to the Brazilian Government on the subject of free blacks, copies of which are inclosed in your despatch of the 3rd of May last.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 84.

Mr. Christie to Earl Russell.—(Received August 22.)

My Lord,

Rio de Janeiro, July 21, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a translation of a passage headed "Trade in Africans," in the Annual Report of the Ministry of Justice, presented to the Legislature this year by the Minister of Justice of the late Government, Senhor Sayo Lobato.

After mentioning that during the past year there has been no landing of Africans, and no attempt at importing them, Senhor Lobato observes in highly commendable language:—"We must not, however, be idle; the Trade has daring prosecutors abroad, and unfortunately slaves still exist among ourselves."

The number of slaves in Brazil, as your Lordship knows, is roughly estimated at about 3,000,000 in a population of about 7,000,000, and I have often mentioned that nothing has been done towards the ultimate abolition of slavery.

Senhor Lobato strongly recommends measures for diminishing the number of slaves in the cities, that more may be employed in agriculture.

Letters of emancipation have been given to 105 free Africans during the past year—not a very large number.

Senhor Lobato states that he has given orders to the Chief of Police to collect in the House of Correction—it is to be presumed with a view to giving them freedom—all the free Africans assigned to private individuals who have served for fourteen years. The Mixed Commission, which consigned these free Africans to the care of the Brazilian Government, having ceased to exist in 1845, seventeen years ago, there cannot be one of them who has not served more than fourteen years ago.

The measure ordered by Senhor Lobato, if applied to all the free Africans, whether serving private individuals or the Government, would cause the emancipation of the whole class.

I take this occasion to mention that I have not yet received any answer to my application for a list of free Africans, made more than a year ago, nor to my many inquiries of 1860 and 1861 about free Africans removed to Itapura and other distant places, of which I reminded Senhor Taques in two notes of April 17, forwarded to your Lordship in my despatch of May 3.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. D. CHRISTIE.

Inclosure in No. 84.

Extract from the Report of the Brazilian Minister of Justice respecting Trade in Africans
(Translation.)

NO landing of Africans has occurred on the coasts of Brazil since your last session. The Government, notwithstanding, continues to impress on its agents the greatest vigilance, in order to avoid a recurrence of this crime, and can assert with confidence that there have not been, and are not, any preparations within the Empire for introducing Africans from the coast of Africa. But we must not rest on our oars; the Slave Trade has daring prosecutors abroad, and, unhappily, slaves still exist among ourselves.

While on this subject, I cannot refrain from calling your attention to the necessity of legislation for regulating the police as to slaves in the capitals and afterwards in other towns.

It would be highly desirable to arrange that slaves should quit the cities, where it is more easy to replace them, and employ themselves in agriculture, which is so much in need of labourers.

The fixing of the number of slaves to be held by any individual in the cities, and a progressive tax, would, in my opinion, be desirable measures for initiating a change which all acknowledge to be of absolute necessity.

During the year 1861, and up to the end of March last, the Government has ordered letters of emancipation to be granted to 105 Africans, whose services have been conceded to private individuals, and also to public establishments. Some are awaiting in the House of Correction at Rio, where I have given orders for their being assembled, the convenient time for receiving their letters.

My predecessor had ordered that the Africans who, having served the time necessary for emancipation, should be taken as prisoners to the House of Correction, should be retained there after the expiration of the term of imprisonment.

As a complement of this order, I have instructed the Chief of Police to take measures

for assembling in the House of Correction the free Africans conceded to private individuals who shall have served fourteen years.

I have instructed the same magistrate to provide against abuses of individuals who promote the emancipation of Africans, exacting from them in return service without due remuneration.

No. 85.

Mr. Christie to Earl Russell.—(Received August 22.)

(Extract.)

Rio de Janeiro, July 21, 1862.

THE "Correio Mercantil," a Rio newspaper, connected with the Liberal party in Brazil and with the Opposition, and honourably distinguished by constantly exposing the abuses of slavery, has lately reviewed the correspondence published in the Slave Trade Blue Book, Class B, of the last and present years, on the subject of the free Africans consigned to the care of the Brazilian Government.

The writer observes that no information as to this correspondence has been given in the Annual Report of the Foreign Minister of Brazil, and commends the courteous and conciliatory tone of your Lordship's despatches and the notes of this Legation.

Having given a very fair summary of the correspondence, the writer explains his own views as to how the question should be dealt with, and I inclose a translation of some passages of this portion of the articles.

These passages refer, 1st, to re-exportation of the Africans to their own country; 2nd, to their re-distribution through Brazil away from the large cities; and, 3rd, to former English demands of a Mixed Commission to inquire into the condition of these Africans, which the writer thinks offensive to Brazil, though he admits them to be within England's strict right.

On the two first points I think the writer's remarks reasonable and well worthy of attention. He considers it too late now to think of re-exportation to Africa, and points out that such re-exportation would involve much more hardship than benefit to the blacks in question. He observes that Her Majesty's Government have ceased to advocate re-exportation, and that, if they mention it, it is only for a vantage-ground in argument, and to remind the Brazilian Government of their engagements and duties. As to the distribution of these free Africans in the interior, or along the coasts of Brazil away from the large cities, the writer makes, I think, a fair answer to some objections which have been urged, and suggests measures of precaution, and points out the advantage of requiring those men to work in fixed residences, that they may not fall into vagrancy, vice, and trouble.

In the concluding remarks the writer does not deny past neglect of the Brazilian Government, and past mal-practices of individuals to whom free Africans have been let out for service; but notwithstanding this, and notwithstanding that he admits the right of the British Government to demand a full inquiry by a Mixed Commission, he allows himself to object to such a demand as offensive to the dignity of Brazil. It is strange that so intelligent and well-disposed a writer should involve himself in so obvious an inconsistency, and that he should not see the worthlessness of a dignity which does not repel imputations of misconduct while refusing inquiry into their truth. But your Lordship will see in this lame conclusion of otherwise excellent articles, another proof of the universal prevalence among Brazilians of that false honour which dreads, above everything else, the appearance of a concession to a powerful foreign Government.

Inclosure in No. 85.

Extract from the "Correio Mercantil."

(Translation.)

THE re-exportation of the free Africans might have been a useful measure if it had been carried into execution soon after the captures made by the cruizers. But the want of means, and the want of energy or perseverance in our Administrations for struggling in the outset against popular prejudice, and the cupidity of those to whom Africans were conceded for service, caused the indefinite postponement of re-exportation. Now, it would be an iniquity, not in the point of view of Brazilian interests, but as regards the Africans themselves, who have lost the habits of savages, have become accustomed to our climate, have adopted a new mode of life, new ideas, new wants, and, so to speak a civilization

superior to the regions of their birth. For them now, Brazil is their home, and re-exportation would be banishment. Further, the offspring of these Africans, born in Brazil, are Brazilians, with constitutional rights; by the re-exportation of the fathers, family ties would be violently broken, or the children would be compelled to emigrate from their native land.

* * * * *

It appears that the British Government is convinced of this; at least in its correspondence with its Diplomatic Agents there is no further allusion to re-exportation as an essential point. Occasionally, to strengthen its arguments, it still speaks of this compromise of the Brazilian Government, but only in order to require that measures should be taken for rendering effective the emancipation of the free Africans judged by the old Mixed Commission, and the children of these Africans.

* * * * *

When we express ourselves thus about re-exportation, we do not mean to impose on the emancipated African the obligation to remain in Brazil. If he wishes to emigrate, and prefers the offer of going to the coast of Africa or the English Colonies, no one can prevent it. And this leads us to say that the objection made by the English Government to a condition of residence in this or that part of the Empire, imposed on the emancipated Africans, is not well conceived; a good and provident measure of police is attacked unreflectingly. The Brazilian Government would not oblige the emancipated Africans to remain in the Brazilian territory; but if they find an advantage in residing in the country whose language they have learnt, whose habits they have assumed, let them be subject to a precaution of police which will naturally be of a temporary character.

The British Government's fear is this: sent into the interior of the Provinces, the Africans will be deprived of an effectual protection and may fall back into slavery. This fear vanishes with some measures of regulation; the letters of emancipation being registered in the central archives, would also afterwards be presented to the Municipal Chambers of the places designed for the Africans; and being here registered anew, the emancipated Africans could easily beg the protection of the local authorities when they suffer any ill-treatment.

It is to be added that the Government could also fix as places of residence the coasts of provinces where there is a smaller number of slaves.

In the Decree of 1853 there is imposed on the emancipated Africans the obligation of working for wages, or in any other way, provided the means of subsistence are procured. The example of what has happened in the French Colonies, and to a certain extent in the English, as may be seen in Mr. Sewell's recent work ("Ordeal of Free Labour") justifies this provision.

In the West Indies, the French Government found itself, in 1848 and 1849, obliged to promulgate Decree after Decree to prevent and punish the idleness of the free blacks, the source of vice and crime. The Attorney-General of Guadaloupe, examining these Decrees, found them inefficacious; and the penalty of fine and imprisonment has been launched against vagrant free blacks who had not fixed their residence with the intention of remaining in the locality chosen, or persevering in work begun.

Long before, in the time of the first Republic, the Commissioners of the Convention had ordered that the citizen blacks should either serve in the army or apply themselves to the cultivation of the soil, under the severest penalties.

The pretension of the English Government to verify, by means of its agents in a Mixed Commission, the existence and the actual condition of the Africans, cannot be admitted without offence to the independence and dignity of Brazil. But for this very reason, it is urgent that the Brazilian Government should proceed honestly to the study of that point. The right is not wanting; let it be proved that under the shadow of right an injustice is not committed.

Let us have not only right on our side; let us have also reason. If ancient registers are wanting, as is supposed, what can be the difficulty, with the Treasury books, and the information to be got from the Judges of Orphans and from the Curators of Africans, and from other sources, in making a general list, and marking a period of time within which all the grantees, or their heirs and successors, should justify before the authorities the honesty of their proceedings? At the end of that time the Government will have knowledge of the Africans who have died, or run away, or been emancipated, and of those who still continue in service. Let instructions be given to the authorities, who might be the Judges of Orphans—explicit instructions, in which energy should be combined with justice. Let there be no violence in the requirement of these justifications; let all latitude be given to the means of proof, without, however, opening the door to fraud or falsehood.

In what we have said, are combined proper satisfaction for the demands of England,

the exclusive competency of the Brazilian Government, and the circumstances to be attended to both for the nation and for the free Africans.

Let there be good faith in both Governments, and easily, within a reasonable time may arrive at a conclusion of this long-standing question.

No. 86.

Mr. Christie to Earl Russell.—(Received October 2.)

My Lord,

Rio de Janeiro, September 6, 1862.

WITH reference to my despatch of May 17th, in which I inclosed a copy of a note I had addressed to Senhor Taques, requesting that letters of emancipation might be granted to certain free blacks employed on public works in the Province of Amazonas, I have the honour to inclose a translation of a note which I have now received in reply from the Marquis of Abrantes, stating that those blacks have not served fourteen years, but only eleven; but that, notwithstanding, instructions have been given to the President of the province to give letters of emancipation to those who may show themselves deserving.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. D. CHRISTIE.

Inclosure in No. 86.

The Marquis of Abrantes to Mr. Christie.

(Translation.)

Rio de Janeiro, August 21, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inform Mr. Christie, &c., in answer to his note of 16th of May last, that the Minister of Justice has just apprized me, as regards the question contained in that note, respecting the transmission of letters of emancipation to certain free Africans who were employed in the Province of Amazonas by the Steam Navigation Company in their colony near Serpa, that those Africans are in different circumstances from those who were sent to the said province in September of last year.

The latter were emancipated here, having already served the fourteen years prescribed for that purpose by the Decree No. 1,303 of 28th December, 1853.

As to the former, who were captured in 1851, and who have only served eleven years, they are not included in the above-mentioned Decree. His Excellency has, however, instructed the President of that province to grant letters of emancipation to those among them who by their conduct become worthy of that favour.

I avail, &c.
(Signed) MARQUIS OF ABRANTES.

No. 87.

Mr. Christie to Earl Russell.—(Received October 2.)

My Lord,

Rio de Janeiro, September 8, 1862.

A MEASURE which I have mentioned to your Lordship in the two preceding years as having been twice unsuccessfully brought before the Legislature by Senator Silveira da Motta, for prohibiting sales of slaves by public auction, and separation of slave families by sales, was again brought forward by the same Senator in this year's Session just concluded, and again has not been passed. This time the measure passed the Senate early in the Session; having been sent down to the Chamber of Deputies, it was there never brought on for discussion.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. D. CHRISTIE.

No. 88.

Mr. Christie to Earl Russell.—(Received November 3.)

My Lord,

Rio de Janeiro, September 30, 1862.

A FEW days before the prorogation of the Chambers' attention was called in the Senate by the Viscount Jequitinhona, formerly Brazilian Minister in England, with the

name of Senhor Montezuma, to the condition of the free Africans. The Viscount complained of the great difficulties in the way of their obtaining letters of emancipation, and to the fact of their having now generally exceeded the fourteen years of apprenticeship prescribed by Brazilian legislation. Senhor Sinimbú, who is acting as Minister of Justice, replied that it was the desire of the Government to give letters of emancipation to all of them; mentioned the order which had been given, and of which I have already informed your Lordship, that all free Africans coming into the hands of the police should not be restored to their employers, but sent to the House of Correction with a view to their emancipation, if they had served fourteen years; and also announced, as a proof of the good disposition of the Imperial Government in this matter, that he had recently sent instructions to the President of Pará to give letters of emancipation to some free blacks there employed, though they had not served fourteen years, if they merited emancipation by good conduct.

I may here mention that all who were freed by the Anglo-Brazilian Commission of Rio de Janeiro have served more than fourteen years. Those who have not done so were taken by the Brazilian cruizers after the Commission ceased to exist.

If the Brazilian Government are really desirous of giving letters of emancipation to all the Africans freed by the Anglo-Brazilian Commission, nothing should be easier than to call them in from the public establishments and private houses where they are employed, and give them the desired letters.

I again take occasion to say that I have yet received no answer to the note which I wrote, by instructions from your Lordship, so far back as March 18, 1861, asking for information about these free Africans, and to which I urgently recalled the attention of the Government in my note to Senhor Taques of April 17th last.

It should be to be presumed that the Government have kept a list of the free Africans, and of the private persons and public establishments to which they have been assigned for service, and it seems extraordinary that at the end of eighteen months they should be yet unable to furnish Her Majesty's Government with a list of these still living and in service, dead, or emancipated.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. D. CHRISTIE.

No. 89.

Mr. Christie to Earl Russell.—(Received November 3.)

My Lord,

Rio de Janeiro, September 30, 1862.

ATTENTION was lately called in the Senate by Senhor Silveira da Motta and others, to the continuance of an annual demand for secret service expenses for the suppression of the Slave Trade. Surprise was expressed at the continued annual appearance of this item, when not only the Slave Trade was extinct in Brazil, but when also Her Majesty's Government fully and in complimentary terms admitted its extinction.

The Viscount of Jequitinhona took occasion to express his surprise that, notwithstanding the admissions and praises of Her Majesty's Government, they took no steps to procure the repeal of the Aberdeen Act, and refused to entertain the Brazilian claims arising out of captures of Brazilian vessels suspected of Slave Trade. The Viscount, however, admitted at the same time that he did not feel sure that he quite understood the question about the Brazilian Slave Trade claims, and that he was inclined to think that the Brazilian Government had not been so prudent on the subject of the late Claims Commission as it should have been.

Senior Silveira da Motta said that the annual demand for secret expenses for the suppression of Slave Trade might suggest the idea that there was opposition in Brazil to the desire of the Government to suppress the Slave Trade; adding, "We are all witnesses that the chief reason why the Trade has been suppressed in Brazil is because public opinion condemns it, and not because material force or the direct measures of the Government have rendered it impossible. It is necessary that the English Government, in so far as it may do justice to our Government, should be convinced that the principal cause of the suppression of the Traffic is its condemnation by the opinion of the country."

The Acting Minister of Justice, Senhor Sinimbú, replied on the subject of the secret expenses, that the Slave Trade was not extinct all over the world; that if, perchance, one of the Cuban slave-traders should bethink himself of trying once again to effect a landing in Brazil, it would be deplorable if the Government were without the means of capturing; and that the continuance of this item of secret service money was a necessary measure of

prudence, and especially necessary in a case where, besides the particular interests of Brazil, the national honour was involved.

To the remarks of the Viscount of Jequitinhona about the Aberdeen Bill and the Claims Commission, Senhor Sinimbú made no reply.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. D. CHRISTIE.

No. 90.

Mr. Christie to Earl Russell.—(Received November 3.)

My Lord,

Rio de Janeiro, September 30, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a Table which has been prepared for me of the number of slaves imported to Rio de Janeiro by sea, to be delivered either for sale or to those who have already purchased them, from the Northern and Southern provinces during the years 1852 and 1861, and during the first six months of the present year, showing a total of 34,688 in the ten years and a half. This number does not comprise the slaves who may have come with their masters and been afterwards sold in this province, or those who may have been sent by land. For most of the northern provinces heavy duties, from 100 to 200 milreis (10*l.* to 20*l.*) a head have been imposed on export of slaves. To evade these duties many have been sent by land, the journeys being sufficiently toilsome. These slaves have been principally absorbed in the coffee plantations of Rio de Janeiro and Minas Geraes, and some have gone to St. Paul's.

There can be no doubt that this internal Slave Traffic involves the cruelties of forced removal from home and separation of families. Attempts have been made on one or two occasions by independent members of the Legislature to obtain the prohibition of this internal traffic, which they have denounced as resembling in iniquity the foreign Slave Trade. But the general Legislature has never done anything in the matter.

Mr. Scarlett, in 1858, under instructions from the Earl of Clarendon, made a strong appeal to the Brazilian Government to stop this traffic, but without result (Slave Trade Correspondence, Class B, presented in 1859, p. 34.)

I may recall to your Lordship's recollection a speech made by Senhor Silveira da Motta in 1861, of which I forwarded an extract, which is printed at p. 49 of Slave Trade Correspondence, Class B, presented in 1862, pointing at some of the evils of these deportations of slaves.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. D. CHRISTIE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 90.

IMPORTATION of Slaves into Rio de Janeiro from the Ports of the North and South.

Year.	North.	South.	Total.	Year.	North.	South.	Total.
1852	3,461	340	3,801	1858	1,304	276	1,580
1853	2,743	658	3,401	1859	933	183	1,116
1854	4,201	198	4,399	1860	3,132	156	3,288
1855	3,156	215	3,371	1861	4,502	162	4,664
1856	3,495	496	3,991	To July 1862 ..	857	101	958
1857	3,480	619	4,099				

No. 91.

Earl Russell to Mr. Christie.

Sir,

Foreign Office, November 8, 1862.

I HAVE received your despatches to the 30th September inclusive, and with reference to your despatch of the 30th of September last I have to instruct you again to call the attention of the Brazilian Government to the several notes which you have addressed to them requesting information on the subject of the free blacks handed over to the care of the Brazilian Government by the Mixed Commission Court under the provisions of the Treaty of 1826.

These Africans have all served considerably more than the time prescribed by the Brazilian Legislature for their apprenticeship, and are therefore incontestably entitled to their unrestricted freedom; and you will state to the Brazilian Minister that as these negroes have been emancipated under the conjoint auspices of the British and Brazilian Governments, Her Majesty's Government feel themselves in duty bound to see that faith is kept with them.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 92.

Mr. Christie to Earl Russell.—(Received December 22.)

My Lord,

Rio de Janeiro, November 12, 1862.

I WISH to call your Lordship's very particular attention to a speech, of which I inclose a translation, made lately in the Chamber of Deputies by Senhor Casimiro Madureira on the subject of free Africans and Brazilian national slaves. This speech does its author high honour, and his sentiments on both subjects are perfect.

Your Lordship knows that I am yet without any answer to a request made nearly two years ago, by your Lordship's desire, for general information as to the free Africans, for whose well-being the Brazilian Government are responsible to that of Her Majesty, and also to a series of notes, of which the first was written two years and a-half ago, demanding information as to certain free Africans who would appear to have been hardly treated in the Province of St. Paul's.

It is properly said in the inclosed speech that every one of these Africans has a right to absolute freedom, and that their being detained in the House of Correction, with a view to emancipation, is an abuse. As to the fourteen years' apprenticeship required by a Brazilian Decree, which Senhor Madureira contends was only provisional, it does not concern the question of the free Africans consigned to the care of the Brazilian Government by the Slave Trade Mixed Commission at Rio de Janeiro, because all these free Africans have been in the hands of the Brazilian Government more than fourteen years.

I may as well explain what perhaps is not quite understood by your Lordship—what is the need of emancipation for Africans who are free. These free Africans, consigned to the care of the Brazilian Government, have been placed under the supervision of the Judge of Orphans, and are regarded as minors under tutelage, and the letters of emancipation which are ultimately given to them release them from the guardianship of the Judge of Orphans. Fourteen years' service has been prescribed by the Brazilian Government as the condition of this emancipation, and, as I have said before, every one of the free Africans for whom the Government of Brazil is responsible to Her Majesty's Government has served more than fourteen years.

Senhor Madureira, in speaking of the Brazilian national slaves, who are about 1,500 in number, properly inveighs against the cruelty of tearing these men from the farms which have become their established homes, to send them to work in public works in Rio, and makes a suggestion, which I fear will be fruitless, that the Government might set an example for a beginning of the work of abolition of slavery by emancipating the slaves who are Government property.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. D. CHRISTIE.

Inclosure in No. 92.

Speech of Senhor Madureira in the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies, June 6, 1862.

(Translation.)

THE Budget also treats of free Africans and slaves of the nation. I have never taken part in the discussions of the Budgets without thinking of these two unhappy classes, because Brazil exists not for Brazilian citizens only, but for all its inhabitants. The slavery of free Africans still continues; the Africans taken in Brazil have all a right to their liberty. The Decree of 1853, which mentioned fourteen years for their emancipation, was a provisional Decree which cannot be regarded as a permanent law.

There are, then, at this day in Brazil free Africans who cannot be entirely free, who must be subject to the individuals to whom they have been assigned, subject to the administrators of public works, &c! How do all these live? Well, then, does the Brazilian nation

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require the services of these poor men? The nation is not able to pay wages to free men for their labour? I hope that the Minister of Justice will revoke that Decree, will declare all the free Africans really free, and will order their passes to be given them in order to live as they may think fit. I have read even with disgust in the Relatorio of the Minister of Justice of this year, that those Africans who had completed the fourteen years were to go to the House of Correction, and there be at the order of nobody knows who. I do not know what the Africans have to do in that house, when they are entitled to their liberty. Are they not free?

With respect to the slaves of the nation, I fear that the Minister of Finance adopts the idea of his predecessor of sending these slaves of the farms of the interior to labour in the public works of the capital. Can there be greater barbarity than to take these poor men from the farms where they are established, though they are slaves of the nation? I think that the managers of these farms will not be so cruel as not to allow them to make their huts where they have their small allotments. How is it that these men are to be taken from Piauhy, Maranhão, and other places in order to go to the public works of the capital? Is not the deficiency of labour which the Provinces of the North are suffering from sufficiently great? How does the Government come to understand that it may sell the national farms to one set of men, and the national slaves to another, when our principles recommend that the nation should be just to its slaves, preserving them in their homes and should also set an example, beginning by slowly emancipating its own slaves? I speak of this because it is no anarchical idea (cheers), because it only attacks some insignificant and individual interests; while it is our duty to think of the future of these men, natives of Brazil, trying to emancipate them gradually in order that some day there may be no slaves of the nation (cheers), and that there may be an end of the inequality which we see between these national slaves and those who are called free Africans.

No. 93.

Mr. Christie to Earl Russell.—(Received December 22.)

My Lord,

Rio de Janeiro, November 12, 1862.

IN the last Annual Report of the Minister of Marine there is a detailed account of the Brazilian naval establishment at Itapura, situated in the most remote part of the Province of St. Paul's, about the removal to which of free Africans I have been endeavouring in vain, for two years and more, to obtain information from the Brazilian Government: I refer to my despatches of August 27 and December 17, 1860, and of January 24 and June 3, 1861, printed in the two last Blue Books. The report I have referred to mentions that of free Africans and slaves, thus mixing them together, there are in all 131 in the establishment of Itapura. The coupling in this way of free Africans and slaves will help to show your Lordship how the free Africans are practically treated; and if no other motive existed, the inquiries which I have been making during the last two years should have led the Brazilian Government to ascertain the number of free Africans in distinction from the slaves. But it seems as if the Brazilian Government are determined not to give any of the desired information about the free Africans:

Itapura is considered a most unhealthy place, and its great unhealthiness has been the subject of much discussion in the last Session of the Legislature.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. D. CHRISTIE.

No. 94.

Mr. Christie to Earl Russell.—(Received December 22.)

My Lord,

Rio de Janeiro, November 12, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inclose an extract of a speech made in the last session in the Senate by Senhor Silveira da Motta, calling attention to the importance of diminishing the number of slaves in the large cities in order that more may be employed in agriculture, and of checking the deportation of slaves from the Northern Provinces to the Southern.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. D. CHRISTIE.

Inclosure in No. 94.

Extract of Speech of Senhor Silveira da Motta, in the Brazilian Senate.

(Translation.)

Mr. President,—I WISH to pass rapidly to another subject, as I cannot stay much longer. I do not choose to finish my speech without requesting the noble Minister of Justice to take into consideration some ideas which have already been brought before the Parliament respecting the destiny of slaves in Brazil.

In 1851, having had the honour of being a Deputy for St. Paul's, I presented to that Chamber a project establishing a progressive tax upon slaves in the great cities, as a means for slowly concurring towards removing from those great centres of population the slave population so much wanted by our agriculturists. That project was approved in the first discussion of it; I do not know whether it was in the second, or if it passed to a third discussion. But if the Government should be desirous to improve the lot of our agriculture, if it should be desirous of favouring free labour in the great centres of population, it is necessary that it should initiate some measures towards removing the inconvenience which is being felt in some of the seaboard cities from the accumulation of negroes.

Dom Manoel.—It is not a bad business for those who possess them.

Senhor Silveira da Motta.—But it is bad for the public. The noble Minister well knows that even here in the capital there are persons who possess 300, 400, and more slaves employed as porters; these are not doubtless such as are required for our domestic service, which may still prolong the preservation of slavery in our great cities.

Let the noble Minister of Finance answer me, who is exclaiming that I am in the wrong in declaring that that project of mine, establishing a progressive tax upon the slaves in the great cities, has existed in the Chamber of Deputies since 1851. Has there been any Minister who has thought of rescuing that project from the dust in the drawers of the Chamber of Deputies to forward so magnificent an idea as that? Has the noble Minister of Justice given it a thought?

The Minister of Justice.—I have already had occasion to declare that I had a good opinion of that idea.

Senhor Silveira da Motta.—That is all that I could succeed in obtaining.

The Minister of Justice.—I already once confessed here that this was a very available idea.

Senhor Silveira da Motta.—Sirs, it is necessary that the Government should look with attention to this question of slavery in the great cities; it is necessary that the Government should look to this question of slavery in the Empire. The noble Minister of Justice and Commerce ought to know the extraordinary influx of slave population from the North to the South of the Empire; I believe that more than 40,000 slaves were imported thence since 1851.

Dom Manoel.—Notwithstanding the tax levied in those provinces upon the slaves imported?

Senhor Silveira da Motta.—Yes, Sir.

Dom Manoel.—What then?

Senhor Silveira da Motta.—That the proportion of slaves imported into Rio de Janeiro from the Northern provinces has yearly been on the increase.

The Minister of Justice.—But not to remain in this capital.

Senhor Silveira da Motta.—I do not say for the purpose of remaining here; from Rio de Janeiro they are sent to the Provinces of Minas and San Paulo, &c. But the phenomenon to which the noble Minister should pay attention is to the future of the North of the Empire. From the want of labourers, with a torrid climate, which is less inviting to colonization than that of the South, what is the condition in which the Northern provinces will remain in relation to those of the South? When the North shall have become entirely deprived of slave-labour, when they shall have become at the mercy of the tardy and slow resources of colonization, what will be their destiny? Do they wish to live only at the cost of the South? And is the Government to look on passively at the progress of that phenomenon without having the courage to look its consequences in the face, when our neighbours in the Northern division of this continent give us a sad example of its evil consequences?

Was it not the case, Gentlemen, that when some years ago in the United States the Northern States abolished slavery, and it remained in the Southern States, the industrial interests of the Southern States became entirely opposed to those of the Northern? Was it not after the creation and growth of this diversity of interests that the explosion took place which has not yet terminated? Well, Gentlemen, whilst the North is being daily

drained of its labourers, what will take place? One of two things: either the North will be left entirely without labourers, and then it will be led by necessity, by the nature of things, to create an industry on interests opposed to ours, and its inhabitants in consequence become our enemies; or else the toleration of the Government may be viewed in another light,—the Government, by tolerating such a change in the relations between the different provinces of the Empire, would itself appear to have in view the creation of a principle of diametrical opposition between the North and the South.

No. 95.

Mr. Christie to Earl Russell.—(Received December 22.)

(Extract.)

Rio de Janeiro, November 12, 1862.

IN the Annual Report of the Minister of Marine presented this year, particulars are given as to the numbers of free men and slaves employed in the Brazilian Mercantile Marine in ten out of sixteen provinces; the totals being 29,965 free men and 13,276 slaves. The Minister prefaces these statistics by denouncing them as very far from the truth; and I inclose a translation of his remarks as a proof of the want of good statistics in Brazil, and of this Minister's remarkable candour.

It is strange that a Government like that of Brazil should not take steps to supply a deficiency of which it is so conscious.

Inclosure in No. 95.

Extract from Report of the Minister of Marine on Statistics, 1862.

(Translation.)

BUT he would be ill-advised who should think of founding serious conclusions on such statistics, which I do not hesitate to assert are very far from truth ("muito longe da verdade"). The captains of ports do not possess the means indispensable for an exact and trustworthy census. Without power to give effect to the instructions of the Code of Regulations, without materials, without agents worthy of confidence, how can the captains of ports extend their authority to all the points of their jurisdiction? How could they collect the data on which to base good statistics?

It follows that the registers are not made with exactness and regularity; that entries are not made of individuals who die, abandon the maritime profession, or change their residence; that the same individual figures simultaneously in the registers of two or more captaincies, and as many times in the same register as there are ships in which he has embarked in the course of the year; that the foreigner and the native are inscribed without discrimination; and many other irregularities which it would take a long time to enumerate.

I will add to all this the carelessness and want of skill with which many of these maps are made, being fancifully arranged by clerks to whom almost all the Secretaries commit so tiresome a task; and finally the systematic obstinacy with which uncivilized populations seek to avoid furnishing information of this nature: and you will agree that I have abundant reason for putting you on your guard against the information furnished by such defective documents.

No. 96.

Mr. Christie to Earl Russell.—(Received December 22.)

My Lord,

Rio de Janeiro, November 15, 1862.

IN the "Times" of August 27th was a remarkable letter from the West Coast of Africa about the King of Dahomey, in which much was said of a Brazilian slave-dealer, Domingo Martinez, residing at Whydah, and it was specifically stated that a fine steamer had left Whydah a few months before, for the coast of Brazil, with 1,600 slaves. I have made inquiries about this statement, and am quite satisfied that this steamer was not destined for Brazil and has never come to the Brazilian coast. Domingo Martinez is a Brazilian who carries on Slave Trade extensively with Cuba and the United States; he is also engaged in commerce with Brazil, chiefly with Bahia, but I am assured that this is exclusively legitimate commerce. He was formerly largely engaged in Brazilian Slave

Trade, and in partnership with a Thomas da Costa Ramos, who was banished from Brazil, and now resides at Lisbon, and is carrying on Slave Trade with Cuba. The steamer spoken of in the letter in the "Times" is thought here to have been a steamer employed not long since as a transport by General Garibaldi, and lately bought by Ramos for the Cuban Slave Trade.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. D. CHRISTIE.

No. 97.

Mr. Christie to Earl Russell.—(Received December 22.)

My Lord,

Rio de Janeiro, November 24, 1862.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 12th instant, on the subject of the free Africans at Itapura, I have now the honour to inclose a translation of Regulations which have been since issued by the Minister of Public Works for these free Africans, and which have taken me by surprise. I have received no communication from the Ministry about these Regulations, which are dated the 5th instant, and were published in the official journal on the 15th.

Your Lordship will see that the free Africans in the Itapura naval establishment are to be organized under military discipline, with the name of "Company of Itapura Workmen;" that they are to be employed in road-making and other public works, being clothed and fed, and receiving each man 100 reis (about $2\frac{1}{2}d.$) a-day, and each woman or child 50 reis ($1\frac{1}{4}d.$); that each is to have a small allotment of land and two days in the week for himself; that after six years of service and good conduct, they are to receive letters of emancipation, and that any who, in the meantime, leave the colony, will be subject to punishment.

Every one of the free Africans made over to the Brazilian Government by the Slave Trade Mixed Commission at Rio has already served more than fourteen years, and they are now to commence a new term of six years. The promised payment is nothing in a country where the price of ordinary labour is 2 or 3 milreis (4s. or 6s.) a-day.

In the meantime, though I have been endeavouring, during the last two years, to obtain for Her Majesty's Government information about the free Africans at Itapura, none has been given me; and I cannot inform your Lordship of their number, or periods of service, or ages, or how they came to Itapura.

On the 19th of December, 1860, I wrote to Senhor Sinimbú about sixty blacks, including twenty free Africans, who were said to have been sent from Ypanema to Itapura, reminding him that he had already, in conversation, promised me information about them; and I at the same time expressed a hope that he would assure me that no more of the free blacks of Ypanema would be sent to Itapura, a distant and unhealthy place, to be reached only by a most toilsome journey.

On the 28th of December, 1860, I repeated to Senhor Sinimbú my hope that no more free Africans would be sent to Itapura.

On the 10th of January, 1861, I called Senhor Sinimbú's attention to statements in the report of the Minister of Marine of 1860, that fifty free Africans had left Ypanema for a military colony near Itapura, and thirty more for the naval establishment of that place.

On the 8th of March, 1861, I wrote to Senhor Sinimbú by express instructions from your Lordship, asking for "a list of the free blacks who were handed over by the Mixed Commission to the care of the Brazilian authorities, specifying what has become of them, whether dead, emancipated, or still in service."

On the 3rd of June, 1861, I wrote to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, calling attention to a passage in the report of the Minister of Marine of that year, mentioning the difficulties which attend the naval establishment of Itapura, owing to the unhealthiness of the climate and great distance from peopled districts, and also mentioning the departure of 50 Africans for Itapura, and I requested to be informed whether there were any free Africans among these 50.

Lastly, on the 17th of April of this year, seven months ago, I addressed two notes to Senhor Taques, which obtained your Lordship's approval, reminding him that none of my previous inquiries had been answered; and I am still, my Lord, without any answer to all these inquiries.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. D. CHRISTIE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 97.

The Minister of Public Works to the Minister of Marine.

(Translation.)

Most Illustrious and Excellent Sir,

Palace of Rio de Janeiro, November 5, 1862.

THE official letter addressed by your Excellency to the Director of the Naval establishment at Itapura, pointing out the means by which the services of the free blacks in that establishment may be made more available, has been brought to the knowledge of this Ministry; and as those measures may produce real benefit, they are now approved, and are more developed in the Instructions of which I inclose a copy; the necessary orders being this day issued by this Ministry, in order that the same instructions may be fulfilled in what relates to Article 4, it remaining for your Excellency to issue those which belong to your Ministry.

(Signed)

J. L. V. C. DE SINIMBU.

Inclosure 2 in No. 97.

Instructions respecting the Free Blacks at Itapura.

Article 1. THE free Africans in the naval establishment of Itapura are to be formed into a regiment, under the title of "The Company of Labourers of Itapura."

Art. 2. The organization of this company, the order, direction, and economy of the services in which they may be employed, its discipline, &c., is to have, as far as possible, a military character.

Art. 3. The company is to be employed in the opening and preservation of roads and paths, in building and in clearing ground, and in any other service peculiar to the Naval Establishment which may be ordered by the Director.

Art. 4. To each of the labourers, besides his clothes and rations, which are already fixed, a payment of 100 reis a-day will be made to every male adult, and of 50 reis to every woman and every minor over twelve years of age.

Art. 5. The labourers will have a right to an allotment of the lands marked out for the Naval Establishment of Itapura, in the same proportion and form in which the Rules of the Colony grant land to colonists of the third class.

Art. 6. The labourers are to have two days allowed them in every week to employ themselves on their own private affairs, it being competent for the Director to designate those days, in order that the regular march of the works of the establishment may not be impeded.

Art. 7. The registered Africans of the Company of Labourers who shall abandon the Colony before receiving their letters of emancipation, will be suitably punished in the manner the Director may think most effectual.

Art. 8. After six years of good service, the Africans who shall have given proofs of regular conduct will enter on the complete enjoyment of their emancipation, receiving the letter to which they are entitled.

(Signed)

J. L. V. C. DE SINIMBU.

BRAZIL. (Consular)—Bahia.

No. 98.

Consul Morgan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 3, 1862.)

My Lord,

Bahia, December 31, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith the Half-yearly Return of the prices of slaves in this city.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN MORGAN, Jun.

Inclosure in No. 98.

RETURN of the Prices of Slaves within the District of the Consulate of Bahia, at the respective times undermentioned.

	For the half-year ending June 30, 1861.		For the half-year ending December 31, 1861.	
	Currency.	Sterling.	Currency.	Sterling.
	Reis.	£ s. d.		
African Males	1,200,000	130 0 0	} No alteration in prices.	
" Females	1,000 000	108 6 8		
Creole Males	1,000 000	108 6 8		
" " with profession	1,500 000	162 10 0		
" Females	600g to 800g	65 0 0 to 86 13 4		

N.B.—During the year 1860, 1,771 slaves were exported to Rio de Janeiro.

British Consulate, Bahia, December 31, 1861.

(Signed)

JOHN MORGAN, Jun., *Consul.*

No. 99.

Consul Morgan to Earl Russell.—(Received April 7.)

My Lord,

Bahia, March 10, 1862.

SOME fifteen days ago Senhor Moncorvo, a Brazilian capitalist and merchant of this city, holding a highly respectable position, and a Lieutenant-Colonel of the National Guard, called upon me to inquire whether there were any difficulties to be apprehended against his sending one of his vessels, under the Brazilian flag; to the coast of Africa with a lawful cargo, and strictly employed in a legal commerce. He said he applied to me on this subject, as for several years he had traded to the coast of Africa under a severe dependence on Sardinian, Portuguese, and German merchants, under whose flags he had been induced to place his vessels, as he was constantly told it would be madness to send them under the Brazilian flag for fear of becoming a certain prize to Her Majesty's cruisers. He desired me, therefore, to state to him candidly my opinion on this subject, as I must be well aware that he commenced business when the traffic had entirely ceased in Brazil; that he had too much to lose in such illegal speculations; and, finally, that the Traffic by Brazilians had always been an exception, as it had been entirely carried on by the Portuguese. He finally declared that he believed the reports so industriously spread by the Portuguese and Germans of violence against the Brazilian flag was a pretence to keep the whole carrying trade under their respective nationalities, and thus to place the legal commerce of Brazil to the coast of Africa, under their sole dependence and monopoly.

I replied to Senhor Moncorvo that I was fully aware of all those reports; and how

much interest the Portuguese and Germans had in keeping in their own hands the legal trade of this port with the coast of Africa, and he did no more than justice in supposing that the British Government in putting down an abominable Traffic, to which the Brazilian Government had become a party, could have no interest in view in excluding the Brazilian flag from the coast of Africa; that, in short, such exclusion did not exist, as Her Majesty's cruisers had never interfered with any flag in a legal and honest traffic; that at one time it was impossible not to suspect the Brazilian flag so long as the Slave Trade was active on the coast of Brazil; but as Her Majesty's Government had recognized that Brazil had done its duty at last, and as the Traffic was now, fortunately, only a tradition of the past, Senhor Moncorvo should be under no apprehension of a seizure of any of his vessels by British cruisers if they were exclusively engaged in legal commercial undertakings. This point rested solely with him, and the instructions he might give to the masters of his ships. I further added that his fears were groundless, especially as he told me his commerce was direct to the port of Lagos, which is now a British dependency, and from which no flag was excluded if solely engaged in legal trade.

After this conversation, Senhor Moncorvo gave out on 'Change his determination to send one of his own vessels under the flag of his country to the coast of Africa, to the no small disappointment of the Portuguese merchants, who tried, for purposes well understood, to dissuade him from so doing, and placing *in terrorem* before him the violence of the British cruisers.

In yesterday's paper an article on the subject made its appearance, a translation of which I have the honour to inclose.

I shall forward a copy of this despatch to Her Majesty's Minister in Rio.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN MORGAN, Jun.

Inclosure in No. 99.

Extract from the "Jornal de Bahia" of March 9, 1862.

(Translation.)

IT is a long time since the Brazilian flag has been excluded from the commerce of the Coast of Africa, and thus deprived of enjoying the commercial and national advantages which Brazil was in possession of during a length of time.

Since the extinction of the traffic the simple fact of the Brazilian flag being found on the Coast of Africa was supposed to be a proof that it was engaged in the Slave Trade, and occasioned great abuses, so much so that no one attempted to send a cargo of produce under the Brazilian flag; and that commerce was consequently seized by the Sardinians, Americans, &c., in which they derived great advantages.

But however great might have been the violence and injustice practised by England against our commerce at one time, we feel convinced that enlightened as she is, she will not consent to treat us unjustly or deprive us of transporting our merchandize for exchange on the Coast of Africa, entertaining a traffic which will enrich us, and permit us at the same time as large consumers of England to continue so.

We feel persuaded, therefore, that our flag will be respected, the more so as no country has given greater proof of loyalty in suppressing the traffic as soon as Brazil felt persuaded of the necessity to put an end to it; and we trust the British cruisers will do us justice, and not compromise their Government by annoying our licit trade.

We therefore call the attention of the worthy British Consul in this province, and that of the Minister of England in Brazil, in order that they may advise their Government of the intention of the Brazilians to continue our national commerce with Africa; that orders may be issued to its cruisers on that coast to respect our rights, in order that its good intentions may thus be ascertained, and an opinion be formed whether it was from the abuses practised, or in consequence of the profits realized by those foreign flags, that the report has been purposely spread that it was madness to send our flag to those waters; we must, therefore, be sure that England does not support such reports, but rather is desirous of attenuating such ideas, which in the present period have no grounds to subsist.

Senhor Moncorvo has sent a cargo to the Coast of Africa under our own flag. We consider this act of Senhor Moncorvo of great importance, full of significance, and highly patriotic; because in the opinion of many he runs great risks, but without listening to terrorists, firm in his conscience and on his rights, he sends his property in a Brazilian vessel in order to ascertain whether the iniquities of another period (in which we do not believe) are continued, or whether a new era is to be opened to our navigation and national commerce.

Under every circumstance Senhor Moncorvo's patriotism is incontestable.

No. 100.

Earl Russell to Consul Morgan.

Sir,

Foreign Office, April 8, 1862.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 10th ultimo, together with its inclosure, and I have in reply to acquaint you that I entirely approve of your having assured Senhor Moncorvo that he need be under no apprehension of the seizure and detention of his vessels by British cruisers on the African Coast as long as such vessels are exclusively engaged in lawful commercial undertakings.

It is the policy no less than the interest of Her Majesty's Government to encourage and develop, as much as possible, legitimate trade on the Coast of Africa, because by so doing they are taking the most sure course for the extinction of the Slave Trade; and Brazilian vessels so far from being captured by British cruisers would, on the contrary, as long as they are engaged in lawful pursuits receive that protection and assistance which is always afforded by the Commanders of British cruisers to the vessels of friendly and allied Powers.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 101.

Consul Morgan to Earl Russell.—(Received August 6.)

My Lord,

Bahia, June 30, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith the half-yearly return of the prices of slaves in this city.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN MORGAN, Jun.

Inclosure in No. 101.

RETURN of the Prices of Slaves within the District of the Consulate of Bahia, at the respective times undermentioned.

Description.	For the half-year ending December 31, 1861.			For the half-year ending June 30, 1862.	
	Currency.		Sterling.	Currency.	Sterling.
	Reis.	Reis.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
African Males . . . . .	...	1,200\$	...	180 0 0	No alteration in prices.
" Females . . . . .	...	1,000\$	...	108 6 8	
Creole Males . . . . .	...	1,000\$	...	108 6 8	
" with profession . . . . .	...	1,500\$	...	162 10 0	
" Females	600\$ to 800\$		65 0 0 to	86 13 4	

British Consulate, Bahia, June 30, 1862.

(Signed) JOHN MORGAN, Jun., *Consul.*

No. 102.

Consul Morgan to Earl Russell.—(Received August 6.)

My Lord,

Bahia, July 8, 1862.

I BEG to hand herewith to your Lordship copy of a despatch I addressed to Her Majesty's Legation, in reply to queries relating to emancipated Africans, and slavery in general, in this province.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN MORGAN, Jun.

Inclosure 1 in No. 102.

Consul Morgan to Mr. Christie.

Sir,

Bahia, June 14, 1862.

YOUR circular despatch of the 12th June of last year was not replied to at an earlier period owing to the difficulties which the very nature of the information required must at once make apparent.

The points upon which I am instructed to inform are three in number; and in the order they were put I beg permission to reply:—

1st. That no free Africans of those emancipated by the Slave Trade Mixed Commission of Rio de Janeiro were consigned to or delivered up to this Provincial Government. Indeed, if my memory does not betray me, all Africans emancipated, up to a certain period, were delivered up to the Central Government, one only lot effectively receiving their liberty, under the auspices of Her Majesty's Legation, in 1845 or 1846, because the term of their apprenticeship with the Misericordia Hospital then expired.

The greater number of the other liberated Africans, under one pretext or another, were sent, in various directions, into the Provinces of Rio de Janeiro and Minas Geraes.

2ndly. In relation to the Africans captured by Brazilian cruisers on this coast, and emancipated by the authorities after the termination of the Slave Trade Commission in 1845, I am now enabled to transmit to you, in conformity to your desire, a full and complete list of the same.

These Africans are, in general, well-treated, and most certainly not overworked. They are variously employed on the public works by the Municipality, and in the public hospitals and cemeteries of this city. None are hired to private individuals.

Five of the Africans employed on the public works were sent down to Rio by the last steamer, as it was discovered they were the chiefs and instigators of numerous thefts which had been committed about town within the last six months.

3rdly. The estimate of the number of Africans held in slavery illegally within this Consular district, and imported since 1831, is a very difficult matter to ascertain. Registration does not exist, with the exception of slaves taxed, who follow some industrial profession; while those employed in agricultural pursuits, by far the largest number, are untaxed. The nearest probable average (and I believe I am not far wrong) of such illegal importations, from 1831 to the 7th November, 1851, when the last importation into this province took place, when those landed from the Sardinian brig "*Relampago*" were seized (saving, likewise, the capture off the coast of the American schooner "*Mary E. Smith*" in 1856), may be estimated at 12,000 per annum, or about 240,000 in all. From this number at least half must be deducted in exports coastwise to Rio Grande do Sul, but principally to Rio de Janeiro, by the Brazilian steamers.

Bozal negroes were not then advertised for sale, but were disposed of on the estates where landed. Towards the latter period of the Traffic the strongest in might did not scruple to appropriate to himself any fine lot that struck his fancy, without caring to pay for it, but for smuggled property in the general run of business a bill of sale was unknown. Bills of exchange were given to the importer for "value received," at long periods, and at heavy interest.

It was with such and other facilities that this horrible Traffic, with all its demoralizing incidents, at one time so sadly changed the naturally benevolent disposition of the Brazilians. Fortunately a much better feeling now pervades, when all idea of its necessity has faded away from the public mind. At the present period advertisements for the sale of blacks often appear in the public prints, but age is seldom mentioned; not from fear, but because no one would ever question the ownership of a slave, who is only considered as a property disposable at will, like any other household chattel. Indeed, were the question of registration of slaves *ex abrupto* to be ventilated, and owners required to produce papers to legalize their sale, three-fourths of the slaves in the country would have to be declared free; but such a measure would most assuredly cause immense embarrassment to the country and to its Government.

Having so far replied to the three points put to me, permit me, Sir, while upon this subject to add a few observations from my own experience of the country, which the momentous question of slavery naturally brings to mind, considering it in its bearings in relation to Brazil in the manner it is now being ventilated between the Northern and Southern States of America.

As a nation I must state, the Brazilian is a mild slave-owner, the very reverse of the Portuguese, who were the tempters and promoters of the abominable Traffic, which so greatly contributed to the retardment and civilization of Brazil. Independent of the large

profits then acquired, slave-trading was a political engine of no mean value the Portuguese so long held to influence their position in the country, even over the Government, to the detriment of the best interests of the Empire. It is so far true, that on the expiration of the legal period for its cessation in 1831 the Traffic did *de facto* cease, and the Imperial Government, then labouring under the difficulty of its position, namely, a revolutionary period and the minority of the reigning Sovereign, for more than eighteen months exerted all its influence to make that cessation permanent. The atrocities then committed at Santos Campos and other places, by sewing up the witnesses in wicker-baskets, and throwing them into the rivers, where their bodies were afterwards discovered, proved that a strong organized plan existed to carry on the Traffic, and that its subaltern authorities on the coast were powerless to prevent it, and Government itself impotent, under the then critical circumstances of the country, to support those authorities.

On the majority of the Sovereign, and the greater power of Government joined to the action of Her Majesty's cruisers, the final extinction of the Traffic naturally caused the illegal influence of the Portuguese, so monstrously acquired, by becoming the creditors of the large agricultural and industrial classes of society, equally to come to an end. I know this has been a cause of great congratulation to many respectable Brazilians, irrespective of the claims of humanity; because I do not believe that slavery in Brazil, as an institution, has such deep root in the public mind as it obtains in the United States. Education has made great progress, and with the illustration of the country a more humane feeling has been growing up.

Often has it been said to me that slavery has been compulsorily engrafted on the country, like other abnormal institutions inherited from the Portuguese, which they, the Brazilians, would gladly see gradually give way to a liberal system of colonization. But this change, to be beneficial and productive of good, must be preceded by the reformation of Brazilian legislation on matters connected with inheritances, naturalization, and mixed marriages.

The great focus of slavery now in Brazil is the Province of Rio de Janeiro; from thence comes the continued demand from the great coffee estates, which for the last ten years has been draining the Northern Provinces of its labour, as well as of its refuse not engaged in agriculture.

The occurrences, therefore, that are now taking place in the Northern and Southern sections of America, and the principles which seem to govern that mighty contest, has been viewed in the proper light by influential people residing in this Province, some of whom have occupied the highest positions in the State. Amongst these I lately heard a Senator of the Empire declare that those events must sooner or later react with force in Brazil, and in such a manner as to be irresistible, but that in the meantime the guarantee for the support of slavery, until that period shall arrive, rested alone on the wealthy coffee-planters in Rio; and should the supply from the North cease, which in itself is insignificant to the demand, slavery as an institution would be a burden which the sooner it was got rid of would be most advantageous to the country; being of course preceded by proper measures to promote immigration. And, moreover, as the per-centage of births was much below the mortality of the slave, and the Traffic had ceased for ever, it was more than certain that a difficult period was in store for Brazil.

I believe this subject is more calmly viewed in this Province and in the north than at Rio de Janeiro. A large free population inhabit both Bahia and Pernambuco. Putting aside the large sugar estates on the seaboard, where, of course, the want of slaves would be mostly felt, the interior of both Provinces in their populations possess greater resources than that of Rio de Janeiro. A convincing proof of this has been observed in the superabundance of free labour offered on both the railway lines of the former, while very recently the Chairman of the Dom Pedro line has declared to the Government, that that line could not be constructed without the employment of slave labour, the reverse of what we witness here in the north.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN MORGAN, Jun.

Inclosure 2 in No. 102.

SUMMARY of the List transmitted to Mr. Christie, showing how the Emancipated Africans in the Province of Bahia are accounted for.

Captured September 8, 1851, from polacca "Ultimação"	Nos.	109
" October 30, 1851, brig "Relampago"		307
" January 30, 1856, yacht "Mary E. Smith"		313
		729
Exist in this Province	Nos.	341
Sent to the Amazons		24
Forwarded to Rio de Janeiro		25
Runaways		31
Dead		308
		729

British Consulate, Bahia, June 14, 1862.

(Signed)

JOHN MORGAN, Jun., Consul.

No. 103.

Consul Morgan to Earl Russell.—(Received November 3.)

My Lord,

Bahia, September 24, 1862.

IN my despatch of the 8th July last, when I transmitted to your Lordship copy of a report addressed to Her Majesty's Minister at Rio in reply to queries on slavery in this province, I stated that that institution did not appear to me to have such deep root in public opinion, although still maintained from habit inherited from the Portuguese, and in the absence of a proper substitute.

I have now great pleasure in communicating the philanthropic act of four ladies residing on their estate at Embira, in the municipality of Cachoeira, in this province, Donna Ignez Maria da Conceição, Donna Angelica Maria da Conceição, Donna Maria Francisca da Conceicao, and Donna Anna Francisca da Conceição, who have spontaneously and without reserve emancipated all their slaves, young and old, to the number of 73, and moreover caused their letters of emancipation to be duly registered by the public notaries of that city.

Such a noble act deserves to be mentioned, and I sincerely trust it will find imitators.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN MORGAN, Jun.

BRAZIL. (Consular)—Pará.

No. 104.

Consul Vredenburg to Earl Russell.—(Received February 3, 1862.)

My Lord,

Pará, December 31, 1861.

I HAVE the satisfaction of reporting that no attempt has been made to revive the African Slave Trade within this Consular district since the date of my last despatch, and that there is no probability of its renewal.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. VREDENBURG.

No. 105.

Acting Consul Hervey to Earl Russell.—(Received August 6.)

My Lord,

Pará, July 7, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith a Return of the prices of slaves within the district of this Consulate during the last half-year, by which it will be seen that there has been a perceptible increase in the price of slaves since the last Return.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT H. HERVEY.

Inclosure in No. 105.

RETURN of the Prices of Slaves within the District of the Consulate of Pará, during the Half-year ending June 30, 1862.

	Reis.	Reis.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
Males	1,200\$000	to 1,600\$000	133 0 0	to 177 0 0	There has been a perceptible increase in the prices of slaves since the last Return.
Ditto (with trades) .. .	1,500\$000	2,000\$000	166 0 0	222 0 0	
Females	1,000\$000	1,400\$000	111 0 0	144 0 0	
Children (from 2 to 7) .. .	200\$000	700\$000	22 0 0	77 0 0	

British Consulate, Pará, July 7, 1862.

(Signed) ROBERT H. HERVEY, *Acting Consul.*

No. 106.

Acting Consul Hervey to Earl Russell.—(Received August 6.)

My Lord,

Pará, July 7, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that there has been no attempt to renew the African Slave Trade within the limits of this Consulate during the last quarter, and that there is no probability of its renewal.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT H. HERVEY.

BRAZIL. (*Consular*)—*Pernambuco*.

No. 107.

Acting Consul Hervey to Earl Russell.—(Received November 22.)

My Lord,

Pará, October 6, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that there has been no attempt to renew the African Slave Trade within the limits of this Consulate during the last quarter, ended 30th September, 1862.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ROBERT H. HERVEY.

BRAZIL. (*Consular.*)—*Pernambuco*.

No. 108.

Acting Consul Gollan to Earl Russell.—(Received February 21.)

My Lord,

Pernambuco, January 11, 1862.

I HAVE to inform your Lordship that no overt act of African Slave Trade has taken place within the limits of this Consulate, or the Vice-Consulates under it, during the past year.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ALEX. GOLLAN.

BRAZIL. (Consular)—Rio Grande do Sul.

No. 109.

Consul Vereker to Earl Russell.—(Received February 3, 1862.)

My Lord,

Rio Grande do Sul, December 9, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inclose the copy of a despatch I felt it right to address to Mr. John McGinity, in reference to his possession of a negress named Gemina, it having appeared at the inquest on the body of that negress that she had been lately purchased by Mr. McGinity, who is a natural-born British subject, and has been as such registered in the books of this Consulate.

Mr. McGinity in his reply, a copy of which is inclosed, does not deny the possession of the slave, but tries to justify himself on the ground that he had been naturalized as a Brazilian subject, and I am satisfied that he has been so naturalized prior to his purchasing the slave in question.

I would venture to observe generally, on cases such as the present, that there are many British subjects in this country who, for the sake of being enabled to exercise certain employments reserved to Brazilians, or for other reasons, obtain letters of Brazilian naturalization, but without the intention of abandoning their rights as British subjects, and, in fact, often after leaving this country, they claim and obtain such rights, as it may be easy for them to prove their nationality as British subjects, and the circumstance that they obtained, when in Brazil, letters of Brazilian naturalization, may be either unknown or difficult of proof. It is also to be noticed that such persons are, even here, vulgarly looked upon as British subjects, though in law as Brazilians; consequently an example on their part, in dealing in slaves, notwithstanding the comprehensive provisions of the Act 6 and 7 Vict., cap. 98, has a specially injurious effect.

A similar observation occurs in reference to the dealing in slaves by persons born in Brazil, but recognized as British subjects.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. P. VEREKER.

Inclosure 1 in No. 109.

Consul Vereker to Mr. Mc Ginity.

Sir,

Rio Grande do Sul, November 27, 1861.

MY attention having been called to the circumstance that a young negress named Gemina, whose body was found on the 11th instant near the new hospital, was alleged to have been purchased by you as a slave, and to have been held by you as such prior to her decease, I have to request that you will give me soon such explanation as you may think fit upon the subject, particularly regarding the manner in which you became possessed of that negress, for, as a British-born subject, you must be fully aware that under British law it is not lawful (unless in specially excepted cases) for any persons to purchase or sell, or in any manner to trade or deal in slaves, or persons intended to be dealt with as slaves; and, besides, such acts are thoroughly repugnant to British feeling, and tend to defeat the noble efforts of Her Majesty's Government to crush the Slave Trade.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. P. VEREKER.

Inclosure 2 in No. 109.

Mr. Mc Ginity to Consul Vereker.

Sir,

Rio Grande do Sul, December 5, 1861.

HAVING received a despatch from you on the 27th of November past, in which you request me to give you information respecting the body of a young negress who was found drowned on the 11th of November in this port, it being alleged that the said negress was held by me as a slave; and my answer to this your question is, that the said negress was working out her freedom with me as a house servant, and as I suppose that your reason for questioning me on this subject was that you supposed me to be a British subject, which I beg to inform you that I am not, as I am a legally naturalized citizen of Brazil, therefore a subject of His Majesty Dom Pedro II, Imperador do Brazil, enjoying all privileges and rights of a citizen of the Brazil, and by adopting the Brazils as my country I by this act renounced all rights and titles that I have held or might hold as a British subject for the future; therefore as a subject of His Majesty Don Pedro II, I consider that I am at perfect liberty to purchase or sell a slave if I think proper, as long as ever the laws of my country, the Brazil, will permit me so to do.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN Mc GINITY

No. 110.

Earl Russell to Consul Vereker.

Sir,

Foreign Office, February 19, 1862.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 9th of December last, and I have to convey to you my approval of the letter which you addressed to Mr. McGinity remonstrating with him for his having purchased a slave woman named Gemina; and I have to inform you that although Her Majesty's Government cannot take any proceedings against Mr. McGinity, who has become a naturalized Brazilian subject, while he is in Brazil, he will nevertheless, if found anywhere within British jurisdiction, be liable to prosecution as a British subject, as he cannot renounce his allegiance to Her Majesty.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 111.

Consul Vereker to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 6, 1862.)

My Lord,

Rio Grande do Sul, December 31, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a Return showing the average prices of slaves in the past six months, compared with the prices in the preceding half-year.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. P. VEREKER.

Inclosure in No. 111.

RETURN showing the Average Prices of Slaves in the Province of Rio Grande do Sul, during the Six Months ending December 31, 1861, compared with the Prices in the preceding Half-year.

Classes of Slaves.	Average Prices in Six-Monthly Periods to				Difference in Price in last Six Months.	
	June 30, 1861.		December 31, 1861.		Increase.	Decrease.
	Currency.	Sterling.	Currency.	Sterling.	Sterling.	Sterling.
	Reis.	£ s. d.	Reis.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
<i>Agricultural.</i>						
Males	1,200,000	130 0 0	1,300,000	130 0 0		
Females	1,200 000	130 0 0	1,250 000	125 0 0	..	5 0 0
<i>Domestic.</i>						
Males	1,400 000	151 13 4	1,500 000	150 0 0	..	1 13 4
Females	1,250 000	135 8 4	1,375 000	137 10 0	2 1 8	
<i>Mining</i>	None.					
<i>Newly Imported</i>	None.					

Exchange, first six months, 26d. for milreis; second six months, 24d. for milreis.

British Consulate, Rio Grande do Sul, December 31, 1861.

(Signed) H. P. VEREKER, Consul.

No. 112.

Consul Vereker to Earl Russell.—(Received June 20.)

My Lord,

Rio Grande do Sul, May 3, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 19th February last, in which your Lordship is pleased to convey your approval of the communication I addressed to Mr. John McGinity regarding the purchase by him of a negress named Gemina. I have felt it right to address to Mr. McGinity the further despatch, of which a copy is inclosed, embodying your Lordship's views, and I trust it may serve as a warning not only to him, but to other British subjects similarly circumstanced.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. P. VEREKER.

Inclosure in No. 112.

Consul Vereker to Mr. Mc Ginity.

Sir,

Rio Grande do Sul, May 3, 1862.

I TRANSMITTED to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs copies of my despatch to you of the 27th November last, and of your reply of the 5th December last, relating to the purchase by you of a negress named Gemina, in contravention of the British Acts of Parliament enacted for the prevention of Trade in Slaves. I have received from Earl Russell a despatch upon this subject, in which his Lordship, whilst conveying approval of my communication to you, informs me that though Her Majesty's Government do not take any proceedings against you while you remain in Brazil, as you have become a naturalized Brazilian subject, nevertheless you will, as a British subject, be liable to prosecution if found anywhere within British jurisdiction, as you cannot renounce your allegiance to Her Majesty.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. P. VEREKER.

No. 113.

Consul Vereker to Earl Russell.—(Received August 6.)

My Lord,

Rio Grande do Sul, June 30, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a Return showing the average prices of slaves in this province during the past six months, compared with the prices in the preceding half-year.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. P. VEREKER.

Inclosure in No. 113.

RETURN showing the Average Prices of Slaves in the Province of Rio Grande do Sul, during the Six Months ending June 30, 1862, compared with the Prices in the preceding Half-year.

Classes of Slaves.	Average Prices in Six-Monthly Periods to				Difference in Price in last Six Months.	
	December 31, 1861.		June 30, 1862.		Increase.	Decrease.
	Currency.	Sterling.	Currency.	Sterling.	Sterling.	Sterling.
<i>Agricultural.</i>	Reis.	£ s. d.	Reis.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Males	1,300,000	150 0 0	1,400,000	145 16 8	15 16 8	
Females	1,250 000	125 0 0	1,250 000	130 4 2	5 4 2	
<i>Domestic.</i>						
Males	1,500 000	150 0 0	1,600 000	166 13 4	16 13 4	
Females	1,375 000	137 10 0	1,400 000	145 16 8	8 6 8	
<i>Mining</i>	None.					
<i>Newly Imported</i> ..	None.					

Exchange, first six months 2s. for milreis; second six months 2s. 1d. for milreis.

British Consulate, Rio Grande do Sul, June 30, 1862.

(Signed)

H. P. VEREKER, Consul.

BRAZIL. (Consular)—Rio de Janeiro.

No. 114.

Consul Westwood to Lord J. Russell.—(Received March 6.)

My Lord,

Rio de Janeiro, January 12, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a Return showing the price of slaves in this province during the six months ending on the 31st ultimo.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JNO. J. C. WESTWOOD.

Inclosure in No. 114.

PAPER showing the Price of Slaves in the Province of Rio de Janeiro during the Half-year ending on December 31, 1861, as far as can be ascertained by Her Majesty's Consul at Rio de Janeiro.

Class of Slaves.	Prices of Slaves.				Price of Slaves as per last Return, in Sterling.				Remarks.
	In Currency.		In Sterling.		£ s. d.		£ s. d.		
	Reis.	Reis.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
<i>Agricultural.</i>									No observable alteration in the price of slaves, in this province, has taken place since the last Return.
Males	1,000,000	to 1,800,000	112 10 0	to 202 10 0	112 10 0	to 202 10 0	112 10 0	to 202 10 0	
Females	1,000 000	1,500 000	112 10 0	168 15 0	112 10 0	168 15 0	112 10 0	168 15 0	
<i>Mining.</i>									
Males	} About the same as Agricultural.								
Females									
<i>Domestic.</i>									
Males	1,200 000	2,000 000	135 0 0	225 0 0	135 0 0	225 0 0	135 0 0	225 0 0	
Females	1,000 000	1,800 000	112 10 0	202 10 0	112 10 0	202 10 0	112 10 0	202 10 0	
<i>Newly Imported.</i>									
Males	} None landed within the District of this Consulate during the last six months.								
Females									

British Consulate, Rio de Janeiro, January 12, 1862.

(Signed) JNO. J. C. WESTWOOD, Consul.

No. 115.

Acting Consul Hollocombe to Earl Russell.—(Received September 3.)

My Lord,

Rio de Janeiro, July 18, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a Return showing the average prices of slaves within the district of this Consulate during the half-year ending on the 30th ultimo.

I have, &c.

(Signed) THOS. HOLLOCOMBE.

Inclosure in No. 115.

RETURN of the Average Prices of Slaves within the District of the British Consulate at Rio de Janeiro, during the Half-year ending June 30, 1862, as far as can be ascertained by Her Majesty's Acting Consul at that Port.

Class of Slaves.	Prices of Slaves.						Price of Slaves as per last Return, in Sterling.							
	In Currency.		In Sterling.				£ s. d.		£ s. d.					
	Reis.	Reis.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.			
<i>Agricultural.</i>														
Males	1,000\$000	to 1,800\$000	107	6	0	to 193	2	0	112	10	0	to 202	10	0
Females	1,000 000	1,500 000	107	6	0	160	18	0	112	10	0	168	15	0
<i>Domestic.</i>														
Males	1,200 000	2,000 000	129	3	0	214	12	0	135	0	0	225	0	0
Females	1,000 000	1,800 000	107	6	0	193	2	0	112	10	0	202	10	0
<i>Mining</i>	About the same as Agricultural.													
<i>Newly Imported</i> ..	None landed within the District of this Consulate during the last six months.													

British Consulate, Rio de Janeiro, July 18, 1862.

(Signed)

THOS. HOLLOCOMBE, Acting Consul.

CENTRAL AMERICA.

No. 116.

Earl Russell to Mr. Mathew.

Sir,

Foreign Office, July 28, 1862.

I HAVE to acquaint you that the Board of Admiralty have communicated to this Office copies of a letter and its inclosures from Commander Wilson, of Her Majesty's ship "Spiteful," reporting the circumstances under which he boarded, in the port of Truxillo, on the 28th of May last, a screw steam-vessel under Spanish colours, which there is little doubt had just landed a cargo of slaves in Cuba.

The vessel in question was the "*Noc Daqui*," which according to information received by Her Majesty's Government has for some time been engaged in the Cuban Slave Traffic.

The particulars of this case, I am informed, have been brought to your notice by Commodore Dunlop, of Her Majesty's ship "Imaum," and it will not therefore be necessary that I should furnish you with a copy of Commander Wilson's Report.

I have, however, to desire that you will bring the conduct of the Governor of Truxillo in this affair to the notice of the Government of Honduras, and if the result of the inquiries which on the receipt of Commodore Dunlop's communication you will doubtless have made in this matter should lead you to believe that the port of Truxillo is resorted to by slavers for the purpose of equipment, you will request that the Governor and other authorities, who cannot be ignorant of the character of the vessels frequenting the port, may be dismissed from their posts, and that stringent orders may be issued to prevent vessels from fitting out for the Slave Trade in the ports of Honduras.

I am, &c.

(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 117.

Mr. Mathew to Earl Russell.—(Received September 14.)

My Lord,

Guatemala, July 28, 1862.

I RECEIVED on the 9th instant from Mr. Kirkpatrick, Acting Consul at Comayagua, and subsequently from Commodore Dunlop in Jamaica, the account of a very discreditable occurrence with regard to a supposed slaver in the harbour of Truxillo, in the Republic of Honduras.

It appears that on the 28th of May Commander Wilson, of Her Majesty's ship "Spiteful," found in the harbour of Truxillo a large steamer (the "*Noc Daqui*"), under Spanish colours, which, from information he received, and from subsequent examination and depositions, he felt convinced was a slaver.

The Governor of the town, Señor Fonseca, who at first personally admitted that he shared this conviction, and expressed his regret that he had no force to seize her, subsequently denied this admission, refused Captain Wilson's offer of sufficient aid, and declared himself perfectly satisfied with the explanations he had received, and persuaded of the legal character of the vessel.

The circumstances of the case so clearly evidenced the correctness of Commander Wilson's allegation, and the consequent gross misconduct of Señor Fonseca, that I immediately addressed an energetic note on the subject to the Government of Honduras.

I have since received, with great satisfaction, the official information that Governor Fonseca has been removed from his office, and is now in prison awaiting his trial.

It is reported that the steamer "*Noc Daqui*" was subsequently captured by a Spanish vessel off Cuba, and has been declared a good prize.

Señor Fonseca was appointed to office by the late President of Honduras, Guardiola, and I have every reason for hoping that, if the administration of Señor Castellanos meets with due support, the disgraceful state of demoralisation evidenced in every public Department in the Republic of Honduras will be remedied.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE B. MATHEW.

No. 118.

Mr. Mathew to Earl Russell.—(Received November 14.)

My Lord,

Guatemala, September 26, 1862.

IN reply to your Lordship's despatch of the 28th of July, respecting the conduct of Señor Fonseca, Commandant at Truxillo, I have only to add to my previous communication that this person, apparently by the connivance of the local authorities, had left that port, and arrived at Comayagua, but was immediately arrested by the order of the President Castellanos, and sent back under escort to await his trial.

I suspect, however, from the despatch of Mr. Acting Consul Kirkpatrick, who states that Señor Fonseca had been warmly received by numerous friends in the capital, and had been entertained on the day of his arrival by Señor Colindres, the late President, Guardiola's Minister, that the best efforts of Señor Castellanos to inflict any further punishment on him than the mere dismissal from his post, will, in the general social demoralisation of Honduras, be unsuccessful.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE B. MATHEW.

No. 119.

Acting Consul Kirkpatrick to Earl Russell.—(Received November 14.)

My Lord,

Comayagua, July 4, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to communicate to your Lordship the following statement which I have just received from Truxillo, concerning the slaver "*Noc Daqui*," which was fitted out in that port.

It appears that a steamer entered the port of Truxillo on the 10th May. Various unusual proceedings caused her to be suspected of being employed in the Slave Trade, and this was soon proved by the strongest evidence.

There is every reason to believe that she had just returned from the coast of Africa, and that after landing a cargo of slaves on the Island of Cuba she came to Truxillo to fit out for another voyage.

The Commandant of the port, Don Antonio Fonseca, and the other authorities, were evidently in connivance with the slaver. Besides using every means to shield her, he allowed her to sail in spite of the remonstrances of Commander Wilson, of Her Majesty's steam-ship "*Spiteful*," which arrived at Truxillo shortly after the "*Noc Daqui*."

It will be satisfactory to your Lordship to know that as soon as the Government of Honduras was informed of what had taken place, orders were dispatched to degrade the Commandant from his office, to put him in prison, and to try him according to the laws of the country.

As the Judge of First Instance was suspected to be implicated in the transaction, the Second Alcalde was appointed to carry out the first judicial proceedings.

The latest advices from Truxillo inform me that Commandant Fonseca has already been dismissed from his office, and incarcerated.

I will add that the President is taking steps to bring up to Comayagua the slaves reported to have been dropped at Roatan, with the view of providing for them.

The following statement, collected from various sources in Truxillo, gives the strongest evidence that the "*Noc Daqui*" was a slaver, and that the Commandant of the Port was aiding and abetting her.

On the 10th May the iron steamer "*Noc Daqui*" entered the port of Truxillo, under Spanish colours.

The declarations made to the Custom-house officers by the captain were of such a

nature as to awaken the suspicion that she was employed in the Slave Trade. He stated that she was of 533 tons, and was returning in ballast from the mouth of the Mississippi, where he had made fruitless attempts to run the blockade, in order to procure a cargo of cotton at New Orleans.

Further investigations confirmed the suspicions which had been entertained, and the whole population of the port were unanimous in denouncing her as a slaver.

The Government authorities, however, with the exception of the Mayor de Plaza, behaved in a most unqualified manner, and endeavoured to hush up the matter.

On the 16th eleven of the crew were sent off to Batabano in the "Dolphin." A little later thirteen more were dispatched to the same place in the schooner "Kate."

These men were furnished with passports by the Commandant, Señor Fonseca. There only remained on board the captain and mate: thus the crew in all consisted of twenty-six men, including the latter.

Towards sunset Her Majesty's steamer "Spiteful" entered the port. The Commander, Wilson, proceeded immediately on shore, and made every effort to collect information from the authorities and residents.

The Commandant is reported to have answered the questions put to him by Captain Wilson in the most evasive manner.

On the 28th the schooner "Anita" came in sight. A signal flag was displayed from the "Noc Daqui," which was immediately answered by corresponding signals from the schooner.

The latter, on entering the port, anchored close to the "Noc Daqui." She came from Havana, with a cargo of coal and provisions. She also brought a fresh crew for the "Noc Daqui." Both the cargo and crew were transferred on board the latter.

After repeated applications from Captain Wilson, the Commandant agreed that they should each send an officer on board the "Noc Daqui," to search the vessel.

This was done on the 29th. The sailors were first examined. They pretended that they neither knew who was the captain, nor who was to pay them.

On searching the ship the officers found an immense quantity of provisions, evidently intended for a long voyage. They also discovered an infinity of eating pans.

Hidden in the sand which served as ballast, they found eighty barrels of meat, and quantities of soap, candles, and other provisions, which are generally found in vessels fitted out for the Slave Trade.

On inquiring for the ship's papers they were informed that there were none other than those the captain had taken to the Commandant; but, on making further researches, they found a certificate of a barque of 353 tons. Now the captain had declared 553 tons, whilst the steamer was found to be of at least 800 tons. They also discovered a clearance from Matanzas, signed ninety days previous.

The men who had been employed to clean the ship whilst in port were also examined; they declared on oath that they had removed an immense quantity of human filth from the hold. The evidence thus obtained was quite sufficient to prove the "Noc Daqui" to be a slaver.

Commander Wilson then urged on the Commandant the necessity of capturing her; he offered him every assistance, but the latter positively refused. The British Commander then left the port (30th May); two days after the "Noc Daqui" sailed out bound for Bordeaux. Such are the principal facts which have transpired.

I will add that in the clearance from Batabano found in the "Noc Daqui" the crew was declared thirty-two men. It has already been noted that the crew, on arriving at Truxillo, consisted of only twenty-six. The six men missing have not been accounted for. Various other reports are current which require to be confirmed. It is stated that the Cuban authorities had been for some time on the look-out for the "Noc Daqui," and that as soon as the crew reached Batabano in the "Kate" and "Dolphin" they were arrested and put in irons.

There seems, indeed, little doubt that the promoters of this nefarious transaction are resident in Havana.

It is also asserted that when the "Noc Daqui" landed the slaves on the coast of Cuba, several of them were murdered to avoid discovery, and that two of them were left in Roatan.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD C. KIRKPATRICK.

No. 120.

Acting Consul Kirkpatrick to Earl Russell.—(Received November 14.)

My Lord,

Comayagua, August 20, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship the proceedings instituted against the late Commandant of Truxillo, Don Antonio Fonseca, on account of his connivance in the fitting out of the slaver "*Noe Daqui*."

After the witnesses had been examined in Truxillo by the Second Alcalde, the case was referred to the Council of State, in pursuance of Article 49, cap 12, of the Constitution.

The Council have now declared that there are sufficient grounds to prosecute him. Accordingly orders have been given by the Government that Fonseca be tried in Truxillo before the Court of First Instance, and that he continue prisoner till his case be judged.

I have been advised, through private sources, that Her Majesty's steamer "*Styx*" entered that port on the 7th instant. The Commander, the Honourable E. Ward, is stated to have been satisfied by the proceedings there.

It is also reported that it was a false statement that any slaves had been landed at Roatan from the "*Noc Daqui*."

I have the pleasure to inform your Lordship that the President, Señor Castellanos, has communicated to me his intention of proposing at the next meeting of the Legislative Assembly a stringent law against all persons connected with the Slave Trade.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD C. KIRKPATRICK.

COMORO ISLANDS.

No. 121.

Consul Sunley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received January 27, 1862.)

My Lord,

Johanna, September 18, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to report that I have lately visited the Islands of Mohilla and Comoro, in Her Majesty's ship "Brisk." A few miles from Johanna the "Brisk" met a dhow under French colours, named "Zumonie," belonging to a M. Boursier, a planter at Mayotte, with 93 negroes on board. In the dhow were three Europeans, one of whom I recognized as M. Colon, Chef de Police at Mayotte. I understood from him that the negroes were engaged at Comoro to work at Mayotte. I have since learnt that they were embarked at Mohilla, where they were brought a few days previously from the coast by an Arab named Hamitts.

On approaching the town of Muroni, in Comoro, I went in one of the vessel's boats to mark a good spot for anchoring; and while waiting for the "Brisk" to approach the spot where the boat lay, a native in a canoe informed me that there were more than 200 slaves ready. He had taken the "Brisk" for a French vessel.

In the night two negroes came off to the "Brisk" in a canoe, and stated that they had been brought to Muroni twenty days ago in a dhow then lying on the beach; that the dhow brought 30 slaves from Misembé (Port Conducia). On seeing Sultan Amadi, the Chief of Muroni, Captain de Horsey insisted upon his sending for the master and crew of the dhow which had brought 30 negroes from Misembé. Captain de Horsey agreed with me that it was not right to destroy the dhow. After cautioning Sultan Amadi not to permit slaves to be brought into his country, an Agreement was made with him for the suppression of the Slave Trade, a copy of which I have the honour to transmit.

Two French vessels have embarked negroes at Muroni for Nossi Bey in May, but I could not learn the number of the negroes taken by them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WM. SUNLEY.

Inclosure in No. 121.

Agreement between Sultan Amadi, Chief of Muroni and other places in the Island of Comoro, on the one hand, and Algernon Frederick Rous de Horsey, Captain of Her Majesty's ship "Brisk," and Senior Officer on the East Coast of Africa, and William Sunley, Esquire, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul at the Comoro Islands, on the other hand, for the abolition of the Slave Trade in the Sultan's dominions

ARTICLE I.

SULTAN AMADI hereby engages to prohibit all foreign Traffic in Slaves in his territories, and not to permit slaves to be imported into Muroni or any other place under his dominions.

ARTICLE II.

The Sultan hereby consents to the seizure by the ships of war of Her Majesty the Queen of England, of any vessels under his flag which may be met with having slaves on
CLASS B.

board or slave-fittings, or which shall not be provided with a proper pass under the Sultan's hand.

Done at Maroni, Island of Comoro, in duplicate, this 29th day of July, 1861.

(Signed)

SULTAN AMADI, *Sultan of Muroi.*

A. G. R. DE HORSEY, *Captain of Her Majesty's ship "Brisk," and Senior Officer of Her Majesty's ships on the East Coast of Africa.*

WM. SUNLEY, *Her Britannic Majesty's Consul at the Comoro Islands.*

Witness:

(Signed)

E. S. ADEANE, *Lieutenant, Her Majesty's ship "Brisk."*

No. 122.

Consul Sunley to Lord J. Russell.—(Received January 27, 1862.)

My Lord,

Johanna, October 21, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 13th July last, transmitting copy of a despatch from Colonel Rigby, Her Majesty's Agent and Consul at Zanzibar, reporting that the Traffic in Slaves at the Comoro Islands, which was formerly carried on by French Agents, has again been resumed by French vessels; and desiring me to inform you whether there is any foundation for this report, and if not, whether I am aware of any circumstances that could have given rise to this report.

There is some foundation for the report contained in Colonel Rigby's despatch, three French vessels having been at Comoro in April and May in search of labourers for the French Colony of Nossi Bé. One of these was the "Antancar," that I reported having arrived at Johanna in my despatch of the 3rd May last. The other two were the vessels mentioned in my despatch of the 18th of September as having been at Comoro in May.

I have not heard of any other French vessels embarking Africans, and it is probable that the Arabs from whom Colonel Rigby received his information gave him exaggerated reports of the number of French vessels seeking Africans at the Comoro Islands.

I do not believe that any French vessels have come to the Comoro Islands in search of labourers for the Colony of Réunion.

It is owing to the vigilance of the officers commanding Her Majesty's cruisers on this station that so few slaves have been brought to Mohilla and Comoro. The Arabs are afraid of their dhows being caught.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WM. SUNLEY.

No. 123.

Consul Sunley to Earl Russell.—(Received April 11.)

My Lord,

Johanna, December 31, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to report that about 400 slaves have been imported at Mohilla this year, and about 300 at Comoro. All of them were, I believe, brought from Misembé (Port Conducia, close to Mozambique), and have been transhipped to the French Colonies of Mayotte and Nossi Bé in dhows carrying the French flag and in French vessels.

I have not heard of any Traffic in Slaves at Johanna this year.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WM. SUNLEY.

No. 124.

Consul Sunley to Earl Russell.—(Received April 11.)

My Lord,

Johanna, January 11, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of 19th August last, transmitting copies of a despatch from the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope and its inclosure, wherein the fact of my employing 500 slaves upon my sugar plantation is communicated to Her Majesty's Government.

In compliance with your Lordship's wish, I beg to furnish information upon this subject.

There are employed upon my estate nearly 300 men and 200 women, their wives. The majority of these people are slaves belonging to inhabitants of the island, and about thirty of them are free people; but the whole of them, in their relations with me, are perfectly free, and I make no distinction between them. One of the overseers is a slave, and he has three or four free people working under his orders. The labour of the slaves is not compulsory; they receive wages, are free to come and go, and many work for a few months, leave for a period, and return again to the estate.

Before I commenced the cultivation of sugar, no continued work had ever been done in the island, and it required patience and tact to break my workmen into regular habits. The absences of the 200 men who were first employed upon this estate, amounted, in four months, to upwards of 14,000 days, that is, nearly every man was away from work three months out of the four. As I could not compel, I induced them to work, and as they comprehended that they were entitled to payment for their labour, they worked more regularly, and I have now no lack of labour; on the contrary, I have really more workmen than I want.

The Johannese treat their slaves with much gentleness; indeed, if the latter were discontented they would leave the island, for which there are many facilities. Many slaves have been to Mauritius, to Bourbon, and to Mayotte. When I was last at Mauritius, four slaves, who had quitted the island in American whalers, asked me for a passage back, and my servant, who is a slave, preferred returning to Johanna to remaining at Mauritius. There is, indeed, very little difference in the condition of the slaves and that of the villagers or country-people in Johanna, and if the importation of slaves into the island were completely stopped, the difference would in time disappear.

The employment of slaves in the manner which I have related is, I believe, preparing the way for their freedom. They work for wages, are treated as free men, and think it a great shame that they do not get all the wages they earn, as their comrades do who have no masters. Some of Her Majesty's officers would surely have commented upon my proceedings, were they as reprehensible as they appear to Mr. Hutton.

Commodore Trotter was on my estate for six days, talked with the labourers, knew their condition and the terms upon which they were employed. Rear-Admiral the Honourable Sir Frederick Grey, K.C.B., and Rear-Admiral the Honourable Sir Henry Keppel, K.C.B., have conversed with me about the labour which I employed, and the latter has visited my plantation. Dr. Livingstone stayed there for a few days, and Mr. May, who commanded Her Majesty's ship "Pioneer," remained on it four months.

Mr. Hutton was, I believe, two days at Johanna, and though we were shipmates for four days in Her Majesty's ship "Lyra," he never asked me for any information about my estate or about the island. His letter reflects upon the sagacity of Commander Oldfield and other officers who have frequently visited Johanna, and conveys a very erroneous notion of my proceedings.

Every Johanna dhow on leaving the island is furnished with a pass from this Consulate, in which the number of her crew and passengers is stated; and I do not think that any slaves have been brought to Johanna during the last two years from the coast, and not more than five or six from Mohilla and Comoro.

I beg to inclose a copy of a letter which I received a few days since from Lieutenant-Colonel Pelly, Her Majesty's Acting Consul and British Agent at Zanzibar, in reply to one which I wrote to him, on the subject of employing slaves as free people, some time before I received your Lordship's despatch relative to this subject.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WM. SUNLEY.

Inclosure in No. 124.

Lieutenant-Colonel Pelly to Consul Sunley.

Sir,

Zanzibar, January 2, 1862.

I HAVE this morning had the honour of receiving your private letter of the 18th of November last, relative to the means by which labour is obtained on your sugar estate at Johanna.

I reply to your letter in official form, because I perceive that the question of slavery is one which, being really of a most complex nature, is treated as if it were quite simple;

and I prefer, therefore, in so far as my duties may compel me to enter the arena of its discussion, to treat it in public form.

Your question to me, briefly stated, is this:—Do I consider that, in what you are doing, as a sugar planter at Johanna, you are doing an injury or a good to society? and I have no hesitation in saying that I believe your presence at Johanna as a sugar planter to be a positive and a great good to the Sultan and to the people of that island.

When wrecked in Her Majesty's ship "Semiramis" in the month of September last, it was my fortune to make your acquaintance, and to become a guest upon your estate for a period of some three weeks. During that time I went, with your permission, daily over your estate; conversed as well as I could with your people; analysed, to the best of my ability, all your proceedings; and wrote to my Government when reporting, as I was called on to do, on the Comoro Islands, that I believe you to be an instance of the wonderful benefit derivable by a semi-barbarous society, from the presence of the untiring industry, energy, and intelligence of an English gentleman.

I have since found no cause whatsoever to modify the opinion I then recorded. But I have since found ample room for studying the question of slavery; and I may say that, since I left you, I have rarely passed a waking hour without pondering this terrible matter. On the one hand, I see a great, a positive, a palpable curse to humanity, passing under my eyes daily, in the form of imported slaves; on the other hand, I read and hear a multitude of opinions, which have more or less to recommend them to every one, unless to him who has to shrive himself before God and his own conscience in carrying them into practical effect.

I gladly limit myself, however, on the present occasion, to your own case, for almost every phase of slavery requires to be dealt with by modification of the means by which the greatest freedom is to be obtained permanently, and with the minimum of injury to subsisting interests and to the slave himself. It is easy for a person on a rostrum to dispose of the question by a dictum. It is easy, comparatively, to abolish slavery, but it is not easy to eradicate from a society long subjected to this odious evil, the status of slavery. It is easy for me to turn my tame horse loose on the mainland of Africa here; but it would not be easy for him to support himself and protect himself as a wild horse would, although his colt born in freedom might do so.

Perhaps it is not in the nature of things, or for the happiness of man, that a society should be able to recover on the instant from a great and long-permitted sin. The heart of man and the condition of society are slowly purified. If you stop the drunkard's liquor suddenly and utterly, his system becomes disorganised, and he perishes before there is time for recovery from his vice. It is even so with society. And therefore I say lead a society suffering under the vice of slavery slowly into freedom. Admit that the slave himself is incapable of becoming all that a free man may become. Admit, what seems to me to be truth, that we have gained half our real education before we leave our mothers. Admit that this poor slave creature is lost to that half of his manhood; but soften to him the evils consequent thereon, and give him the advantages of which he still remains capable. Among those advantages are the inducements to work for wages, in an orderly, decent, sober, and industrious manner, as your men do. If they have still masters who take from some of them a portion of the wages which you give them, this is a great evil. But would it be better to stop this forcibly if you could? I say no; for you would forthwith be expelled the island, and you would probably leave it in confusion and ruin.

The evil of the condition implied by a man so giving a portion of his wages to an idle master I sadly allow. But the evil is at least temporary, and society is surely, though unconsciously, moving onwards to a point where this relation will cease in favour of one wherein every labourer will himself enjoy the full profits of his own industry.

If I did not think you were doing good, I assuredly should not (as I have recently done) have begged you to endeavour to make over your present estate at Johanna to a Superintendent, and to come here to Zanzibar yourself as a free sugar and other landowner on an extended scale, and under circumstances which would, in my opinion, be more favourable than those which surround you at Johanna.

You seem to think, not that your proceedings would be disapproved if the whole truth concerning them were known, but that the insinuation of half truths may lay you open to misinterpretation by Exeter Hall and other bodies. I have much regard for Exeter Hall, as for all bodies tending to bring public opinion to bear upon the public service of England. But I cannot participate in any apprehension of the Hall on the present occasion. The question we have to ask ourselves is this, can we conscientiously apply any means more reasonably tending to eradicate a hateful and long-standing crime than those means which, without convulsing society, shall tend gradually, but surely, to lead it out into permanent and appreciated freedom?

For myself I can honestly answer that if in this slave-hold of Zanzibar I had *carte blanche* to introduce freedom, I should—

First. Stop the importation, and so cut off the supply of future slaves.

Secondly. I would ameliorate the condition of the present slaves by collecting here half a hundred of industrious English gentlemen, on estates or in factories.

These would, in my opinion, do more than could any other means or appliances towards ameliorating the lot of the actual slave, and towards preparing for future generations here, not only freedom, but those qualities, habits, tastes, and capacity for thought and action, without which you may indeed produce license, but not true liberty.

To the slave-dealer the slave is just a commodity upon which great profits are to be made, at considerable risk. So regarded, you may class a slave from Africa with opium from India. The import of slaves is probably not more hateful to the British Government than is the import of opium to the China Government. But does this fact prevent the British Indian Government from collecting a revenue of 5,000,000*l.* or 6,000,000*l.* sterling from the contraband of opium? Let the Chinese Government persuade the English Government to stop the cultivation, to stop the supply of the drug, and the import into China from India will cease. It is thus, it seems to me, in respect to slave caravans leaving the interior of Africa. Cut off the supply at its source; forbid the import of slaves into Johanna—and the market for slaves in your island would soon cease. Meantime, do with the present poor creatures as you are doing now, viz., attract them, not compel them, to your estate by the offer and punctual payment of fair wages, inquiring not too curiously whether in some instances a portion of these wages may not be made over to some other party. Teach your men, as you are doing, orderly, industrious habits. Keep them, as you are doing, settled in comfortable little cabins round your own premises. Teach them, as you are doing, skilled labour. Keep their children to school; and keep one and all, as you are doing, wholly free of intoxicating liquor. Go on perseveringly in this way, and you may be regardless now of what others say or think, and may look back hereafter on good and fruit-bearing work.

The last time I was called upon to write on the slavery question was in defence of my friend and Chief (the late General John Jacob), on account of his having proclaimed free labour in supersession of statute labour throughout one of the Indian Provinces. But whether in this line or on the opposite, the grand point is for a man to have some conscience in what he does, and then he can afford to pass calmly and in silence over all the inconveniences which are pretty certain to beset a working man throughout his career.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LEWIS PELLY.

No. 125.

Consul Sunley to Earl Russell.—(Received May 9.)

My Lord,

Johanna, February 24, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 5th November last, transmitting copies of a despatch and its inclosure from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, containing the reply of the French Minister to a representation which Lord Cowley had made to the French Government relative to the introduction of negroes from the coast of Africa into the French Colony of Nossi Bé, as reported in my despatch of the 2nd May last, and desiring me to furnish information upon the relations between the labouring population of the Comoro Islands and the Kings or Chiefs, and to state whether the natives are allowed to leave the island of their own free will, and to engage their services to French colonists; and if so, whether their places are supplied by slaves introduced by the King or Chiefs from the coast of Africa.

In my despatch of the 18th September last, I reported having met a dhow with Africans on board bound from Comoro to Mayotte, and on the 31st December last I informed your Lordship that 700 slaves were landed at Mohilla and Comoro during the year and taken to the French Colonies of Mayotte and Nossi Bé. I may have been misinformed as to the number of Africans taken to Mayotte and Nossi Bé, but my statement that slaves were landed at these two Comoro Islands, and thence sent to the French Colonies, is correct.

The remarks of M. Thouvenel upon the Comoro Islands may be applicable to Comoro, where the relations between masters and their slaves are peculiar, but not to

Johanna and Mohilla. In Comoro there are very few African slaves, but there is a large number of slaves who are natives of the island. These people work for themselves, possess cattle and goats, leave the island apparently when they like, and may be regarded as free people were they not liable to be sold to pay their masters' debts, and to be seized when the Chief under whose rule their master lives finds cause to confiscate their master's property. There is also a free labouring population in Comoro. Natives of Comoro are to be found in all the Mohametan settlements on the coast, from Angoxa to Lamoo, and at Zanzibar there are between 3,000 and 4,000; there are also many of them at Mayotte. In Mohilla the labouring population consists almost entirely of slaves.

In Johanna the labouring population is composed of slaves and free people; the latter are natives of the island and slaves who have become free.

In Comoro the labouring population can engage their services to French colonists, as they like; but in Johanna the free labouring population cannot do so without the permission of the Sultan.

Slaves would not be brought from Africa to supply the places of the labouring population, free or slave, in Comoro, or of the free labouring population in Johanna, who engaged their services to French colonists.

In my despatch of the 11th January I have reported upon the description of labour employed on my sugar plantation. I am not competing with the planters of Mayotte for labourers, and have no wish to increase their difficulties in getting them. I have repeatedly advised the Sultan to let his people work at Mayotte, and have assisted French colonists to engage free labourers here. I take much interest in the progress of Mayotte, and think that as it increases in importance, the greater will be my facilities for communicating with Europe. I am sorry, therefore, that M. Thouvenel should think that I have any other motive in making my report to your Lordship than that of obeying my instructions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WM. SUNLEY.

No. 126.

Earl Russell to Consul Sunley.

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 14, 1862.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 11th of January last, explaining the circumstances under which you employ slaves as labourers on your sugar estates at Johanna, and inclosing a copy of a letter addressed to you by Colonel Pelly, containing some observations on the question of slavery in general, and bearing testimony to the benefit the island and people of Johanna have derived from the energy and intelligence displayed by you as a sugar-planter.

I have, in reply, to state to you that while I do not doubt that you may have done much good by the employment of slave labour on your estates, still, if Her Majesty's Government were to countenance such a proceeding on the part of a British Agent in one instance, they could not consistently refuse to do the same in other cases.

Their motives, moreover, would be misinterpreted, and they would lay themselves open to the charge of tolerating the employment of slave labour by a British officer, while they at the same time denounce the employment of slaves by the planters of other countries.

I have also to observe that you must have been aware that in employing slaves you were acting contrary to the regulations laid down by Her Majesty's Government for the guidance of their Consular officers, and you will therefore be prepared for the decision which I have now to communicate to you, viz., that you must give up the employment of slaves in your service, or be prepared to resign your Commission.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

FRANCE.

No. 127.

Earl Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, February 11, 1862.

I TRANSMIT to your Excellency, for your information, a copy of a letter from Commodore Edmonstone, inclosing a copy of a Report from Commander Smith, of Her Majesty's ship "Torch,"* explaining his reasons for having boarded the French vessel "Bertha."

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 128.

Earl Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, April 23, 1862.

I TRANSMIT to your Excellency herewith a copy of a despatch from Mr. Sunley, Her Majesty's Consul for the Comoro Islands,† reporting that about 700 slaves were imported into the Islands of Mohilla and Comoro from the East Coast of Africa during the past year, from whence they were subsequently transhipped in dhows carrying the French flag, and in French vessels, to the Colonies of Mayotte and Nossi Bé.

I have to instruct your Excellency to communicate the facts reported by Mr. Sunley to M. de Thouvenel, with reference to the representation which I directed your Lordship by my despatch of the 19th December last to make to the French Government on this subject.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 129.

Earl Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, April 23, 1862.

I INCLOSE, for your Excellency's information, a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Consul at Martinique,‡ reporting the arrival in that Colony of two vessels conveying negroes recruited on the African coast under the Régis contract.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 130.

Earl Russell to Earl Cowley.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, May 21, 1862.

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatch of the 24th of October last, inclosing the reply of M. Thouvenel to a representation which I instructed you to make to the Government of the Emperor relative to the recruitment of negroes for the French Colonies from the Comoro Islands, and from the East Coast of Africa, I now inclose, for your Excellency's information, a copy of a despatch from Mr. Sunley, Her Majesty's Consul in the Comoro Islands,* containing his observations on the note from the French Minister for Foreign Affairs which accompanied your above-mentioned despatch.

No. 131.

Earl Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 21, 1862.

I INCLOSE, for your Excellency's information, three copies of a Treaty between Her Majesty and the United States of America for the suppression of the Slave Trade,† which was signed at Washington on the 7th ultimo.

The ratifications of this Treaty were exchanged at the Foreign Office on the 20th instant.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 132.

Earl Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 24, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Excellency a copy of a Treaty for the Suppression of the Slave Trade concluded between Her Majesty and the United States of America.†

His Majesty the Emperor of the French by a Declaration dated 1st July, 1861, has announced his determination to put an end to the introduction of negroes, procured by redemption, into the French colonies from the 1st of July of the present year.

I wish your Excellency to ask M. Thouvenel whether the Government of the Emperor would be disposed to entertain a project for a further Treaty between Great Britain and France for the more effectual suppression of the Slave Trade. The reason why I think such a Treaty would be opportune is, that the slave-traders, driven out of the shelter they have hitherto obtained under the protection of the flag of the United States, may have recourse to the French flag as a cover for their nefarious practices.

Some few instances have already occurred of this abuse of the French flag.

I shall be glad to learn, as soon as possible, the Emperor's decision. If favourable to the views of Her Majesty's Government, I will send you very shortly a draft Treaty to be communicated to M. Thouvenel.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 133.

Earl Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 14, 1862.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 23rd of April, I transmit to your Excellency, for your information, a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Consul at Martinique,‡ reporting the arrival at that island of the French barque "Marie," having on board 282 African immigrants from Loango.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 134.

Earl Cowley to Earl Russell.—(Received June 19.)

My Lord,

Paris, June 18, 1862.

I HAVE thought it right to call M. Thouvenel's attention to the statement made by Lord Brougham, on Friday last, in the House of Lords, relative to the facility which it was supposed might exist at Marseilles to obtain ships to carry on the Slave Trade.

M. Thouvenel said that the Minister of Marine had been already apprized of this statement.

I have, &c.
(Signed) COWLEY.

No. 135.

Earl Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 21, 1862.

IN the note addressed to your Excellency by M. Thouvenel on the 22nd of October last, in reply to the representation which I instructed you to make to the French Government on the subject of the recruitment by French agents, from the Comoro Islands, of Africans as free labourers for their colonies of Mayotte and Nossi Bé, there was a statement that Mr. Sunley, Her Majesty's Consul at Johanna, was in the habit of employing upon his sugar plantations a large number of slaves engaged by him at Anjouan with the consent of the Chiefs of that island.

Intelligence of a similar nature having reached Her Majesty's Government from another quarter previous to the receipt of your despatch of the 24th of October, I had already called upon Her Majesty's Consul at Johanna for an explanation, and I now inclose, for your Excellency's information, copies of my correspondence with Mr. Sunley on this subject.*

Your Excellency will perceive that Mr. Sunley admits that he employs about 500 labourers on his estates, the greater part of whom are slaves, whose services he engages from their masters, but that their wages are paid to the men themselves, who, as far as Mr. Sunley is concerned, are free to come and go, and work or not, as they please.

In employing slaves, however, under any circumstances, Mr. Sunley has acted in direct opposition to the regulations laid down by Her Majesty's Government for the guidance of their Consular officers, and you will see that he has been informed that he must either give up the employment of slaves, or be prepared to resign his Commission.

Your Excellency will communicate to M. Thouvenel the decision come to by Her Majesty's Government in this matter.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 136.

Earl Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, July 8, 1862.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 14th ultimo, I transmit to your Excellency, for your information, a copy of a further despatch from Mr. Lawless, Her Majesty's Consul at Martinique,† reporting the landing in that island of 585 African immigrants, under the Régis Contract, from the French ship "Ville d'Aigues Mortes."

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 137.

Earl Russell to Lord Cowley.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, July 16, 1862.

I TRANSMIT herewith, for your Excellency's information, copies of a letter and its inclosure from the Commander of Her Majesty's ship "Brisk," to the Secretary to the

Admiralty, reporting the circumstances attending the boarding of the French ship "Ville d'Aigues Mortes" by a boat from the "Brisk,"* for the purpose of ascertaining her nationality.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 138.

Mr. Grey to Earl Russell.—(Received July 30.)

My Lord,

Paris, July 29, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship a despatch from Captain Hore, dated the 29th July, inclosing copy of a despatch from the Minister of Marine, relating to French vessels being fitted for the Slave Trade.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. G. GREY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 138.

Captain Hore, R.N., to Mr. Grey.

Sir,

Paris, July 29, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to call your attention to a letter published in the "Constitutionnel" of this day, addressed by the Minister of Marine to the Préfet Maritime at Brest, desiring him to pay especial attention to vessels fitting for the coast of Africa in his district.

The Minister, in this despatch, refers to a statement made in the British House of Peers, to the effect that a vessel is being now fitted for the Slave Trade at some port in France.

I have, &c.
(Signed) E. HORE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 138.

Extract from the "Constitutionnel" of July 29, 1862.

LE Ministre de la Marine a adressé la dépêche suivante au Préfet Maritime à Brest:—

"M. le Préfet,

"J'ai été informé que, depuis le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis avait concédé au Gouvernement Anglais le droit de faire visiter par les croiseurs Britanniques les bâtiments Américains soupçonnés de se livrer à des opérations de Traite des Noirs, les négriers paraissent disposés à abuser de notre pavillon pour abriter leurs coupables entreprises, et un membre de la Chambre des Lords a même signalé récemment à la Tribune Anglaise un armement qui se préparait dans un de nos ports ostensiblement en vue d'une opération commerciale, mais en réalité pour effectuer un coup de Traite au Congo.

"Je vous invite à recommander aux autorités maritimes des divers ports de votre arrondissement d'exercer la plus active surveillance sur les armements qu'ils verront s'effectuer à destination de la côte d'Afrique, d'en rechercher les armateurs et de faire rendre compte des installations, des objets d'armement et de chargement, &c.

"Les opérations qui paraîtraient suspectes devront m'être signalées immédiatement afin que, le cas échéant, je puisse en aviser, en temps opportun, M. le Commandant des Côtes Occidentales d'Afrique.

(Signé)

COMTE P. DE CHASSELOUP LAUBAT."

No. 139.

Earl Russell to Earl Cowley.

Sir, *Foreign Office, August 4, 1862.*
 MR. GREY transmitted to me, in his despatch of the 29th ultimo, a letter (published in the "Constitutionnel") from the Minister of Marine to the Préfet Maritime at Brest, desiring him to pay especial attention to vessels fitting out in his district for the coast of Africa.

I have to instruct your Excellency to take an opportunity of offering to M. Thouvenel the thanks of Her Majesty's Government for the course pursued in this matter by the Government of His Imperial Majesty.

I am, &c.
 (Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 140.

Earl Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, September 5, 1862.*
 WITH reference to my despatch of the 8th of July last, I transmit to your Excellency, for your information, a copy of a further despatch from Mr. Lawless, Her Majesty's Consul at Martinique,* reporting the landing in that island of 1,529 African immigrants, under the Régis contract, from the French ships "Stella," "Sans Nom," and "Renaissance."

I am, &c.
 (Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 141.

Earl Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, September 15, 1862.*
 I TRANSMIT to your Excellency the accompanying copy of a despatch which I have received from Her Majesty's Consul at Bilbao,† stating that intelligence has reached him to the effect that the Spanish steamer "Noc d'Aqui" is on the point of sailing from the port of Bordeaux, where she has been equipped for the purpose of being employed in the Slave Trade on the African coast; and I have to instruct your Excellency to bring this information to the notice of the French Government.

I am, &c.
 (Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 142.

Mr. Grey to Earl Russell.—(Received September 20.)

My Lord, *Paris, September 17, 1862.*
 IN compliance with the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch of the 15th September, I have communicated to M. Thouvenel the intelligence mentioned therein of a Spanish steamer being about to sail from Bordeaux to be employed in the Slave Trade.

His Excellency promised immediate attention to the matter.

I have, &c.
 (Signed) COWLEY.

No. 143.

Earl Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, September 25, 1862.

I TRANSMIT herewith, for your Excellency's information, copies of a letter and its inclosure from the Commander of Her Majesty's ship "Narcissus" to Rear-Admiral Sir B. Walker,* reporting his having, on the 22nd of June last, boarded the French barque "Indéfatigable," in the Mozambique Channel, on suspicion of her being engaged in the Slave Trade.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 144.

Earl Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, October 2, 1862.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 24th of October last, and to my despatches of the 19th of December and of the 21st of June last, I transmit to you, for your information, copies of two letters addressed to the Secretary to the Admiralty by Rear-Admiral Sir B. Walker,† reporting upon the subject of Mr. Sunley, Her Majesty's Consul at the Comoro Islands, employing upon his sugar plantations at Johanna slaves hired from Arab slave-holders; also, upon the French system of procuring labourers in the Comoro Islands, and upon the statement made by M. Thouvenel, that the French flag is used by Her Majesty's cruisers whilst watching Arab dhows suspected of being engaged in the Slave Trade.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 145.

Earl Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, October 2, 1862.

I TRANSMIT to your Excellency, for your information, a copy of a despatch from Mr. Gabriel, Her Majesty's Commissioner at Loanda,‡ reporting that he has been informed by the French Commodore on the African coast that the system of exporting negroes to the French West India Colonies from the establishment of Messrs. Regis, at the mouth of the Congo, was formally put an end to by him on the 30th of June last, in accordance with the instructions of the French Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 146.

Earl Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, November 5, 1862.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 23rd of April last, I inclose, for your Excellency's information, the accompanying extracts from a despatch from Her Majesty's Commissioners at the Cape of Good Hope,§ on the subject of the exportation of slaves from the East Coast of Africa to the northern part of Madagascar and to the Comoro Islands, from whence they are introduced, as free men, into the French Colonies of Mayotte and Nossi Bé.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

* Class A, No. 130.

† Ibid., Nos. 131 and 132.

‡ Ibid., No. 58.

§ Ibid., No. 24.

No. 147.

Earl Russell to Earl Cowley.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, December 31, 1862.

I TRANSMIT to your Excellency herewith an extract of a despatch from Mr. Freeman, Her Majesty's Consul at Lagos,* reporting the shipment of a cargo of upwards of 1,000 slaves on board a steamer under French colours, from Aghwey, on the morning of the 20th of October last.

I have to instruct your Excellency to communicate the fact of this shipment to the French Government; and you will, at the same time, state that Her Majesty's Government would be glad of any information which the French authorities may be able to furnish regarding the vessel in question.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

* No. 35.

FRANCE. (Consular)—Bordeaux.

No. 148.

Consul Scott to Earl Russell.—(Received September 20.)

My Lord,

Bordeaux, September 15, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that, in consequence of intelligence conveyed to me by Her Majesty's Consul at Bilbao dated the 12th September, which I received on the evening of Saturday the 13th, that the Spanish steamer "*Noc d'Aqui*" was equipping in this port for the Slave Trade, I have lost no time in making inquiries as to the accuracy of this information.

This vessel, which is a steamer of about 350 tons, arrived here from the coast of Spain, with a cargo of sarsaparilla, on the 22nd August, under the command of Captain Equidoze. From what I have been able to collect, her cargo outwards is composed of objects of little value, principally provisions, such as wine, potatoes, and sundries, and, among other things, a new cooking apparatus has been shipped. I have not hitherto had the means of ascertaining any further particulars, except that she sailed on the 13th instant, ostensibly for Vera Cruz, under the command of Captain d'Artela, with a crew of twenty-five men, and that she left the river the same day.

I have this instant returned from an interview with the Commissary-General of Marine, who was totally ignorant of the suspected nature of this vessel, but has promised to make every inquiry in his power that may lead to the knowledge of her real destination, and of the object of her voyage, as well as an accurate description of her. He will also report the case to the French Minister of Marine, and will communicate to me all the information he may have procured; this I will not fail to transmit to your Lordship.

I have, &c.

(Signed) T. B. G. SCOTT.

No. 149.

Consul Scott to Earl Russell.—(Received September 20.)

My Lord,

Bordeaux, September 18, 1862.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 15th instant, respecting the alleged suspicious character of the Spanish steamer "*Noc d'Aqui*," I have the honour to inform your Lordship that I have prosecuted my researches, and have discovered the following particulars:—

The Spanish Consul, to whom I have applied, informs me that he has no cause whatever to suspect that this steamer is bound on any other but a perfectly licit voyage; that her cargo is of a general nature, and well-adapted to the requirements of the port to which she is destined, that of Vera Cruz, as it is composed of 4,000 cases of wine, besides provisions of various kinds, and the rest is made up with coal; that the owner is Señor Isasi, of Bilbao; that her crew, composed of twenty-six hands, including the captain, is not more than sufficient for a steamer of her tonnage (355 tons); and that had he, the Spanish Consul, entertained the slightest suspicion of this vessel's destination being other than represented, he would have taken immediate steps to prevent her sailing.

What may be her ulterior destination after landing her cargo at Vera Cruz, it is impossible to say, but previously to her voyage to this port she was employed on the coast of the Confederate States of North America, and had run the blockade, on more than one occasion, with success, being a fast sailer.

I have also obtained the following particulars of the "*Noc d'Aqui*," which was passed on the evening of Sunday, the 14th instant, just outside the River Gironde:—

Screw steamer; barque rigged; round stern, with gilt ornaments; black hull; square mainsail; no topgallant yards visible; poop and topgallant forecastle; funnel very far forwards. Appeared very deep in the water. Was going fast through the water, and steering a westerly course.

I have not yet received the report of the Commissary-General of Marine, though I am assured he is actively engaged in discovering particulars that may lead to a positive knowledge of the real mission on which the "*Noc d'Aqui*" is bound.

I shall, of course, have the honour to transmit it to your Lordship the instant I receive it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) T. B. G. SCOTT.

No. 150.

Consul Scott to Earl Russell.—(Received October 18.)

My Lord,

Bordeaux, October 14, 1862.

WITH reference to my despatches of the 15th and 18th of September last, touching the suspected nature of the voyage of the Spanish steamer "*Noc d'Aqui*," I have the honour to inform your Lordship that I have learnt from the Commissary-General of Marine at this port that, in spite of all his researches, nothing whatever has transpired to justify the suspicions at first entertained about this vessel. Having on my side acquired no additional information, I am led to believe that the surmises of the Commissary of Marine are correct, and the voyage of the above steamer to be perfectly licit.

I have, &c.
(Signed) T. B. G. SCOTT.

FRANCE. (*Consular*)—*Martinique.*

No. 151.

Consul Lawless to Earl Russell.—(*Received April 14.*)

My Lord,

St. Pierre, March 20, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship the arrival of two vessels from the coast of Africa, having on board negro immigrants for this island.

One of these vessels, the "Sans Nom," sailed from the coast on the 30th of January, with 405 immigrants, viz., 332 men, 70 women, and 3 children, and arrived at Fort de France on the 8th instant, after a passage of thirty-six days, where she landed 324 men, 70 women, and 3 children, having lost but 8 male immigrants on the voyage out, say something less than 2 per cent.

The other vessel made a still more remarkable passage in that respect. She is called the "Renaissance." She also sailed from Loango, and as she left there on the 6th of February, and arrived at Fort de France on the 10th instant, she had a somewhat shorter passage than the "Sans Nom." She took on board at Loango 281 male and 100 female immigrants, and landed 279 men and 100 women, having lost but 2 men during the voyage.

To complete the information I have obtained concerning these vessels, I may add that the registered tonnage of the "Sans Nom" is 374 tons French measurement, while that of the "Renaissance" is but 313 tons; and yet they carried 786 immigrants, or nearly 1·15 per ton, with a ratio of mortality far below the average, since it only amounted to about 1·27 per cent.

The vessels have both again sailed for Loango, to take another cargo of African labourers to this island, in fulfilment, as on the present occasion, of the Régis Treaty with the French Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WM. LAWLESS.

No. 152.

Consul Lawless to Earl Russell.—(*Received June 2.*)

My Lord,

St. Pierre, May 10, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship of the arrival at Fort de France, in this island, of the French barque "Marie," from the West Coast of Africa, having on board a cargo of African immigrants.

This vessel sailed from Loango on the 25th of March last, after receiving on board 282 adult labourers, as follows:—205 males, 77 females; and she reached this island on the 6th instant, and landed 275, viz., 199 men and 75 women.

The passage was above the average, having lasted 43 days; still the ratio of mortality was lower than usual, being but 2·83 per cent.

I visited these immigrants shortly after their arrival, and am compelled to admit that they appear to be in excellent health, and also that the arrangements on board left little to be desired with regard to medical attendance and to diet.

This batch of immigrants has been introduced in fulfilment of the Régis Treaty with the French Government; and another cargo is shortly expected to arrive in their ship, the "Ville d'Aigues Mortes."

I have, &c.
(Signed) WM. LAWLESS.

No. 153.

Consul Lawless to Earl Russell.—(Received June 28.)

My Lord,

St. Pierre, June 10, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship the arrival from the coast of Africa of the French ship "Ville d'Aïgues Mortes," referred to in my despatch of the 10th of May.

The "Ville d'Aïgues Mortes" is a vessel of 637 tons French measurement. She sailed from Congo on the 22nd of April last, after shipping 598 African immigrants, as follows:—479 male adults, 111 female adults, and 11 female non-adults.

Of the above number, 13 male adults died during the passage, which lasted forty days, leaving 466 male adults, 111 female adults, and 11 female non-adults, or 585 immigrants on board of the vessel when she arrived at Fort de France on the 1st instant, which gives the average ratio of mortality during the voyage at 2·34 per cent.

Of the 13 deaths which occurred on board, 11 were caused by disease, and 2 by suicide.

I was present when these immigrants were landed from the ship, and I remarked that, with very few exceptions, they appeared to be in perfect health.

As mentioned in a previous despatch, already referred to above, these Africans have been introduced under the Régis Treaty.

I have been informed by the Agent here that he expects four more vessels from the coast before the expiration of that Treaty, all of which will bring a large contingent of African labourers to this Colony.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WM. LAWLESS.

No. 154.

Consul Lawless to Earl Russell.—(Received August 30.)

My Lord,

St. Pierre, August 10, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship the arrival, at Fort de France, in this island, of the following ships, with African immigrants for the French Government, viz., the "Stella," "Sans Nom," and "Renaissance."

The total number of labourers introduced by these ships amounts to 1,529.

I have not been able to procure, for this mail, a detailed account of the number of immigrants embarked on board of these vessels, nor of the deaths that occurred on the voyage. I shall transmit by the next steamer these details.

The immigrants in question have been introduced under the Régis Treaty, and complete the deliveries to be made in fulfilment of that contract. No further arrivals of African labourers are, therefore, to be expected.

I shall forward, by an early opportunity, a detailed statement of the number of immigrants that have been introduced into the island since the revival of this branch of the Slave Trade.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WM. LAWLESS.

MUSCAT. (*Consular*)—Zanzibar.

No. 155.

Lieutenant-Colonel Pelly to Earl Russell.—(Received April 23.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, March 13, 1862.

I BEG respectfully to submit, for your Lordship's information, copies of two letters of the 8th and 13th instant which I have forwarded to the Government of Bombay.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LEWIS PELLY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 155.

Lieutenant-Colonel Pelly to Mr. Stewart.

Sir,

Zanzibar, March 8, 1862.

IT is agreeable to me to report that, within the past week, the Sultan of Zanzibar has seized and imprisoned three sets of Northern Arabs found in the act of shipping slaves from this port in defiance of the Proclamation issued some two or three months ago. Considerable pressure has been put on His Highness by the Sooree and other tribes, but I am glad to say the Sultan has remained firm, and the Northerners are confined in the fort, and will so remain until the slave season closes.

The Sultan's prudence in these cases is the more satisfactory, in that after the date of proclaiming against the purchase of slaves by Northern Arabs no word passed between us on the subject.

I told him I confided in him.

I am glad also that, while so acting, His Highness remains silent on his procedure, and that I learn of these captures only from the other Consuls and from the residents of the town. I have observed that if you trust men, even Orientals will sometimes act faithfully, while they will invariably scheme if you mistrust them.

Certainly I am of opinion that, so long as there is a Sultan of Zanzibar, it is on all accounts more fit and politic that the Treaty should be fulfilled by the voluntary act of the Sultan himself rather than that I, or Her Majesty's cruisers, should appear on the scenes as judge and jury.

I told Government before that I believe the Sultan does, *bonâ fide*, wish these Northern Arabs expelled his dominions; and he has acted with some decision towards them this season, refusing them gifts, ordering them back to their country, and now confining them.

Of course the Arabs attribute all the action to me, and they are certainly not courteous when we meet in the streets or market. But the plain truth is that the Sultan is acting firm himself, assured only that so long as he acts vigourously, and to the point, I will do my best to confirm his success one way or the other.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LEWIS PELLY.

P.S. 15th March.—Another encounter took place about 11 o'clock last night, on the beach. Northern Arabs were in the act of shipping slaves. The Sultan's men attacked them, killed two of them, and wounded five. The remainder are in prison, and shall remain there.

The Sultan's men received some wounds.

The slaves are released.

Inclosure 2 in No. 155.

Lieutenant-Colonel Pelly to Mr. Stewart.

Sir, *Zanzibar, March 13, 1862.*
 LIEUTENANT CLARKE, Her Majesty's steam-vessel "Ariel," is just come in from a cruize in one of the "Ariel's" boats. He informs me that a man arrived at Quiloa a few days ago from the interior of Africa, who asserted that he had met Dr. Livingston's party with a small steamer about a quick month's journey inland, and at the lower extremity of the Nyaso (Lake).

The steamer was delayed by some rocks, and the party were awaiting the fall of rain to float her up. Some of the gentlemen were sporting at elephants.

I have no news of Captain Speke; the road to his rear is still closed.

I have, &c.
 (Signed) LEWIS PELLY.

No. 156.

Earl Russell to Lieutenant-Colonel Pelly.

Sir, *Foreign Office, June 7, 1862.*
 I HAVE received your despatch of the 13th of March last, inclosing copies of two letters dated the 8th and 13th of the same month, the former reporting the vigorous measures adopted by the Sultan of Zanzibar against the Northern Arabs found in the act of shipping slaves from his dominions, and the latter containing intelligence respecting Dr. Livingstone's expedition.

With reference to the former letter, I have to state to you that Her Majesty's Government are glad to learn from your Report that the Sultan is taking measures to put a stop to the export of slaves from his dominions. Her Majesty's Government will judge of the Sultan by his acts. If, however, events should prove our confidence to be misplaced, we shall reluctantly be compelled to take strong measures to ensure the suppression of the Slave Trade in the Sultan's dominions.

I am, &c.
 (Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 157.

Earl Russell to Lieutenant-Colonel Pelly.

Sir, *Foreign Office, June 7, 1862.*
 I HAVE to refer you to my despatch to Colonel Rigby of the 19th of February, 1861, by which you will see that I instructed that officer to propose to the Sultan of Zanzibar that orders should be given by His Highness, prohibiting, under severe penalties, the transport of slaves coastwise, from one portion of his dominions to another, and that His Highness should consent to the addition to the Treaty between Zanzibar and Great Britain of an Article authorizing the Commanders of British cruisers to seize and detain all vessels under the Zanzibar flag, engaged in the coasting Slave Trade, and carrying slaves.

You will see from Colonel Rigby's despatch of the 26th of July, that the Sultan refused to accede to these proposals of Her Majesty's Government, alleging, as a reason, that the measures already carried out by Her Majesty's Consul for preventing Her Majesty's Indian subjects from holding slaves, had done great injury to the commerce of Zanzibar, and that if a total stop were put to the Traffic in Slaves it would be the ruin of his country.

I have to instruct you to state to the Sultan that, although His Highness' revenue might in the first instance be injuriously affected by the prohibition to import slaves into Zanzibar from the mainland, Her Majesty's Government are convinced that such a measure, if carried into effect, would, in the end, be beneficial to his people. His Highness cannot be ignorant that the slaves imported into his territories are procured by raids made by slave-hunters on peaceable and unoffending towns and villages, at a great sacrifice of human life, and that by permitting the importation of slaves into his territories, and raising a revenue upon them, he encourages a system that entails great misery on a large portion of his fellow-creatures.

His Highness is also aware that the British Government have laboured constantly and persistently to put a stop to this Traffic, and he may be persuaded that they will continue their efforts in that direction until they have attained the object which they have in view.

The attempt of Her Majesty's Government to suppress the Slave Trade on the East Coast of Africa must be, to a great extent, neutralized, so long as His Highness' subjects are permitted to engage in this coasting Slave Trade, and the importation of slaves into Zanzibar is encouraged.

I have, therefore, to desire that you will repeat to His Highness the proposals I instructed Colonel Rigby to make to him with regard to the coasting Trade in Slaves, and the addition of an Article to the Treaty between Zanzibar and Great Britain for that purpose.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 158.

Mr. Layard to Lieutenant-Colonel Pelly.

Sir,

Foreign Office, October 1, 1862.

WITH reference to Lord Russell's despatch of the 7th of June last, I am directed by his Lordship to transmit to you a copy of a letter addressed to the Secretary to the Admiralty from Rear-Admiral Sir B. Walker,* reporting the great increase of the Slave Trade in Zanzibar, which, it appears, is carried on without any remonstrance or interference on the part of the authorities of the Sultan.

Her Majesty's Government had entertained the hope, from your despatch of the 13th of March last, that the Sultan was in earnest in his desire to put a stop to the export of slaves from his dominions, but subsequent reports have not tended to confirm this impression.

I have, therefore, to instruct you to call upon his Highness, and to state that Her Majesty's Government have heard with regret that the export of slaves is carried on to even a greater extent than heretofore, and that they can no longer suffer this iniquitous Traffic to be continued with impunity, and that unless stringent measures are at once taken by his Highness to put a stop to it, Her Majesty's Government will be reluctantly obliged to compel the Sultan to observe the existing Treaties for the suppression of the export of slaves from his territories.

I am, &c.
(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

NETHERLANDS.

No. 159.

Earl Russell to Sir J. Milbanke.

Sir,

Foreign Office, December 29, 1862.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith, for your information, and for communication to the Netherlands Government, the accompanying copies of two despatches from Mr. Skelton, Her Majesty's Judge in the Mixed Commission Court at Sierra Leone,* reporting the arrival in that port of the Netherlands barque "*Jane*" for adjudication in the British and Netherlands Mixed Court of Justice established in that Colony, that vessel having been detained by Her Majesty's ship "*Espoir*" on suspicion of being engaged in the Slave Trade.

I also inclose a copy of a letter from Mr. Beattie, the Acting British Consul at St. Jago de Cuba,† containing information respecting the antecedents of the "*Jane*," which, it would appear, under the name of the "*Fleet Eagle*," of Boston, has already landed one cargo of slaves in Cuba, and was engaged in another Slave Trade venture when captured by Her Majesty's ship.

In communicating these papers to the Netherlands Government, I have to instruct you to express the earnest hope of Her Majesty's Government that whatever may be the decision of the Mixed Court of Justice at Sierra Leone in the case of the "*Jane*," no means will be spared by the Netherlands authorities to procure the punishment of the parties who may have been engaged in this affair, and thus to prevent the abuse of the Netherlands flag for Slave Trade purposes, which would undoubtedly be encouraged if the adventure of the "*Jane*" should prove a successful one.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

* Class A, Nos. 6 and 8.

† No. 304.

NETHERLANDS. (*Consular*)—*Rotterdam.*

No. 160.

Consul Sir R. Turing to Earl Russell.—(*Received January 18.*)

My Lord,

Rotterdam, January 16, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to state to your Lordship that M. H. van Rÿckevorsel, a merchant in this city engaged in the African Trade, who has already more than once furnished information to Her Majesty's Government on the subject of the Slave Trade, has just informed me that one of his captains (now on the West Coast of Africa) has sent him the following intelligence:—

“On the 25th November, 1861, 300 slaves had been shipped on board an American schooner at Whydah. At Little Popoe there was a Spaniard who had already purchased 150 slaves, and was in daily expectation of a vessel, when he meant to purchase more. Several American vessels had arrived with rum and tobacco, which it was expected would all return with slaves. Most of these vessels are from Salem and Boston. The Slave Trade has not been in such a flourishing condition for years, and is principally carried on by Americans from the Northern States.”

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. F. TURING.

No. 161.

Mr. Murray to Consul Sir R. Turing.

Sir,

Foreign Office, December 11, 1862.

I AM directed by Earl Russell to transmit to you the accompanying copy of a letter from the Acting British Consul at St. Jago de Cuba,* containing information respecting a vessel which, under the name of the “*Fleet Eagle*,” of Boston, has already landed one cargo of slaves in Cuba, and is now stated to have been destined to leave the port of Rotterdam in the course of the month of October last, under the French flag, for the African coast, to be again engaged in the Slave Trade; and I am to desire that you will endeavour, as far as the information contained in Mr. Acting Consul Beattie's despatch will enable you to do so, to find out whether the vessel in question arrived at Rotterdam, and if so, what has since become of her, together with any other information you may be able to procure respecting the parties interested in this vessel.

I am, &c.
(Signed) JAMES MURRAY.

No. 162.

Mr. Murray to Consul Sir R. Turing.

Sir,

Foreign Office, December 15, 1862.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 1 of the 11th instant, I am directed by Earl Russell to transmit to you the accompanying despatch from Her Majesty's Judge in the Mixed Commission Court established at Sierra Leone,† under the provisions of the Treaty with the Netherlands Government, for the suppression of the Slave Trade, reporting the arrival in that port of the Netherlands barque “*Jane*,” which was detained by Her Majesty's ship “*Espoir*” on a charge of being equipped for the Slave Trade.

* No. 304.

† Class A, No. 6.

The vessel in question is doubtless the one referred to by the Acting British Consul at St. Jago de Cuba as having already, on a former occasion, landed a cargo of slaves in Cuba under the name of the "*Fleet Eagle*," of Boston, and you will therefore use your best endeavours to find out who are the parties connected with this slave-trading adventure.

I am, &c.

(Signed) JAMES MURRAY.

No. 163.

Consul Sir R. Turing to Earl Russell.—(Received December 19.)

My Lord,

Rotterdam, December 16, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Murray's despatch of the 11th instant, which reached me this evening, inclosing for my perusal the copy of a letter from Mr. Acting Consul Beattie of St. Jago de Cuba, conveying information regarding the American vessel "*Fleet Eagle*," which vessel, it appears, after having obtained the Dutch flag at Curaçoa proceeded to St. Jago de Cuba, from whence she took a cargo of sugars to Håvre, and then sailed for Rotterdam.

From circumstances which came under Mr. Acting Consul Beattie's notice it further appears that he suspected that the owners, resident at St. Jago de Cuba, contemplated another illegal voyage.

I beg to inform your Lordship that my attention had already been called to the same subject previous to the receipt of Mr. Murray's despatch, and I am now engaged in collecting information which I shall do myself the honour to communicate as soon as possible.

I may in the meantime, however, briefly inform your Lordship that the "*Jane*" was at this port in August last, and I am also able to state that information has just reached this country of her having been searched and brought into Sierra Leone on the 20th of October last by Her Majesty's steamer "*Espoir*," on suspicion of being engaged in the Slave Trade.

I have, &c.

(Signed) R. F. TURING.

No. 164.

Consul Sir R. Turing to Earl Russell.—(Received December 23.)

My Lord,

Rotterdam, December 20, 1862.

I BEG to confirm my despatch of the 16th instant, with reference to the "*Jane*," and I have now the honour to transmit to your Lordship further information regarding this vessel.

The "*Jane*," Captain Prince, arrived at this port from Havre in August last, sailing under the Dutch Colonial flag, and consigned to a highly respectable firm, Messrs. Thormann & Co., merchants in this city.

It does not appear that Messrs. Thormann acted for her in any way, but the ship's business was transacted by Messrs. Knyper, Van Dam, and Smeer, the largest and most respectable shipbroker's at this port.

The object of the "*Jane's*" visit to Rotterdam was evidently for the purpose of getting the provisional Colonial colours (which had been obtained at Curaçoa) exchanged for the Netherland flag.

The senior partner of Messrs. Knyper, Van Dam, and Smeer; Mr. E. Driebeck, who is at the same time Russian Consul at this port, was at some pains to procure the necessary register and papers, and went personally to the Hague in order to remove some difficulty which at one time seems to have presented itself, the result of which was that he obtained for her the required nationality, after which she cleared out for St. Thomas on the 22nd of August last.

I was away on leave of absence at the time; but from all I have since learnt of the case, it is quite evident that no suspicion of foul play was entertained by any of the Dutch parties concerned in the transfer, and I may add, with the most perfect confidence, that neither Messrs. Thormann and Co., nor Messrs. Knyper, Van Dam, and Smeer would have assisted the owner of the said vessel in the object which he had in view, had they had the slightest suspicion of the character of the parties with whom they were dealing.

It is not easy to procure the Dutch flag for a foreign vessel, and I know that a very trifling irregularity will often render it altogether impracticable.

But although she was not suspected of contemplating an illegal voyage, I have reason to believe that there was some hesitation by the authorities at the Hague in the present instance. It is possible that the reasons which induced the Minister first to hesitate, and ultimately to give way and grant the request of the owner, may be ascertained through the assistance of Her Majesty's Legation.

I had the honour to inform your Lordship by my previous despatch that intelligence has now reached this country of the capture, on the 20th of October, of the said barque "*Jane*" by Her Majesty's steamer "*Espoir*" on suspicion of being engaged in the Slave Trade, and that she has been brought into Sierra Leone, where she had, by the last advices, been detained for upwards of three weeks, at which period proceedings had not yet commenced against the owner and captain.

I have the honour to transmit herewith translations of two extracts from the "*New Rotterdam*" newspaper, on the subject of her capture, one of which contains a portion of a letter written by a Dutch seaman who, in company with another of his countrymen, had, in ignorance of her real character, been induced to join her when she was in this port.

It is now evident that the object which the owner of the "*Jane*" had in obtaining the Netherland colours, was to carry on an illegal traffic under cover of the prestige which that flag is known to enjoy in those parts. He not only adopted those colours, but he followed the same course which Dutch vessels are in the habit of following, first touching at Kinsembo and only then proceeding to the Congo River, which is the invariable course of the regular Dutch traders.

I may add that much dissatisfaction is expressed amongst the Dutch commercial community, and especially by the regular traders to the African coast, that the prestige of their flag should have been compromised by so nefarious a scheme.

I have, &c.
(Signed) R. F. TURING.

Inclosure in No. 164.

Extracts from the "New Rotterdam" of December 15 and 16, 1862.

(Translation.)

THE following report is from Sierra Leone:—

"On the 20th October last, the Dutch barque '*Jane*,' Captain B. Prince, was brought into port by the British cruizer '*Espoir*,' on suspicion of being concerned in the Slave Trade. The ship was captured near the Congo River, a considerable quantity of water (about 20,000 gallons) and bread having been found on board; the cargo consists of provisions, viz., sardines, wine, flour, salted meat, and a few thousand bricks, probably taken for ballast.

"For the last twenty-five years no Dutch ship has been captured for being engaged in the Slave Trade; Dutch vessels were consequently seldom interfered with by the cruizers, which, of course, will hardly be the case in future. It is a pity that there is no one here to protect Dutch interests, not even a Judge nor a Consul.

"The '*Jane*' cleared from Helvoetsluys, and it has been remarked that no bond was given by the owners for the unusual number of casks on board, a financial difficulty to which, as I understand, other ships leaving for the coast have to submit. What is the reason of this?

"The Dutch Government does not interest itself much in the African Trade. For the last three years no Dutch man-of-war has been seen here, whilst even Portugal is represented by two or three vessels."

We have received from an authentic source the following extract of a letter dated Sierra Leone, 20th November last, from one of the crew of the "*Jane*," Captain B. Prince, whose capture on suspicion of being engaged in the Slave Trade, was mentioned in yesterday's paper:—

"You know we were engaged at Rotterdam for St. Thomas in the West Indies. We, however, did not go there, but proceeded to Kinsembo, from whence we were to go to the Congo River. At the mouth of that river we were intercepted by an English steam man-of-war, the captain was asked for his papers, and the ship was thoroughly overhauled. The result

was that the papers were found not to be in order, and as the largest number of slaves are got from that river, we were suspected of illegal Traffic, and we have been brought up here.

"We have been here for the last three weeks, and as yet we know of nothing. Thank God, I can prove myself to have been innocent of any nefarious plan, even should the captain have contemplated anything of the kind."

We have been further informed that it appears the "*Jane*" belongs to Curaçoa, and arrived here last August from Hâvre, partly loaded with provisions, and was consigned to one of the most respectable firms in this town. The captain then addressed himself to a shipbroker, and cleared from hence for St. Thomas on the 22nd August last, after having in vain tried to obtain a charter.

The captain appeared to be a mulatto, at any rate a person of dark complexion; there were besides two foreign supercargoes on board.

Lastly, we are informed by a respectable firm in this town of the following circumstances, mentioned in a letter to them from Curaçoa, dated 21st September:—

"As regards the '*Jane*,' I can tell you that she is an American slaver, and has taken refuge here. She has been transferred to Mr. M. B. G.'s name, in order to get the flag, and the owner, an American, is on board as supercargo."

No. 165.

Consul Sir R. Turing to Earl Russell.—(Received December 24.)

My Lord,

Rotterdam, December 22, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Murray's despatch of the 15th instant, transmitting to me the copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Judge in the Mixed Commission Court at Sierra Leone, informing your Lordship of the detention of the Netherlands barque "*Jane*," by Her Majesty's steamer "*Espoir*," on a charge of being equipped for the Slave Trade, and am instructed by your Lordship to use my best endeavours to find out who are the parties connected with this slave-trading adventure.

My despatches of the 16th and 19th instant have already given your Lordship full particulars of the circumstances under which the Netherland flag was obtained by the "*Jane*," and there seems no reason whatever to suppose that either Dutch parties are interested, or Dutch capital invested in the adventure in question.

One of the supercargoes on board, an American, was evidently the owner of the vessel, and it was remarked that he had a good deal of loose cash in his possession, and had no difficulty in paying with ready money the expenses of transfer, &c., incurred while here.

No ship that is not owned by Netherland subjects can obtain the national flag, and, consequently, the ship was, both provisionally at Curaçoa, and finally at the Hague, registered in the name of M. Gorsira, a Dutch subject, resident at Curaçoa.

In how far he had any real interest remains to be seen, and will, I am confident, be fully investigated by the Dutch Government; but none of the parties best informed in this country believe that he had any pecuniary interest in the adventure.

I have, &c.

(Signed) R. F. TURING.

NETHERLANDS. (*Consular*)—*Surinam*.

No. 166.

Consul Munro to Earl Russell.—(Received September 30.)

My Lord,

Surinam, August 21, 1862.

I HAVE much pleasure in informing your Lordship that the Second Chamber of the States-General of Holland passed by a large majority a Bill for the emancipation of the slaves in the Dutch West India Colonies, to take place on the 1st day of July next year. As a compensation, the slave-owners in Surinam are to be paid at the rate of 300 guilders for each slave, whether old or young, without regard to sex or abilities; the Chamber at the same time enacting that those manumitted by the State shall remain for ten years under the guardianship of the State. For the purpose of encouraging emigration to the Colony, the Government are to give the sum of 1,000,000 guilders, to be applied for emigration in the first five years following emancipation. There is but little doubt but that the Netherlands Government will be making overtures to Her Majesty's Government for permission to take East India coolies as labourers for their Colonies, which no doubt, under a proper supervision, would tend much to their benefit, especially if labour could be procured at a reasonable rate, to enable the planters to keep up the cultivation of cotton, for which the coast-lands are well adapted. The extent of coast which could be brought into cotton cultivation is nearly 200 miles

Many of the old cotton-estates in the Colony have been abandoned for the more lucrative production of sugar. The quality of cotton grown is equal to New Orleans ordinary, worth at present, in Liverpool, from 1s. 6d. to 1s. 8d. per lb. The trade that has sprung up between this Colony and Great Britain and the Colonies, since the Colony has been made a free port, would then greatly increase. Even at present, for the first six months of this year, there have been twenty-one British vessels in this port of Paramaribo, a total tonnage of 3,019, besides the English and Dutch vessels loaded in Nickerie for London, Liverpool, and the English colonies.

I remain, &c.

(Signed)

D. C. MUNRO.

PORTUGAL.

No. 167.

Earl Russell to Sir A. Magenis.

Sir, *Foreign Office, January 6, 1862.*
WITH reference to my despatch of the 31st ultimo, relative to the Traffic in Slaves which is still carried on from the Portuguese possessions on the East Coast of Africa, I inclose, for your information, a copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Paris,* instructing him to bring to the notice of the French Government the substance of the reports received from the Commander-in-chief of Her Majesty's naval forces on the Cape of Good Hope station, showing that French subjects are still engaged in procuring negroes from the East Coast of Africa to be imported as free labourers into their colonies of Mayotte and Nossi Bé.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 168.

Earl Russell to Sir A. Magenis.

Sir, *Foreign Office, January 14, 1862.*
WITH reference to my despatch of the 31st ultimo, I transmit, for your information, the accompanying copy of a letter from Commodore Edmonstone† calling the attention of Her Majesty's Government to the importation, which has recently taken place in considerable numbers, of so-called free Africans into the Island St. Thomas from Loanda.

I have to instruct you to point out to the Portuguese Government that while, on the one hand, Her Majesty's Government can have no possible objection to offer to the removal, of their own accord, of *bonâ fide* free Africans from one part of the Portuguese possessions to another; on the other hand, if, as there is every reason to believe is the case, many of the so-called free Africans are in reality slaves taken thither in violation of the Treaty stipulations between the two countries, the authorities who connive at this breach of Treaty engagements will incur a serious responsibility, and will have themselves to blame if the packets, or other vessels engaged in the transport of these Africans, are detained by British cruisers.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 169.

Earl Russell to Sir A. Magenis.

Sir, *Foreign Office, January 14, 1862.*
I TRANSMIT herewith, for your information, an extract of a letter from Commodore Edmonstone,‡ reporting that a considerable Traffic in Slaves is carried on, chiefly by small coasting-vessels, between the mainland of Africa and the Islands of Principe and St. Thomas.

Whatever may be the real condition of the Africans who are referred to in my despatches of the 31st of December last and of this day's date, as being introduced into the Islands of Principe and St. Thomas as free labourers, this Report from Commodore

* Class B, presented 1861, No. 84.

† Class A, No. 81.

‡ Ibid., Inclosure 1 in No. 82.

Edmonstone shows that an undisguised Traffic in Slaves is carried on with those islands, and you cannot too strongly impress upon the Portuguese Government the necessity for immediate steps being taken to put a stop to it.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 170.

Earl Russell to Sir A. Magenis.

Sir,

Foreign Office, January 16, 1862.

I INCLOSE, for your information, a copy of a despatch which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Commissioners at Loanda* relative to the recent importation in considerable numbers of negroes, said to be free, into the Island of St. Thomas from the Portuguese possessions on the mainland of Africa.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 171.

Earl Russell to Sir A. Magenis.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, January 16, 1862.

I TRANSMIT, for your information, a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Commissioners at the Cape of Good Hope,† inclosing a report upon the cases of twenty-two native vessels, or dhows, engaged in the Slave Trade, and captured by Her Majesty's cruisers on the East Coast of Africa.

These vessels were condemned in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Cape Town.

No. 172.

Sir A. Magenis to Earl Russell.—(Received January 23.)

My Lord,

Lisbon, January 15, 1862.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch of 31st December last, I have the honour to inclose herewith a copy of the note which, in obedience to your Lordship's instructions, I addressed yesterday to M. d'Avila.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

Inclosure in No. 172.

Sir A. Magenis to Senhor d'Avila.

(Extract.)

Lisbon, January 14, 1862.

ON the 28th of November last year I had the honour, in a conversation with your Excellency, to bring unofficially to your notice a report from Her Majesty's Commissioner at the Cape of Good Hope, in which that gentleman refers to the alleged connivance of the Portuguese authorities in the export of slaves from the Portuguese possessions on the East Coast of Africa.

Since that date Her Majesty's Government have taken steps with the view to ascertain whether the statements contained in the Commissioner's Report, are well founded, and I am now instructed by Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to communicate to the Portuguese Government the substance of that Report, as well as of information from Her Majesty's Consul at Zanzibar, and from the Admiral of Her Majesty's naval forces on the Cape station, which Her Majesty's Government regret to say confirm it.

* Class A, No. 28.

† Ibid., No. 15.

The accounts received from the East Coast of Africa during the past year all tend to show that the Slave Trade continues to be carried on to a very considerable extent. The principal traffic from the Portuguese possessions to the northward of 13° south latitude is in slaves, who are shipped at a cost of about 30 dollars a-head. At Ibo, Point Pangane, Matemo, Lambuo, Quisanga, and Quirimba, from 5,000 to 6,000 slaves were seen ready for embarkation.

At the Settlement at Pamba Bay, established by Captain Romero in 1858, the Cape Commissioner is informed that there is no traffic carried on except in slaves, who are kidnapped from the tribes in the neighbourhood, and sent to Ibo in the dhows employed in provisioning Pamba Bay.

This Traffic is so profitable to the Portuguese officials at the port of Ibo, and the successive Governors so speedily acquire a competence from the bribes they receive for permitting it, that they appear to care for no representations made respecting it. An instance is known in which the Governor of Ibo paid a bribe of 500 crowns to an Arab of Zanzibar, to induce him to withhold information of the supercargoes of slaves being then in the town.

It is also believed that the Slave Trade will be extensively resumed from Quillimane, as a Portuguese who resides there, by name De Cruz, when at Zanzibar openly boasted that he would soon make good some losses he had experienced by the sale of 4,000 slaves he possessed at Quillimane.

With these facts before it, Her Majesty's Government do not doubt that the Government of His Most Faithful Majesty will take immediate steps for the removal and punishment of those authorities who, in violation of the orders of their Government have been guilty of conniving at the Traffic in Slaves.

No. 173.

Earl Russell to Sir A. Magenis.

Sir,

Foreign Office, January 31, 1862.

I TRANSMIT to you, for your information, a copy of a letter from Lieutenant McHardy, of Her Majesty's ship "Penguin,"* addressed to Captain Philips, of Her Majesty's ship "Narcissus," reporting his having captured and destroyed a dhow under Portuguese colours off Quirimba Island on 24th August last.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 174.

Sir A. Magenis to Earl Russell.—(Received February 1.)

My Lord,

Lisbon, January 24, 1862.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch of the 31st ultimo, I have the honour to inclose herewith copy of the note which, in obedience to your Lordship's instructions, I addressed on the 20th instant to M. d'Avila, drawing the serious attention of the Portuguese Government to the extent to which the Traffic in Slaves is now carried on in their African possessions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

Inclosure in No. 174.

Sir A. Magenis to Senhor d'Avila.

M. le Ministre,

Lisbon, January 20, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that I have been instructed by Earl Russell to draw the serious attention of His Most Faithful Majesty's Government to the extent to which the Traffic in Slaves is now suffered to be carried on, directly or indirectly, in His Majesty's African dominions, owing to a want of due care and energy on the part of the local authorities.

* Class A No. 125.

The reports of Her Majesty's Commissioners at Loanda clearly show, that great facilities have been afforded to the operations of the slave-traders in the vicinity of the River Congo, by the numerous small craft employed in the coasting trade in that quarter, and furnished with regular papers by the authorities of Loanda.

Five vessels of this description sailing under the Portuguese flag, and provided with official papers by the Government of Angola were recently captured by the Portuguese cruiser "Don Pedro V," and three of them, the "*Tiger*," the "*Vai Vo*," and the "*Paquete de Moanda*," were condemned by the Mixed Commission Court at Loanda, it being proved that they had been employed by a notorious slave-dealer named Luiz Leivas, a Portuguese subject, in the shipment of slaves at Mangue Grande.

Another Portuguese subject, the well known slave-dealer of Loanda, Pamplona, was also concerned in this transaction, and it is stated that some of the slaves found in the "*Paquete de Moanda*" had been embarked under his directions in or near the very harbour of Loanda. Two Portuguese subjects, Antonio Alves and José Vieira Borges, were actually on board the "*Paquete de Moanda*" when that vessel was taken, and although they were proved to have assisted in the embarkation of the slaves at Mangue Grande, they were allowed to remain at large in the city of Loanda, having been admitted to bail when delivered up by the captors to the authorities at that place.

There is another subject which I am directed to bring to your Excellency's notice :

It is stated by Her Majesty's Commissioners at Loanda that a system has recently sprung up, and is now carried on to a great extent, of sending slaves from that place to the Island of St. Thomas under different denominations, sometimes as "domestic slaves" or "servants," at others as "libertos," occasionally as free negroes. But it is clear that nearly all these negroes, although provided with passports from the Government of the Province, and appearing in the list of passengers published in the "*Boletim Official*" as "*pretos livres*," are not free, and that they are only taken on board the vessels which convey them to St. Thomas on the plea of their being so for the purpose of evading the penalties of the Treaty of July 3, 1842.

I have the honour to inclose an extract from the "*Official Gazette*" of Loanda, from which it appears that during the first nine months of 1861, 415 negroes were shipped at that port for St. Thomas without any attempt at concealment. The Island of St. Thomas is a place in every way adapted to serve the purposes of the slave-dealers as a depôt for collecting slaves, and any vessels which might effect the shipment of her cargo there would find the prevailing winds suit them well for the voyage to Cuba; and independently of this consideration, the comparatively high price of slaves at St. Thomas itself renders the Traffic between Loanda and that place very lucrative, while the risk of detection or loss is slight, and the facilities of transport are considerable. The steamers touching at St. Thomas on their way to Lisbon are chiefly made use of by the persons engaged in these transactions; the same individual frequently making two or three voyages in the year, accompanied each time by ten slaves, the number prescribed by Article V of the Treaty of 1842, which is also evaded in many cases by distributing the slaves transported among the whole of the passengers on board the steamer, two slaves being set down as belonging to each passenger. Besides the negroes thus conveyed from Loanda, there is reason to believe that a great number of slaves are likewise introduced into the Island of St. Thomas from the River Gaboon, and adjacent parts of the continent.

In drawing your Excellency's attention to these circumstances, I am instructed at the same time to state that while, on the one hand, Her Majesty's Government feel bound to believe that the Government of His Most Faithful Majesty are acting in good faith, and are in earnest in their endeavours to suppress the Slave Trade, they are equally convinced, on the other hand, that the intentions of the Portuguese Government in this respect are not carried into effect by the Portuguese local authorities.

The reports which have reached Her Majesty's Government leave little room to doubt that during the past year two vessels succeeded in shipping cargoes of slaves from the Portuguese territory to the southward of Loanda, and the impunity with which Portuguese subjects notoriously known to be engaged in the Slave Trade have hitherto escaped the punishment due to their crimes, even when, as in the case of the two individuals Alves and Borges, referred to in the former part of this note, they are in the hands of the Portuguese authorities, cannot but encourage them to continue their unlawful pursuits.

One of the most effective measures for the suppression of this Traffic would be the removal from the African Coast of those Portuguese subjects who are notoriously known to be engaged in the Slave Trade; but whatever steps the Portuguese Government may think proper to take to vindicate their good faith in this matter, Her Majesty's Government feel that they are justified in requiring that some more stringent and effective measures than have hitherto been taken should be adopted by the Government of His Most

Faithful Majesty to prevent Portuguese subjects and authorities from engaging in or conniving at the Traffic in Slaves.

I avail, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

No. 175.

Sir A. Magenis to Earl Russell.—(Received February 1.)

My Lord,

Lisbon, January 25, 1862.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatches of the 14th instant, I have the honour to inclose herewith copy of the note which I, yesterday, addressed to M. d'Avila, impressing upon the Portuguese Government the necessity of putting a stop to the undisguised Traffic of Slaves, under the denomination of free labourers, which is carried on between the mainland of Africa and the Islands of St. Thomas and Principe.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

Inclosure in No. 175.

Sir A. Magenis to Senhor d'Avila.

M. le Ministre,

Lisbon, January 24, 1861.

WITH reference to my note to your Excellency of the 20th instant, I am further instructed by Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to state that the attention of Her Majesty's Government has been called to the importation, which has recently taken place in considerable numbers, of so-called free Africans into the Island of St. Thomas from Loanda.

I am also instructed by Earl Russell to point out to the Portuguese Government that while, on the one hand, Her Majesty's Government can have no possible objection to offer to the removal, of their own accord, of *bond fide* free Africans from one part of the Portuguese possessions to another, on the other hand, if, as there is every reason to believe is the case, many of the so-called free Africans are in reality slaves, taken thither in violation of the Treaty stipulations between the two countries, the authorities who connive at this breach of Treaty engagements will incur a serious responsibility, and will have themselves to blame if the packets or other vessels engaged in the transport of these Africans are detained by British cruizers.

The reports received by Her Majesty's Government show that an undisguised Traffic in Slaves is carried on between the mainland of Africa and the Islands of Principe and St. Thomas, and I am directed by Earl Russell to impress strongly upon the Portuguese Government the necessity for immediate steps being taken to put a stop to it.

I avail, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

No. 176.

Earl Russell to Sir A. Magenis.

Sir,

Foreign Office, February 7, 1862.

WITH reference to your despatches of the 24th and 25th ultimo, I have to acquaint you that I approve the notes addressed by you to the Portuguese Government on the subject of the Slave Trade which is carried on from the Portuguese possessions on the West Coast of Africa.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 177.

Sir A. Magenis to Earl Russell.—(Received March 5.)

My Lord,

Lisbon, February 26, 1862.

IN obedience to the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch of the 31st of last December, I addressed, on the 14th ultimo, a note to M. d'Avila, respecting

the connivance of Portuguese officials in the Slave Trade on the South-East Coast of Africa, copy of which was inclosed in my despatch of the 15th ultimo. I have now the honour to transmit to your Lordship, herewith, a translation of the reply which the Marquis of Loulé has addressed to me, inclosing copy of a Ministerial Order which has been sent to the Governor of Mozambique, instructing him to make a thorough investigation of the charges made against Portuguese officials in that district, to dismiss any who may be proved guilty, and to suspend from their functions any who may be suspected of conniving at the Traffic in Slaves.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 177.

The Marquis de Loulé to Sir A. Magenis.

(Translation.)

Foreign Office, Lisbon, February 22, 1862.

REPLYING to the note which you addressed to my predecessor dated the 14th of January last, respecting the Slave Trade operations which are said to be carried on at different points of the Province of Mozambique, I have the honour to send you herewith, for your own and your Government's knowledge, the inclosed copy of the Ministerial Order which was addressed by the Marine Department, under date of the 11th instant, to the Governor-General of that Province, for him to adopt the most energetic measures on this subject.

On this occasion it is my duty to inform you that, in consequence of previous communications on this same subject, which you have made by order of your Government, and which occasioned the transmission of the most decisive orders to the said Governor-General, the latter has promised, according to the assertion made in the despatch lately received from the Marine Department, to forward a Report, with the details not only of the result of his inquiries with regard to the said Traffic, but also of the measures which he may have been obliged to adopt, and as soon as the said Report is received, I shall communicate it to you.

I renew, &c.
(Signed) MARQUIS DE LOULE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 177.

Orders addressed to the Governor-General of the Province of Angola.

*Department of Marine and of the Colonies, 2nd Direction,
2nd Section.*

(Translation.)

THE inclosed translation of a note addressed by Her Britannic Majesty's Minister at this Court, through the Department of Foreign Affairs, respecting some Slave Trade operations carried on at different points of the Province of Mozambique, with the connivance of the respective authorities, having been received in this Department, and as this is a matter with respect to which it is His Majesty's will that the most energetic measures should be adopted for the purpose of repressing so iniquitous a Traffic, he commands, through the Department of State for the Affairs of Marine and of the Colonies, the Governor of the aforesaid province to endeavour to get by all the means in his power a true knowledge of the facts mentioned in the said note, in order that, in case they have taken place as it said, and that the authorities of those places have connived at such unlawful operations, he may immediately proceed to take all those measures which he may think necessary to stop their continuation, dismissing the same authorities should it be ascertained that they are involved in such speculations, or suspending them from their respective functions should they have only rendered themselves suspected of being so. His Majesty expects that the said Governor-General will carry out this inquiry with that zeal and activity of which he has always given proofs, and will consider the endeavours which he may put in practice for the most rigorous repression of the Traffic in Slaves, and for the purpose of removing once for all, from his subordinate authorities, the injurious suspicion of their connivance in such a Traffic, as one of the most important services done by him.

Palace, February 12, 1862.

(Signed) CARLOS BENTO DA SILVA.

No. 178.

Sir A. Magenis to Earl Russell.—(Received April 14.)

My Lord,

Lisbon, April 5, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inclose to your Lordship herewith translation of a note, dated the 26th ultimo, from the Marquis de Loulé, forwarding copies of notes and documents (likewise inclosed herewith in translation) from the Minister of Marine, on the subject of the supposed increase of the Slave Trade in the Portuguese possessions of Africa, and the large importation of so-called free blacks from Loanda into the Island of St. Thomas.

From the contents of these notes and documents your Lordship will perceive that His Most Faithful Majesty's Government consider that the Governor-General of Angola is energetic in his endeavours to put an end to the Slave Trade traffic, while they state their inability to banish from the coast of Africa those Portuguese subjects who are involved in that Trade, unless they are proceeded against in conformity with the law.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 178.

The Marquis de Loulé to Sir A. Magenis.

(Translation.)

Lisbon, March 26, 1862.

WITH reference to the notes which you addressed to my predecessor, dated the 20th and 24th of January last, calling the attention of His Majesty's Government to the supposed increase of the Slave Trade in the Portuguese possessions of Africa, and the large importation of so-called free blacks from Loanda which it is said has been made into the Island of St. Thomas, I have the honour to transmit to you the inclosed copies of two notes which have been lately addressed to me on this subject by the Minister of Marine.

From the contents of these notes, and of the documents annexed to them, you will perceive the manner in which the transport of the blacks from Loanda to St. Thomas has been effected, as also the precautions which have been taken by the Governor-General thereon.

As to the adoption of the measures suggested by you, viz., to banish from the coast of Africa those Portuguese subjects who are involved in the Slave Trade, allow me to observe to you, according to the statement of the Minister of Marine, that the Government of His Majesty could not carry it into effect unless those individuals were proceeded against in conformity with the law.

From the above-mentioned notes you will likewise perceive that the Governor-General of Angola is energetic in the persecution of that odious Traffic, and that the orders which are given would seem sufficient to arrive at the desired result.

I renew, &c.

(Signed) MARQUIS DE LOULE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 178.

The Minister of Marine to the Marquis de Loulé.

(Translation.)

Marine and Ultramarine Department,

Most Illustrious and Excellent Sir,

February 24, 1862.

IN answer to despatches from your Department of the 24th and 28th of January last, accompanying the translation of two notes of Her Britannic Majesty's Minister at this Court, in both of which the said Minister calls the attention of the Portuguese Government to the increase of the Slave Trade which he says has taken place in our African possessions, and touches especially upon the large importation of Africans which has lately taken place into the Island of São Thomé from Loanda, I have the honour to acquaint your Excellency with what follows, for the purpose of communicating it to the above-mentioned Minister.

I am informed by means of the despatch lately received in this Department from the Governor-General of the Province of Angola, dated the 5th of December of last year, that the said Governor-General, in a conversation which he held with Commodore Edmonstone, the Commander of the British naval station, and with the Commissioner, Mr. E. Gabriel, on the subject of the emigration of blacks from Loanda into São Thomé, had tried to enlighten the said British officials with respect to the allegation brought forward by them, namely,

CLASS B.

that, under the pretext of this transportation of blacks, a trade might be carried on for exporting slaves, and the same Governor-General had declared to them, at the same time, that these blacks emigrated in perfect conformity with the Portuguese laws, and with the Treaty of the 3rd July, 1842. However, as the British officials insisted upon their groundless allegation, notwithstanding the declarations alluded to, and as Her Britannic Majesty's Minister at this Court expresses the same ideas in his said note, and demands, by order of his Government, that some measures should be taken on this subject, it is my duty to acquaint your Excellency with the manner in which the transportation of blacks to São Thomé is carried out at Loanda, and with the precautions which the Governor-General has adopted on this subject.

No ship going from Loanda to São Thomé receives on board more than ten negroes either slaves or freedmen, carrying thus to exaggeration the exact compliance with the Treaty of the 3rd of July, 1842, in which freedmen are not, and could not, be included. Both these classes comply with all the conditions laid down in the respective laws. With regard to free negroes, those alone go who obtain passports as such, in conformity to the law; and they, moreover, comply with the obligations imposed by the Governor-General of the province, in order to assure himself with respect to their condition; and, for this purpose, they give a proper surety to prove that they are the same persons mentioned in the petitions presented, for the purpose of getting out passports to go to São Thomé in the capacity of free negroes, of which a proper record is made out in legal form. These petitions must, in addition to this, be accompanied by a document from the Administration of the district, showing that they are perfectly free individuals; and an official list of the names of the free negroes, and another of the slaves and freedmen, carried in each ship.

From what has been said, there is no doubt that the negroes going from Angola to São Thomé, do so in strict conformity with the laws, comply with all the formalities and give sureties; and it would be an abuse of authority, and a transgression against the fundamental law of the State, to refuse passports to Portuguese subjects under such conditions, and to hinder them from going where it may suit their purpose. Besides these precautions, the Governor-General of Angola has also taken the resolution of commissioning the Secretary to the Government of that Province (who had leave to attend to his health by a change of air, and went to São Thomé) to inquire in that island, together with the Governor thereof, into the services in which the blacks proceeding from Angola were engaged, and as to the condition in which they were placed; and it seems to me that, with such precautions and measures, no suspicions ought to be entertained with regard to this Traffic being the Slave Trade.

Examining attentively the first of the above-mentioned notes of Her Britannic Majesty's Minister, I must state to your Excellency that it appears to me to contain some contradictions and inconsistencies. With respect to the Slave Trade, as it is declared in that note that five ships had been lately captured by Portuguese cruisers, out of which three had been condemned by the proper Tribunal, by this assertion it is the Minister himself who proves that the Portuguese authorities show themselves to be very vigilant in the repression of this Traffic. The extract from the "Boletim" of the Government of Angola, which the above-mentioned Minister inclosed in his note in order to show that during the first nine months of 1861, 415 negroes had left for São Thomé, without any attempt to conceal them, proves the contrary of what it was wished to allege. For the very reason that full publicity is given to the transportation of the negroes, there can be no intention of evading the Treaty; and, moreover, from the same extract it can be seen that, in fourteen voyages of Portuguese ships, only 59 slaves were carried, whereas 140 might have gone, allowing 10 for each voyage, according to the Treaty.

With respect to the assertion that the Island of São Thomé is well adapted for a slave-depôt, whence slavers can carry them to Cuba with favourable winds, and that the comparatively high price of slaves in that island renders the Traffic between it and Loanda very lucrative, in this an evident contradiction can be noticed, because, if the price of slaves at São Thomé is high, it is clear that it cannot suit the speculators in this Traffic to go and purchase them there. The Island of São Thomé is drawing general attention to itself at the present day; the cultivation of coffee presents a very promising future; a great many speculators go there, and these on account of the scarcity of labourers in the province, try to get them at any cost; and, under these circumstances, the expenses and sacrifices made in order to obtain labourers, and the hopes of large profits from coffee, all tend to prove that the aim of the speculators neither is, nor can be, to traffic in Slaves, who could only be sold there at a very high price, but is, on the contrary, to see their hopes realized in the productions of the agricultural labour of their colonists.

In fine, the measure recommended by Her Britannic Majesty's Minister, namely, to expel from the African coast the Portuguese subjects who are known to be involved in the

Slave Trade neither can nor ought to be adopted by the Portuguese Government, until those individuals are judicially tried in conformity with the laws. I must, however, assure your Excellency that the Governor-General of Angola is energetically labouring for the repression of the Slave Trade, and that the measures which have been already taken in this matter appear to me to be sufficient to obtain the desired end.

God preserve, &c.

(Signed) JOSE DA SILVA MENDES LEAL.

Inclosure 3 in No. 178.

The Minister of Marine to the Marquis de Loulé.

(Translation.)

Most Illustrious and Excellent Sir,

*Marine and Ultramarine Department,
March 7, 1862.*

IN addition to my despatch of the 24th of last month, wherein I gave your Excellency some information respecting the emigration of negro labourers from the Province of Angola to that of São Thomé, I have the honour to transmit to your Excellency the inclosed copies of despatches from the Governors of the said Provinces, dated the 15th of December of last year, and the 8th of January, which show the result of the inquiry made by the Secretary to the Government of Angola, Jozé Barboza Leão, as to the manner in which the said labourers are received at São Thomé, and as to the services in which they are employed there.

God preserve, &c.

(Signed) JOSE DA SILVA MENDES LEAL.

Inclosure 4 in No. 178.

The Governor of the Province of St. Thomas to the Minister of Marine.

(Translation.)

Most Illustrious and Excellent Sir,

*Government Palace at St. Thomas,
December 15, 1861.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that the Secretary-General to the Government of the Province of Angola, Jozé Barboza Leão, presented himself in this island on his arrival in the steamer "Dom Pedro," not only to see if he could recover his health by means of the voyage, but also to avail himself of the opportunity to obtain direct information concerning the mode of registering the black slaves coming from Loanda, and as to what is the lot of those who present themselves as free negroes and freedmen.

The said Secretary remained convinced that the Decree of the 14th of December, 1854, is strictly complied with, and that the respective rules therein laid down are regularly put into execution, after he had examined the keeping of the books containing the registers concerning the slaves and the freedmen. It likewise came to his knowledge that the free negroes coming to this city were only employed in such work as they voluntarily sought after, like any other private individual, and only accomplished it as long as it suited them, being altogether exempt from the least subjection, as is the case with slaves or freedmen.

I further proved the veracity of this mode of proceeding by the course followed in the case of a free negro who came from Angola, and brought out with him a regular passport, as all others coming out in this capacity do. Some weeks having elapsed, the said negro, displeased with his stay in this island, again demanded a passage to Loanda, upon which I immediately ordered a passport to be given to him, and he departed freely for his place of destination.

In order to enable the aforesaid Secretary to give the respective Governor-General of Angola fuller information with respect to the interest and care which I take for the purpose of keeping up by all means the lawful introduction of labourers for agricultural works from the Province of Angola, I made known to him the punishment which I inflicted upon a slave-dealer, who by abuse of the law was bringing over blacks from Gabão to this island. Hence it can therefore be seen that authorities who act in this manner prove it to be their wish also that the Decree of the 14th of December, 1854, should not be abused, or erroneously interpreted, because it presents by itself quite sufficient guarantee for the lawful introduction of labourers from the Province of Angola for the works in these islands.

God preserve, &c.

(Signed) JOSE PEDRO DE MELLO.

Inclosure 5 in No. 178.

The Governor-General of the Province of Angola to the Minister of Marine.

(Translation.)

(Extract.)

January 8, 1862.

I INFORMED your Excellency by the previous packet that I commissioned the Secretary-General, on the occasion of his going to São Thomé, to examine carefully, together with the Governor, the manner in which the negro labourers transported from this place to that were received there, and the position in which they are placed, both for my rule of conduct and to give your Excellency an account thereof. I have the honour, therefore, to send your Excellency the inclosed copy of the despatch which he addressed to me on his return to this city, from which it can be seen that things are being carried on there in a most satisfactory manner, as your Excellency will observe.

Inclosure 6 in No. 178.

The Secretary-General to the Government of the Province of Angola to the Governor-General.

(Translation.)

(Extract.)

January 5, 1862.

YOUR Excellency has judged it expedient that I should repair to the Island of São Thomé, and that after gathering information from the Governor of the province, I should report to you what was going on there with respect to the free labourers transported from this place to that island in the capacity of free, freedmen, and slaves. In compliance, therefore, with your Excellency's orders, I departed for that place on the 6th of December in the steamer "Dom Pedro," of the Mercantile Union Company, and after my arrival on the 13th I immediately set myself to discharge the task committed to me. I endeavoured to gather the necessary information, not only from the official Departments, but also from private individuals, and I came at last to the knowledge that the worthy Governor of that province was giving this affair all proper care and attention. It is my duty to inform your Excellency that the result of my inquiry is as follows:—

First. That the blacks going from Angola in the quality either of slaves or of freedmen are registered and placed under the charge of the respective Protecting Board, in perfect conformity with what is laid down in the Decree of the 14th December, 1854.

Secondly. That the blacks who go out as free have full liberty of doing what they like with themselves, in fact, like free men, which they are in reality; but being rude and inexperienced, and as the Governor thinks it convenient to keep a watch on them, he recommends those persons who engage their services to take proper care of them, and he exercises the necessary inspection and superintendence as to the mode of treatment with which they meet by means of the Administrator of the district and of the parochial officers. It seems clear, therefore, excellent Sir, that the black emigrants proceeding to São Thomé are received and settled there in perfect conformity with the laws, and that the authorities show great solicitude in their behalf.

In the same way, in consequence of the scarcity of workmen, and of the great want of them which agriculturists feel, it seems clear that the slaves and freedmen will be well treated by their owners and masters, and that the labourers especially will be very well treated by their employers, in order that there may be no reason to allow themselves to be enticed to exchange their work with some agriculturists for others who promise them better treatment and advantages.

No. 179.

Earl Russell to Sir A. Magenis.

Sir,

Foreign Office, April 16, 1862.

WITH reference to my despatches of the 14th of January last, I transmit to you herewith copies of a further despatch and its inclosure from Her Majesty's Commissioners at Loanda,* by which it will be seen that no less than 467 slaves were exported from that port as free labourers to the Island of St. Thomas between the 2nd of October and 28th of January last.

Her Majesty's Government do not doubt that the Government of His Most Faithful

* Class A, No. 35.

Majesty, in view of the representations which you have already been instructed to make to them on this subject, will have already taken steps to put a stop to this undisguised Traffic in Slaves, but you will, nevertheless, communicate to the Portuguese Minister a copy of the Commissioners' despatch, and you will state to his Excellency that you are instructed not to disguise the fact that, if effectual measures are not taken by the Portuguese authorities to check this Traffic, stringent instructions will be given to our cruisers to do so.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 180.

Sir A. Magenis to Earl Russell.—(Received May 2.)

My Lord,

Lisbon, April 25, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt, on the 22nd instant, by steam-packet "Alhambra," of your Lordship's despatch of the 16th of this month.

In obedience to its instructions I addressed a note yesterday to the Marquis de Loulé, copy of which I have the honour to inclose herewith, communicating to his Excellency copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Commissioner at Loanda, showing the undisguised Traffic in Slaves, as free labourers, which is carried on from that port to the Island of St. Thomas, and informing his Excellency that I am instructed by your Lordship not to disguise the fact that if effectual measures are not taken by the Portuguese authorities to check this Traffic, stringent instructions will be given to Her Majesty's cruisers to do so.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

Inclosure in No. 180.

Sir A. Magenis to the Marquis de Loulé.

M. le Ministre,

Lisbon, April 24, 1862.

I AM instructed by Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to communicate to your Excellency the inclosed copy of a despatch and its inclosure from Her Majesty's Commissioners at Loanda, by which it will be seen that no less than 467 slaves were exported from that port as free labourers to the Island of St. Thomas between the 2nd of October and the 8th of January last.

Her Majesty's Government do not doubt that the Government of His Most Faithful Majesty, in view of the representations which I have already been instructed to make to them on this subject, will have already taken steps to put a stop to this undisguised Traffic in Slaves, but I am nevertheless instructed by Earl Russell not to disguise the fact that if effectual measures are not taken by the Portuguese authorities to check this Traffic, stringent instructions will be given to Her Majesty's cruisers to do so.

I avail, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

No. 181.

Earl Russell to Sir A. Magenis.

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 6, 1862.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith, for your information, a despatch which I have received from Her Majesty's Commissioners at Loanda,* forwarding the joint Report of the British and Portuguese Commissioners at that place for the year 1861.

I am &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

Earl Russell to Sir A. Magenis.

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 16, 1862.

I HAVE received your despatches of the 29th ultimo and 6th instant, inclosing the despatches forwarded to you under flying seal by Her Majesty's Commissioners at Loanda.

You will have learnt from these reports that so far from there having been any abatement of the practice of embarking slaves from Loanda and other places on the mainland for the Island of St. Thomas, the practice has gone on increasing, and the legality of the proceedings of the Portuguese authorities in this respect is maintained and defended by the Governor-General of Angola.

It would appear, moreover, that this illegal traffic is accompanied by many of the cruelties attendant on the Cuban Slave Trade, the negroes being in some instances transported in small coasting-vessels incapable of affording sufficient accommodation for the numbers they contain, or of carrying adequate supplies.

The Commissioners in their despatch dated the 25th of March last, mention an instance in which one of these small vessels was fallen in with, having on board a number of negroes reduced to a great state of suffering by the want of water.

Her Majesty's Government feel that they would have been justified, when this system of transporting slaves from Loanda to St. Thomas was first brought to their notice, in issuing instructions to the Commanders of Her Majesty's cruizers to seize and detain vessels engaged in this traffic, and to send them for adjudication before the Mixed Commission Court at Loanda; but they had hoped that it would have been sufficient for them to bring the subject to the notice of the Government of His Most Faithful Majesty, to insure the promulgation of the most stringent measures to prevent the repetition of these illegal and inhuman proceedings. In this hope Her Majesty's Government have been disappointed, and I regret that the tenour of the accounts received within the last year both from the East and West Coasts of Africa show not only that Portuguese subjects are largely engaged in Slave Trade, but that in some instances Portuguese authorities connive at, if they do not actually participate in, the traffic. It will suffice here to mention the last instance recorded of the complicity of Portuguese subjects in Slave Traffic.

The Portuguese brig "*Sophia*" left Loanda on the 10th of December last with thirty-five negroes and a quantity of cattle, bound ostensibly for St. Thomas. The information received by Her Majesty's Government does not state whether these negroes reached that island, or whether they were even destined for that place; but there can be no doubt that in the early part of the month of February the "*Sophia*" shipped a cargo of 600 slaves in the Congo, and left the river under Portuguese colours for Cuba.

It is impossible for Her Majesty's Government to view with indifference this state of things, and I have accordingly to instruct you to ask for an audience of the King of Portugal, at which you will bring to the knowledge of His Most Faithful Majesty the substance of the reports that have been forwarded to you relating not only to the transport of negroes to St. Thomas, but to the whole subject of the Slave Trade.

You will point out the heinousness of the Traffic, and the bad impression created in England by the complicity in it of the Portuguese authorities, and you will add that Her Majesty's Government will be obliged very reluctantly to exercise the powers they possess by Treaty by seizing all vessels suspected of Slave Trade, whatever name it may bear, leaving it to the Courts to decide whether the negroes found on board are free labourers or slaves.

You will at the same time deliver a note to the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs, in the sense of this despatch.

I am, &c.

(Signed) RUSSELL.

Sir A. Magenis to Earl Russell.—(Received May 22.)

My Lord,

Lisbon, May 16, 1862.

I CALLED the attention of the Marquis de Loulé, on the 9th instant, to the circumstances detailed in Mr. Gabriel's despatch of 8th March, which that gentleman had transmitted to me under flying seal.

I strongly urged his Excellency, if he wished to avoid most serious complications

with the naval forces of Her Majesty on that station—for if the Portuguese Government did not put a stop to this Traffic he might be assured that Her Majesty's naval forces would do so—to send orders to Loanda to put an end to the practice of sending so-called "free negroes" to St. Thomas; adding, that it was morally impossible that there should have been 2,000 (the number stated by Mr. Gabriel) such negroes really free, and ready to emigrate to St. Thomas in little more than twelve months, and that in fact it was the Slave Trade in disguise, and was, I feared, rather encouraged than prevented by the Portuguese officials at Loanda, who received various fees on the pretended liberation of these negroes. I also alluded to the case of the Portuguese brig "*Sophia*," mentioned by Mr. Gabriel in the same despatch, which had sailed from Loanda in December last with 35 of these "free negroes," nominally for St. Thomas, but having shipped a cargo of 600 slaves in the Congo, proceeded to Cuba.

His Excellency made a note of these two cases, and promised to refer them to the Minister of Marine and the Colonies.

I have likewise spoken to an English merchant here of great respectability, who is interested in the "*União Mercantil*," and pointed out to him the risks their vessels, which frequently conveyed these negroes, run of being at least detained by some of Her Majesty's cruizers, and possibly condemned as taking part in the Slave Trade.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

No. 184.

Sir A. Magenis to Earl Russell.—(Received June 1.)

My Lord,

Lisbon, May 23, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt, on the 22nd instant, by the steam-boat "*Tagus*," of your Lordship's despatches of the 16th instant, together with their respective inclosures.

Your Lordship instructed me, referring to the late reports from Her Majesty's Commissioners at Loanda, bringing to your notice the great extent to which the emigration to St. Thomas of so-called "free negroes" had gone, to ask for an audience of the King of Portugal, at which I was to bring to the knowledge of His Most Faithful Majesty the substance of the reports above mentioned, and further, to deliver a note to the Minister for Foreign Affairs in the sense of your despatch; and I have the honour to inform your Lordship that, as I was to have an audience of the King a few hours after the receipt of your despatch, previously to my departure from this, in a few days, on leave of absence, I took that despatch with me.

I had informed the Marquis de Loulé, before I was received by the King, of your Lordship's instructions; and after explaining briefly to His Most Faithful Majesty the extent to which this Traffic had grown, and the grounds on which it was believed that this emigration was nothing else than the Slave Trade in disguise, I requested him to read your Lordship's despatch on the subject, which His Majesty did without making one word of comment. I am not, however, without hopes that the Marquis de Loulé, who was present, will feel the importance Her Majesty's Government attach to this subject, by my having brought it under His Most Faithful Majesty's especial notice, and will endeavour seriously to put a stop to it. His Excellency promised me that immediate inquiries should be made, but he expressed his disbelief that Portuguese officials either connived at or participated in the Traffic.

I inclose copy of a note which I have this day addressed to the Marquis de Loulé on this subject, in obedience to your Lordship's instructions.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

P.S.—The Marquis de Loulé, who has just called to wish me good-bye previously to my departure to-morrow, assured me that he has communicated with the Minister for the Colonies since he had received my note of the 23rd, and that immediate steps should be taken to put a stop to the cause of my complaint. His Excellency at the same time expressed the high confidence which he felt in the honour and integrity of the present Governor of Loanda, adding that he was as sure of that gentleman as he would be of himself, and that if any abuses had taken place, he was no party to them.

A. C. M.

Inclosure in No. 184.

Sir A. Magenis to the Marquis de Loulé.

M. le Ministre,

Lisbon, May 23, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that I have been instructed by Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs again to make serious representations to the Government of His Most Faithful Majesty on the Traffic in Negroes which for some time past has been allowed to continue unchecked in the African dominions of the Portuguese Crown.

The most recent reports of Her Majesty's Commissioners at Loanda show that the practice of embarking so-called "free negroes" from that port and other places on the mainland for the island of St. Thomas, a practice to which I had the honour of drawing the attention of your Excellency in my note of the 24th ultimo, so far from having abated, has gone on increasing; and it would appear, moreover, that this illegal Traffic is accompanied by many of the cruelties attendant on the Cuban Slave Trade, the negroes being in some instances transported in small coasting vessels incapable of affording sufficient accommodation for the number they contain, or of carrying adequate supplies. One case in particular may be mentioned, in which a Portuguese merchant-ship fell in with a vessel of less than 25 tons, bound for St. Thomas, with between 30 and 40 negroes on board, who were found in a state of great suffering from want of water.

It is believed, on good grounds, that upwards of 2,000 negroes have been conveyed from Loanda to St. Thomas since the beginning of 1861, and it is asserted that the greater part of those who are thus constantly transported to that island are purchased at Loanda by private individuals expressly for the purpose of shipment. These negroes, who are generally of the rudest class, and fresh from the interior, cannot possibly be supposed to be *bond fide* free agents voluntarily emigrating from their native country, whatever may be the form of emancipation gone through by their masters in order to evade the law; and although certificates and other documents may be produced to show that the letter of the Treaty of 1842 is not infringed, while its spirit is violated, it is evident that these operations, by whatever name they may be designated, must have the effect of stimulating the Slave Trade in the interior of Africa.

There is good reason to believe that, besides the vessels ostensibly employed in carrying negroes described in the official Gazette as "free blacks," numbers of small coasting craft, the names of which never appear in that "Gazette," are constantly sailing from Loanda with cargoes of slaves for St. Thomas.

Her Majesty's Government feel that they would have been justified when this system of transporting slaves from Loanda to St. Thomas was first brought to their notice, in issuing instructions to the Commanders of Her Majesty's cruisers to seize and detain vessels engaged in this Traffic, and to send them for adjudication before the Mixed Commission Court at Loanda; but they had hoped that it would have been sufficient for them to bring the subject to the notice of the Government of His Most Faithful Majesty to ensure the promulgation of the most stringent measures to prevent the repetition of these illegal and inhuman proceedings. In this hope Her Majesty's Government have been disappointed, and they regret that the tenour of the accounts received within the last year, both from the east and west coasts of Africa, show not only that Portuguese subjects are largely engaged in the Slave Trade, but that in some instances Portuguese authorities connive at, if they do not actually participate in, the Traffic.

It will suffice here to mention the last instance recorded of the complicity of Portuguese subjects in the Slave Traffic.

The Portuguese brig "*Sophia*" left Loanda on the 10th of December last with 35 negroes and a quantity of cattle bound ostensibly for St. Thomas. The information received by Her Majesty's Government does not state whether these negroes reached that island, or whether they were even destined for that place, but there can be no doubt that in the early part of the month of February the "*Sophia*" shipped a cargo of 600 slaves in the Congo, and left that river under Portuguese colours for Cuba. It is impossible for Her Majesty's Government to view with indifference this state of things, and I am accordingly instructed to point out to the Government of His Most Faithful Majesty that a very bad impression has been created in England by the complicity of Portuguese authorities in this heinous Traffic, and to add that Her Majesty's Government will be obliged, very reluctantly, to exercise the powers they possess by Treaty, by seizing all vessels suspected of Slave Trade, whatever name it may bear, leaving it to the Courts to decide whether the negroes found on board are free labourers or slaves.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

No. 185.

Earl Russell to Sir A. Magenis.

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 3, 1862.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 25th of April; and I have to convey to you my approval of the note which you addressed to the Marquis de Loulé on the 24th of April, upon the subject of the exportation of slaves, as free labourers, from Loanda to the Island of St. Thomas.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 186.

Earl Russell to Sir A. Magenis.

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 3, 1862.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 16th ultimo, inclosing a copy of a note which you addressed to the Portuguese Minister, calling his attention to the serious complications which are likely to arise should the traffic in the so-called free negroes from Loanda to the Island of St. Thomas be allowed to continue, with the apparent sanction of the Portuguese officials on that coast.

I have to instruct you, in the event of your not having already received a reply to your note, to call upon the Marquis de Loulé to inform you of the result of the inquiries which he stated he would make of the Minister of Marine and the Colonies upon this subject.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 187.

Earl Russell to Sir A. Magenis.

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 18, 1862.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 23rd of May last; and I have to convey to you my approval of the note which, in accordance with the instructions contained in my despatch of the 16th ultimo, you addressed to the Marquis de Loulé, containing a further remonstrance against the Traffic in Slaves now carried on between Loanda and the Island of St. Thomas.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 188.

Mr. Herries to Earl Russell.—(Received June 23.)

(Extract.)

Lisbon, June 14, 1862.

YOUR Lordship's two despatches of the 3rd instant, both addressed to Sir A. Magenis, reached me this morning by the "Tagus."

I saw the Marquis de Loulé at the Foreign Office to-day; and in execution of your Lordship's instructions requested that his Excellency would inform me of the result of the inquiries which he had stated he would make of the Minister of Marine and Colonies on the subject of the Traffic in Negroes between Loanda and St. Thomas. His Excellency said that the Minister of Marine had not yet received from the Governor of Angola the explanations which he had called for some time since.

The Marquis de Loulé had already acquainted me, in acknowledging receipt of Sir A. Magenis' last note, dated May 23, on this subject, that he had communicated it to the Minister of Marine.

In consequence of representations made to them privately by Sir A. Magenis, the Directors of the Mercantile Union Steam Navigation Company, whose steamers, plying between Loanda and Lisbon, touch at St. Thomas, have given strict orders to their agents and the Commanders of their vessels on no account to abet any violation or fraudulent evasion of the Treaty of 1842, and to refuse to carry negroes as passengers in all cases of doubtful legality.

No. 189.

Earl Russell to Mr. Herries.

Sir,

Foreign Office, July 12, 1862.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith copies of a despatch and its inclosures from Sir Henry Huntley,* who holds Her Majesty's Commissions as Consul for the Province of Angola, and Arbitrator in the Mixed Commission Court at Loanda, reporting the circumstances under which he declined to receive a letter addressed to him individually in his character of Consul by the Governor-General of Angola, replying to a communication made jointly by Her Majesty's Commissioners to the Governor-General, on the subject of the transport of slaves from Loanda to St. Thomas, under the pretence of their being voluntary emigrants.

By a Portaria issued by the Portuguese Minister of Marine, dated the 14th February, 1854, a translation of which accompanies Sir Henry's Huntley's despatch, you will perceive that permission is expressly given to the British Commissioner to correspond freely with the Governor-General of Angola upon matters connected with the Slave Trade when any urgent question may arise, and in conformity with the above order Her Majesty's Commissioner has been in the constant habit of corresponding directly with the Governor-General upon all matters connected with the Slave Trade.

Her Majesty's Government cannot suppose that it is owing to any fresh orders from Lisbon that the Governor-General of Angola declined to communicate directly with Her Majesty's Commissioner, and they are still more unwilling to believe that any discourtesy was intended by that officer to Mr. Gabriel by the course of proceeding which his Excellency adopted; but whatever reason the Governor-General may have had for addressing his reply to a joint communication made to him by Her Majesty's Commissioners to Sir Henry Huntley alone, Her Majesty's Government can conceive no case in which direct communication between Her Majesty's Commissioner and the first Portuguese authority in Angola was more urgent and necessary than the one which has given rise to this correspondence, viz., the introduction of slaves into the Island of St. Thomas, under the pretence of their being free labourers, in contravention of the provisions of the Treaty of 1842.

I have to desire that you will address a note on this subject to the Portuguese Government, and you will request that such instructions may be sent to the Governor-General of Angola as will prevent a similar course of proceeding on his part for the future.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 190.

Mr. Herries to Earl Russell.—(Received July 12.)

My Lord,

Lisbon, July 6, 1862.

ON the 28th ultimo a Bill for the abolition of slavery in the Cape Verde Islands, brought in by the Deputies for that Province, was read a second time in the Chamber of Deputies, and referred to a Committee.

The provisions of the Bill are to the following effect:—

Article 1. Slavery to be abolished, and existing slaves to be immediately emancipated in the Islands of St. Anthony, St. Vincent, St. Nicholas, and St. Lucia.

Art. 2. Compensation to be paid by the Government to the owners of the slaves emancipated.

Art. 3. The execution of the law to be reported to the Cortes by the Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD HERRIES.

No. 191.

Earl Russell to Mr. Herries.

Sir,

Foreign Office, July 28, 1862.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 6th instant, reporting that a Bill for the abolition of slavery in the Cape Verde Islands, introduced by the Deputies for that Province, has been read a second time by the Chamber of Deputies, and referred to a Committee.

* Class A, No. 46.

Her Majesty's Government hope that the Bill will pass, and that the influence of the Portuguese Government will not be wanting to ensure the success of this humane measure.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 192.

Earl Russell to Mr. Herries.

Sir,

Foreign Office, July 28, 1862.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith extracts of despatches which I have received from Dr. Livingstone,* relative to the Slave Trade proceedings of the Portuguese on the eastern side of the continent of Africa.

You will perceive from Dr. Livingstone's Report that there can be little doubt that the Portuguese Governor of Tette is privy to the organization of slave-hunts in the interior of Africa, and that the miserable negroes who are made captives are bartered by the Governor's agents with the Chiefs of other tribes for ivory.

It is in consequence of a long course of proceedings similar to those reported by Dr. Livingstone, that the Portuguese colonial possessions on the Eastern Coast of Africa, instead of becoming, as they might have been, flourishing colonies, are now only monuments of Portuguese misrule, and this must continue to be the case so long as the natives, instead of being protected and encouraged in cultivating the valuable productions of the soil, are hunted down like wild beasts, to be sold as slaves, and it seems that the abettors of these criminal practices and these violations of the laws and Treaties of Portugal are sometimes officers holding Commissions in the service of the King of Portugal.

Her Majesty's Government are unwilling to believe that the Government of His Most Faithful Majesty can be aware that proceedings of the nature of those reported by Dr. Livingstone are carried on within the Portuguese dominions; I have, therefore, to desire that you will communicate to the Portuguese Government the substance of Dr. Livingstone's Reports, and in doing so you will express the earnest hope of Her Majesty's Government that effectual steps will be taken to put an end to these criminal proceedings.

Her Majesty's Government trust that the persons concerned in these proceedings will meet with the punishment they deserve, and that the Governors and agents who permit these foul acts will be removed, and replaced by honest and humane men.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 193.

Mr. Herries to Earl Russell.—(Received July 31.)

My Lord,

Lisbon, July 24, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 12th instant, and to transmit herewith a copy of a note which, in obedience to the instructions contained in that despatch, I have addressed to the Marquis de Loulé, stating the circumstances under which Sir Henry Huntley declined to receive a letter addressed to him individually, in his Consular capacity, by the Governor-General of Angola, in reply to a communication made jointly by Her Majesty's Ministers, pointing out the objections to the course pursued by the Governor-General; and requesting that instructions may be sent to that functionary to prevent a similar course of proceeding on his part for the future.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD HERRIES.

Inclosure in No. 193.

Mr. Herries to the Marquis de Loulé.

M. le Ministre,

Lisbon, July 23, 1862.

IN obedience to instructions which I have received from Her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, I have the honour to draw your Excellency's attention to the following circumstances that have been recently reported to Her Majesty's Government.

* Nos. 214 and 215.

On the 24th of March, a communication was made jointly by Her Majesty's Commissioners at Loanda, Mr. Gabriel and Sir Henry Huntley, to the Governor-General of Angola, on the subject of the surreptitious conveyance of slaves from Loanda to the Island of St. Thomas, and in reply to that communication the Secretary to the Government addressed a letter on the 27th of March, not to Her Majesty's Commissioners, but to Sir Henry Huntley alone, as Her Majesty's Consul.

Conceiving that this letter might have been misdirected through inadvertence, Sir Henry Huntley applied to the Secretary for the rectification of the error; but he was distinctly informed that the letter of the 27th of March had been addressed to him in his Consular capacity by order of the Governor-General, who held Her Majesty's Consul, as the British Diplomatic Agent at Loanda, to be alone competent to deal with the question which formed the subject of the two Commissioners' letter of the 24th March.

Sir Henry Huntley could not concur in this opinion, and as the Governor-General persisted in declaring that the matter referred to was beyond the cognizance of Her Majesty's Commissioners, declined to receive the letter of the 27th March, grounding his refusal upon the terms of a Portaria of the Portuguese Marine and Colonial Department dated the 14th February, 1854, and likewise upon instructions given by the Earl of Clarendon, on this subject, to Her Majesty's Vice-Consul at Loanda in 1854.

By the above-mentioned Portaria permission is expressly given to the British Commissioner to correspond freely with the Governor-General of Angola, upon matters connected with the Slave Trade, when any urgent question may arise, and in conformity with that order Her Majesty's Commissioner has been in the constant habit of corresponding directly with the Governor-General of Angola upon all matters connected with the Slave Trade.

Her Majesty's Government cannot suppose that it was owing to any fresh orders from Lisbon that the Governor-General of Angola declined to communicate directly with Her Majesty's Commissioners, and they are still more unwilling to believe that any discourtesy was intended by that officer to Mr. Gabriel by the course of proceeding which his Excellency adopted; but whatever reason the Governor-General may have had for addressing his reply to a joint communication made to him by Her Majesty's Commissioners, to Sir Henry Huntley alone, Her Majesty's Government can conceive no case in which direct communication between Her Majesty's Commissioners and the first Portuguese authority in Angola was more urgent and necessary than the one which has given rise to this correspondence, namely, the introduction of slaves into the Island of St. Thomas under the pretence of their being free labourers, in contravention of the provisions of the Treaty of 1842.

I am directed, therefore, to request that such instructions may be sent by Her Most Faithful Majesty's Government to the Governor-General of Angola as will prevent a similar course of proceeding on his part for the future.

I avail, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD HERRIES.

No. 194.

Earl Russell to Mr. Herries.

Sir,

Foreign Office, August 2, 1862.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith copies of a despatch, and its inclosure, from Her Majesty's Commissioner at Loanda,* reporting the capture of a brig by Her Majesty's ship "Torch" without colours or papers, but which there is every reason to believe was the Portuguese brig "*Alegre*," which cleared from Liverpool for Lisbon in July of last year.

As it is more than probable that this vessel was fitted out for the Slave Trade in the Tagus, I have to instruct you to bring this case to the notice of the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs, and to request his Excellency to cause inquiries to be made with the view, if possible, to the punishment of the parties implicated in this slave-trading transaction.

You will likewise call the attention of the Marquis de Loulé to the statement that three more vessels were fitting out in the Tagus for the Slave Trade when the "*Alegre*" left Lisbon.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 195.

Earl Russell to Mr. Herries.

Sir, *Foreign Office, August 2, 1862.*
 THE Queen having been graciously pleased to appoint Mr. Watson Vredenburg to be Her Majesty's Arbitrator in the Mixed Commission Court at Loanda, and Consul for the Province of Angola, in the place of Sir Henry Huntley, who has been recalled, I transmit to you herewith the commission granted to Mr. Vredenburg as Consul, and I have to instruct you to procure the usual exequatur from the Portuguese Government, which you will transmit to this office, together with the commission.

I am, &c.
 (Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 196.

Mr. Herries to Earl Russell.—(Received August 6.)

My Lord, *Lisbon, July 25, 1862.*
 WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch of the 12th instant, I have the honour to report that in the course of a conversation which I had with the Marquis de Loulé this morning, his Excellency alluding to the note (copy of which was inclosed in my despatch of July 24th) of the 23rd instant, on the subject of the refusal of the Governor-General of Angola to communicate directly with Her Majesty's Commissioners at Loanda, expressed his entire concurrence in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government as to the inconvenience of the course adopted by the Governor-General, and informed me, at the same time, that instructions in that sense would be sent to him, without delay, by the Minister for Marine and the Colonies.

I have, &c.
 (Signed) EDWARD HERRIES.

No. 197.

Mr. Herries to Earl Russell.—(Received August 17.)

My Lord, *Lisbon, August 8, 1862.*
 I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 28th of July, and to report that I took an opportunity this day of expressing to the Marquis de Loulé the hope of Her Majesty's Government that the Bill for the abolition of slavery in the Cape Verd Islands would be supported by the Government in the ensuing Session of the Cortes.

His Excellency assured me that he and his colleagues would do their best to ensure the success of the measure, of which he highly approved, and which he had no doubt would pass without difficulty. He added that the number of slaves in the Cape Verd Islands being very limited, the sacrifices required for their emancipation would not be considerable.

I have, &c.
 (Signed) EDWARD HERRIES.

No. 198.

Mr. Herries to Earl Russell.—(Received August 17.)

My Lord, *Lisbon, August 8, 1862.*
 I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith a copy of a note which I have addressed to the Marquis de Loulé, communicating to the Portuguese Government, in obedience to the instructions conveyed to me by your Lordship's despatch of the 28th July, the substance of Dr. Livingstone's reports relative to the participation of Portuguese authorities in the Slave Trade on the eastern side of the Continent of Africa, and expressing the hope of Her Majesty's Government that steps will be taken to put an end to the criminal proceedings described by Dr. Livingstone.

I have, &c.
 (Signed) EDWARD HERRIES.

Inclosure in No. 198.

Mr. Herries to the Marquis de Loulé.

M. le Ministre,

Lisbon, August 7, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to make your Excellency acquainted with certain facts that have come to the knowledge of Her Britannic Majesty's Government, proving the participation of Portuguese authorities in the Slave Trade on the eastern side of the Continent of Africa.

It appears, from the reports addressed to Her Majesty's Government by Dr. Livingstone, the well-known African explorer, that in July 1861, on entering the country of the Manganja tribe, he found there a regular system of slave-hunting, organized by Portuguese agents from Tette, who had incited another tribe called Ajawa to attack the villages of the Manganja, kill the men, and sell the women and children to the Portuguese dealers. Dr. Livingstone fell in with four armed parties conducting great numbers of slaves thus procured.

The first convoy which he met, consisting of 84 captives, was led by a well-known slave belonging to one of the Portuguese Governors (Major Secard). The leaders of the other parties declared that they were employed in the business with the full sanction of Senhor Antonio T. d'Almeida, the present Governor of Tette; and one man even offered to conduct Dr. Livingstone to a place where that Governor's own slaves were waiting for prisoners expected to be brought in by the Ajawa.

When he reached the Zambesi some months later, Dr. Livingstone ascertained that the Portuguese slave-dealers were in the habit of sending up that river, to be bartered for ivory, the negroes taken in the slave-hunting expeditions set on foot by them in the manner described; and further, that the Governor of Tette not only connived at this infamous traffic, but was engaged in it himself.

As Her Majesty's Government are unwilling to believe that the Government of His Most Faithful Majesty can be aware that such proceedings are carried on within the Portuguese dominions, I am instructed to communicate to your Excellency the information which has been received on this subject from Dr. Livingstone; and I am directed, at the same time, to express the earnest hope of Her Majesty's Government that effectual steps will be taken to put an end to these criminal practices.

Her Majesty's Government trust that the persons concerned in them will meet with the punishment they deserve, and that the Governors and Agents who permit these foul acts will be removed and replaced by honest and honourable men.

I avail, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD HERRIES.

No. 199.

Earl Russell to Mr. Herries.

Sir,

Foreign Office, August 25, 1862.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 8th instant, I have to acquaint you that I approve the note which, in execution of the instructions conveyed to you in my despatch of the 28th ultimo, you addressed to the Portuguese Government, on the subject of the Slave Trade proceedings of certain of the Portuguese authorities on the Eastern Coast of Africa.

I am, &c.

(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 200.

Mr. Herries to Earl Russell.—(Received September 8.)

My Lord,

Lisbon, September 1, 1862.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch to Sir Arthur Magenis of June 3, and to my despatch of June 14, I have the honour to report that, in answer to my renewed inquiries as to the result of the representations of Her Majesty's Government concerning the fraudulent conveyance of negroes from Loanda to St. Thomas's, the Marquis de Loulé told me two days ago that effectual measures had been taken to put a stop to the practice

complained of. He was able, he said, to give me this assurance, although he had not yet received official information on the subject.

His Excellency further observed that these proceedings had hitherto been, if not encouraged, at any rate tolerated by the provincial authorities, owing chiefly to erroneous notions entertained by the late Colonial Secretary of Angola, who had believed that the prosperity of St. Thomas's might thereby be promoted, without any violation of either the letter or spirit of the Treaty of 1842 with Great Britain. Independently of other considerations, however, the large introduction of negroes into the island had turned out to be a source of embarrassment and even danger, and any connivance at this Traffic would no longer be permitted.

I said I had no doubt Her Majesty's Government would receive this announcement with great satisfaction.

Both the Governor-General and the Provincial Secretary of Angola were lately superseded, their direction of the affairs of the colony, having met with the disapproval of the Home Government; and it is possible that one of the reasons for their recall may have been the obstinacy with which they persisted in abetting these Slave Trade transactions.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD HERRIES.

No. 201.

Mr. Herries to Earl Russell.—(Received September 19.)

My Lord,

Lisbon, September 11, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship, herewith, a translation of a note dated the 8th instant (received on the 10th) from the Marquis de Loulé, in reply to my note of August 7 (a copy of which was inclosed in my despatch of August 8) communicating to his Excellency the substance of Dr. Livingstone's reports concerning the participation of Portuguese authorities in the Slave Trade on the eastern side of the continent of Africa.

His Excellency states, as your Lordship will perceive, that nothing on this subject being known in the Marine Department, information has been called for from the Governor-General of Mozambique, who has been at the same time instructed to take the most energetic measures against these proceedings.

The previous note of the 12th ultimo, alluded to by the Marquis de Loulé, merely acknowledged the receipt of my note of August 7, and informed me that its contents would be communicated to the Minister of Marine. I thought it would be useless, therefore, to transmit to your Lordship a translation of that note.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD HERRIES.

Inclosure in No. 201.

The Marquis de Loulé to Mr. Herries.

(Translation.)

Lisbon, September 8, 1862.

IN addition to the note which I addressed to you on the 12th of August last, with regard to the reports to which you allude in the note which you sent to me on the 7th of that month, and which were forwarded to your Government, respecting certain Slave Trade operations said to be carried on in some parts of the Portuguese dominions on the Eastern Coast of Africa, I have the honour to inform you that the Minister of Marine, to whom I had written, apprised me, on the 30th of last month, that nothing was known on this subject in the Department under his charge, but that at the above-mentioned date he had urgently asked for information from the Governor-General of the Province of Mozambique, renewing, at the same time, the injunction given to that official, that he ought to employ the utmost energy and the necessary means in order to repress these facts, which will be very displeasing to His Majesty's Government, if perchance they do really exist.

Reserving, therefore, to acquaint you with any information that may be communicated to me on this subject, I avail, &c.

(Signed) MARQUIS DE LOULE.

Mr. Herries to Earl Russell.—(Received September 26.)

My Lord,

Lisbon, September 18, 1862.

WITH reference to Sir Arthur Magenis' despatches of December 6 and 15, 1860, inclosing copies of notes in which he had remonstrated against the encouragement given to the Slave Trade by Portuguese authorities on the East Coast of Africa, I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith, translations of a note dated the 9th instant (received the 13th) from the Marquis de Loulé, and of two despatches from the Governor-General of Mozambique inclosed therein, controverting the statements contained in the above-mentioned notes from Sir Arthur Magenis, and vehemently repelling the charge of connivance at the Slave Trade on the part of Portuguese authorities.

The Governor-General observes, in the first place, that, although the greatest efforts have been made by him to suppress the Traffic, it cannot be entirely prevented on account of the extent and character of the coast. He goes on to remark, with regard to two specific charges made by Captain Oldfield, that at the time when a certain cargo of slaves was alleged to have been shipped at Angoche, that place was not under Portuguese power, and that Mickandony, another place mentioned, is altogether beyond the Portuguese territories; and, further, as to one or two vessels said to have obtained cargoes between Ibo and ten miles north of Cape Delgado, that the country to the north of the Cape does not belong to Portugal. He contends that the capture of slave ships in the Mozambique channel, which reaches far beyond the Portuguese dominions, proves nothing against Portuguese authorities. After declaring that for the last three years no reliable information has reached him of any shipment of slaves within his jurisdiction, the Governor-General proceeds to criticise Captain Crawford's assertions, which he endeavours to invalidate.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD HERRIES.

Inclosure 1 in No. 202.

The Marquis de Loulé to Mr. Herries.

(Translation.)

Lisbon, September 9, 1862.

THE Minister of Marine having communicated to the Governor-General of the Province of Mozambique the contents of Sir Arthur Charles Magenis' notes dated the 5th and 14th December, 1860, in which his Excellency called my predecessor's attention to the large exportation of slaves which was said to be carried on in the Portuguese Possessions on the eastern coast of Africa, with the connivance of the local authorities, it is my duty to transmit to you, for your own knowledge and that of your Government, extracts from two despatches of the said Governor-General, addressed to that Department under date of the 15th of February of the current year.

From these extracts you will see how unjust and groundless are the accusations made against the aforesaid authorities with respect to the Slave Trade.

I avail, &c.

(Signed) MARQUIS DE LOULE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 202.

The Governor-General of the Province of Mozambique to the Minister of Marine.

(Translation.)

*Palace of the General Government of the Province of Mozambique,
February 15, 1862.*

(Extract.)

IN the Ministerial Order from the Department under your worthy charge, No. 134 of 1860, His Majesty the King is pleased to recommend to me the greatest possible vigilance, in order to prevent by all the means in my power the exportation of slaves, which, it appeared, according to the information received by the British Government, was carried on in some of the ports of the Portuguese Possessions on this coast, a translated copy of the note of Her Britannic Majesty's Minister at the Court of Lisbon, addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs having been also transmitted to me.

One of the things that has called for my greatest care has been to prevent, by all

possible means, which are not many as your Excellency knows, the continuance of this Traffic, which will be carried on, not in the places where there are Portuguese authorities, but in those (and they are numerous) where there are none; and where not even a large squadron could effectually prevent it from being carried on, not only on account of the impossibility of guarding such an extensive coast, which includes so many small points and places adapted to the purpose of clandestine shipments, but also because the sea in this channel, with its rapid and various currents, with the impetuosity of the winds which are almost constantly prevalent there, so well known and familiar to navigators, hinders the cruising of vessels at certain fixed points, which are well known to the said trade, and which, generally speaking, are those inhabited by the Mahometans, whether Mujejos, Arabians, or negroes. So that, in consequence of these real and tangible difficulties, little can be done, and what is possible has been done by me, and with the best will; by which means I comply with His Majesty's orders, and satisfy my own ideas and principles, if I may be allowed to mention them on this occasion.

With more especial reference to the note of Her Britannic Majesty's Minister which gave rise to the Ministerial Order to which I reply, and to the recommendations made to me, I think that I shall not require to make any great effort to show to your Excellency how groundlessly the Portuguese authorities are accused therein of connivance at the Slave Trade. It is to be noted that the denomination of "Mozambique Channel" may lead to error, in the supposition that the said channel only contains Portuguese Possessions; but this is not correct, because our possessions only form a part of the same. The British Minister says that Captain Oldfield knows with certainty that out of four shipments of slaves landed at Mobella, at Comoro, and in Bagano Bay, two were from Angoche, and one from Mickandony Bay. Now Captain Oldfield knew perfectly well that, at that time, necessarily previous to the 20th of June, 1860, because such is the date at which he says that the shipments were landed, Angoche had no Portuguese authorities, and was in open rebellion against the General Government of the Province; because if it were not for this, Captain Oldfield, whom I have the honour to know, would not have gone there in 1859, would not have burnt two dhows, and would not have thrown into the town of Angoche a quantity of shells, as he himself related it to me, without my having energetically expressed my disapproval; and, moreover, I knew that he had tried to enter into a kind of Convention with the so-called Sultan of that place.

As your Excellency is aware, and Captain Oldfield is not ignorant, Angoche had not then any Portuguese authority, for it has only had one since the 26th September, 1861, when that rebellious tribe was taken and subjugated. Mickandony is situated to the north of Cape Delgado, and neither our territory nor the present claims of the Portuguese Government go beyond that cape. I will not say that these accusations prove bad faith, but they do not prove any scrupulous inquiry into the truth of the facts, which deserved to be scrupulously verified before those accusations were made, considering that they are directed against individuals who prize their honour and good name.

With regard to another ship or two, which the same Commander says had got shipments between Ibo and ten miles to the north of Cape Delgado, I must observe that the doubt whether there were two ships or one, in these accusations respecting such serious facts, is worthy to some extent, I think, of the attention of His Majesty's Government.

For can any doubt be admitted on the part of the accuser with respect to facts of this importance? The territory to the north of Cape Delgado does not belong to us, and it is surprising that those who dispute our possession of the southern part of Lourenço Marques, which has been ours for so many years, should come and give us now ten miles to the north of Cape Delgado (where, instead of one or two ships, ten or twelve might load), only for the purpose of exacting a responsibility from us which we cannot accept, even if there were no other reasons for it except the vagueness and doubt of the accusation.

Inclosure 3 in No. 202.

The Governor-General of the Province of Mozambique to the Minister of Marine

(Translation.)
(Extract.)

*Palace of the General Government of the Province of Mozambique,
February 15, 1862.*

IT is with the greatest regret and with sincere pain that I see myself obliged to answer the unjust and continual charges of connivance which the British Minister insists in bringing against the Portuguese authorities on the Eastern Coast, of which I am the Chief, and the one who must bear the heaviest and the most unjust part of those serious accusations: serious, because they involve an infraction of the Treaties by which Portugal

is bound, and which she wishes faithfully to observe; and serious, because they affect the honour of individuals who, allow me to say it, are accused without grounds.

Unhappily the Traffic exists and is carried on, but it exists and is carried on not by the wish of the Portuguese authorities, but against their will, on account of their not being able to prevent it.

Because smuggling is carried on everywhere, does it follow that all fiscal authorities are smugglers, or that they connive at smuggling, which comes to one and the same thing? No one will make such an assertion, and I do not know why there are to be two kinds of logic to judge the same facts.

Who charges cruizers with connivance, because they do not altogether prevent the Traffic from being carried on in the places where they are cruising?

Well, there are just the same grounds for blindly accusing the authorities, because the smuggling of slaves is carried on, and will be carried on as long as there is any one to buy them. Since our flag cannot be accused, because, luckily, it does not cover such a Traffic, the accusation is brought against the authorities.

In the Ministerial Order of 1861, the note of Her Britannic Majesty's Minister at the Court of Lisbon was forwarded to me respecting the Slave Trade operations, which, according to the information received by the British Government, had been carried on in the Portuguese possessions of Eastern Africa with the connivance of the Portuguese authorities. His Majesty's Government, in answer to the British Minister, rejects as groundless the generic charge of connivance brought against the Portuguese authorities on this coast; and I am going to show your Excellency that His Majesty's Government was fully in the right in considering such a charge as groundless, which for my part I reject, because it is my boast to serve my country with as much honour and loyalty as the most honoured and loyal person in any country in the world.

From the tenor of the British Minister's note it is inferred that the fact of the capture of two slavers in the Mozambique Channel is one of the grounds for the charge of connivance brought against the Portuguese authorities. The Mozambique Channel extends much beyond our own Possessions, as may be seen in any maritime chart, and probably the ship (alluded to in the note), which carried 700 slaves, was captured by the steamer "Brisk" near one of the Comoro Islands; could it not, therefore, have departed from any other port but one in our Possessions? Where is the proof that it went from our Possessions, and not from those of the Sultan, whose territory begins at Cape Delgado? and a great part of the latter, and the one most frequented by slavers, is included in the Mozambique Channel. The fact, unfortunately true, of there having been at other times authorities who were involved in the Traffic, does not prove that they are so at the present day.

As soon as a shipment is made secrecy is at an end, and the whole particulars are immediately known, and are publicly discussed. I ought and can assure your Excellency that it is more than three years since any such accounts, having the appearance of truth, have come to my knowledge, which makes me think that such shipments have not taken place.

That the dhows frequenting the coast always carry away, whenever they can do so, some slaves, is a well-known and acknowledged fact, for which reason some of them have been captured; but there is a wide difference between this and the important shipments mentioned, and the connivance of the authorities in this respect.

It seems that an attempt is made to confirm what is so positively alleged with the copy of an extract from the Report of Captain Crawford. Let us see Captain Crawford's assertions. He says that the observations which he had lately the occasion of making in Mozambique have convinced him that the Slave Trade was engaging almost, if not exclusively, the whole attention of the Portuguese settled at the different points of Mozambique. I am acquainted with Captain Crawford. He was at anchor outside the port of this city in April 1860. He came to present his compliments to me. He called upon a resident, the only one who speaks English in this city, John da Costa Soares. He left on the following day, and returned no more to this place. I knew that he captured a dhow with 300 slaves in shore in 1861, before the taking of Angoche by the forces of the Government; and this Captain, who merely stayed a few hours in this city, which he calls "a heap of ruins," says that he saw it full of slaves, chiefly women and children! What did he wish to see in a town of 5,600 inhabitants, of whom a great many more than 5,000 are either slaves or negroes, who, although free, cannot be distinguished from the others? Did he not wish to see either women or children? Did Captain Crawford mean to say that shipments were also made in this city? At Zanzibar he afterwards knew what had been done at

Ibo. It is always thus : there never is any doubt about these facts ; it is said, and that is sufficient to give them credence.

It seems to me that this alone is not sufficient, and that these vague accusations, which there appears to be such a great wish to spread, and to make them be believed, may be true. But why cannot they also be false ? Is it only ourselves that have got the monopoly of the Slave Trade ? Is not the whole of this coast peopled by negroes who buy and sell slaves ? What really appears is, that we have the monopoly of responsibility. A slaver is captured in the Mozambique Channel ; it has been laden by the Portuguese authorities. Slaves are seen, where they may lawfully be found ; it is asserted that there is a Traffic in Slaves. But if it is proved that the "heap of ruins" only exists in the excitable imagination of some one (for against the evidence of facts reports are of no use), what conclusion can and ought to be drawn from all the rest ?

I have perhaps been a little too long about what I could say in a few words. There are no sufficient motives for the charges brought against the Portuguese authorities : it seems to be an adopted system—with what object in view I do not know how to explain, but that the accusation is systematical cannot be a matter of doubt ; and I answer that the charges which, without further inquiry, are continually brought against us, are unjust and groundless, at least at the present day, because there are no motives for the same. Your Excellency may believe it. It is my duty also to thank His Majesty for the opinion which he condescends to entertain in my regard—an opinion of which I try not to become unworthy, and which is for me the most valuable reward of all those to which I can aspire.

No. 203.

Earl Russell to Mr. Herries.

Sir,

Foreign Office, September 26, 1862.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 25th ultimo, reporting that in a conversation which you had with the Marquis de Loulé, on the subject of the refusal of the Governor-General of Angola to correspond with Her Majesty's Commissioners at Loanda on Slave Trade matters, his Excellency expressed his entire concurrence in the opinions of Her Majesty's Government as to the inconvenience of the course pursued by the Governor-General in this matter, and had informed you that instructions in accordance with the views of Her Majesty's Government would be sent to the Governor-General without delay.

I have, in reply, to instruct you to express to the Marquis de Loulé the acknowledgments of Her Majesty's Government for his prompt acquiescence in their wishes in this matter.

I think it right, at the same time, to communicate to you copies of despatches, as noted in the margin,* which I have received from Loanda, inclosing copies of a further correspondence with the Governor-General on this subject.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 204.

Mr. Herries to Earl Russell.—(Received October 2.)

My Lord,

Lisbon, September 26, 1862.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch of August 2, I have the honour to transmit herewith a copy of a note which, in obedience to the instructions contained in that despatch, I addressed on the 12th ultimo to the Marquis de Loulé, bringing to his Excellency's notice the case of a brig captured by Her Majesty's ship "Torch," and supposed to have been fitted out for the Slave Trade in the Tagus.

The result of the inquiry which the Marquis de Loulé told me some time ago had been instituted in consequence of my representations, has not yet been communicated to me.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD HERRIES.

Inclosure in No. 204.

Mr. Herries to the Marquis de Loulé.

M. le Ministre,

Lisbon, August 12, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to bring to your Excellency's notice the following circumstances that have recently been reported to Earl Russell by Her Britannic Majesty's Commissioners at Loanda.

On the 4th of March last, in latitude 6° 47' south, and longitude 11° 10' east, Her Majesty's ship "Torch," Commander Smith, fell in with a brig prepared to receive a cargo of slaves in readiness for her at Mangue Grande.

The slaver at first showed French colours, which were hauled down and thrown overboard on the approach of the boats of the "Torch." There were no official papers to establish the national character of the vessel, which was, therefore, sent for adjudication to St. Helena.

Some loose documents, however, were found on board, confirming the information obtained from other sources by Her Majesty's Commissioners, to the effect that the slaver was the Portuguese brig "*Alegre*," which left Liverpool for Lisbon in July 1861, under the command of a person named Valentine Felix de Magalhães. The inclosed copy of one of those papers shows the name and address of one of the parties concerned in the voyage of the "*Alegre*" from Liverpool to Lisbon.

This vessel proceeded to the West Coast of Africa direct from Lisbon, and it would appear, therefore, that she must have completed her slave equipment in this port.

I am instructed to make your Excellency acquainted with these facts, and to request that His Most Faithful Majesty's Government will cause inquiries to be made, with the view, if possible, to the punishment of the parties implicated in this Slave Trade transaction.

I am further expressly directed to call your Excellency's attention to the following statement, which concludes the despatch containing the information given above:—

"We think it our duty," say Her Majesty's Commissioners, "to add, that it is generally reported that three other vessels were fitted out in the Tagus for the same iniquitous purpose as the '*Alegre*.'"

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD HERRIES.

No. 205.

Earl Russell to Mr. Herries.

Sir,

Foreign Office, October 2, 1862.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 1st ultimo, stating that in answer to your renewed inquiries as to the result of the representations of Her Majesty's Government concerning the fraudulent conveyance of negroes from Loanda to St. Thomas, the Marquis de Loulé had informed you that effectual measures had been taken to put a stop to this traffic.

I have now to transmit to you, for your information, a copy of a further despatch from Mr. Gabriel, Her Majesty's Commissioner at Loanda,* reporting that in spite of his repeated representations to the Governor-General, the practice of exporting the so-called free negroes from Loanda is carried on in the most open and undisguised manner. I have therefore to desire that you will inquire of the Portuguese Government more particularly as to the orders which have been sent out, and the date at which those orders were transmitted.

I am, &c.

(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 206.

Earl Russell to Mr. Herries.

Sir,

Foreign Office, October 6, 1862.

I TRANSMIT to you, for your information, a copy of a letter from Commander Symons, of Her Majesty's ship "Lee,"† reporting his having boarded the Portuguese schooner "Massango," bound from the Island of St. Thomas to Loanda.

I am, &c.

(Signed) RUSSELL.

* Class A, No. 56.

† Ibid., No. 108.

No. 207.

Earl Russell to Mr. Herries.

Sir, *Foreign Office, October 7, 1862.*
 I TRANSMIT to you, for your information, copies of two despatches from Mr. Gabriel, Her Majesty's Commissioner at Loanda,* reporting the capture by Her Majesty's ship "Antelope" of a vessel without colours or papers, and having 558 slaves on board, which is since discovered to be the Portuguese brigantine "Paquete de Loanda."

I am, &c.
 (Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 208.

Earl Russell to Mr. Herries.

Sir, *Foreign Office, October 8, 1862.*
 WITH reference to your despatch of the 11th ultimo, inclosing a copy of a note from the Marquis de Loulé relating to the statements made by Dr. Livingstone of the participation of the Portuguese authorities in the Slave Trade in Eastern Africa, I transmit to you a copy of a further despatch from that officer upon the same subject,† and I have to instruct you to take an opportunity of communicating the substance of this despatch to the Portuguese Government.

I am, &c.
 (Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 209.

Earl Russell to Mr. Herries.

Sir, *Foreign Office, October 8, 1862.*
 I TRANSMIT to you, for your information, a copy of a despatch from Mr. Gabriel, Her Majesty's Commissioner at Loanda,‡ reporting the capture of a barque on the 22nd of July last, by Her Majesty's ship "Espoir," fitted for the Slave Trade, supposed to be the "Traviata," which fitted out at Cadiz, and sailed from that port on or about the 16th of May last, under command of the Portuguese Captain, Vianna.

I am, &c.
 (Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 210.

Mr. Herries to Earl Russell.—(Received October 12.)

My Lord, *Lisbon, October 4, 1862.*
 I HAD the honour to receive your Lordship's despatch of September 26, with its inclosures, yesterday morning, and in the course of the day I fulfilled the instructions contained in it, by expressing to Viscount Sá da Bandeira, the acknowledgments of Her Majesty's Government for the prompt acquiescence of the Portuguese Government in their wishes, as to the correspondence between the Governor-General of Angola and Her Majesty's Commissioners at Loanda on Slave Trade matters.

I have, &c.
 (Signed) EDWARD HERRIES.

* Class A, Nos. 57 and 63.

† No. 216.

‡ Class A, No. 61

No. 211.

Sir A. Magenis to Earl Russell.—(Received November 3.)

My Lord,

Lisbon, October 27, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt by the Brazil steamer "Oneida," on the 13th instant, of your Lordship's despatches of the 6th, 7th, and 8th of October, addressed to Mr. Herries.

I communicated to the Duke de Loulé the capture of the "Paquete de Loanda," by Her Majesty's ship "Antelope," and of the barque supposed to be the "Traviata," by Her Majesty's ship "Espoir," as reported in your Lordship's despatches of the 7th and 8th instant.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

No. 212.

Sir A. Magenis to Earl Russell.—(Received November 3.)

My Lord,

Lisbon, October 27, 1862.

IN obedience to the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch to Mr. Herries of the 8th instant, I communicated to the Duke de Loulé the despatch which Dr. Livingstone had addressed to your Lordship on the 27th of June last, relative to the participation of the Portuguese authorities in the Slave Trade in Eastern Africa.

His Excellency, to whom I read the despatch in question, requested me to give him a copy of it, and I accordingly, on the following day, the 25th instant, sent him an extract of it, containing the substance of Dr. Livingstone's statement. The Duke de Loulé further observed that he could not credit the statements made against the Governor-General of Mozambique, M. d'Almeida, as that gentleman had been selected by the Viscount Sá da Bandeira, when Minister for the Colonies, on account of his high character.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

No. 213.

Sir A. Magenis to Earl Russell.—(Received November 22.)

My Lord,

Lisbon, November 13, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith translation of a note which I have received from the Duke of Loulé, informing me that the Portuguese schooner "Napier," carrying five guns, has been sent to reinforce the squadron stationed off the west coast of Africa for the prevention of the Slave Trade.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

Inclosure in No. 213.

The Duke of Loulé to Sir A. Magenis.

(Translation.)

Lisbon, November 10, 1862.

IN conformity with the 2nd paragraph of the IIIrd Article of the Treaty concluded between Portugal and Great Britain for the complete abolition of the Slave Trade, I have the honour to inform you, in order that you may be pleased to acquaint your Government therewith, that, according to the communication made to me by the Minister of Marine dated the 6th instant, the war-schooner "Napier," mounting four guns and 1 pivot gun, under the command of the second Lieutenant of the navy Carlos Eugenio Corrêa da Silva, has been sent to reinforce the naval station on the western coast of Africa.

I avail, &c.

(Signed) DUKE OF LOULE.

PORTUGAL. (Consular)—Quilimane.

No. 214.

Dr. Livingstone to Lord J. Russell.—(Received June 27, 1862.)

My Lord,

"Pioneer," River Shire, November 10, 1861.

IN our ascent of the River Shire in May last we found that the "Pioneer" answered our purpose very well until we came to the Elephant marsh, where many branches leave the main stream. She was now, as in the Rovuma, found to be too deep, nearly six feet with a cargo, or about double the draught intended in her plan. But in order to bring the Bishop's party as near their destination as possible, as well as lessen the distance we intended to carry a boat towards Lake Nyassa, we warped her to an island a few miles below the cataracts.

On the 15th of July we left the ship at Dakanamoio Island, in order to introduce the missionaries to the Manganja on the highlands east of that, and on reaching the edge of the plateau, on which, for the sake of its salubrity, we recommended them to locate themselves, we were mortified to find that the Portuguese of Tette had taken advantage of the route followed by Dr. Kirk, to institute an extensive system of slave-hunting in the very country to which we had brought the Mission. The first party met was headed by a well-known slave of one of the Portuguese Governors (Major Secard); they had 84 captives, chiefly women and children. On asking the people in charge who had given them authority to make war, they professed to have left Tette secretly, and that the people in bonds had all been bought. While inquiring of the captives themselves, the Portuguese escaped into the forest, and it turned out that a party of a tribe called Ajawa had been incited by these Portuguese to attack village after village of the Manganja, kill the men, and sell the women and children to them. As the captives were now on my hands, I thought the best thing I could do was to hand them and the prisoners of three other Portuguese parties over to the Bishop to try what he could make of them. It may be observed that though the first party denied having come with the knowledge of the authorities of Tette, others declared that they had engaged in the business with the full sanction of the present Governor, Antonio Tavares d'Almeida; and one man even volunteered to conduct us to the spot where his Excellency's own slaves were waiting to be supplied by the Ajawa. Having laid our account with the probable destruction of our private property at Tette, it was thought best to do the business thoroughly, so I sent Dr. Kirk and four natives back to intercept a party with captives at the crossing of this river. This movement miscarried, and we did not actually secure the Governor's own people; but there is not the shade of a doubt as to his connivance at least. Another company armed with ninety muskets, and headed by a white Portuguese, next appeared with the intention of superseding the Ajawa, and doing the fighting themselves. They crossed the river above the ship, then hearing that Dr. Kirk had returned, supposed that he was in pursuit of them. Making a détour among the hills, the river was recrossed below the ship, and a message sent us by the leader, "that he had attacked no village, made no captives, and had returned without any guilt." His name could not be ascertained, as the natives knew him only by some native name; but his description points distinctly to the convict brother-in-law of a rebel chief who lives a few miles below Tette, and who has made slave-forays in other directions.

As the Manganja were all fleeing before the Ajawa, and the profits arising from the latter serving the Portuguese were very small, calico valued out here at from 1s. to 2s. 6d. being the prices of the captives, it was thought that in a conference they might be induced to stop the effusion of blood. Unfortunately we found them in the act of burning three villages, and flushed with victory they seemed to think that our small party would prove an easy prey. Our assurances that we came peaceably were also neutralized by some of our Manganja followers calling out that one of their great Generals and sorcerers had

come. The movement of slowly retiring from their village was considered evidence of fear, and on they rushed like furies, pouring in their poisoned arrows from all sides. We were then obliged in self-defence to drive them off with our fire-arms. So little did we anticipate using them, that we had only a few rounds of ammunition; and had they not been a roving body of sixty or eighty robbers only, the result might have been serious. It is a matter of regret in this, the only hostile encounter I ever had with natives, that the effect of the foolish call of the Manganja about their great sorcerer having come, did not once strike my mind as depriving us of the protection of our English name till all was over.

Returning to the ship we proceeded with the work of our own mission. A considerable quantity of cotton was purchased, though the ship was necessarily stationary at one point of the river, and that was not the period of the cotton crop. On the 6th of August we commenced carrying a boat past the Murchison Cataracts, and though somewhat hindered by cold and wet, in three weeks we succeeded in launching her on the Upper Shire. No difficulty was experienced in obtaining carriers at a very moderate rate of payment, and far less suspicion was excited than when we formerly travelled up the eastern bank without a boat. It seemed to be taken as a certificate of peaceable intentions as far as they were concerned: if we meant evil it must be towards others who could only be reached by the boat. The cataracts extend over thirty-five miles of latitude; this involves over forty of land carriage. We ascend in that space about 1,200 feet, but once on the Upper Shire we are virtually on the lake, for the next sixty miles of river are all smooth, of good depth, and with but little current. Before reaching the lake proper, we pass through a lakelet called Pamalombe, some ten or twelve miles long and five or six broad. It is fringed with a broad belt of papyrus, among which so much malaria or sulphuretted hydrogen gas exists that the white paint on the bottom of our boat was, by one night's exposure, blackened. Myriads of mosquitoes, showing, as I think they always do, the unwholesomeness of the spot, warned us off, and on the 2nd of September we sailed into Lake Nyassa and felt refreshed by the greater coolness of the air over that large body of water. We skirted along the western shore, examining, as a point of the first interest, the depth of the lake. The Upper Shire is from 9 to 15 feet, the lake deepens from 9 to 15 or more fathoms; then thirty miles up, as we rounded the mountainous promontory Cape Maclear, we could feel no bottom at a mile from the shore with our lead-line of 35 fathoms (210 feet); subsequently, in sounding in a bay far to the north, we found bottom at 100 fathoms (600 feet), but trying again, a mile outside the bay, with a fishing line, no bottom could be felt at 116 fathoms (696 feet), but this was unsatisfactory as the line broke in coming up. With our present knowledge, a ship could find anchorage only near the coast.

The tongue of the lake from which the Shire flows is from ten to twelve miles broad, and about thirty miles long. A mountainous promontory called Cape Maclear separates this from another tongue or bay to the westward; it runs southward about eighteen miles, and is about ten miles broad. These arms give the south end of the lake a forked form, and with the help of a little imagination the lake has the boot shape of Italy. The part about the ankle is the narrowest portion, eighteen or twenty miles; thence it widens till near the upper end it is fifty or sixty miles broad. Its length is over 200 miles. It lies nearly on one meridian of longitude, and from its numerous bays making a very extended coast line, affords access to a very large tract of slave-producing territory. When about half-way up the lake an Arab dhow fled from us to the eastern shore with a cargo of slaves. It did the same again when we returned. It has lately been built to supply, we suppose, the great export of slaves from the Portuguese outlet, Ibo. The population on the shores of the lake exceeds all I have seen in Africa for numbers; but probably this was the fishing season, and the rains may draw off many to their agriculture. They were, upon the whole, very civil; no fines were levied nor dues demanded. They are clothed with the inner bark of a certain tree, and the only trade they know is that in slaves. A very marked deterioration of character was observed when we came within the sphere of the Arab vessel. Expert thieves, probably from the east coast, crept up to our sleeping places at 4 o'clock in the morning, and made off with what they could lay their hands on. We had never been robbed in Africa before.

The time of our visit was unfavourable. The equinoctial gales prevailed, and, as in all narrow seas encircled with mountains, tremendous storms come on with great suddenness. A swell, in which no open boat could live, often got up in a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes. We had to beach the boat every night to prevent her being swamped at anchor. We were once caught in one of these frightful seas, and all but lost during the six hours we rode it out. It would have been mere foolhardiness to have attempted to cross over to the other side at that time of the year. The only feasible plan we could think of was to

capture the dhow. We had no slave papers, but the owners kept it well out of our way. The reports about the Rovuma were most perplexing. One man declared positively that we could sail out of the lake with the river; another that we must lift it a few yards. These might be true, as the lake rises and falls between the wet and dry seasons as much as three feet. But another intelligent man would assert, with equal positiveness, that the boat must be carried at least fifty miles or a hundred. On one point only did all agree, that the Rovuma or Lohuma is a very large river.

The natives have several crossing places; one, whose width we ascertained by sketches and bearings of the mountains as the sun rose behind them, was about thirty-five miles; at another place they cross by taking advantage of an island, but at the upper third or fourth of the lake they prefer going round, though that takes some days. Near the slave-mart no food could be obtained except elephants and hippopotami. The natives never attempt to kill them with their bows and arrows, so fortunately for us they were very tame. Beyond this region northwards we came on the borders of a Caffre or Zulu tribe originally from the interior of Sofala or Mhambane in the south, where the shores of the lake were literally strewn with human skeletons, and putrefied bodies of the slain. The land party which it was necessary to have in case of accident to the boat, and to let our objects be known,—the people never believing what a person says of himself until confirmed at the kitchen fire,—was terrified at the idea of meeting the inflictors of the terrible vengeance of which the evidence everywhere met the eye, without a European in their company. Accordingly I left the boat, and by a mistake was separated from it until the morning of the fourth day afterwards. The country was mountainous and cut up by steep ravines. The spurs of the mountains ran sheer down to the water. The boat went on ten miles the first day, then other ten the next, while with incessant toil, ascending and descending remarkably steep ravines, we could scarcely make five miles daily of actual distance; but for four goats with us we should have starved. The population had been destroyed, and skeletons lay in every hut surrounded by broken utensils. They had once cultivated a very fine species of cotton. We met seven of these Zulus, who pass by the name Mazite, and they were as much frightened of me as the men were of them. Advancing to meet them quite unarmed, they rattled their shields with their spears (a process that inspires the natives generally with terror), because I would not sit in the sun if they sat in the shade. When I sat under the same tree and showed them the hideous white skin of my arms, an alarm we several times observed on the lake seemed to seize them. They would neither take me to the boat nor to their chief, and soon sped away up the hills like frightened deer. On the second day the land party declared that they were tired out. Selecting two and sending the rest back, we pushed on after the boat, which had in the mean time been prevented by a storm from returning, and on the morning of the fourth day met her: she reported the coast in front to be worse than that I had just trudged over; the mountains formed a most inhospitable coast by precipices coming down 500 or 1000 feet perpendicularly to the water's edge; the people, either fugitives from a slave war which is raging on the opposite coast to feed the Ibo Slave Trade, or pirates living on detached rocks, and rushing out towards the boat till they find that it is not a large lake canoe. A fathom of calico was demanded for a fish's head; our provisions were expended, the land party had gone back; so though the large mountain-masses loomed in the distance in which probably Lake Nyassa ends, we were obliged to return also. From the latitude taken before we left the boat it is believed that we saw the lake extending to the southern borders of the tenth degree of south latitude. It begins in latitude 14° 25' south, and will be found in all probability 225 miles long. We say "over 200."

On coming out of the Zulu borders we found a most friendly Chief, named Marengo, ready to supply all our wants. He presented every kind of eatable in his possession, took a valuable native copper ring off his arm and put it on mine, and declared how sorry he was that we could not spend a whole day with him drinking beer; but the wind was fair and was so often foul, that the temptation to sail was greatest.

On our way south we found it difficult to purchase food. This arose from our calico being of the flimsiest quality, deficient breadth, and being plastered over with starch. It was mortifying to be conscious that our goods were so inferior to those supplied by the slave-traders that we appeared to the natives and to ourselves as swindlers.

Had we known the direction of the wind previously as chiefly from the east, we could have navigated the eastern much more readily than the western shore. There are several islands in Nyassa, small, rocky, uninhabited, and covered with dense forest; they are used only as fishing stations, and probably also in times of war. Adjacent to each of these, and to many of the points of land, detached rocks jut out, or lie a few feet beneath the surface. Hence a navigator must give these all a wide berth. The ship that sails on Nyassa must

be strong; the "Pioneer" would do well there, her great draft would be an advantage. Five rivers flow from the west into the lake, and the adjacent country is all an elevated region, though the lake itself is over 1,200 feet above the level of the sea; no current could be detected, but a long continued wind raises the water a few inches on the side to which it blows. Fish abound in great quantity; the alligators seem well fed on them, and seldom trouble men, so we could enjoy bathing whenever we chose; this cannot be done in any African water I know. We know but little of the eastern side, but believe that there slaving goes on more briskly, as being nearer the places of export. We heard the booming of cannon across the lake near the southern end; they are said to belong to Ajawa, and must have been purchased with slaves.

Arriving at the upper cataract, we slung our boat to the branch of a shady tree about ten feet from the ground, and walked back to the lower cataract, which we reached on the 8th of November after a three months' trip, and were grieved to find that the Portuguese still continued to urge on the Ajawa to capture the Manganja. So far as selling people are concerned, the Manganja, if they had the opportunity, are not a whit better than the Ajawa. I am not, therefore, moved in their favour by any sentiment of regret; but the process is carried on in such a systematic way, it is impossible not to suspect that the Portuguese authorities intend thereby to root the English Mission out of the country, while they screen themselves discreetly in the background.

There has never been such an export of slaves from the Zambesi since we entered it as now. They are, probably, exported by the great slave-trader Senhor Cruz from a part called Massangano, a few miles south of Quilimane. This conduct on the part of Portuguese has a more depressing effect on the mind than scorching suns, long marches, hunger or thirst, or even than the fever itself.

I have, &c.
(Signed) DAVID LIVINGSTONE.

P.S.—Inclosure No. 3 is an attempt to answer by anticipation a circular which I expect to receive respecting cotton supply. In a newspaper brought by one of the missionaries, it was stated that your Lordship intended to apply for information to Her Majesty's Consuls, respecting the amount of cotton available for the market in their districts; the inquiry will, probably, come by a man-of-war, and no time be allowed to answer it. I adopt, therefore, this way of complying with your Lordship's request. It may be useful for the Cotton Supply Associations.

I take the liberty of inclosing a paper written for the Royal Geographical Society, in which some points are noticed, not mentioned in this despatch, and a list of despatches received during 1861.

We have lost our carpenter by fever; the particulars are sent to Captain Washington.
D. L.

Inclosure 1 in No. 214.

Dr. Livingstone to Lord J. Russell.

My Lord,

Shire, November 15, 1861.

I BEG to state for your Lordship's private information that Bishop Mackenzie told me that he went and attacked another body of Ajawa near Mount Zomba, drove them away, and burned their town. I had sent the engineer, quartermaster, and one seaman of the "Pioneer," who were much reduced by fever, up to the highlands for a month, for change of air, it being much more likely that they would regain their strength in that cold climate than in the hot Shire valley; they were invited by the Bishop to go with the missionaries to the fight, and inconsiderately went. They recollected afterwards that they had no orders to do so, nor indeed to fire a shot, unless they were actually attacked, but are to be excused in consideration of the position of the gentleman who asked them to go. The blood was shed by the mission party alone. The Bishop seemed rather proud of the affair, and spoke of a second body, to which he and his associates had gone since our men returned to the ship, but without mentioning particulars.

I very deeply regret having gone to the Ajawa on the occasion in which we were attacked. Had I in the least anticipated that result, I should have used messages, presents, and fair words, before venturing near them. I then advised the Mission to remain at their station and act entirely on the defensive. The principal Chief in the country, Chisunze, came and urged the necessity of driving away all the Ajawa out of the Manganja country. In reply, I told him that white men did not come into the country to

fight, and never would use their arms except in self-defence, as in the case which had just occurred; that he had, by selling people, invited the Ajawa and Portuguese into his country; that we had come into the country to put a stop to selling people, by showing them how to obtain cloth by the cultivation and sale of foreign cotton; and that if the Ajawa did not cease to attack his people, the Manganja, who are by far the most numerous, might deposit their women and children with the Bishop, while they drove the marauders away. The Chief replied that he had no foreign cotton seed—a mere subterfuge—for it is cultivated largely within fifteen miles of him; but to take away all excuse, we distributed a quantity forthwith to all his people. After again trying to induce us to go against his enemies, by causing a party of his men to arrive in breathless haste with the false report that the Ajawa were close upon us in force, and receiving from me a still more positive assurance that we should not engage in war, he sulkily said, “Then I am dead already,” and departed.

A missionary ought in all lawful things to identify himself with the interests of his people, but it is doubtful whether this should extend to fighting for them. I shall keep carefully aloof from the policy adopted by this new Mission, not so much because my explanations of the policy usually pursued by philanthropists have been stultified by the fighting after I left, but because it has made the Ajawa enemies of the English, and they will continue so. The first affair could easily have been got over, as we were able to say, “You began it; you attacked us;” but not the second and third by the Bishop.

(Signed)

DAVID LIVINGSTONE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 214.

Memorandum.

IT will be necessary to purchase calicoes for the payment of the labourers to be employed in making a road past the cataracts. We can get them out here, of the proper quality, about as cheaply as men will sell them in England when they know that the Government pays. It seems as if they believed that cheating the Government were no sin. One of the bales we received by the “Pioneer” consisted of fragments, some not a foot square; and the velvet was really more easily torn than this paper. The balance of money on hand (50*l.*) will suffice for all we need this next year in the way of wages and incidental expenses. For ship’s stores and provisions we rely on the naval authorities at the Cape.

The price of two mules and two Scotch carts for carrying the steamer past the Cataracts has probably been asked by Sir George Grey from the Foreign Office.

(Signed)

DAVID LIVINGSTONE.

Inclosure 3 in No. 214.

Memorandum.

IT is impossible to form an estimate of the quantity of cotton that might be collected from a portion, even, of the country we have opened. In the valley of the Lower Shire the great draft of the “Pioneer” confined us to a single spot, and our dealings with the natives were limited to a space of about seven miles; but though it was not the season of the cotton-crop, nor had the people been stimulated by the prospect of a market to plant more than was requisite for their own use, we bought at a very cheap rate cotton in the seed equal to 300 lbs. of clean cotton. This was purchased in about four months; and it is the opinion of those who attended to this duty during our absence at Lake Nyassa, that had it been possible to devote more time to it, at least double the quantity might have been procured. This valley contains large patches of marsh, but it is bounded by ranges of hills, the population of which all cultivate cotton. When we first ascended the river the Portuguese looked upon the journey as a very rash and dangerous one. The Manganja were described as an exceedingly ferocious people; and the crowds that swarmed along the banks armed with bows and poisoned arrows, keeping watch over us night and day, gave countenance to the idea that they were dangerous savages. But we soon gained their confidence; and lately three missionaries came up the Shire in common country canoes, without knowing a word of the language or a bit of the way. We have found the people to be rather a timid race. Both sexes engage in agriculture; and cotton agents of common sense might pursue their calling in any part of the country in perfect security.

The next hundred miles of the Shire, extending from the foot of the Cataracts to Lake Nyassa, would yield more cotton than the lower valley. Recent disturbances by slave-hunters might interfere with the amount during the first season, and this remark may apply to the next 200 miles bathed by the waters of the Lake; but the presence of the small steamer, which we hope soon to place above the Cataracts, will very soon produce that state of confidence which leads the natives to cultivate for sale. We have opened a cotton-field in the Shire, and Lake Nyassa, 400 miles in length. We possess the confidence of the people on a large section of that field. The time seems to have come when private enterprise ought to come forward to develop the trade. It is doubtful whether Government servants were ever intended to become collectors of cotton.

The chief object of our late exploration was, to find a new path exterior to the Portuguese claims. Though not so successful as we hoped to be, it was satisfactory to find the Rovuma uniformly described as a very large river. It is highly probable that this, or another in the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar, will be our pathway; but even in the event of failure, small Companies might at once employ their capital profitably, for the cotton is of superior quality, and the entire distance from the Lake to the East Coast is nothing like the distances that cotton travels over in India.

We have hitherto been unwilling to invite private enterprise, and, indeed, have discouraged capitalists from risking their goods, while the Portuguese obstinately refused a passage to lawful commerce to countries they never saw or heard of. They have now built a fort at the mouth of the Shire, with a view to being enriched by the cotton-trade dues; and they are fast depopulating the country by slave-hunting from which the cotton is to come.

(Signed) DAVID LIVINGSTONE.

No. 215.

Dr. Livingstone to Lord J. Russell.—(Received June 27.)

(Extract.)

River Zambezi, February 22, 1862.

ON reaching this river last month, we ascertained that the slave-hunting up the Shire by the Portuguese at Tette, to which I have referred in my despatch of the 10th of November last, is carried on for the purpose of sending the captives up the Zambezi, and there to be sold for ivory. The Governor of Tette not only connives at the slave-hunting and traffic, but is engaged in it himself. No Portuguese has as yet made any reference to our freeing the captives on the Manganja highlands, but we have not visited Tette yet. A sort of fort has been built at the mouth of the Shire, and a sort of apology for so doing was given to me, from the Governor of Quilimane, by the officer in charge. He wished me to understand that the fort was a temporary one, and had reference to a rebel now at large up the Shire; but another movement to which I beg to draw your Lordship's attention makes me believe that it has a reference to claiming lordship and dues from trade on that river.

On hearing of our attempt to ascend the Rovuma, the Governor-General of Mozambique went to Zanzibar and tried to induce the Sultan to make the Rovuma the boundary between his dominions and those of the Portuguese. Most fortunately, Colonel Rigby understood the nature of the movement, and led the Sultan to assert the true boundary as Cape Delgado, which lies several miles south of the Rovuma. The attempt of the Governor-General was identical with the objects the Portuguese had in view in erecting a custom-house at the mouth of the Kongone, and a fort at the mouth of the Shire, namely, to secure any trade that may spring up as a source of revenue. And I am very glad that, through Colonel Rigby's influence, the attempt on the Rovuma was defeated. I earnestly hope that Colonel Rigby's successor may pursue the same policy.

In a letter from Colonel Rigby to Sir George Grey it is stated that of 19,000 slaves that pass annually through the Custom-house of Zanzibar the greater portion comes from Lake Nyassa and the valley of the Shire, and he adds that should it ever be possible to place a small steamer on the lake, the chief supply of slaves to the East Coast would be cut off. Without knowing that gentleman's opinion, we have the prospect of performing the work of placing a steamer above the cataracts.

On the 31st January last Her Majesty's ship "Gorgon" appeared off the mouth of the Zambezi with a brig in tow, having the portable steamer on board. The "Pioneer" towed the brig into Kongone harbour, and by the kind assistance of Captain Wilson and his officers the greater part of the hull was soon placed on board this vessel. We are now on our way up the river; but the Zambezi being in high flood, the "Pioneer," with a

heavy load, can scarcely stem the current. We have received mules and carts, and implements for road-making, from the Cape; and after taking up all the different parts of the vessel to a point somewhere below the cataracts, will be employed the best part of twelve months in transporting the steamer to the lake. Additional men have been engaged from the "Gorgon" until we can procure more of the natives of Johanna. I forward the particulars to Captain Washington.

Inclosure in No. 215.

Dr. Livingstone to Lord J. Russell.

My Lord,

REFERRING to your Lordship's despatch of the 27th of June, 1861, with the inclosed correspondence of Mr. Gabriel, respecting a large party of Makololo who visited Loanda in 1855, and were not subsequently heard of, I have the pleasure of informing your Lordship that when on Lake Nyassa, in October last, we met two Arabs from the interior who informed us that a month or two previously the party in question had crossed the lower part of the lake on their way home. The Arab who had kept them six years resided at Kilwa (Quiloa), and from the hurry he showed on leaving home, refusing to remain a few days even to allow one of the herdmen to recover the use of his foot, which had been accidentally injured, I presume that he dreaded Colonel Rigby's influence, and wished to escape before justice overtook him. I have heard nothing from Colonel Rigby, but, from that gentleman's general reputation and most energetic conduct against slavery, I have no doubt that these ninety-three Makololo owe their safe return to him. I trust that Colonel Rigby's health may be so far restored as to allow of his resuming his very important labours on the East Coast.

(Signed)

DAVID LIVINGSTONE.

No. 216.

Dr. Livingstone to Earl Russell.—(Received June 27.)

(Extract.)

Shupanga, Zambesi River, June 27, 1862.

REFERRING to my despatches of the 10th November, 1861, and of the 22nd February last, in which your Lordship's attention is called to the connivance of the Governor of Tette in the slave-hunting with which we unexpectedly came into contact on the Manganja highlands last years, I beg leave to submit the substance of a conversation which his Excellency held with Dr. Kirk a month ago, apparently with the object that it should be repeated to me.

Nothing else has occurred to indicate that the Portuguese were otherwise than ashamed of sending their slaves on our footsteps to establish their inland Slave Trade wherever we penetrated; and being aware that the Governor, Antonio Tavares d'Almeida, had been quite as actively engaged in the disreputable work as Major Secard and Lieutenant Alves, whose captures we had liberated, and who in frank intercourse subsequently never once adverted to the subject, I refrained from telling his Excellency what had been done. It now appears that, having assured himself of the countenance of his brother, the Governor-General of Mozambique, he wishes me to understand the perfect lawfulness of slave-trading, with its invariable complement, slave-hunting; and henceforth when Tette slaves, hounded on by their masters enter our discoveries, they will resist force by force.

The statement by the Governor-General that "the Slave Trade, though prohibited on the ocean, still remains the law of the country," taken in connection with the late great extension of inland Slave Trade by the people of Tette, seems worthy of your Lordship's attention. The Laws of Portugal of the 14th December, 1854, and 30th of June, 1856, contemplate freedom to the slaves already made; and all slave children even, born after the passing of the Decrees, who shall be baptized, are to be considered free. And again, by a Decree of the 29th April, 1858, slavery is to cease in twenty years in all the Portuguese possessions. For some unexplained cause no slave children are ever baptized, but the Governor of Tette is now working the Crown slaves to the utmost in making roads, tiles, &c., in anticipation of the Act of Emancipation next year rendering their services no longer available for public works. And there can be no doubt that the general tenour of Portuguese legislation is to have done with slavery as soon as possible. The Law of 18th August, 1856, declares free all slaves even who may enter the ports of

Portugal or the adjacent islands, as also the ports in the Portuguese possessions in India and Macao.

If, however, while providing so nobly for freedom to the slaves already made, the Portuguese legislators overlooked the necessity of preventing an indefinite increase to number by slave-hunting, a suggestion to remedy the oversight might be well received from your Lordship. The employment of the Tette slaves in reducing their fellow-countrymen to bondage, which these two precious Governors so complacently contemplate, is but a sorry education for freedom.

A note has been furnished by the Viscount de Sá da Bandeira, and published in the Almanack of Mozambique (1862) by the Governor-General, in which it is asserted that the River Shire, or Chire, and Lakes Shirwa and Nyassa were visited by certain nameless Portuguese in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the works of Padre dos Santos Godinho, Gamitto, &c., are quoted in support of the assertion, though these writers are quite silent about the discoverers; and our countryman Bowdich could find no trace of any exploration of the lakes in the Government archives at Lisbon. The subject is referred to here, only because it seems put forth as a plea for the right of converting the region which we have with so much toil and expense laid open, into a new slave-hunting field. The Viscount, in all probability, never anticipated that this use would be made of his geographical studies.

The eagerness which has been shown by the higher classes of Portuguese to claim new regions, may be a good reason for not suggesting more to their Government than a declaration that slave trading is illegal in their own territories. These have been so depopulated by the Slave Trade that by simply abstaining from buying fresh slaves from countries adjacent, the intention of the Law of 1858 would be fulfilled by slavery all but dying out in less than sixteen years. The present Governors would gladly make a demonstration against slave-hunting in regions beyond their power, but it would only be to establish a claim of lordship. It is probable, even, that the man Belshore who, with the Governor of Tette, was anxious to convince us that he is an independent marauder, will work his way up the Shire, in order to render it incumbent on his Excellency, at some future time, to disallow his proceedings, and claim the territory he may overrun.

No apprehension is entertained that the slaves will show fight. When we met them last year, they fled at once, and left everything on our hands. They may intrigue with the Native Chiefs, but only 1s. being paid for slaves, a very moderate measure of success on our own part in establishing lawful trade will turn the scale against them.

Inclosure in No. 216.

Dr. Kirk to Dr. Livingstone.

Sir,

Shupanga, June 13, 1862.

I FEEL it my duty to inform you respecting a conversation which passed between myself and his Excellency the Governor of Tette during my recent visit to that place, which, although not official, may be of use as showing the light in which the steps taken under your orders for the suppression of the Slave Trade in the Manganja country have been viewed by the higher Portuguese authorities of the Province of Mozambique.

Governor Tavares d'Almeida mentioned, in the course of ordinary conversation, on the 20th May, that having heard nothing from you respecting any interference with the slave-traders, and having been informed by several who had returned that the English had seized and liberated the slaves, taking at the same time arms and cloth used in the purchase, he had written respecting this to the Governor-General of Mozambique, and had been instructed to the effect that traders proceeding beyond the limits of the Portuguese power must defend themselves, and when attacked resist force by force; also that the Slave Trade, although prohibited on the ocean, remains the law of the country.

His Excellency did not advert to the possibility of the slave-traders being implicated in slave-hunting; but was aware of the large armed party which went last year for the purpose of attacking the independent tribes near Zomba, and recognized the individual at their head from my description as a serjeant formerly in the Portuguese army.

As I do not consider the conversation as of a confidential nature I mention it in order that you may become acquainted with the view of the case taken by the local authorities.

I cannot say whether or not the above opinions have been published among the residents; if so, the effects will soon be visible in the stimulus it will give the Ajawa, who act as purveyors and slave-hunters for the Tette slaving-parties.

I may also mention that the people of Chibisa have been attacked in their villages, in the country between the Zambesi and Shire, by a private individual named Belshore. This man carries on a war (as he informed me himself) against the expressed wish of the Portuguese authorities. He has at his command a considerable force encamped on one of the islands near Shigogo, within sight of Lupata, and little more than one day's voyage in a canoe from Tette.

I beg to draw your attention to this, as showing the lawless state in which armed parties are now ravaging, for private reasons, a country much nearer the centre of the Portuguese Government than are the Manganja Hills, and the feeble efforts made for their suppression.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN KIRK, M.D.

SPAIN.

No. 217.

Sir J. Crampton to Earl Russell.—(Received February 9.)

My Lord,

Madrid, January 23, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a translation of a note which I have received from the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs in reply to that which I had the honour to address to his Excellency on the 10th of December last, upon the subject of the Cuban Slave Trade, and a copy of which I had the honour of forwarding to your Lordship in my despatch of the 11th of December last.

His Excellency expresses the satisfaction of the Queen of Spain that Her Britannic Majesty's Government acknowledges the success of the Spanish maritime forces during the last year in checking the Slave Trade, and the good dispositions of the superior authorities in repressing it.

His Excellency concludes by declaring the intentions of the Spanish Government to give entire fulfilment to the existing Treaties upon this subject.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN F. CRAMPTON.

Inclosure in No. 217.

Señor Collantes to Sir J. Crampton.

(Translation.)

Sir,

Palace, January 18, 1862.

I HAVE received the note which you were good enough to address to me dated the 10th of December last, as well as the documents accompanying it, respecting the Cuban Slave Trade.

The Government of Her Majesty the Queen, my august Sovereign, is rejoiced that that of Great Britain acknowledges the success with which the Slave Trade has been repressed during the past year by the Spanish maritime forces in that island, the good dispositions with which the superior authorities of the same have been animated to put a stop to it, and the great difficulty of exterminating it completely in consequence of its being carried on almost entirely under the North American flag. In conclusion, the Government of Her Majesty will continue, as until now, to give entire fulfilment to the Treaties.

I avail, &c.

(Signed) S. CALDERON COLLANTES.

No. 218.

Sir J. Crampton to Earl Russell.—(Received February 9.)

My Lord,

Madrid, January 23, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith translation of a note which I have received from the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs, in reply to that which I addressed, on the 11th of December last, to his Excellency on the subject of the attack upon the Liberian war-schooner "Quail" by the Spanish war-steamer "Ceres," at Monrovia, a copy of which I had the honour to inclose in my despatch of the 17th of December last.

Your Lordship will perceive with regret that the Spanish Government declines to

accede to the well-grounded request of Her Majesty's Government, that the act of the Spanish Commander on this occasion should be disapproved by Her Catholic Majesty's Government.

Even admitting (what does not seem to be sufficiently proved) that the Spanish vessel "*Buenaventura Cubano*," which was taken possession of by the Liberian cruizer in the first instance, and afterwards destroyed by Her Majesty's steamer "*Torch*," was, as Señor Calderon Collantes states, not engaged in or intended for the Slave Trade, and that her capture by the Liberian vessel was consequently illegal and unwarranted, or even deserved to be designated by his Excellency as an act of "piracy and vandalism," the Spanish authorities were surely not warranted in assuming that such an act, even if committed by the Commander of a public vessel, would be approved of and supported by the Liberian Government, and in proceeding, without having made any demand for reparation, and without even explanation or previous notice, to actual hostilities in the harbour of a State with which Her Catholic Majesty was at peace.

I am not aware whether the Liberian Republic has ever been formally recognized by Her Catholic Majesty's Government, or whether any sort of relations have been held with it in its corporate capacity by the Spanish Government; but, even if no such formal recognition has taken place, it would not justify Spain in treating a community which enjoys an established Government, and holds international relations with many other States, as being without the pale of international comity, and constituting a mere horde of savages and pirates.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN F. CRAMPTON.

Inclosure in No. 218.

Señor Collantes to Sir J. Crampton.

(Translation.)

Sir,

Madrid, January 18, 1862.

I HAVE received the note which you were good enough to address to me, dated the 11th of December last, inclosing several documents referring to the capture by the Liberian schooner "*Quail*" of the Spanish merchant-brig "*Buenaventura Cubano*" (of the Manzanillo register), to the destruction of the latter by Her Britannic Majesty's steamer "*Torch*," and to the attack made by Her Majesty's schooner "*Ceres*" on the captor. You end your note by requesting that the conduct observed on this occasion by the Spanish Commander should be disapproved.

With reference to the destruction of the "*Buenaventura Cubano*," which the said English cruizer found stranded, without name, papers, or flag, and the capture of which is disputed by the Government of Monrovia, it is a question which can be discussed between the Governments of the two nations, and therefore I shall not touch upon that incident.

With reference to the act of piracy and vandalism perpetrated by the "*Quail*," I must give some explanations respecting it, founded upon the documents existing in this Ministry.

It appears from the said documents and from the evidence of impartial persons, who by their peculiar position must be acquainted with the exact facts, that the "*Buenaventura Cubano*" was not intended for the illegal Traffic in Slaves; that the said ship on her voyage from Teneriffe to Fernando Po was driven on a reef within the bar of the Gallinas River, and that in consequence of the injuries done her the Captain made arrangements for unshipping the cargo by making an exchange of goods with the King of that country, who was to give him a certain number of barrels of palm-oil. A few days after making and signing the contract the "*Buenaventura Cubano*" was boarded by the "*Quail*," the ship, her cargo, and equipment scandalously pillaged, and the Captain and crew, to avoid assassination, compelled to fly.

After such a proceeding you will understand that the Commander of the "*Ceres*" was in his right when acting as he did, since even supposing for a moment that there was an intention of employing the "*Buenaventura Cubano*" to carry on the condemned Slave Trade, neither Treaties, nor established usages, nor the respect due to the flag of any country, gave a Liberian ship the right to visit, and much less to take possession of, and above all to pillage, a Spanish merchant-vessel. And this is so evident that even the Government of the Republic must have reflected afterwards on the gravity of the action when their batteries were ready to repulse instantaneously, as they effected in doing, the attack which the "*Ceres*" made on the "*Quail*" as a just reprisal, and when, even after

this act, they still entertain the fear, as you point out, of being attacked by a Spanish fleet. The conduct, therefore, of the Spanish Commander was justified by the facts themselves, and cannot deserve any disapprobation either by Spain or by any civilized Government who, jealous of the dignity of their country, wish to sustain the honor of its flag.

I avail, &c.

(Signed) S. CALDERON COLLANTES.

No. 219.

Sir J. Crampton to Earl Russell.—(Received February 9.)

My Lord,

Madrid, February 2, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inclose, in translation, an extract from a report of a debate which took place in Congress on the 30th.

The debate turned upon the expenses of the Spanish Navy, but the incident to which I would draw your Lordship's attention is the declaration by Marshal O'Donnell that the Spanish Government, though fully alive to the evils of slavery, and using their best endeavours to abolish the Slave Trade, intend for the present, and are fully resolved, to maintain slavery in Cuba and Puerto Rico.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN F. CRAMPTON.

Inclosure in No. 219.

Extract from a Debate in the Spanish Congress of Deputies, January 30, 1862.

(Translation.)

Extract from M. Polo's speech.—“With regard to Cuba, we are all aware of the tempest which is raging in North America. That tempest will not blow away until it has done away with slavery in that country; and will it not cross the headlands of Florida, on the narrow arm of sea which divides it from Cuba? And, lastly, slavery will disappear in Cuba. It has long been condemned to death; and I think, gentlemen, we ought to be prepared for the conflict. We will then have to give up the surplus of that colony, and the Marine cannot be maintained. It is necessary, then, for us to see what expenses we shall have to incur for the navy, in order that they may not exceed the estimate, even if we have to give up some part of the revenue, as I have above stated.”

The President of the Council of Ministers:—“I do not rise to reply to what Mr. Polo has said, but to say a few words which I had forgotten before.

“I think, gentlemen, that the honourable member has raised a most important question, a question which cannot be raised here at hazard. The Government, who are fully alive to the evils of slavery, and who are using their best endeavours to abolish the Slave Trade, intend, for the present, and are fully resolved to maintain slavery in Cuba and Puerto Rico.”

No. 220.

Earl Russell to Sir J. Crampton.

Sir,

Foreign Office, February 15, 1862.

SEÑOR COLLANTES in his note of the 18th January last (inclosed in your despatch of 23rd January), informs you that “Her Catholic Majesty's Government will continue, as heretofore, to give entire fulfilment to the Treaties for the suppression of the Slave Trade.” The reports received by Her Majesty's Government from Cuba prove that whilst, owing to the measures taken by the Spanish authorities, many captures have taken place, this trade is still carried on with great activity, as you will perceive by the inclosed copies of despatches from Mr. Consul-General Crawford.* You will call the earnest attention of the Spanish Government to the cases referred to by Her Majesty's Consul-General, and you will in a note to Señor Calderon Collantes express the hope of Her Majesty's Government that the execution of the Treaties for the suppression of the Slave Trade will be more complete henceforth than it has been heretofore.

I am, &c.

(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 221.

Earl Russell to Sir J. Crampton

Sir,

Foreign Office, February 20, 1862.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith copies of a letter, and its inclosures, from the Colonial Office, by which you will learn the injurious effect which has been produced on the trade of Liberia by the recent attack made by the Spanish gun-boat "Ceres" on the Liberian schooner "Quail" in the waters of Monrovia.

I am, &c.

(Signed) RUSSELL.

Inclosure 1 in No. 221.

Mr. Ewart, M.P. to Mr. Fortescue.

Dear Sir,

New Brighton, Birkenhead, December 19, 1861.

MESSRS. BROWN, SHIPLEY AND CO., of Liverpool (a firm probably well known to you, the senior having been M.P. for South Lancashire), has sent me the inclosed copy of a letter which they have received from one of their correspondents at Cape Palmas.

They complain of the great injury done to their trade there in consequence of some unjustifiable acts of Spanish authorities there.

Messrs. Brown and Co. request me to bring this letter under your notice, and I shall feel obliged by your informing me if you are able to take any cognizance of the matter.

Believe me, &c.

(Signed) J. C. EWART.

Inclosure 2 in No. 221.

Messrs. Brown, Shipley & Co., to Mr. Ewart, M.P.

Dear Sir,

Liverpool, December 16, 1861.

WE beg to hand herewith copy of a letter we have received from Messrs. R. G. Mc Gill and Brothers, of Cape Palmas, as you may think it desirable to bring the matter before the Government.

Messrs. Mc Gill and Brothers are a firm of standing and character.

Yours, &c.

(Signed) BROWN, SHIPLEY & Co.

Inclosure 3 in No. 221.

Messrs. Mc Gill & Brothers to Messrs. Brown, Shipley & Co.

Gentlemen,

Cape Palmas, November 15, 1861.

WE are doing no business ; all trade is stopped.

We are expecting an attack from surrounding tribes of natives, who have heard that the Spanish Government intended breaking up all our settlements in Liberia, in consequence of our Government having sent their schooner "Quail" to Gallinas, between Sierra Leone and Monrovia, in our territory, and seized a Spanish schooner which had entered the river and landed her cargo to purchase slaves in August last. Our Government, having no Treaty with Spain, could only bring her to trial for the violation of our revenue laws, but while in possession of our crew put on board of her, and before she could be got out of the river, the Commander of Her Britannic Majesty's steamer "Torch" took her out of our hands and burnt her. For this, the Spanish Governor of Fernando Po sent a war-steamer up to Monrovia, about seven weeks ago, which entered the harbour, and without any preliminary notice or ceremony, fired into our Government schooner, which was returned by her, as well as from the battery, only one shot striking her, and compelling a hasty retreat. The facts in the case are well known to the Spanish authorities on this coast, yet they order an attack on Liberia because of our weakness.

No complaint has been made by them—no claim made to indemnify them for the loss

of the vessel, yet the Governor of Fernando Po issues an order to his officers to sink or capture the "Quail" and destroy our settlements.

Should the Spanish Home Government approve the acts of their Fernando Po sub., and send out a force to injure or subdue us, then we shall, of course, lie at their mercy.

We, however, entertain a hope that your Government will not remain indifferent or passive when we are being oppressed and bullied for acts committed by its Naval Commanders.

In consequence of this affair, each of our settlements in the whole of Liberia is threatened with an attack from the surrounding natives, and the subduing of Monrovia by the Spaniards will be the signal for the general rebellion and attack from the natives along the coast on the different settlements.

(Signed) R. S. Mc GILL & BROS.

No. 222.

Earl Russell to Sir J. Crampton.

Sir,

Foreign Office, February 20, 1862.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 23rd ultimo, inclosing the reply of Señor Calderon Collantes to the note which you addressed to him on the 11th of December last on the subject of the attack made by the Spanish man-of-war steamer "Ceres" upon the Liberian gun-boat "Quail," in the waters of Monrovia.

Her Majesty's Government regret to find, from the Spanish Minister's answer, that the Government of Her Catholic Majesty decline to accede to their request that the conduct of the Commander of the Spanish gun-boat should be disapproved. No circumstances could justify the Commander of a vessel of war in entering, in a friendly manner, into the port of another Power, and opening fire upon one of its ships, without having first demanded an explanation or reparation for any wrong of which he might have to complain, or giving any previous notice of his intention to commit an act of hostility.

You will repeat to M. Calderon Collantes the deliberate opinion of Her Majesty's Government that the conduct of the Commander of the "Ceres" was unjustifiable.

I am, &c.

(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 223.

Sir J. Crampton to Earl Russell.—(Received March 12.)

My Lord,

Madrid, February 26, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inclose the copy of a note which, in obedience to the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch of the 15th instant, I have addressed to the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs, asking the earnest attention of the Spanish Government to the cases of Slave Trade in Cuba referred to in the correspondence between Her Majesty's Consul-General at Havana and the Captain-General of that colony, copies of which were inclosed in your Lordship's above-named despatch; and expressing the hope of Her Majesty's Government that the execution of the Treaties for the suppression of the Slave Trade will be more complete henceforth than it has been heretofore.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN F. CRAMPTON.

Inclosure in No. 223.

Sir J. Crampton to Señor Collantes.

M. le Ministre,

Madrid, February 26, 1862.

I AM instructed by Her Majesty's Government to ask your Excellency's earnest attention to the cases of the introduction of slaves into the Island of Cuba, referred to in the correspondence between Her Majesty's Consul-General at Havana and his Excellency the Captain-General of that colony, copies of which I have the honour to inclose.

The reports received from Cuba prove that, whilst owing to the measures taken by the Spanish authorities, many captures have taken place, the Slave Trade is still carried

on with great activity. I am consequently instructed to express the hope of Her Majesty's Government that the execution of the Treaties for the suppression of this infamous Traffic will be more complete henceforth than it has been heretofore.

I avail, &c.
(Signed) JOHN F. CRAMPTON.

No. 224.

Sir J. Crampton to Earl Russell.—(Received March 12.)

My Lord,

Madrid, February 26, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inclose the copy of a note which, in conformity with the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch of the 20th instant, I have addressed to the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs in regard to the attack made by the Spanish man-of-war steamer "Ceres" upon the Liberian gun-boat "Quail" in the waters of Monrovia.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN F. CRAMPTON.

Inclosure in No. 224.

Sir J. Crampton to Señor Collantes.

M. le Ministre,

Madrid, February 26, 1862.

I DID not fail to transmit to Her Majesty's Government a copy of the note which your Excellency did me the honour to address to me on the 18th ultimo, in reply to my communication of the 11th of December last, on the subject of the attack made by the Spanish man-of-war steamer "Ceres" upon the Liberian gun-boat "Quail" in the waters of Monrovia.

Her Majesty's Government have learnt with regret that the Government of Her Catholic Majesty decline to accede to their request that the conduct of the Commander of the "Ceres" should be disapproved.

I am instructed to observe that, after a deliberate consideration of the statements contained in your Excellency's note, and the documents which accompany it, Her Majesty's Government are unable to perceive any circumstances which could justify the Commander of a vessel of war in entering, in a friendly manner, into the port of another Power and opening fire upon one of its ships, without having first demanded an explanation or reparation for any wrong of which he might have to complain, or giving any previous notice of his intention to commit an act of hostility.

I avail, &c.
(Signed) JOHN F. CRAMPTON.

No. 225.

Earl Russell to Sir J. Crampton.

Sir,

Foreign Office, March 12, 1862.

I TRANSMIT to you, for your information, a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Consul-General at the Havana,* reporting the capture of a slaver off the Coast of Cuba, with 271 slaves on board, by the Spanish vessel of war "Conde de Venadito."

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

* No. 272.

Earl Russell to Sir J. Crampton.

Sir,

Foreign Office, March 20, 1862.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 15th ultimo, inclosing a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Consul-General at the Havana, reporting a landing of slaves at Camarioca, and their subsequent capture by the Spanish authorities, I now transmit to you a copy of a further despatch from Mr. Crawford,* stating that the slaves in question have been restored, by decision of the Court of Royal Audiencia, under the provisions of the 9th Article of the Penal Law, to the person who claimed them.

I also transmit to you a copy of a despatch from Mr. Crawford,† inclosing copies of a correspondence with the Captain-General of Cuba, relative to the landing of a cargo of upwards of 300 slaves near Trinidad, in the most open manner, and with the connivance of the Lieutenant-Governor, the Alcalde Mayor, the Secretaries, civil and military, as well as the other local authorities.

I have to instruct you to call the serious attention of the Spanish Government to the facts reported by Mr. Crawford.

In the one case slaves captured by the Spanish authorities, and known to have been introduced into Cuba in violation of Spanish laws, and in contravention of the Treaty engagements of Spain with this country, were deliberately given up to the parties who claimed them, and who ought to be amenable to the laws for their introduction.

In the other case a cargo of slaves was landed within sight of the Governor's house, apparently with the connivance of the authorities, from the highest to the lowest; the crew of the slave-vessel were permitted to walk about the streets, and to boast openly of their success; and although some of the parties implicated were sent to Havana under arrest, they were allowed to return free to their homes, and to retain their places.

Her Majesty's Government have every wish to believe that the assurances they have repeatedly received from the Government of Her Catholic Majesty of their desire to put an end to the Cuban Slave Trade have been made in good faith, but they find it difficult to reconcile those assurances with the facts which have been brought to the notice of Her Majesty's Government by Mr. Consul-General Crawford.

You will present a note on this subject to Señor Calderon Collantes, and ask him to take effectual measures to punish offenders who violate the laws of Spain, and expose the honour of its Government to imputations of a grave nature.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 228.

Earl Russell to Sir J. Crampton.

Sir,

Foreign Office, April 9, 1862.

I TRANSMIT to you, for your information, a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Consul-General at the Havana,‡ stating that increased interest in the Slave Trade seems to have sprung up in the Island of Cuba, and giving information relative to the movements of vessels suspected of being destined to be employed in that Traffic.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 229.

Earl Russell to Sir J. Crampton.

Sir,

Foreign Office, April 10, 1862.

WITH reference to the former correspondence respecting the case of the Spanish schooner "*Buenaventura Cubano*," which was first seized by the Liberian authorities, in the month of May last, in the Gallinas River, for being engaged in the Slave Trade within Liberian territory, and was afterwards taken out of the hands of those authorities and destroyed by the Commander of Her Majesty's ship "*Torch*," I have now to acquaint

* No. 273.

† No. 271.

‡ No. 277.

you that Mr. Ralston, the Liberian Consul-General in this country, has informed me that the Spanish Minister at this Court has, by direction of his Government, claimed, through Mr. Ralston, reparation and indemnity from the Government of Liberia for the capture and destruction of the vessel in question.

I have to instruct you again to bring this matter to the notice of the Spanish Government.

You will state to Señor Calderon Collantes that the "*Buenaventura Cubano*," having been taken out of the hands of the Liberian authorities and destroyed by the Commander of a British cruizer, Her Majesty's Government feel that they alone, and not the Government of Liberia, are responsible to the Spanish Government for any reparation or indemnity that may be due on account of the destruction of this vessel.

You will add that, according to reliable information received by the Governor of Sierra Leone, and on which the Commander of Her Majesty's ship "*Torch*" acted when he went in search of the "*Buenaventura Cubano*," the master of that vessel was a notorious slave-trader, and had entered into the Gallinas River for the express purpose of procuring a cargo of slaves, having made arrangements for this purpose with the Native Chiefs, who subsequently denounced him to the Liberian authorities.

Her Majesty's Government feel assured that the result of further inquiries into this matter will prove to the Government of Her Catholic Majesty the true character of the adventure in which the "*Buenaventura Cubano*" was engaged when she was destroyed by a British cruizer, and they are unwilling to believe that the Spanish Government would in any way give their countenance to a slave-trading transaction.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 230.

Sir J. Crampton to Earl Russell.—(Received April 16.)

My Lord,

Madrid, March 29, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a note which I have addressed to the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs, stating, with reference to my communication to his Excellency of the 18th of December last, that information has been received by Her Majesty's Consul at San Domingo from which it appears that there is no truth in the report which reached the Governor of Turk's Island, that slaves had been introduced into San Domingo.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN F. CRAMPTON.

Inclosure in No. 230.

Sir J. Crampton to Señor Collantes.

M. le Ministre,

Madrid, March 29, 1862.

WITH reference to the note which I had the honour to address to your Excellency on the 18th of December last, regarding a report which had reached the Governor of Turk's Island that a number of negro slaves had been introduced into the Island of San Domingo, I am glad now to be enabled to state, that information has been received from Her Majesty's Consul in that island from which it appears that there was no truth in the report.

I avail, &c.
(Signed) JOHN F. CRAMPTON.

No. 231.

Sir J. Crampton to Earl Russell.—(Received April 16.)

My Lord,

Madrid, April 11, 1862.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch of the 20th ultimo, I have the honour to transmit the copy of a note which, in conformity with your Lordship's instructions, I

have addressed to M. Calderon Collantes respecting the circumstances attending a recent landing of slaves at Camarioca and Trinidad.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN F. CRAMPTON.

Inclosure in No. 231.

Sir J. Crampton to Señor Collantes.

M. le Ministre,

Madrid, April 11, 1862.

WITH reference to the note which I had the honour to address to your Excellency on the 26th of February last, inclosing the copies of a correspondence which had taken place between Her Majesty's Consul-General and the Captain-General of Havana upon the subject of a landing of slaves at Camarioca, and their subsequent capture by the Spanish authorities, I have now the honour of transmitting to your Excellency the copy of a further despatch from Mr. Consul-General Crawford, stating that the slaves in question have been restored, by decision of the Court of Royal Audiencia, under the provisions of the 9th Article of the Penal Law, to the person who claimed them.

I have also the honour to inclose to your Excellency copies of a further correspondence from Mr. Crawford with the Captain-General of Cuba relative to the landing of a cargo of upwards of 300 slaves near Trinidad, in the most open manner, and, as it appears, with the connivance of the Lieutenant-Governor, the Alcalde Mayor, the Secretaries Civil and Military, as well as the other local authorities.

I am instructed to call the serious attention of the Spanish Government to the facts reported by Mr. Crawford.

In the one case, slaves captured by the Spanish authorities, and known to have been introduced into Cuba in violation of Spanish laws, and in contravention of the Treaty-engagements of Spain with Great Britain, were deliberately given up to the parties who claimed them, and who ought to be amenable to the laws for their introduction.

In the other case, a cargo of slaves was landed within sight of the Governor's house, apparently with the connivance of the authorities, from the highest to the lowest. The crew of the slave-vessel were permitted to walk about the streets, and to boast openly of their success. Although some of the parties implicated were sent to Havana under arrest, they were allowed to return, free, to their homes, and to retain their places.

Her Majesty's Government desire me to state to your Excellency that they have every wish to believe that the assurances they have repeatedly received from Her Catholic Majesty's Government, of their desire to put an end to the Cuban Slave Trade, have been made in good faith; but they find it difficult to reconcile these assurances with the facts which have been brought to their notice by Mr. Consul-General Crawford.

Her Majesty's Government cannot, therefore, but express the hope that Her Catholic Majesty's Government, now that these facts are brought to their knowledge, will take effectual measures to punish offenders who violate the laws of Spain, and expose its Government to imputations of a grave nature.

I avail, &c.
(Signed) JOHN F. CRAMPTON.

No. 232.

Earl Russell to Sir J. Crampton.

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 15, 1862.

I HAVE to instruct you to acquaint the Spanish Government that a despatch has been received from Mr. Skelton, Her Majesty's Judge at Sierra Leone, reporting that M. Pio de Emperanza and M. Narciso Perez Petinto, the newly appointed Judge and Arbitrator on the part of Her Catholic Majesty in the British and Spanish Mixed Commission Court in that Colony, have taken the prescribed oaths, and have entered upon their respective duties.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL

No. 233.

Sir J. Crampton to Earl Russell.—(Received May 19.)

My Lord,

Madrid, May 14, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship a translation of a further note which I have received from M. Calderon Collantes, regarding the report which had reached the Governor of Turk's Island that a number of negro slaves had been introduced into the Island of San Domingo.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN F. CRAMPTON.

Inclosure in No. 233.

Señor Collantes to Sir J. Crampton.

(Translation.)

Sir,

Madrid, April 22, 1862.

THE Captain-General of Cuba, whom I informed of the note which you were good enough to address to me on the 18th of December last, respecting a certain number of African slaves, Government labourers, having been introduced into the port of Samaná, Island of San Domingo, informs me in reply that the fact is completely false, since the Government possesses no labourers either as slaves or as freemen, and that the only cases which have arisen with reference to this subject were the removal of some Chinese criminals to Samaná, in order not to give cause for any kind of interpretations, and the sending of a freed negress whom the Fiscal of the Royal Tribunal had in charge, and being named President of the Tribunal of San Domingo, he asked permission to take her with him for the service of his family; before granting him this a letter exempting her from dependence on the Government was given to the negress, in order that she might enter that territory completely free.

Although you have acknowledged the untruth of the facts, which caused your above-named letter of the 18th of December, in your second one of the 29th of March last, I have thought it right to let you know the information received from the superior authority of Cuba upon the subject; availing, &c.

(Signed) S. CALDERON COLLANTES.

No. 234.

Sir J. Crampton to Earl Russell.—(Received May 19.)

My Lord,

Madrid, April 29, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inclose the copy of a note which, in conformity with the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch of the 10th instant, I have addressed to the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs again calling his Excellency's attention to the subject of the destruction of the Spanish vessel "*Buenaventura Cubano*" by the Commander of Her Majesty's ship "*Torch*," and stating that Her Majesty's Government, and not the Government of Liberia, are responsible for that destruction, which was effected on the grounds of the "*Buenaventura Cubano*" being engaged in the Slave Trade—a fact which Her Majesty's Government do not doubt will be made apparent to the Spanish Government by further investigation.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN F. CRAMPTON.

Inclosure in No. 234.

Sir J. Crampton to Señor Collantes.

M. le Ministre,

Madrid, April 29, 1862.

WITH reference to my correspondence with your Excellency upon the subject of the destruction of the Spanish schooner "*Buenaventura Cubano*," which was first captured by the Liberian vessel the "*Quail*," in the month of May last, for being engaged in the Slave Trade, and was afterwards burnt by the Commander of Her Majesty's ship "*Torch*," I have the honour to inform your Excellency that copies of a correspondence between his Excellency the Envoy of Her Catholic Majesty in London and Mr. Ralston, the Liberian Consul-General, have been communicated by the latter to Her Majesty's Government, by which it appears that the Spanish Minister has by the direction of his Government claimed, through Mr. Ralston, reparation and indemnity from the Government of Liberia for the capture and destruction of the vessel in question.

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I am in consequence instructed by Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs again to bring this matter to the notice of the Spanish Government. I am directed to state to your Excellency that the "*Buenaventura Cubano*" having been taken out of the hands of the Liberian authorities and destroyed by the Commander of a British cruiser, Her Majesty's Government feel that they alone, and not the Government of Liberia, are responsible to the Spanish Government for any reparation or indemnity that may be due on account of the destruction of this vessel.

I have to add that according to reliable information received by the Governor of Sierra Leone, and on which the Commander of Her Majesty's ship "*Torch*" acted when he went in search of the "*Buenaventura Cubano*," the master of that vessel was a notorious slave-trader, and had entered the Gallinas River for the express purpose of procuring a cargo of slaves, having made arrangements for this purpose with the native Chiefs, who subsequently denounced him to the Liberian authorities.

Her Majesty's Government feel assured that the result of further inquiries into this matter will prove to the Government of Her Catholic Majesty the true character of the adventure in which the "*Buenaventura Cubano*" was engaged when she was destroyed by a British cruiser, and they are unwilling to believe that the Spanish Government would in any way give their countenance to a slave-trading transaction.

I avail, &c.

(Signed) JOHN F. CRAMPTON.

No. 235.

Earl Russell to Sir J. Crampton.

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 3, 1862.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 29th of April last, and I have to convey to you my approval of the note which, in pursuance of the instructions contained in my despatch of the 10th ultimo, you addressed to the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs, acquainting his Excellency that Her Majesty's Government hold themselves alone responsible for the destruction of the Spanish slaver "*Buenaventura Cubano*" by Her Majesty's ship "*Torch*."

I am, &c.

(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 236.

Sir J. Crampton to Earl Russell.—(Received June 9.)

My Lord,

Madrid, June 4, 1862.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 29th of April last, and to my previous correspondence with your Lordship's office, regarding the case of the Spanish vessel "*Buenaventura*" alias "*Cubano*," which was taken possession of at Gallinas by the Liberian vessel "*Quail*," and afterwards destroyed by the commander of Her Majesty's ship "*Torch*," I have the honour to inclose a report and translation of a debate which took place in the Spanish Congress of Deputies on the 2nd instant.

On that occasion Señor Candan put a question upon the subject to the Government, which was answered by the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

I can only attribute it to the want of a clear recollection of the facts of a somewhat complicated transaction, that his Excellency's statement should fail so much in completeness and correctness both as to the facts of the case and the present position of the question. Your Lordship will observe that Señor Calderon Collantes makes no allusion to the destruction of the Spanish vessel by the commander of the "*Torch*," nor to the assumption by Her Majesty's Government of the responsibility of that act; while his Excellency's language would leave it to be supposed that the Liberian Government, acquiescing in the justice of the Spanish claim against them for the seizure of the "*Buenaventura*," objects to grant further reparation only on the ground that the chastisement they have already undergone was "too rigorous," and that it was inflicted upon them without any previous claim for satisfaction.

I shall not fail to take an early opportunity of requesting Señor Calderon Collantes again to examine the documents which I have communicated to him, and to take the matter into his serious consideration.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN F. CRAMPTON.

Inclosure in No. 236.

Extract from the "Diario de las Sesiones de Cortes," June 2, 1862.

(Translation.)

Señor Candan.—MY question is more particularly addressed to the Minister of State, whom I am glad to see in his place. According to information I have received, but for the correctness of which I do not venture to answer, it appears that about the beginning of last year a vessel named the "*Buenaventura*" alias "*Cubano*," belonging to the mercantile marine of the Island of Cuba, and bound from Teneriffe to Fernando Po, was driven ashore by a gale at the mouth of the River Gallinas, and there fell a victim to an outrage committed by one of the vessels of war the Liberian Republic, which not content with seizing the ship and turning out the crew, finished, it should seem, by setting her on fire. What I wish to know is, whether the Government have received intelligence of this occurrence, and whether proper steps have been taken to obtain due satisfaction for the insult offered to the Spanish flag, and a suitable reparation to the owners of the vessel for the injuries they have suffered.

The Minister of State (Calderon Collantes).—Although, I cannot at the present moment reply to the Honourable Deputy as much in detail as I should wish, because it is not in my power to recall all the circumstances of the case, I may yet mention that the Department of State did receive timely intelligence of the event in question, although it did not take place in the way the Honourable Deputy has just stated.

Really and truly the necessary satisfaction was obtained by material force. A Spanish vessel of war proceeded to Monrovia in this so-called Republic of Liberia, and inflicted a heavy and severe chastisement on a vessel belonging to it: but the Government was still not satisfied even with these energetic reprisals, and have made further claims on the Government of the Republic; who, on the other hand, thinking that the Spanish vessel of war, which went to Monrovia, acted with too much rigour, consider themselves injured, and deem that they are not called upon to give any further satisfaction.

The question is, therefore, still pending; but in reality the insult offered to a vessel belonging to our mercantile marine received the most solemn, immediate, and energetic reparation which it was in the power of the Spanish naval forces to afford.

Señor Candan.—I congratulate myself, as a good Spaniard, that the Government have acted with energy and rapidity in obtaining due reparation for an outrage inflicted on one of our merchant-vessels; but, as the Minister of State must be aware, the satisfaction which the Spanish Government are bound to demand is not confined to this. Damages for the value of the vessel are also due to us. Apart from this, I rejoice at having contributed to make public the reparation which has been obtained by force of arms, in order that it may always be well known that, wherever an insult is offered to our flag, there the sword of our brave sailors will be found to avenge it.

The Minister of State (Calderon Collantes).—I doubtless have not explained myself with sufficient clearness to enable the Honourable Deputy to catch my meaning. I said that, after the energetic measures of reprisal which were at once adopted and carried out with the greatest vigour by one of the ships of our navy which happened to be in the neighbourhood, a claim has been made which is still pending, and which will be followed up with the greatest activity.

But, on the other hand, the Government of the small State in question considers itself injured because, without any formal claim being made, correction was administered for the excess committed on one of our merchant-vessels.

Independently, therefore, of what was done the moment the offence was offered, a proper claim has been put forward, and the Honourable Deputy may rest assured that this claim will not be abandoned.

No. 237.

Earl Russell to Sir J. Crampton.

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 12, 1862.

I TRANSMIT herewith, for your information, copies of despatches from Mr. Crawford, Her Majesty's Consul-General at the Havana, on matters connected with the Cuban Slave Trade.*

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

* Nos. 279, 280, 281, 282, and 283.

Earl Russell to Sir J. Crampton.

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 14, 1862.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith, for your information, copies of a correspondence which has passed between the Spanish Legation at this Court and this office, relative to the case of two Spanish vessels, the "*Lola*" and the "*Castilla*," which were detained by the Commander of Her Majesty's ship "*Barracouta*," off the coast of Cuba, on suspicion of being engaged in the Slave Trade, and have since been restored by decision of the Mixed Commission Court at Havana, with costs and damages against the captor.

You will find the papers relating to the case of these two vessels published at pages 9 and 13, Class A, of the Slave Trade Correspondence presented to Parliament last session.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

Inclosure 1 in No. 238.

M. Isturiz to Lord J. Russell.

(Translation.)

My Lord,

London, May 11, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to make known to your Excellency, by order of my Government, an act of injustice committed by Mr. W. Wood, in command of the steamer "*Barracouta*," of the Royal English navy, on the two Spanish trading brigs "*Lola*" and "*Castilla*," in October last.

These vessels are of the sort called "coasters," of the Island of Cuba, and they were sailing with papers which, according to Spanish law, are sufficient for those of their class, and should have sufficed to prove their nationality; but notwithstanding this circumstance, not only did Commander Wood detain and capture them, but instead of taking them before a Mixed Commission, in conformity with the Treaty of 1835, conveyed them to the Island of Jamaica, where they were brought before the English Court fixed there. Fortunately this Court had to declare itself incompetent, as soon as it inquired into the question of the nationality of the "*Lola*" and the "*Castilla*;" but this does not exempt the Government of the Queen my august Sovereign from the duty of taking such measures as it considers necessary to prevent the repetition of such a deplorable act.

I have the honour, therefore, by its order, to ask your Excellency to be pleased to issue proper orders to the cruizers of the Royal British Navy, so that in case of detaining any vessel for suspicion of being employed in the Slave Trade, they do not fail to carry her before a Mixed Commission.

This proceeding will be in accordance with the stipulations of 1835, and will always have the good effect of preventing mistakes like that which gives rise to this complaint. Otherwise the Government of my august Sovereign will feel itself entitled to claim the damages which will be of course due to commerce, and to the parties interested in the detained vessels.

I have, &c.
(Signed) XAVIER E ISTURIZ.

Inclosure 2 in No. 238.

Lord J. Russell to M. Isturiz.

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 23, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 11th instant, complaining of the conduct of Commander W. Wood, of Her Majesty's ship "*Barracouta*," in having sent the Spanish trading vessels "*Lola*" and "*Castilla*," which he had detained on suspicion of their being engaged in the Slave Trade, for adjudication before an Admiralty Court at Jamaica, instead of before a Mixed Commission, in conformity with the Treaty of 1835 between Great Britain and Spain, for the suppression of the Slave Trade; and I have the honour to state to you in reply, that the contents of your note have been brought to the notice of the Board of Admiralty, with the request that immediate inquiries may be made, the result of which I will not fail to communicate to you, for the information of the Spanish Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

Inclosure 3 in No. 238.

Lord J. Russell to M. Isturiz.

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 13, 1861.

WITH reference to the letter which I had the honour to address to you on the 23rd ultimo, I now beg leave to inform you that the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty have communicated to me a letter from Commander Wood, of Her Majesty's ship "Barracouta," reporting the circumstances under which that officer detained, and sent to Jamaica for adjudication, the two Spanish brigs "*Lola*" and "*Castilla*."

It appears from Commander Wood's report, that he boarded the brig "*Lola*" off the Anguillas on the 14th of October last, when he found that she had neither log-book, manifest, nor papers, and that she was fitted with a very large hatchway, and had on board an immense quantity of plank, staves, hoops, and heads for water-casks, mats, jerked beef, and rice. Commander Wood reports that on the next day, the 15th of October, he fell in with and boarded another vessel (doubtless the "*Castilla*"), without name, papers, or log-book, and found her fitted for the immediate reception of a slave-deck, her hatchway being enormous.

The "*Barracouta*" being ordered to sea immediately after her arrival at Jamaica, Commander Wood has not reported the reasons why the Vice-Admiralty Court in that island refused to adjudicate in the cases of these two vessels, nor have I yet received any explanation from other sources of the circumstances under which they have since been sent for adjudication to the Havana; but I would beg leave to observe that if, as is stated, the two vessels were taken without papers to denote their nationality, Commander Wood would seem to have been justified in sending them for adjudication before a British Vice-Admiralty Court.

I am, &c.

(Signed) J. RUSSELL.

Inclosure 4 in No. 238.

M. Isturiz to Lord J. Russell.

(Translation.)

My Lord,

London, July 25, 1861.

THE reply which your Excellency was pleased to return to me on the 13th of June last to my note of the 11th May preceding, relative to the offence committed in October last by the Commander W. Wood, of the English steamer "*Barracouta*," against the Spanish trading-brigs "*Lola*" and "*Castilla*," was not satisfactory to the Government of the Queen my august Sovereign. I have the honour, therefore, by its command, to inform your Excellency that, as I had occasion to state in my note above mentioned, the default of name in one of the ships, and of certain ship's papers which Commander Wood did not find when he made the capture, is explained in a manner which cannot excite any doubts, if those vessels were, as they appear to have been, of those called in Cuba "*costeros*," or coasting-vessels, which for this reason, and because of their small importance, are not called upon to have the same requisites and documents as those which are engaged in other kinds of trade. Moreover, the Vth Article of the Treaty of 1835 decidedly stipulates that in the case where a vessel shall be captured on suspicion of being engaged in the Slave Trade, she must be taken or sent to one of the places where there are Mixed Tribunals, that the case may be tried there; consequently, the Commander of the "*Barracouta*," in carrying the "*Lola*," and "*Castilla*" to Jamaica, acted in contravention of the stipulation contained in the said Article, and therefore the step which he arbitrarily took cannot be approved: it was rejected even by the English Court of that island in declaring its incompetency to adjudicate the capture, from a consideration of the nationality of those vessels.

I take, &c.

(Signed) XAVIER E ISTURIZ.

Earl Russell to Sir J. Crampton.

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 16, 1862.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 4th instant, inclosing a Report of what passed at a debate in the Spanish Chamber of Deputies, regarding the case of the Spanish slave-vessel "*Buenaventura Cubano*."

It is important that the facts of this case, as they have been reported to Her Majesty's Government by the British naval authorities on the coast, and by the Liberian Government, should not be distorted or misunderstood; and I have therefore to desire that you will address a note to Señor Calderon Collantes, recapitulating the facts of the case as they are contained in the papers which I have from time to time communicated to you, and pointing out that those facts do not bear out the statement made to the Cortes. Probably Señor Calderon had not the circumstances present to his mind when he made the statement in question.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 240.

Earl Russell to Sir J. Crampton.

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 25, 1862.

I TRANSMIT to you an extract of a letter which I have received from Mr. Gerald Ralston, the Liberian Consul in this country, stating that the captain of the "*Buenaventura Cubano*," which vessel was detained, in the first instance, by the Liberian schooner "*Quail*," and was subsequently destroyed by Her Majesty's ship "*Torch*," is again on the coast in command of another vessel trying to collect slaves in the Gallinas River; I have to instruct you to make known this intelligence to Señor Collantes, as showing the true character of the man on whose behalf the interference of the Spanish Government has been exerted.

It would be conducive to a good understanding on the African coast if Liberia were recognized by Spain. The State of Liberia has now maintained its independence for many years, and is in amicable relations with Great Britain and the United States.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

Inclosure in No. 240.

Mr. Ralston to Earl Russell.

(Extract.)

London, June 18, 1862.

I AM sorry to be obliged to inform your Lordship that I have heard from the Secretary of State for Monrovia, under date of the 1st of May, "that the Captain of the Spanish slaver '*Buenaventura Cubano*,' whose vessel was captured at the Gallinas Bar by the '*Quail*' last year, for slave-trading at that place, and was subsequently burned by Captain Smith, of Her Majesty's steamer '*Torch*,' is arrived again in a very fast sailing schooner. He is acting very cautiously. His vessel runs into land in the day, and in the evening anchor is weighed, and she goes out to sea. Her Captain is on shore at Gallinas trying to collect the slaves paid for out of the cargo of the '*Buenaventura Cubano*.' We have given fair warning to the Chiefs to have no intercourse with him."

No. 241.

Sir J. Crampton to Earl Russell.—(Received July 7.)

My Lord,

Madrid, June 24, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inclose the translation of a note which I have received from the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs, in reply to my notes to his Excellency of the 26th of February and the 10th of April last, on the subject of the continued activity of the

Cuban Slave Trade, copies of which I had the honour to forward to your Lordship in my despatches of February 26 and of April 11.

Your Lordship will perceive with regret, that the Spanish Minister of State does not appear to enter fully into the views of Her Majesty's Government, in regard to a strict and rigorous execution of the provisions of the Treaties for the suppression of the Slave Trade. His Excellency is of opinion that the Spanish Government ought rather to be congratulated on the partial success of their cruisers in making an increased number of captures of slave-trading vessels, than reminded that the Slave Trade is still actively pursued; and thinks that there is some inconsistency in the observations contained in my notes upon the subject, in which I call his attention to both those facts.

In acknowledging that the cruisers of Spain have had some success against the Slave Trade, and in observing that the Trade is, nevertheless, actively carried on there, is, however, no inconsistency; and in coupling the two remarks, Her Majesty's Government only shows an equal readiness to recognize the successful efforts of the Spanish authorities in one respect, and to criticize their shortcomings in others, towards suppressing the Slave Trade.

With regard to the difficulty which Señor Calderon Collantes remarks Her Majesty's cruisers on the coast of Africa experience in putting an end to the Traffic, it might be obviously retorted that this difficulty is caused by the continued existence of a ready market for slaves still practically open at Cuba, and at Cuba alone.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN F. CRAMPTON.

Inclosure in No. 241.

Señor Collantes to Sir J. Crampton.

(Translation.)

Sir,

Palace, June 19, 1862.

YOUR notes of the 26th February and 11th April last, relative to the disembarkation and capture of negroes at Camarioca and Trinidad, were received in due course at this First Department of State. In the former of them you state that "the reports received from that island (Cuba) prove that whilst, owing to the measures taken by the Spanish authorities, many captures have taken place, the Slave Trade is still carried on with great activity;" (but) after acknowledging these facts, you conclude by saying that you are therefore instructed to express the hope of Her Majesty's Government that the execution of the Treaties for the suppression of this illicit Traffic will be more complete henceforth than it has been heretofore.

In reply to these notes, I cannot but remark to you that it is really impossible to understand how the fact of several captures having been effected can serve as the foundation of a charge with respect to the fulfilment of the Treaties in question; since, on the contrary, it seemed natural to expect that a totally different conclusion would have been drawn from this fact, and that instead of censure the Government would have received congratulations, or that at least justice would have been done to it and to the functionaries by whom it is represented in the Island of Cuba.

The duty which the nation has undertaken to perform is that of attacking and punishing the Slave Trade, and that duty it will continue to fulfil as heretofore. Should Spain, however, not succeed in suppressing the Traffic, there will be no grounds for addressing to her, with justice, expostulations which the British Government might with equal or greater reason make to themselves, inasmuch as they maintain a large number of cruisers on the coast of Africa, and yet do not achieve the object they have in view.

I avail, &c.

(Signed) S. CALDERON COLLANTES.

No. 242.

Sir J. Crampton to Earl Russell.—(Received July 7.)

My Lord,

Madrid, June 29, 1862.

I TOOK an opportunity of conversing with Señor Calderon Collantes on the subject of the Cuban Slave Trade, as it might be affected by the Treaty lately signed between Her Majesty's Government and that of the United States, by which a mutual right of

search of vessels sailing under the flag of each State is accorded to the cruisers of the other.

I remarked that, in all his conversations with me in regard to the Cuban Slave Trade, as well as in his official communications, his Excellency had laid great stress upon the circumstance that the Trade was carried on by American vessels and under the American flag, and that the immunity which was thus afforded to it was the main obstacle to the success of the measures taken by the Spanish Government for effecting its entire suppression.

I added that, giving entire credit to the Spanish Government for the sincerity of its desire to fulfil its Treaty-engagements with Great Britain, and to acquire for itself the honour of dealing a final blow to an inhuman and demoralizing Traffic, the tolerance of which by States whose Governments profess to be based upon legality and freedom was perhaps the most deplorable instance of human inconsistency and weakness now existing, I doubted not that it would hail with satisfaction the announcement of an international arrangement which held out a prospect of diminishing the difficulties which perverted ingenuity, stimulated by avarice, had unceasingly opposed to the efforts made to crush so foul an abuse.

Her Majesty's Government, I said, believed that their means of action would be greatly strengthened by the provisions of the Treaty in question, and that the task of the Spanish authorities would be rendered easier than it had hitherto been. Her Majesty's Government would, I doubted not, entertain the confident hope and expectation that a great diminution, if not a total extirpation, of the Slave Trade in Cuba would be the result, if their efforts, which the Treaty would render more efficient at sea, were cordially seconded by the Spanish authorities on shore.

Not being yet in possession of the text of the Treaty in question, I was unable to indicate the particular points which might have a bearing upon the system of repression adopted by the Spanish Government; but I reminded Señor Calderon Collantes of the intention which he had expressed to me last year (see my despatch of August 25, 1861), of reviewing the Treaty-stipulations existing between Great Britain and Spain in relation to this subject, with a view to giving greater efficiency to the combined action of the two Governments, and I expressed the hope that this design would not be abandoned, and that his Excellency would, in resuming it, enter upon the examination which he had proposed after a full consideration of the circumstances of the case, as they may be altered by the Treaty now concluded between Great Britain and the United States.

I found Señor Calderon Collantes well disposed to take this matter into his consideration. His Excellency said, that the important bearings of the Treaty to which I had alluded had not escaped his observation, although he was only generally acquainted with the nature of its provisions. So soon as he should be in possession of a copy of the text of the Treaty he would give it his best attention, with a sincere desire to contribute to its practical efficiency, if this could be favoured by any modification of the Spanish system of repression which might be consistent with Spanish laws.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN F. CRAMPTON.

No. 243.

Sir J. Crampton to Earl Russell.—(Received July 7.)

My Lord,

Madrid, June 30, 1862.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 4th instant, I have to state that I did not fail to call Señor Calderon Collantes' attention to the points in regard to which his Excellency's statement in the Congress of Deputies of the case of the Spanish vessel "*Buenaventura*," alias "*Cubano*," was erroneous.

I found, as I had expected, that Señor Calderon Collantes had a very imperfect recollection of the facts of this case, and I consequently referred his Excellency to the communications which I had addressed to him on the subject, namely, my notes of December 11, 1861, February 26, 1862, and April 29, 1862, copies of which were transmitted to your Lordship's office with my despatch of December 17, 1861, and in my despatches of February 26 and of April 29, 1862.

His Excellency excused himself for any error or want of completeness in his statement by alleging the multiplicity of business now pressing upon him, but he promised that he would immediately re-peruse my communications to him upon this subject.

In compliance with the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch of

June 16, I have nevertheless thought it right to address to Señor Calderon Collantes a fresh note, of which I have the honour to inclose a copy, recapitulating the circumstances, and stating the present position of the case.

In my conversation with his Excellency, I based my observations upon the inaccuracies of his statement in his place in the Cortes, but in my written communication your Lordship will perceive that I have simply referred to that conversation. My reason for so doing is, that the Spanish Government objects to enter into any formal diplomatic discussion with a foreign Government, founded on what takes place in the Legislative Chambers.

An objection of the same nature is, as your Lordship will recollect, maintained by the Government of the United States, who uniformly decline any discussion with foreign Governments, even in regard to statements or observations contained in the Messages of the President to Congress.

I have taken the same opportunity to make known to the Spanish Government the additional intelligence conveyed to me by your Lordship's despatch of the 25th instant, respecting the subsequent proceedings and character of the Captain of the "*Buenaventura*," alias "*Cubano*."

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN F. CRAMPTON.

Inclosure in No. 243.

Sir J. Crampton to Señor Collantes.

M. le Ministre,

Madrid, June 30, 1862.

WITH reference to the conversation which I had lately the honour of holding with your Excellency respecting the Spanish vessel "*Buenaventura*" or "*Cubano*," as it is important that the facts reported to Her Majesty's Government by the British naval authorities should not be misunderstood, it may be well that I should take this opportunity of briefly recapitulating the main facts of the case, the details of which are to be found in the communications which I had the honour of addressing to your Excellency on the 11th of December and 29th of April last.

It is also desirable that I should do so in order that the true position both of Her Majesty's Government and the Government of Liberia in regard to this question should be clearly understood, and the degree of responsibility which attaches to each of them, as respects the claim put forward by the Spanish Government for satisfaction and reparation for the destruction of the vessel be distinctly stated.

In May 1861 the "*Buenaventura*" or "*Cubano*" was captured by a Liberian public vessel called the "*Quail*," as being notoriously engaged in a Slave Trade transaction in the River Gallinas, the territory of which is claimed by the Liberian Republic. The Commander of the "*Quail*" took possession of the vessel, but the master and crew of the "*Buenaventura*" or "*Cubano*" effected their escape, taking with them or having destroyed the ship's papers, supposing her to have had any.

The Commander of Her Majesty's ship "*Torch*" having, in the meantime, received reliable information from the Governor of Sierra Leone that the "*Buenaventura*" or "*Cubano*" was a notorious slave-trader, and had entered Gallinas River for slave-trading purposes, proceeded there in search of her, and having satisfied himself that she was really a slaver, took her out the hands of the Liberian Commander, but finding it impossible to take her out of the river in consequence of the state of the weather, set fire to her and destroyed her.

I have already in my note of the 11th of September last informed your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government were not of opinion that the Commander of the "*Torch*" was borne out in proceeding in this manner. Whatever may be thought, however, in regard to that point, Her Majesty's Government feel that they alone, and not the Liberian Government, are responsible to the Spanish Government for any reparation or indemnity which may be due on account of the destruction of the vessel.

The question as to whether reparation and indemnity is due to the Spanish Government or not, however, evidently depends upon that of whether the "*Buenaventura*" was engaged in legal commerce or in the Slave Trade. It is one in regard to which Her Majesty's Government feel no doubt; and they believe that further inquiry will convince Her Catholic Majesty's Government that the latter supposition is the true one.

The vessel had, in fact, been previously denounced to Her Majesty's Colonial authorities and to the Liberian Government by the Native Chiefs, as being about to proceed to Gallinas River to make arrangements for embarking a cargo of slaves; and when

captured by the Liberian cruizer, and afterwards taken possession of by the British cruizer, she was found fully equipped for the reception of such a cargo; and she was, moreover, without any national colours or papers which could furnish even a *prima facie* evidence of her being engaged in legitimate trade.

Since I had the honour of conversing with your Excellency upon this subject I have received information from Her Majesty's Government which goes strongly to confirm the well-grounded presumption that the "*Buenaventura*" or "*Cubano*" was engaged in the Slave Trade; and I will take the present opportunity of communicating it to your Excellency. It has been stated to Lord Russell, upon reliable authority, that the master of the vessel in question is now off the coast at Gallinas in command of another vessel, and that he is engaged in trying to collect the slaves which were paid for out of the cargo of the "*Buenaventura*" or "*Cubano*."

It results, therefore, clearly, from what has been above resumed, that it is from the British Government that indemnity, if any, for the capture and destruction of this vessel should be sought; and that the Liberian Government, resisting the claim of the Spanish Government upon them for such indemnity, do so, not upon the ground that the chastisement already inflicted upon them has been too rigorous, and that it was inflicted without any previous claim for satisfaction, but because they do not consider themselves responsible for what must necessarily be regarded as the act of another Government.

I avail, &c.

(Signed) JOHN F. CRAMPTON.

No. 244.

Earl Russell to Sir J. Crampton.

Sir,

Foreign Office, July 12, 1862.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith copies of a letter, and its inclosures, from Commander Wilson, of Her Majesty's ship "*Spiteful*,"* reporting the circumstances under which he boarded, in the port of Truxillo, on the 28th of May last, a screw steam-vessel under Spanish colours, which there is little doubt had just been engaged in landing a cargo of slaves in Cuba.

The vessel in question was the "*Noc d'Aqui*," which according to information received by Her Majesty's Government has for some time past been successfully engaged in the Cuban Slave Traffic.

It is impossible that the Spanish authorities, if they faithfully performed their duties, should not be as well informed as Her Majesty's Government of the proceedings of this vessel, and of the parties interested in her; and it is the impunity with which vessels notoriously engaged in the Slave Trade are allowed to pursue their iniquitous Traffic, and their owners to escape the punishment they merit, that causes the trade to flourish, and gives rise to the charges against the Spanish Government of want of good faith in the fulfilment of their Treaty obligations to suppress the Cuban Slave Trade.

As far as Her Majesty's Government are aware, criminal proceedings, if adopted by the Cuban authorities against persons engaged in or conniving at the introduction of slaves into that island, seldom, if ever, result in the condemnation and punishment of the guilty parties, however notorious may have been their offences; and as long as this state of things continues, so long will the Government of Her Catholic Majesty be open to the charge of want of good faith in not taking proper steps to enforce the laws.

I have to desire that you will take an opportunity of bringing to the notice of the Spanish Minister the proceedings of this Spanish steam-vessel, and in any conversation which you may have with Señor Collantes you will make a communication to him in conformity with the tenour of this despatch.

I am, &c.

(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 245.

Earl Russell to Sir J. Crampton.

Sir,

Foreign Office, July 12, 1862.

I TRANSMIT to you, for your information, a copy of a despatch which I have received from Mr. Crawford, Her Majesty's Consul-General in the Havana,* in reply to a despatch which I addressed to him, calling upon him to report whether any steps had been taken by the Spanish Government to punish the crew of the steamer captured by the Spanish war-steamer "Venadito," the particulars of which were reported in Mr. Crawford's despatch of the 10th of May last, a copy of which despatch was transmitted to you in my despatch of the 21st of January last.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 246.

Earl Russell to Sir J. Crampton.

Sir,

Foreign Office, July 12, 1862.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 24th ultimo, inclosing a copy of the reply of the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs to the notes which you addressed to the Spanish Government on the 26th of February and 11th of April last, on the subject of the Cuban Slave Trade.

I have to desire that you will address a further note to Señor Calderon de Collantes, in which you will state that while Her Majesty's Government readily acknowledge the good services performed by Spanish cruisers, they cannot shut their eyes to the evil which remains (for the slaves captured by the Spanish authorities bear but a small proportion to the number actually introduced into Cuba).

You will add that if Spain shut out slave-ships from Cuba, as Brazil does from Brazil, the Slave Trade would become extinct; and it would be much more honourable to the Spanish Government to put down the Slave Trade by their own exertions, and the honourable fulfilment of their Treaties, than to see its extinction effected by the vigorous effort of Great Britain and the United States, who have determined to act in concert for the suppression of this detestable Traffic.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 247.

Earl Russell to Sir J. Crampton.

Sir,

Foreign Office, July 23, 1862.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith a Memorial presented to Lord Palmerston by a large and respectable Deputation, complaining of the continued violation by Spain of those engagements of the Spanish Crown which provide for the suppression of the Slave Trade.

The Memorial states that not only these engagements have not been fulfilled, but "that Spain possesses the power summarily to suppress the Slave Trade, if she chose to exercise it; but she persistently refuses to take the necessary steps for this purpose, and treats with contempt and indifference the remonstrances and representations of Her Majesty's Government."

Unfortunately Her Majesty's Government are unable to say that these allegations are not founded in truth. Her Majesty's Government cannot doubt that it is in the power of the Spanish Government to suppress the Slave Trade; and that although Spain has placed some cruisers on the coast of Cuba, she persistently refuses to take those steps which would be effectual and final for the fulfilment of her Treaty engagements.

Among those steps, the first should be a law making the Slave Trade an offence of the highest degree of criminality.

Next, should be a law giving the Governor of Cuba additional powers for the local suppression of the Trade. The Governor of Cuba should have the power of following the

slaves landed on the coast, and of seizing them on the estates and plantations to which they may have been carried. The Spanish Government should also take steps for effectually securing the real freedom of negroes emancipated by Mixed Courts, or seized by the Government authorities after having been landed by the slave-importers.

You will give a copy of the inclosed Memorial, and of this despatch, to M. Calderon Collantes.

You will inform him that Her Majesty's cruizers will have the most stringent orders to prevent slave-trading on the Coast of Africa, as well as on the Coast of Africa.

I am, &c.

(Signed) RUSSELL.

Inclosure in No. 247.

Memorial.

Resolution 1.—THAT this Meeting having heard the statements founded upon Parliamentary evidence which have been submitted to it on the subject of the African Slave Trade to Cuba, adopts the following Memorial to the Right Honourable Viscount Palmerston and the Right Honourable Earl Russell.

To the Right Honourable Earl Russell, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

The Memorial of certain of the inhabitants of London, in public meeting assembled, on Wednesday, the 25th of June, 1862, the Right Honourable Lord Brougham in the chair,

Respectfully sheweth,

That your Memorialists regard, with the deepest concern, the continued prosecution of the Slave Trade between the coast of Africa and the Island of Cuba, it being shown, upon official evidence before Parliament, that from 30,000 to 40,000 slaves are annually landed in that island.

That this iniquitous Traffic is carried on by Spain, notwithstanding that she has concluded Treaties for its suppression with Great Britain, and was paid the sum of 400,000*l.* sterling in the year 1818 as compensation for her promised co-operation in that object.

That the continuation of the Slave Trade to Cuba involves the tax-payers of Great Britain in an annual expenditure of 1,000,000*l.* sterling.

That Spain possesses the power summarily to suppress the Slave Trade, if she chose to exercise it, but that she persistently refuses to take the necessary steps for this purpose, and treats with contempt and indifference the remonstrances and the representations of Her Majesty's Government.

That the people of this country have just cause of complaint at the deliberate infraction by Spain of her Slave Trade Treaties with this country, and have a right to require that she shall forthwith take effectual measures for their fulfilment.

That while this meeting records its unqualified satisfaction at the recent conclusion of a new Treaty with the United States of America for the suppression of the Slave Trade, and believes that the concession of a limited right of search will tend materially to promote that object, it is of opinion that so long as the Cuban slave-market remains open, the slave-traders will find means of evading measures which are of mere temporary expediency, and that the only radical remedy for the Slave Trade is the closing of the Cuban slave-market.

That the Spanish Government being alone responsible for the continued prosecution of the Slave Trade to Cuba, this meeting most earnestly prays that Her Majesty's Advisers will adopt such measures as the urgency of the case appears to them to require, to obtain from Spain the immediate suppression of the iniquitous Traffic in human beings.

Resolution 2.—That the Right Honourable Lord Brougham do sign on behalf of this Meeting the Memorial to Viscount Palmerston and to Earl Russell, which it has adopted, and that a deputation, headed by the Right Honourable Lord Brougham, and by the Honourable the Members representing the city of London, with the Members of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society and other friends of the anti-slavery cause, do take an early opportunity of presenting the same, the members for the city to be solicited, in the name and on behalf of this Meeting, to support the prayer of the Memorial.

No. 248.

Sir J. Crampton to Earl Russell.—(Received July 25.)

My Lord,

Madrid, July 18, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inclose translation of a note which I have received from the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs, in reply to the communication which I made to his Excellency, dated the 29th of April last, upon the subject of the capture and destruction of the Spanish vessel "*Buenaventura*" or "*Cubano*," by the Commander of Her Majesty's ship "*Torch*."

Your Lordship will perceive that in this reply Señor Calderon Collantea combats the reasoning of Her Majesty's Government in regard to this matter, by contending:—

1st. That the capture of the "*Buenaventura*" or "*Cubano*" having been made in the first instance, and while under the Spanish flag, by the Liberian cruizer "*Quail*," whereas the vessel was only subsequently taken possession of by Her Majesty's ship "*Torch*" when found without cargo, papers, or flag, the responsibility for the capture evidently rests with the Liberian and not with Her Majesty's Government, and that it is, therefore, to the Liberian Government that the Spanish Government must look for indemnity and redress.

2ndly. That while all the documents in possession of the Spanish Government prove that the "*Buenaventura*" was engaged in a legitimate trade, there exists, and can exist, no satisfactory proof that she was, as asserted by Her Majesty's Government, engaged in the Slave Trade.

It is evident that the determination of the question which has thus arisen between Her Majesty's Government and that of Spain depends upon the nature and cogency of the proofs which can be produced as to the real character of the trade in which the "*Buenaventura*" was engaged. The Spanish Government appear to act under the impression that if any evidence existed of the "*Buenaventura*" or "*Cubano*" being a slaver, it has perished with the vessel, and that, consequently the condemnation of her master and crew by a Court of Admiralty is impracticable.

Although no moral doubt can be felt in regard to the guilt of the owners and crew of the "*Buenaventura*" or "*Cubano*," Señor Calderon Collantes assumes that the only evidence of it is founded on the testimony of the Chief of one of the native tribes, and seems to forget the existence of the official statement by Commander Smith, with a copy of which I furnished his Excellency, that he found the vessel fully equipped for the Slave Trade, which is in itself strong presumptive evidence of their culpability. The statements of the masters and crews of the "*Buenaventura*" or "*Cubano*" and of the "*Quail*" being, nevertheless, directly at variance as to the circumstances under which the vessel was captured, and the occurrences which immediately followed her capture, the Spanish Government, in the absence of any judicial decision, prefer to give credit to the statements of their own subjects.

Under these circumstances, it would seem desirable that the authorities of Monrovia, or Her Majesty's Naval or Colonial authorities on the coast of Africa, should, if possible, produce such further evidence as cannot admit of question, as to the fact that the "*Buenaventura*" or "*Cubano*" was engaged in a slave-trading transaction when captured by the Liberian cruizer.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN F. CRAMPTON.

 Inclosure 1 in No. 248.
Señor Collantes to Sir J. Crampton.

(Translation.)

Sir,

Palace, July 12, 1862.

THIS first Department of State received in due course the note you were so good as to address to me, dated the 29th April last, in which after mentioning that the Liberian Consul in London had communicated to the British Government the copies of a correspondence which he had carried on with the Representative of Her Majesty the Queen, my august Sovereign, respecting the indemnity and reparation which the latter claimed for the capture and destruction of the "*Buenaventura*" alias "*Cubano*," you stated, first, that the British Government were alone responsible for that act, inasmuch as it was the cruizer "*Torch*" which burned the Spanish vessel as soon as she was out of the hands of the Liberian authorities; secondly, that it did not admit of doubt that the first-mentioned

vessel intended to load negroes; and thirdly, that it was not to be supposed that Her Majesty's Government would in any way give their support to a slave-trading transaction.

With regard to the first point, I must observe to you that, as the seizure of the "*Buenaventura*" alias "*Cubano*" was effected by a Mourovia vessel, it does not appear that the opinion laid down in the note to which I am replying, to the effect that Her Britannic Majesty's Government is alone responsible for the capture of the vessel, can be admissible. The aggression committed upon a Spanish brig, while she was still displaying her national colours, came solely and exclusively from the Liberians, and against them, therefore, it is the duty and the right of Spain to make her claim, as she has done from the first. If, subsequently, the English cruizer "*Torch*" completely destroyed the vessel, which she found plundered and without papers or colours, this will be a reason why the Government of Monrovia should maintain the claim which they brought forward in the first instance, on account of this circumstance, against Her Britannic Majesty's Government.

With respect to the second point, it is shown by all the documents which exist in the Department under my charge, that the "*Buenaventura*" alias "*Cubano*" was attacked by the gun-boat "*Quail*," on the pretext that she was engaged or intended to engage in the Slave Trade; but this fact has not been in any way proved by the captors, who destroyed all the papers which might have contributed to the complete discovery of the truth. It is now impossible to arrive at this important result, and the question is as utterly impossible to decide as all those which relate to a fact affirmed by one side and denied by the other. In this state of things it appears that credit is given by preference to the Republic of Liberia, and is founded on the testimony of the Chief of one of those tribes which people the west coast of Africa—races of all of whom the mendacity is proverbial among those who have had occasion to deal with them. Such a view, and the conduct which is its consequence, cannot but be painful to the Government of the Queen; but as they cannot remove it, it is enough that they consider it unfounded and that they protest against it, thus cutting short what is, to say the least, a fruitless discussion for the want of sufficient data to throw light upon it: a deficiency which may be in some degree attributed to the commander of the "*Torch*," because he had no right or motive for burning a vessel, already plundered and dismantled, and which was within the jurisdictional waters of a State recognized as independent by Great Britain.

Even if he had found her on the high seas, he could not have done such an act as this without an irritating violation of Treaties, and without depriving the owners of the vessel of all means of defence and justification. The duties of the Commander of the "*Torch*," supposing he had captured the "*Buenaventura*" alias "*Cubano*" on the high seas, would have been to carry her to Sierra Leone, in order to submit her to the judgment of the Mixed Commission; and as the Treaty of 1835 admits *prima facie* proofs, which are those that are deduced from the mere inspection of the vessel, when once she was destroyed all proof or decision became impossible.

The opinion, therefore, that she was engaged in the Slave Trade may be expressed, but it will be destitute of the legal data which are indispensable to prove its correctness.

The fact, therefore, will ever remain the same as it was at the commencement.

The vessel of a State not recognized by Spain dared to take possession of a merchantman belonging to that nation, without respect to its flag, and to carry it into the port of Monrovia, in order to make it the object of fresh acts of violence and of every kind of depredations. The subsequent interference of a British vessel, which completed the destruction of the Spanish merchant-vessel, does not set aside the responsibility of the Government of Liberia.

Independently of the considerations already suggested, it was the duty of that Government to protect, within their own jurisdiction, the vessel and her crew who had been dragged thither by force; and their having failed in this obligation is a fresh reason why the Government of the Queen should make their claims against the Liberian Government, and why it is impossible to admit of a substitution which would be devoid of all legal and political justification. Such a substitution was not thought of when the circumstances occurred which gave rise to the claims. The Government of Liberia did not decline their own responsibility so that it might fall upon the British Cabinet. Far from this, Mr. John Marshall, Legislative Member of Liberia [*sic*], in a letter addressed to the Commandant of the Spanish Naval Station in the Gulf of Guinea, excuses himself for the events which had taken place on the plea of a misunderstanding; and the Consul of the Republic in London, in a note addressed to Señor Isturiz, the Minister of the Queen my Sovereign, near Her Britannic Majesty, states distinctly as follows:—

"Captain Smith wrote to the Liberian Commander of the '*Quail*' in the following terms.

“ ‘ I trust that the President of Liberia will duly appreciate the motives which led me to destroy this vessel (the “*Buenaventura Cubano*”), and also the means, thus afforded, of freeing the Liberian Government from any disagreeable dispute with the Spanish nation.’ ”

These documents, and the expressions used in them, furnish reason to believe that Commander Smith had recourse to burning the ship in order to exempt the Government of Liberia from responsibility; but without penetrating into intentions, which are always to be respected, there is no doubt that these circumstances prove that it is impossible to permit the substitution of responsibility which the Government of Liberia themselves have neither claimed nor asserted.

The Government of the Queen will, therefore, continue their claims against the Government of Liberia, and in doing so they do not consider that they are giving countenance to the Slave Trade, which their authorities combat actively and energetically, and which the Governor of Fernando Po has repressed by recent acts, proving a great zeal for the fulfilment of Treaties.

The Government of the Queen has given many proofs of their respect for those Treaties, and will never give cause for unjust suppositions.

I avail, &c.

(Signed) S. CALDERON COLLANTES.

No. 249.

Sir J. Crampton to Earl Russell.—(Received July 25.)

My Lord,

Madrid, July 21, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inclose translation of a note which I have received from the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs, in reply to my communication to his Excellency, dated the 10th of April last, in which I called his attention to a landing of slaves which had taken place at Trinidad, in the Island of Cuba, and at which it appeared the local authorities had connived.

Señor Calderon Collantes informs me that my note having been forwarded to the Captain-General of Cuba, that functionary states that he has instituted an inquiry into the facts of the case, the results of which he will report in due course. In the meantime the Captain-General expresses his surprise that the British Government should see, in the occurrence alluded to, a reason to doubt the good faith of Her Catholic Majesty's Government; observing that the Penal Law of 1845, against Slave Trade, has been accepted by Great Britain without any reserve, and that judicial sentences passed under it are entirely independent of the administrative authority.

The Captain-General of Cuba adds that it is impossible to promise the reform demanded by Her Majesty's Government; and that, in any case, it could only be effected with the assistance of the estates of the realm, after a careful study of the question.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN F. CRAMPTON.

Inclosure in No. 249.

Señor Collantes to Sir J. Crampton.

(Translation.)

Sir,

Palace, July 18, 1862.

THE Minister of War and the Colonies, to whom I communicated your note of the 10th of April last, in which, referring to the result of a trial for the landing of negroes at Camarioca, you mentioned another landing which appeared to have taken place at Trinidad, and at which it was supposed the local authorities had connived, informs me that he has forwarded the said note to the Governor Captain-General of Cuba, in order that the facts of the case might be cleared up; he also states that, leaving everything relative to this expedition to the time when all the data having been collected, it will be possible to judge it without mistake, he could not but feel surprised that judicial sentences being entirely independent of the Administrative authority, an attempt should be made to see in what had happened a motive to create a doubt which bears the stamp of an accusation against the good faith of Her Majesty's Government; that the Penal Law of 1845 is accepted by England without exception of any kind, and has been in force since that period; that its 9th Article tends, on one hand, to repress the Slave Trade, and, on the other, to avoid, in

the Island of Cuba, great danger to the maintenance of public order, which without those regulations would be much exposed; that, therefore, it is impossible to promise the reform demanded in such a difficult and complicated affair; that in any case such measures could only be adopted with the assistance of the estates of the realm; and, lastly, that in order to come to the best decision in such a delicate matter, it is being carefully studied.

In informing your Excellency of the above, in addition to my note of the 19th of June last, I avail, &c.

(Signed) S. CALDERON COLLANTES.

No. 250.

Sir J. Crampton to Earl Russell.—(Received July 25.)

My Lord,

Madrid, July 21, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to transmit the copy of a note which, in conformity with the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch of the 12th instant, I have addressed to M. Calderon Collantes upon the subject of the Cuban Slave Trade.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN F. CRAMPTON.

Inclosure in No. 250.

Sir J. Crampton to Señor Collantes.

M. le Ministre,

Madrid, July 19, 1862.

I DID not fail to transmit to Her Majesty's Government a copy of the note which your Excellency did me the honour of addressing to me on the 19th of June, in reply to my communications dated the 26th of February last and the 10th of April last, on the subject of the Cuban Slave Trade.

I am instructed by Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to observe to your Excellency in regard to this matter, that Her Majesty's Government readily acknowledge the good services performed by Spanish cruizers; but while Her Majesty's Government render full justice to the exertions of the officers of the naval forces of Spain in this respect, they are unable to conceal from themselves that the evil complained of still subsists to a deplorable degree; for it is evident, from the reports received by Her Majesty's Government, that the slaves captured by the Spanish authorities bear but a small proportion to the number actually introduced into Cuba.

Her Majesty's Government request me, in addition, to express their conviction that if Spain were to shut out slave-ships from Cuba, as Brazil does from Brazil, the Slave Trade would become extinct; and they doubt not that it would be much more satisfactory to the Spanish Government that the Slave Trade should be put down by their own exertions, and by the efficient fulfilment of their Treaties, than that its extinction should be effected by the vigorous efforts of Great Britain and the United States, who have determined to act in concert for the suppression of this detestable Traffic.

I avail, &c.
(Signed) JOHN F. CRAMPTON.

No. 251.

Earl Russell to Sir J. Crampton.

Sir,

Foreign Office, August 2, 1862.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 23rd of July, inclosing a copy of a Memorial from the inhabitants of London praying that Her Majesty's Government would take steps for compelling Spain to put a stop to the Slave Trade in Cuba, in accordance with her Treaty engagements with this country, I transmit to you, for your information, copies of further Memorials from the Glasgow Emancipation Society, and from the Clogher Anti-Slavery Association, upon the same subject.

I have to add that similar memorials have been received from the Societies named in the margin.*

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

* Manchester Anti-Slavery Society; Moderator and Session of South College Street Church, Edinburgh; Edinburgh Baptist Church; Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society; Inhabitants of Edinburgh; Bristol Meeting; Inhabitants of Chelmsford.

Inclosure 1 in No. 251.

Memorial.

TO the Right Honourable Lord Palmerston, First Lord of Her Majesty's Treasury, and the Right Honourable Earl Russell, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

The Memorial of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, having for its object the universal abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade,

Sheweth,

That the conduct of Spain in continuing to violate her Slave Trade Treaty obligations, after receiving from Great Britain 400,000*l.* consideration in cash, has, in the opinion of your Lordships' Memorialists, disgraced her as a civilized and professedly Christian Power ;

That the excuses made by Spain in extenuation of her delinquency are unsupported by facts ;

That remonstrances having been tried to the utmost extent compatible with the national honour and dignity, the gravity of the case imperatively demands a more energetic course. Let your Lordships ponder the facts :—

1. Forty thousand negroes were imported into Cuba in 1860-61.
2. Forty thousand negroes, introduced into that island, represent 80,000 more, who have been swallowed up in the horrors of capture and of the middle passage.
3. It costs the taxpayers of Great Britain 1,000,000*l.* sterling annually in efforts to extinguish this Traffic in human beings.
4. Since Great Britain undertook, in conjunction with other Powers, to suppress the Slave Trade, she has expended at least 45,000,000*l.* for this object in sterling money, but her efforts have been defeated by the conduct of Spain.
5. Spain has not only not taken any active measures for fulfilling her contract, but, according to the latest official published despatches, declares, through the Minister for Foreign Affairs at Madrid, that the Traffic in Negroes cannot be stopped until a system of immigration on a large scale has been organized.
6. The British Government has addressed remonstrances to that of Spain, which are treated with utter disregard.
7. It is notorious that if the Government of Spain positively commanded the cessation of the Traffic in Slaves to Cuba, the Captain-General of that Island possesses the powers necessary for its immediate extermination.
8. It is, however, equally notorious that not only the Captain-General of Cuba and the officials of the island receive large bribes for their connivance at the introduction of negroes from Africa, but that some of the most eminent personages in Spain also participate largely in the profits arising from the Slave Trade.
9. It is not less notorious that the Captains-General of Cuba are usually Court favourites, who are despatched to that island expressly as a reward for alleged services, and that they may realize fortunes.
10. General O'Donnell, the actual Prime Minister of Spain, was Captain-General of Cuba, and returned to Spain with an enormous sum of money, estimated at several millions of dollars, made principally by transactions with slave-traders and slave-holders.
11. The Spanish Government acts as if it were convinced that that of Great Britain is not in earnest in its desire to suppress the Slave Trade.
12. May not the people of this country, we would ask your Lordships, reasonably entertain the same opinion? for, where the contrary is the case, is it credible that the Governments which have ruled since 1817, when Spain received her pecuniary bonus, would have permitted Spain to allow the prosecution of the Traffic in open violation of existing Treaties ?
13. The African Slave Trade has been reduced two-thirds since the cessation of it in Brazil ; and why did it cease there? Because the local authorities, stimulated by an honest Government, took active measures for its extinction, and peremptorily closed the Brazilian market.
14. Were the Cuban market closed, and the demand for negroes stopped, the supply would necessarily cease.
15. The Spanish Government alone can close the Cuban market.

In view of the foregoing facts and reasonings your Memorialists would respectfully submit to your Lordships that, seeing the people of this country have paid 40,000,000*l.* and upwards already, hoping to suppress the revolting Traffic in Slaves, and are sti

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paying at the rate of 1,000,000*l.* a-year for the same object, they have a right to demand of the Government that it shall adopt energetic measures to induce Spain to fulfil her part of the contract.

Commending this Memorial, therefore, to the earnest consideration of your Lordships, and the other members of Her Majesty's Cabinet, we remain, on behalf of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, yours, &c.

Glasgow, July 14, 1862.

(Signed)

WILLIAM SMEAL,
ANDREW PATON, } *Secretaries.*

Inclosure 2 in No. 251.

Memorial.

To the Right Honourable Earl Russell, Foreign Secretary, &c.

The Memorial of Clogher Anti-Slavery Association.

MOST respectfully prayeth the interference of the British Government with that of Spain against the Slave Trade in general, and particularly with regard to that carried on in the Island of Cuba, and that our Government will urge the expediency of the faithful discharge of the many responsibilities under which the Spanish Government has placed itself by Treaties, &c.

And Memorialists as in duty bound will ever pray.

Signed on behalf of the Association,

WILLIAM B. ASHE, Clerk,
WM. SCRAPP, M.D., } *Secretaries.*

No. 252.

Earl Russell to Sir J. Crampton.

Sir,

Foreign Office, August 13, 1862.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 12th ultimo, inclosing a copy of a letter from the Commander of Her Majesty's ship "Spiteful," reporting the circumstances under which he boarded the Spanish screw steamer "*Noc d'aquí*," or "*No es de aquí*," in the port of Truxillo, when that vessel showed evident signs of having recently been engaged in the Slave Trade, I now transmit, for your information, copies of a despatch and its inclosures from Her Majesty's Acting Consul-General at the Havana relative to the landing of a cargo of slaves in Cuba from this vessel.*

You will see that the Captain-General of Cuba denies that any landing of slaves from the "*Noc d'aquí*" has taken place; but the circumstances under which this vessel was found by the Commander of the "Spiteful" must bring conviction to any impartial mind that the "*Noc d'aquí*" had been successfully engaged in landing slaves in Cuba, and you will take an opportunity of communicating to Señor Collantes the opinion of Her Majesty's Government on this matter, notwithstanding the denial of the Captain-General.

I have at the same time to transmit to you copies of a further despatch and its inclosure from Mr. Crawford, Junior,† reporting the capture, by Her Catholic Majesty's steam gun-vessel "*Neptuno*," of a brig and schooner which were stated to be fitting out for the Slave Trade. You will observe to Señor Collantes that if Spanish officers will act in this spirit the Slave Trade will soon cease, and Her Majesty's Government will be spared the pain of making the frequent representations it is now compelled to address to the Government of Her Catholic Majesty on the subject of the infraction of the Treaty engagements of Spain for the suppression of the Slave Trade.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 253.

Earl Russell to Sir J. Crampton.

Sir,

Foreign Office, September 4, 1862.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 13th ultimo, relative to the Slave Trade in the Island of Cuba, I transmit to you herewith, for your information, copies of further

* No. 236.

† No. 287.

despatches from Mr. Crawford, Junior, Acting British Consul-General at the Havana, upon the same subject.*

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 254.

Sir J. Crampton to Earl Russell.—(Received September 22.)

My Lord,

San Ildefonso, September 11, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inclose the copy of a note which I have addressed to the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs, in obedience to the instructions conveyed to me in your Lordship's telegram of the 10th instant, respecting the desire of Her Majesty's Government that British cruisers shall have the power of anchoring off any part of the coast of Cuba.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN F. CRAMPTON.

Inclosure in No. 254.

Sir J. Crampton to Señor Collantes.

M. le Ministre,

San Ildefonso, September 11, 1862.

IT being the intention of Her Majesty's Government to send men-of-war to cruize off the coast of Cuba in order to intercept slave-traders, I am instructed by Earl Russell to observe to your Excellency, that for this purpose it will be desirable that British cruisers should have the power of anchoring off any part of the coast.

Earl Russell has no doubt that Her Catholic Majesty's Government will feel no objection to this practice, which Her Majesty's Government consider to be necessary to enable Her Majesty's naval forces to perform with efficiency the duty with which they will be entrusted.

I avail, &c.
(Signed) JOHN F. CRAMPTON.

No. 255.

Sir J. Crampton to Earl Russell.—(Received September 22.)

My Lord,

San Ildefonso, September 12, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inclose the copy of a note which I have addressed to the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs, communicating to him, in obedience to your Lordship's instructions, a copy of your Lordship's despatch of the 23rd of July last, and of the Address to Her Majesty's Government, therein inclosed, from a meeting of the inhabitants of London on the subject of the Cuban Slave Trade.

I have taken this opportunity of remonstrating in strong terms against the toleration of the Slave Trade by the Spanish authorities, and I have availed myself of the statements contained in Mr. Consul-General Crawford's Reports, copies of which were transmitted to me in your Lordship's despatch of the 4th instant, to substantiate the facts of the continued and successful prosecution of this infamous Traffic in Cuba.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN F. CRAMPTON.

Inclosure in No. 255.

Sir J. Crampton to Señor Collantes.

M. le Ministre,

San Ildefonso, September 11, 1862.

IT is with great concern that I am obliged again to call the serious attention of Her Catholic Majesty's Government to the subject of the Cuban Slave Trade.

The reports which continue to reach Her Majesty's Government from sources the

* Nos. 288, 289, 290, and 291.

authority of which cannot be called in question, are, however, so numerous and so decisive as to the facts that this atrocious Traffic is still carried on with success, and (what Her Majesty's Government learn with the deepest regret), that this is done in many instances, too numerous to be denied, with the criminal connivance of some of the Spanish Colonial authorities, as to render it necessary for Her Majesty's Government to persevere in addressing to the Spanish Government remonstrances in the strongest terms, although offered in the most friendly spirit, against a system which at once outrages humanity, and constitutes a continued violation of Treaty engagements, in which it is impossible that Her Majesty's Government can tamely acquiesce.

The character of the distinguished men who guide the Councils of the Spanish Crown, as well as the spirit of independence which has at all times animated the Spanish nation, can leave no doubt on the mind of my Sovereign or her advisers, that a Trade in Slaves must be as abhorrent to the immense majority of Spaniards as it is to that of Englishmen. To what interest, then, are feelings so honourable sacrificed, and for whose benefit are practices carried on the very existence of which is a standing indictment against the national good faith? There can be but one answer to such questions. The detestable avarice of wretches to whom the State owes neither sympathy or support, who are criminals in the eye of the law, and with whom individually no honourable man can associate or deal without disgrace, is alone fed by the toleration of this cruel abuse. Can it, then, be imagined that the well-directed efforts of a strongly-constituted Government should prove powerless against the combinations of such a class?

Did such reflections not naturally occur to Her Majesty's Government, they would be forced upon them by the general feeling of the nation whose interests they represent. Remonstrances without number pour in upon Her Majesty's Advisers from sources the most authoritative and respectable, the statements contained in which it is impossible for Her Majesty's Government to deny or to extenuate. Making the largest allowance for the exaggeration of enthusiasm in a good cause, they are, in the main, correct. It would be a tedious repetition of the same obvious facts and considerations were I to make your Excellency acquainted with the contents of all these representations; but, by the instructions of Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, I now have the honour to inclose the copy of one recently addressed to the First Lord of the Treasury by a meeting of the inhabitants of London, presided over by one of our most distinguished Statesmen, and I add a copy of the despatch by which Earl Russell has communicated to me this document, and which expresses so forcibly the feelings and opinions of Her Majesty's Government upon the subject as to leave me little to add to the observations it contains. Your Excellency will, however, perceive that Earl Russell's despatch contains an enumeration of the steps which in his opinion would not fail, if adopted by the Spanish Government, to put an end to the Cuban Slave Trade. To these I would particularly call your Excellency's attention, because, giving to Her Catholic Majesty's Government all due credit for a sincere desire to secure this result, their not having been equally successful with other Governments in attaining it, can only be attributed to some defect in the legislative, and other measures, which have hitherto been resorted to for this purpose. This belief is favoured by the fact that exactly in the degree in which energetic measures have been taken by the Spanish authorities, so far have they been successful. I allude to the efforts of some of the cruisers of the Spanish Royal navy, which are highly honourable to the officers who command them, and which are fully appreciated by Her Majesty's Government; and it is gratifying to me on the present occasion to express to your Excellency their satisfaction on learning, by a report received from Her Majesty's Consul-General at the Havana, the circumstances under which Her Catholic Majesty's steam gun-vessel "Neptuno" captured a brig and schooner which were stated to be fitting out for the Slave Trade, and which have doubtless been reported to your Excellency by the Captain-General of Cuba.

But satisfactory as such partial successes undoubtedly are, they leave untouched a large preponderance of cases in which slave-trading transactions have been carried through, unchecked by the local authorities.

Mr. Consul-General Crawford's recent reports to Her Majesty's Government, which I have now before me, state that not less than 2,370 slaves were landed in Cuba during the months of June and July last, the distribution of the greater part of which among the different plantations he enumerates as being matters of notoriety. To one of the cases reported by Mr. Crawford I am more particularly directed by Her Majesty's Government to call your Excellency's attention, because Her Majesty's Government cannot concur in the opinion expressed by his Excellency the Captain-General to Mr. Crawford on the subject. I mean the case of the vessel called the "*Noc Daqui*," or "*No es de aqui*." The Captain-General denies that any landing of slaves from this vessel took place; but the

circumstances under which this vessel was found by the Commander of Her Majesty's ship "Spiteful" must, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, bring conviction to any impartial mind that the "*No es de aqui*" had been successfully engaged in landing slaves in Cuba.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN F. CRAMPTON.

No. 256.

Earl Russell to Sir J. Crampton.

Sir, *Foreign Office, September 25, 1862.*
I HAVE received your despatch of the 11th instant, and I have to convey to you my approval of the note which you addressed to his Excellency Señor Calderon Collantes, respecting the desire of Her Majesty's Government that British cruisers shall have the power of anchoring off any part of the coast of Cuba.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 257.

Earl Russell to Sir J. Crampton.

Sir, *Foreign Office, September 25, 1862.*
I HAVE received your despatch of the 12th instant, and I have to convey to you my approval of the note which you addressed to his Excellency Señor Calderon Collantes on the subject of the Cuban Slave Trade.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 258.

Earl Russell to Sir J. Crampton.

Sir, *Foreign Office, October 11, 1862.*
I TRANSMIT to you herewith, for your information, a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Acting Consul-General at the Havana,* relating to the Cuban Slave Trade.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 259.

Earl Russell to Sir J. Crampton.

Sir, *Foreign Office, November 3, 1862.*
I TRANSMIT to you herewith, for your information, copies of a despatch and its inclosure from Her Majesty's Commissary Judge at the Havana,† containing a Report upon the Cuban Slave Trade for the twelve months ending on the 30th of September last; and I have to instruct you to call the attention of M. Collantes to the observations made by Mr. Crawford that the bounty money for the capture of slavers is not duly paid to Spanish captors.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 260.

Earl Russell to Sir J. Crampton.

Sir, *Foreign Office, December 13, 1862.*
I TRANSMIT to you herewith copies of two despatches from Her Majesty's Acting Consul-General in Cuba,‡ relative to the landing of a cargo of 490 slaves in the district of

* No. 292

† Class A, No. 14.

‡ Nos. 296 and 298.

Trinidad in that island, with the connivance of the local authorities, who are stated to have received the sum of 61,000 dollars for betraying the trust reposed in them by the Government of Her Catholic Majesty.

You will see that the Captain-General Serrano, being satisfied of the guilt of the authorities, but at the same time aware of the impossibility of procuring legal proof of their complicity, has taken upon himself summarily to dismiss the Lieutenant-Governor of Trinidad and the Lieutenant of Police at Casilda.

I have to desire that you will bring the facts of this case to the knowledge of Marshal O'Donnell, and in doing so you will at the same time make such use as you may think fit of what the Captain-General Serrano stated to Mr. Crawford as to the policy of declaring the Slave Trade piracy, and the necessity for some more stringent penal enactments to enable the Governor-General of Cuba to put a stop to Slave Traffic.

Her Majesty's Government have repeatedly urged upon the Government of Her Catholic Majesty the necessity for the adoption of the measures now recommended by General Serrano; but it may not be inopportune again to press the matter upon their consideration at a time when a new Governor-General is about to assume the command of the island, and a squadron specially organized for cruising against the Slave Trade is about to be despatched by the Spanish Government to the coast of Cuba.

It will be scarcely necessary to point out how inconsistent a course of proceeding it would be if, while energetic measures are adopted by sea on the coast of Cuba for the suppression of the Slave Traffic, an almost perfect impunity, such as now exists, were to be permitted to the slave-dealers on shore.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 261.

Earl Russell to Sir J. Crampton.

Sir,

Foreign Office, December 27, 1862.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith a copy of a letter from Commander Hoskins, of Her Majesty's ship "Zebra," to the Secretary of the Admiralty,* reporting his having captured, on the 3rd of October last, off Mangue Grande, a barque without name or papers, which at first showed Spanish colours, and was fully equipped for the Slave Trade.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 262.

Earl Russell to Sir J. Crampton.

Sir,

Foreign Office, December 31, 1862.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith an extract of a despatch from Her Majesty's Consul at Lagos,† reporting the shipment on the morning of the 20th of October last, from Aghwey, of a cargo of upwards of 1,000 slaves on board a steamer under French colours.‡

As there can be no question that these slaves were destined for the Cuban market, I have to desire that you will communicate the substance of Mr. Freeman's report to the Spanish Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

* Class A, No. 120.

† No. 35.

‡ This vessel turned out to be the Spanish steamer "Noc d'Aqui," referred to in previous despatches as having been for some time past engaged successfully in the Cuban Slave Trade.

SPAIN. (*Consular*)—*Bilbao.*

No. 263.

Consul Young to Earl Russell.—(Received September 15.)

My Lord,

Bilbao, September 12, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that I have just received a communication, for the correctness of which I am not able at the present moment to answer, but which appears to me from its nature to require my forwarding the information to your Lordship without delay, to the effect that the Spanish steamer "*Noc Daqui*," is on the point of sailing from the port of Bordeaux, where she has been equipped, for the purpose of proceeding to the African coast to engage in the Bozal negro Slave Trade.

I am informed that the name of the captain of the vessel has been already changed, and that no time is to be lost if the voyage is to be stopped.

I am further informed that the vessel referred to has already made several voyages to the African coast.

I have by this mail addressed a letter to Her Majesty's Consul at Bordeaux, drawing his attention to the above statement.

I shall endeavour, without loss of time, to ascertain the truth of the intelligence conveyed to me, and to obtain further particulars.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HORACE YOUNG.

No. 264.

Consul Young to Earl Russell.—(Received October 15.)

My Lord,

Bilbao, October 9, 1862.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 12th ultimo, I have the honour to state to your Lordship that from inquiries I have since made, I have reason to think that the information I received respecting the Spanish steamer "*Noc Daqui*" was substantially correct.

Mr. Consul Scott has I believe, reported to your Lordship the departure of the "*Noc Daqui*" from Bordeaux.

I understand that this vessel was loaded with French Government stores, on which point no doubt your Lordship has also been informed by Mr. Scott. Should this be the case, the voyage to Vera Cruz will of course be completed.

With respect to her ultimate destination, I have been informed on good authority that the "*Noc Daqui*" has already made two voyages to the coast of Africa, and that Arteti, the man who commands her, and who replaced the captain at the moment of her sailing from Bordeaux, is the same who commanded the ship on her previous voyage to the coast.

The "*Noc Daqui*" is owned by a well-known mercantile firm at this port, and it is the impression of the parties whom I have consulted here, that she will now make another voyage to the coast to engage in the African Slave Trade, for which, from her fast qualities, she is admirably adapted.

I shall not fail to keep a watchful eye upon this affair, and to report to your Lordship any information I may receive confirmatory of the strong suspicions which I still entertain of the intentions of this vessel.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HORACE YOUNG.

SPAIN. (*Consular*)—*Cadiz.*

No. 265.

Consul White to Earl Russell.—(Received August 28.)

My Lord,

Cadiz, August 22, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint your Lordship that the Spanish schooner "*Lola Montes*," 100 tons burthen, sailed yesterday for the coast of Africa to be employed in the Slave Trade.

The American ship "*Island Queen*" of 460 tons burthen, Denham, master, which arrived here on the 4th of May with a cargo of coals, has been taking in rice, water, cod fish, &c., and is to sail in a few days for the coast of Africa to be employed in the Slave Trade. She is painted black; is a very fine ship, and very fast sailer.

I have, &c.

(Signed) WILLM. WHITE.

No. 266.

Earl Russell to Consul Brackenbury.

Sir,

Foreign Office, October 8, 1862.

I TRANSMIT to you, for your information, a copy of a despatch from Mr. Gabriel, Her Majesty's Commissioner at Loanda,* reporting the capture of a barque on the 22nd of July last by Her Majesty's ship "*Espoir*," fitted for the Slave Trade and supposed to be the "*Traviata*," which fitted out at Cadiz, and sailed from that port on or about the 16th of May last, under command of the Portuguese Captain Vianna.

I am, &c.

(Signed) RUSSELL.

* Class A, No. 61.

SPAIN. (*Consular*)—*Havana.*

No. 267.

Consul-General Crawford to Earl Russell.—(Received January 2, 1862.)

My Lord,

Havana, December 4, 1861.

THERE appears to have been a lull in the operations of the slave importations, as I have not heard of any landing for some time past. But some new expeditions are being gone into, and the following vessels have sailed from this port, very strongly suspected to be employed in the Traffic, and that although cleared for other parts, they are bound for the coast of Africa: viz., Spanish barque "*Paquete de Cantabria*," 408 tons, cleared for Vera Cruz 8th November; Spanish brig "*Felicidad*," 95 tons, cleared for Canaries, cargo, rum; Spanish schooner "*Adela*," neither sailing nor clearance reported; British brig "*Laura*" (formerly American "*Ida Raynes*"), 303 tons, for St. Thomas, with cargo of rum.

The last-named vessel sails under a "provisional register" granted to her owner and master, a native of the Ionian Islands, M. Nicola Dionisis, but having heard something of the man's character that is not satisfactory, relative to his former occupations, and the unusual circumstance of the "*Laura's*" carrying rum to the Danish Island of St. Thomas, I refused to clear her unless bond was given to my satisfaction that she shall not be engaged in the Slave Trade, and bond has been given in the sum of 25,000 dollars at this office to that effect, by Don Pedro Garvalena and the master and owner of the "*Laura*," jointly and severally.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOS. T. CRAWFORD.

Inclosure in No. 267.

Description of the "Laura," formerly the "Ida Raynes."

FULL-RIGGED brig of $303\frac{1}{5}$ tons, American measurement; square stern, no gallery; head—an eagle's head; length, 119 feet; breadth, $28\frac{2}{10}$ feet; depth, 10 feet: was built at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, United States, in 1854.

Cleared from Havana with 416 pipes rum, $11\frac{1}{2}$ boxes sugar, 150 lbs. coffee, and 9,000 cigars.

No. 268.

Consul-General Crawford to Earl Russell.—(Received January 29, 1862.)

My Lord,

Havana, December 17, 1861.

I HAVE the honour of laying before your Lordship a copy of correspondence which I have had with the Captain-General of Cuba respecting a disembarkation of Bozal negroes, which having been effected at Camarioca, in number 173, they were all captured by the officers under his Excellency's orders. But the Vice-Consul advises me subsequently from Matanzas, that the captured slaves have been claimed by Don Rafael Gomez del Villar, the owner of the Rosario estate, where they were captured. The affair will, therefore, most probably, be decided by the Royal Audiencia, and the Bozals restored, which will be another proof of the baneful operation of the 9th Article of the Penal Law, in frustrating the honest efforts of the Government for carrying out the stipulations of

CLASS B.

the Treaty for suppression of the Traffic; and as these Bozals, in order to their being claimed successfully, must have their passes in order, the officer who (corruptly) furnished said passes, will also escape punishment, because the Royal Audiencia will not stop to inquire how these documents have been obtained, nor by whom they have been issued for a bribe, but will decide, as they have done in former cases, that the passes, no matter how they may have been obtained, protect the property of the claimant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOS. T. CRAWFORD.

Inclosure 1 in No. 268.

Consul-General Crawford to the Captain-General of Cuba.

Havana, December 10, 1861.

THE British Vice-Consul at Matanzas having reported to me the capture by the authorities, under your Excellency's orders, of 150 Bozal negroes which had been landed last week at Camarioca, and were found at the estate Rosario, the property of Don Rafael Gomez del Villar, it will give me much pleasure to transmit this proof to Her Majesty's Government of your Excellency's determination to compel the observance of the law and of the existing Treaty for the Suppression of the Slave Trade, and I am desirous to give the fullest information in my power with regard to this case. I have, therefore, to state that it has come to my knowledge that, on board the slaver ship that brought these Bozals from Africa, there occurred a rising of the miserable victims, and that, before they could be subdued, a great number of them were killed by the master and crew. And if this information has not reached your Excellency, I hope to be permitted to suggest the necessity there is, that inquiry be ordered into that circumstance, with a view that justice may be done in so important a matter.

And I shall be much obliged if your Excellency will favour me with all the particulars which have become known, for the information of Her Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOS. T. CRAWFORD.

Inclosure 2 in No. 268.

The Captain-General of Cuba to Consul-General Crawford.

(Translation.)

Havana, December 14, 1861.

I HAVE received your Honour's communication of 10th instant asking for the particulars of a landing of Bozals effected in the district of Camarioca, and of the capture of 150 of them on an estate by the Lieutenant-Governor of the jurisdiction.

The landing did take place, although, on the other hand, through the zeal of the authorities, the whole of the negroes imported fell into the hands of the Government, not as your Honour indicates, but in larger number, for there were 173 of them.

I must also inform your Honour that during the voyage of the slave-vessel, a mutiny arose against the captain and crew, in consequence of which they killed in self-defence 35 of the negroes, and afterwards threw them overboard.

Such are the facts as they appear by the judicial proceedings instituted, and the declarations with respect to the landing, and I say this to your Honour in answer to your communication referred to.

God preserve, &c.

(Signed) FRANCISCO SERRANO.

No. 269.

Consul-General Crawford to Earl Russell.—(Received January 29, 1862.)

My Lord,

Havana, December 21, 1861.

I HAVE the honour of laying before your Lordship a copy of correspondence which I have had with the Captain-General of Cuba respecting a very large landing of African negroes which was effected in the jurisdiction of Manzanillo some short time ago, and I regret to be obliged to state that the whole number, said to have been 750, it appears were safely introduced with the connivance of the local authorities, who, General Serrano

informed me to-day, verbally, have all been removed, the proofs against them not being sufficient to ensure their more signal degradation and punishment.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOS. T. CRAWFORD.

Inclosure 1 in No. 269.

Consul-General Crawford to the Captain-General of Cuba.

Havana, December 11, 1861.

I HAVE received certain intelligence that a large cargo of Bozal negroes, consisting of 750 at the least, were safely landed in the district of Manzanillo, or in that neighbourhood, on or about the 19th ultimo, and I request the favour of your Excellency to give me the particulars of this extensive infraction of the law, and of the Treaty for suppression of the Slave Trade, for the information of Her Majesty's Government. I presume that this disembarkation is one of the two respecting which I had information from Puerto Principe, as being expected to arrive near Santa Cruz, and for whose safe introduction arrangements had been made with the local authorities.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOS. T. CRAWFORD.

Inclosure 2 in No. 269.

The Captain-General of Cuba to Consul-General Crawford.

(Translation.)

Havana, December 14, 1861.

IN answer to your Honour's communication of the 11th instant, denouncing the landing of 750 Bozals in the jurisdiction of Manzanillo, I have to state to you that, previous to your Honour's notice, I had received information of said disembarkation being projected, and I, therefore, gave the most stringent orders to the Governor of Cuba and the Lieutenant-Governor of the district, in order to prevent it, or to capture the entire adventure, together with its owners and accomplices.

I shall communicate the result which may be reported to me by said authorities of their investigations.

God preserve, &c.

(Signed) FRANCISCO SERRANO.

No. 270.

Earl Russell to Consul-General Crawford.

Sir,

Foreign Office, February 16, 1862.

WITH reference to your despatches of the 17th and 21st of December last, inclosing copies of your correspondence with the Captain-General of Cuba, relative to the landing of two cargoes of slaves in that island, I have to instruct you to keep me informed of the steps taken by the Spanish authorities for punishing parties implicated in these landings, and of the result of any proceedings instituted against them.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 271.

Consul-General Crawford to Earl Russell.—(Received March 3.)

(Extract.)

Havana, January 20, 1862.

I HAVE the honour of laying before your Lordship a copy of correspondence which I have had with the Captain-General of Cuba, respecting a landing of Bozals which was effected close to Trinidad in a most scandalous manner, with connivance of the Lieutenant-Governor, the Alcalde Mayor, and the Secretaries, civil and military, as well as the Capitan Pedaneo.

The whole public of Trinidad have been astonished that the owner of this expedition, consisting of 380 slaves, M. Zulueta, having been sent for, and having been brought to Havana under arrest, should have returned free to his house, and that the Lieutenant-Governor, Conde de Balmaseda, as well as all the others implicated, have retained their places; and there are not wanting those who insinuate that there has been influence used in a high quarter here, which has till now screened the guilty parties, and prevented their degradation and punishment.

Inclosure 1 in No. 271.

Consul-General Crawford to the Captain-General of Cuba.

Most Excellent Sir,

Havana, January 9, 1862.

I HAVE received positive information of a landing of 300 Bozal negroes (or upwards of that number), which took place at Trinidad on the first days of this month, to the great scandal of the inhabitants of that place, where the crew of the slaver vessel have been allowed to walk about the streets, and have boasted almost quite publicly of their success.

I understand that the place where these slaves were landed may be seen from the roof of the Governor's house, so near is it to the town of Trinidad; and I hasten to give your Excellency notice of this occurrence in order that a most scrupulous investigation may be ordered as to the connivance of the local authorities in so glaring an infraction of the law and of the existing Treaty.

And I consider it is of the most urgent and utmost importance that I should also state to your Excellency with regard to this expedition, that the number of Bozals embarked at the coast of Africa was much larger than the 300 and upwards, who were landed at Trinidad, but that a frightful mortality occurred on the voyage, occasioned by some dreadfully fatal and infectious disease, so that the Bozals who survived, and who have been landed at Trinidad, will in all probability have brought with them into the island the disease which prevailed on board the slaver, and which is known to have destroyed so many of the unfortunate negroes during the voyage from Africa to the shores of Cuba.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOS. T. CRAWFORD.

Inclosure 2 in No. 271.

The Captain-General of Cuba to Consul-General Crawford.

(Translation.)

Havana, January 9, 1862.

I HAVE just received your Honour's communication of this date, informing me of a disembarkation of upwards of 300 Bozal negroes at Trinidad, who had suffered from a contagious disease on board, and that the crew were walking about the streets boasting of their success.

On the spot I have issued such orders as I have thought opportune for the most active investigation and discovery of the acts, as well as for the proceedings required by law, of the results of which your Honour will in due time receive the corresponding information.

God preserve, &c.

(Signed) FRANCISCO SERRANO.

No. 272.

Consul-General Crawford to Earl Russell.—(Received March 3.)

My Lord,

Havana, January 21, 1862.

I HAVE the satisfaction of acquainting your Lordship that Her Catholic Majesty's steam-schooner "Conde de Venadita" has captured a slaver on the south side of Cuba, having on board 271 Bozals, which have been brought into Batabanó.

This expedition, although said to belong to M. Calvo, of this city, is no doubt one of the others arranged for with the authorities at Trinidad, as referred to in my previous despatch of yesterday's date.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOS. T. CRAWFORD.

No. 273.

Consul-General Crawford to Earl Russell.—(Received March 3.)

My Lord,

Havana, January 22, 1862.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 17th ultimo, respecting a landing of slaves which took place at Camarioca, and their capture by the local authorities, I regret to be obliged to state to your Lordship that said captured Bozals have been restored by the Royal Audiencia to Don Rafael Gomez de Villar, who claimed them, under the provisions of the 9th Article of the Penal Law, which operates as a complete protection to the slavers who succeed in getting Bozal negroes on to any property or estate, and consequently discourages the honest and well-meant efforts of Her Catholic Majesty's officers, who would otherwise capture nearly all the newly-introduced slaves, and it is of urgent importance that that Article of the Penal Law should be altered.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

JOS. T. CRAWFORD.

No. 274.

Consul-General Crawford to Earl Russell.—(Received March 18.)

My Lord,

Havana, February 15, 1862.

WITH reference to my despatch dated the 4th December last, in which I did myself the honour of reporting the circumstances under which the British flag "*Laura*" had cleared for St. Thomas, under a bond which I exacted from her owners that she should not be employed in the Slave Trade, I deemed it my duty to inform Mr. Consul Lamb, of St. Thomas, of my suspicions with regard to that vessel, requesting him to have a watchful eye on her movements. He lost no time in communicating with Captain Hillyar, of Her Majesty's ship "*Cadmus*," then at St. Thomas; and it appears the "*Laura*" took on board at that place more articles adapted for the Traffic.

I have now the honour of inclosing herewith to your Lordship a copy of a despatch which I have received from Consul Lamb, acquainting me of the "*Cadmus*" having captured the "*Laura*," and taken her to Antigua, where she has been libelled in the Admiralty Court, the articles found on board warranting the expectation of her condemnation, and that the crew would be placed on their trial for being engaged in the Slave Trade.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

JOS. T. CRAWFORD.

Inclosure 1 in No. 274.

Consul Lamb to Consul-General Crawford.

Sir,

St. Thomas, January 29, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that the brig "*Laura*" sailed from this port on the 20th instant, and as arranged by me with Captain Hillyar, of Her Majesty's ship "*Cadmus*," that officer proceeded to sea immediately after her, and having put a crew on board, carried her into Antigua, where she now is.

Captain Hillyar addresses me that the nature of the cargo on board, including that from Havana, and that taken in here, will, he has no doubt, ensure her condemnation.

The vessel has been placed in the Admiralty Court, and the crew in prison, by the Crown, to await the fate of the vessel, and most likely their trial for piracy.

I have duly informed the Secretary of State of all that has been done in this matter.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

R. B. LAMB.

Inclosure 2 in No. 274.

Consul-General Crawford to Consul Lamb.

Sir,

Havana, February 15, 1862.

I HAVE the pleasure of acknowledging the receipt of your despatches respecting the brig "*Laura*," which I deemed it my duty some time ago to bring under your notice, and I have the satisfaction of learning by your letter of the 29th ultimo now before me, that my suspicions were not unfounded, since they have resulted in the capture of that vessel by Her Majesty's steamer "*Cadmus*," and her probable condemnation at Antigua, where she was taken and libelled in the Admiralty Court, because of the articles suitable for carrying on the Slave Trade which were found on board her by Captain Hillyar at the time of her detention.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOS. T. CRAWFORD.

No. 275.

Consul-General Crawford to Earl Russell.—(Received March 18.)

My Lord,

Havana, February 18, 1862.

I BEG leave to acquaint your Lordship that the Spanish steamer "*No es de aqui*" has sailed from Matanzas under circumstances which give rise to the suspicion that she is to be, as it is said she has already been, engaged in the Slave Trade.

I communicated what I had heard of this vessel to the Vice-Consul, by telegram, and received his answer confirming the suspicions that had been given rise to, upon which I applied to the Captain-General, who at once, by telegram, ordered the "*No es de aqui*" to be searched, but she put out to sea without her having been subjected to any examination, cleared for Matamoros.

Afterwards, I received an anonymous letter to the effect that that steamer had been sold to General Miramon; that a considerable quantity of arms, &c., had been embarked on board her; and that she was gone to the coast of Mexico. I took that anonymous letter to the Captain-General, and showed it to him, upon which he informed me that the Governor of Matanzas had been with him the night previous, and had assured him the "*No es de aqui*" has gone to run the blockade for the purpose of obtaining a cargo of cotton, and return with it to Matanzas; but this version Mr. Vice-Consul d'Acosta informs me is totally without foundation, and that from the load of combustible and the quantity of water she took in, there is little doubt but that she was bound upon a long voyage, and that her destination is the coast of Africa, probably about Rio Congo.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOS. T. CRAWFORD.

No. 276.

Earl Russell to Consul-General Crawford.

Sir,

Foreign Office, March 24, 1862.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 21st January last, reporting the capture of a slaver on the south side of Cuba by the Spanish vessel of war "*Conde de Venadita*," having on board 271 slaves.

I have to instruct you to report to me whether any steps have been taken to punish the crew of the captured slave-vessel, and, if so, with what result.

I am, &c.

(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 277.

Consul-General Crawford to Earl Russell.—(Received March 31.)

My Lord,

Havana, March 8, 1862.

THERE seems to be a revival of interest in expeditions to the slave-coast of Africa, and I have reason to believe that quite a number of vessels which have cleared in ballast from this and other ports in Cuba may have gone to be engaged in Slave Trade. Owing to the state of affairs in the United States, trade with that country has become stagnant. The

conviction and sentence of death which has been passed at New York upon Captain Gordon for having been engaged in the Slave Trade, and which we now learn has been carried into execution, will, doubtless, have its effect in deterring Americans from so freely exposing themselves to the consequences of a law which they had begun to persuade themselves was become a dead letter.

The Spaniards are, therefore, driven to resume the abominable Traffic themselves, or seek those of desperate fortunes who, on promises of high remuneration, are induced to run the risk. Portuguese slave-traders from the coast have come here, and are offering slaves deliverable at certain points so very cheap that they are hardly to be resisted, so great is the temptation. I am credibly informed that a choice lot of 800 is at this moment offered for 28,000 dollars, or 35 dollars each, and no doubt will be sold.

Add to this, the circumstance of the scandalous disembarkation which recently took place at Trinidad having been passed over by the supreme authority of the island, the Lieutenant-Governor, the Conde Valsameda, the Alcalde, and the Civil and Military Secretaries, all of whom were deeply implicated in the transaction, being allowed to retain their places, and your Lordship will easily understand that there are strong inducements for launching new expeditions, respecting which the greatest secrecy is observed.

But, notwithstanding, I am enabled to bring under your Lordship's notice:—

The American brig "*Huntress*," cleared 30th December for New York, in ballast, by Pertrusio.

Spanish brig "*Conde de Reus*," 136 tons, cleared 26th February for St. Thomas, by Canet and Garbalena.

American barque "*Oregon*," 309 tons, just dispatched from Nuevitas with rum for the Cape Verdes, by the agents of Lavandeira.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOS. T. CRAWFORD.

No. 278.

Consul-General Crawford to Earl Russell.—(Received April 28.)

My Lord,

Havana, April 3, 1862.

I HAVE the honour of acknowledging the receipt of your Lordship's despatch dated the 15th February, in which, with reference to my despatches of the 17th and 21st of December last, relative to the landing of two cargoes of slaves in this island, your Lordship instructs me to keep you informed of the steps taken by the Spanish authorities for punishing parties implicated in these landings, and of the result of any proceedings instituted against them.

I have, in consequence, applied to the Captain-General for the necessary information respecting the parties who may have been implicated, and the result of any proceedings which may have been ordered.

As soon as I have received his Excellency's answer to my communication I shall not fail to report the same to your Lordship, as well as any other information which I may be able to collect on the subject.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOS. T. CRAWFORD.

No. 279.

Consul-General Crawford to Earl Russell.—(Received June 2.)

My Lord,

Havana, April 17, 1862.

I HAVE the honour of laying before your Lordship the copy of a correspondence which I have had with the Captain-General respecting a landing of slaves (600 in number) which I was informed had taken place in the Cardenas district with connivance of the authorities, but which information, I found upon investigation, was unfounded; so I lost no time in acquainting his Excellency of that result.

It appears that a cargo of slaves had been run at the Ensenada de los Cochinos, and as the greater proportion of them were brought to Navajas, a place on the line of rail-road leading to and bordering on Cardenas, from whence they were probably introduced into that district, the rumour was that they had been landed near the port of that name instead of elsewhere, as has now been ascertained.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOS. T. CRAWFORD.

Inclosure 1 in No. 279.

*Consul-General Crawford to the Captain-General of Cuba.**Havana, April 4, 1862.*

IT is with much regret that I find myself obliged to denounce to your Excellency other infringement of the law and of the Treaty which I have been informed took place a few days ago in the district of Cardenas, where 600 Bozal negroes have been landed without any opposition on the part of the constituted authorities, and it has even been reported to me that these slaves have been introduced with connivance of some whose duty it would have been to capture the expedition, as well as the parties interested.

I request that your Excellency will let me know such particulars as may have transpired, for the information of Her Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOS. T. CRAWFORD.

Inclosure 2 in No. 279.

The Captain-General of Cuba to Consul-General Crawford.

(Translation.)

Havana, April 8, 1862.

IMMEDIATELY on receipt of your Honour's denouncement of the 4th instant of a landing of 600 Bozals in the jurisdiction of Cardenas, the most active steps having been taken by my order to investigate the affair, nothing has been discovered to confirm it, as your Honour will perceive by the communication addressed to me by the Lieutenant-Governor of that district, and which says, to the letter, as follows:—

"Most Excellent Sir,—As I had the honour to inform your Excellency, by telegram this morning, the Captain of Guamutas proceeded to the coast to inquire into the landing denounced to your Excellency by Her Britannic Majesty's Consul, and he acquaints me in another report, which I have just received, that the said landing had not taken place, for on that coast, which was well watched, there reigned the most perfect tranquillity.

"The Captain of Camarioca has also written to me in the same sense for the second time, and I have reiterated to both Captains the order to continue their vigilance, reporting to me, as hitherto, everything that may occur.

"This result is in perfect harmony with that which the scrupulous inquiries made here have given me, and I regret, most excellent Sir, that the British Consul should have such an unfavourable idea of the zeal of the local authorities, who are honoured with your Excellency's superior confidence, as to persuade himself that it is possible for him to know from thence the landings verified in their jurisdictions, before they themselves know it, especially as on their being aware of such landings, they would, before anybody else, report the same to your Excellency."

Which I state and transcribe to your Honour, in answer to your said denouncement, hoping that if you have other data, or more positive details of the truth of the fact, than those contained in your first official letter, you will communicate them to me without delay in order to proceed with them to further inquiries which may offer a more satisfactory result upon this matter.

God preserve, &c.

(Signed) FCO. SERRANO.

Inclosure 3 in No. 279.

*Consul-General Crawford to the Captain-General of Cuba.**Havana, April 16, 1862.*

WITH reference to your Excellency's letter to me of the 8th instant, in answer to my communication of the 4th, denouncing a landing of 600 Bozal negroes in the district of Cardenas, I have now the honour of acquainting your Excellency the result of the inquiry which I made on that subject, and I have great pleasure in stating that I am satisfied there was no landing of slaves in the Cardenas district, at the time mentioned in my letter.

But I have reason to think that some of the 600 who were landed at the Enseñada de

los Cochinos may have been brought across the island, as I learn the greatest part of that expedition came to Navajas and were disposed of for 33 ounces each; that they were Congos, and in bad condition.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOS. T. CRAWFORD.

No. 280.

Consul-General Crawford to Earl Russell.—(Received June 2.)

My Lord,

Havana, April 18, 1862.

I HAVE the honour of laying before your Lordship a copy of correspondence which I have had with the Captain-General, respecting the landings of Bozal negroes at Manzanillo and Trinidad, resulting from your Lordship's instruction to report the steps taken by the Spanish authorities for punishing the parties implicated in those infractions of the Law and of the Treaty.

Your Lordship will perceive that nothing has been discovered by the Commissioners appointed to investigate these cases. The parties who were implicated remain unpunished, and the local authorities, who were paid for their connivance, retain their places.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOS. T. CRAWFORD.

Inclosure 1 in No. 280.

Consul-General Crawford to the Captain-General of Cuba.

Havana, March 29, 1862.

HAVING, in the performance of my duties, reported to the Right Honourable Earl Russell, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the landings of slaves which took place some time ago at Manzanillo, Trinidad, &c., his Lordship has instructed me to keep him informed of the steps taken by the Spanish authorities for punishing parties implicated in these landings, and the result of any proceedings instituted against them.

I would respectfully request the favour of your Excellency for full information to enable me satisfactorily to acquaint Earl Russell with the result of the proceedings instituted by order of your Excellency in the cases referred to.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOS. T. CRAWFORD.

Inclosure 2 in No. 280.

The Captain-General of Cuba to Consul-General Crawford.

(Translation.)

Havana, April 8, 1862.

IN answer to your Honour's official communication of the 29th ultimo asking me for information respecting the measures taken by the authorities of the island to punish the parties concerned in the landings of Bozals which your Honour states were effected some time ago at Manzanillo and Trinidad, I have to state to you that, as regards the disembarkation at the first-mentioned place, it has not been able to prove, in all the proceedings which have been taking executively and judicially in consequence of the denouncement your Honour addressed to me at the time respecting it, that said disembarkation did take place.

The only thing which it has been possible to discover has been the introduction into the said district of Manzanillo of two gangs of negro slaves, who were taken there by their respective owners with their corresponding passes from the Jurisdictions of Tunas and Puerto Principe, and it was no doubt this circumstance which gave rise to the mistaken information given to your Honour in reporting to you an event which did not occur.

With regard to the landing in the jurisdiction of Trinidad at the beginning of this year, I must inform your Honour that however positive and worthy of credit may have appeared to you the private informations which you received at the time respecting it, and however much worthy of attention this Government may have found them, to order, as it

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did forthwith, the investigations towards the discovery of the truth, all the appreciations of your Honour and all the beliefs of this Government have been dissipated by the result which appears by the proceedings and investigations practised in three different branches of the administration; for neither the Executive authorities, nor those of Marine, nor the Judicial, including the Royal Audiencia, have been able to discover anything to prove the landing at Trinidad. This is all I can state to your Honour in answer to your communication referred to.

God preserve, &c.

(Signed)

FCO. SERRANO.

No. 281.

Consul-General Crawford to Earl Russell.—(Received June 2.)

My Lord,

Havana, April 19, 1862.

I HAVE the honour of laying before your Lordship a copy of a letter which I addressed to the Captain-General complaining of a disembarkation, consisting of 450 Bozal negroes, at the south side of this island in the early part of last month, and I accompany said copy with his Excellency's answer, duly translated, in which he states that there is reason to think my information correct; consequently orders had been given to endeavour to discover the negroes, and the author of their introduction. Up to this date, however, I have heard nothing further in the matter.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

JOS. T. CRAWFORD.

Inclosure 1 in No. 281.

Consul-General Crawford to the Captain-General of Cuba.

Havana, March 31, 1862.

I HAVE been credibly informed that a cargo of Bozal negroes, said to have been 450 in number, was landed on this island in the early part of this month, and that these slaves were brought to a place near the Jardinillos, from whence they were taken on board the coasting steamers that ply from Batabano to the adjacent coast, and landings to the westward of that place, where they were put on shore in the presence of my informant.

I request that your Excellency will be pleased to communicate to me what has occurred respecting this infraction of the law and of the Treaty, for the information of Her Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

JOS. T. CRAWFORD.

Inclosure 2 in No. 281.

The Captain-General of Cuba to Consul-General Crawford.

(Translation.)

Havana, April 8, 1862:

FROM the proceedings instituted in consequence of your Honour's denouncement of the 31st ultimo, respecting the landing of 450 Bozals at a place in the vicinity of the Jardinillos, in the jurisdiction of Cienfuegos, it already appears that a vessel has been discovered aground and burnt near the channel of Santa Teresa, which discovery furnishes sufficient reason to believe that the said landing has taken place. By my orders the most active inquiries are being made in order to discover the whereabouts of the negroes, and the authors of their introduction, with the object of rescuing the former from slavery, and of punishing the latter according to law and the existing Treaty.

I shall take care to advise your Honour duly of what may transpire in this matter, and I say all this in answer to your communication referred to.

God preserve, &c.

(Signed)

FCO. SERRANO.

No. 282.

Consul-General Crawford to Earl Russell.—(Received June 2.)

My Lord,

Havana, April 20, 1862.

HIS Excellency the Captain-General has addressed to me a communication respecting the disembarkation of Bozal negroes (consisting of about 600) at Ensenada de los Cochinos, a translation of which I have the honour of inclosing herewith to your Lordship.

The Capitan de Partido of Hanabana has been removed, and subjected to trial, and I learn from Mr. Vice-Consul Fowler, of Cienfuegos, that several people have been arrested who are accused of complicity in that transaction.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOS. T. CRAWFORD.

Inclosure in No. 282.

The Captain-General of Cuba to Consul-General Crawford.

(Translation.)

Havana, April 8, 1862.

THE most active steps having been taken by my orders to investigate the landing of Bozals at the Ensenada de Cochinos, denounced to me in your Honour's official letter of the 4th instant, it appears, indeed, probable that said landing has been effected not in the jurisdiction of Guines, but in that of Cienfuegos, to which said Ensenada belongs, and it is to be believed, therefore, that this landing is the same as that which your Honour denounced as having taken place at the Jardinillos, the burnt hull of the vessel having been found, as I inform you in a separate letter of this date, and that, therefore, there have not been two landings as your Honour denounces separately, but only one, according to the result of the investigations instituted by the respective authorities. The executive and judicial proceedings, however, are being continued, in order to discover the truth in both cases, and in the meantime the Captain of the district of La Hanabana, in the jurisdiction of Colon, has been superseded and handed over to justice, as he is suspected of having abetted one of the landings which are being investigated.

All of which I state to your Honour in answer to your said communication, assuring you that the penalties prescribed by law shall be inflicted upon the outfitters, traders, and all those who may be discovered to be concerned in the crime to which I refer, and that I shall in due time inform you of the result of the ultimate investigations which are being carried on respecting this detestable affair.

God preserve, &c.

(Signed) FCO. SERRANO.

No. 283.

Consul-General Crawford to Earl Russell.—(Received June 2.)

My Lord,

Havana, April 22, 1862.

I HAVE the honour of acknowledging the receipt of your Lordship's despatch dated the 24th of March, in which, with reference to my despatch of the 21st of January, reporting the capture of a slaver having on board 271 Bozals, by the Spanish war-steamer "Conde de Venadita," your Lordship instructs me to report whether any steps have been taken to punish the crew of the captured slave-vessel, and if so, with what result.

In reply, I beg to state to your Lordship that I have not heard of any punishment being inflicted upon the crew of the slave-vessel alluded to; but I shall address myself to the Captain-General for information on the subject, and I shall not fail to acquaint your Lordship of the result.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOS. T. CRAWFORD.

No. 284.

Consul-General Crawford to Earl Russell.—(Received June 2.)

My Lord,

Havana, May 6, 1862.

I HAVE the honour of reporting to your Lordship that the Spanish schooners "Rosita," 107 tons, "Salvadora," 96 tons, and "Hermiona," 134 tons, have recently

sailed from this port, under clearance for St. Thomas and San Domingo, but it is suspected that their real destination is the coast of Africa.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOS. T. CRAWFORD.

No. 285.

Consul-General Crawford to Earl Russell.—(Received June 28.)

My Lord,

Havana, May 10, 1862.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch of the 24th of March, the receipt of which I did myself the honour of acknowledging in mine dated the 22nd ultimo, I have now to state to your Lordship that I have learnt from the Captain-General that the crew of the slaver captured by the Spanish war-steamer "Conde de Venadita," as mentioned in my despatch of the 21st of January, made their escape to shore in the boats of the slaver, and have not since been apprehended, so as to have been brought to punishment.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOS. T. CRAWFORD.

No. 286.

Acting Consul-General Crawford to Earl Russell.—(Received July 28.)

My Lord,

Havana, June 21, 1862.

I HAVE the honour of laying before your Lordship copy of a letter which I addressed to the Captain-General on the 16th instant, and also of his Excellency's answer, relative to the reported landing of 800 slaves from the screw-steamer "Noc d'Aqui," in the vicinity of the Isle of Pines, about the beginning of this month.

The first intelligence received here was that the landing had been effected near Trinidad, but, upon inquiry, Mr. Vice-Consul Smith reported that the arrangements which he understood had been made there having been upset by the marine authorities, the steamer had gone to the westward, and was stated to have landed her cargo near the Isle of Pines, which I have no doubt she did, as the system of bringing slaves to a place of rendezvous at some uninhabited cay, and of conveying them from thence in small coasting-craft to the estates on the mainland, is now generally resorted to.

The Captain-General states, however, that no such landing has been reported to him, and that since the middle of May he has issued orders to several of the Lieutenant-Governors to watch against anything of the sort. Unfortunately, experience has demonstrated what dependence is to be put upon the officers of this island; and the fact of what occurred at Matanzas with regard to the "Noc d'Aqui's" equipment and departure from that port, and to which I refer in my letter to the Captain-General, is a fair criterion of the vigilance which is to be expected from the authorities in all matters affecting the Slave Trade.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN V. CRAWFORD.

Inclosure 1 in No. 286.

Acting Consul-General Crawford to the Captain-General of Cuba.

Havana, June 16, 1862.

IT having been reported to me that a steam-ship, said to be the "Noc d'Aqui," landed a cargo of Bozal negroes, upwards of 800 in number, on the south side of Cuba, probably at or near the Isle of Pines, about the beginning of this month, I request the favour of your Excellency to inform me whether any of the particulars have been discovered by the authorities, and whether any seizure of the negroes, or arrest of the parties who were interested in this adventure, has been made.

From the information I have received it appears that arrangements had been entered into for a disembarkation of this cargo in the district of Trinidad, but that, from the fact becoming known to the marine officers there, the destination of the vessel was changed to

the Isle of Pines or its neighbourhood, where we have seen so many cargoes of slaves successfully landed.

I would respectfully remind your Excellency of the suspicions which were verbally communicated to you by the Consul-General, last February, with regard to the "*Noc d'Aqui's*" destination, and which have now been unfortunately realized, inasmuch as that vessel did not go to Mexico, nor to any blockaded port of the so-called Confederate States, as your Excellency had been assured by the Governor of Matanzas.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN V. CRAWFORD.

Inclosure 2 in No. 286.

The Captain-General of Cuba to Acting Consul-General Crawford.

(Translation.)

Havana, June 20, 1862.

IN answer to your Honour's official communication relative to the landing of 800 Bozal negroes, which it is supposed has been effected by the steamer "*Noc d'Aqui*," I have to state to you that, since the middle of last month, the Lieutenant-Governors of Cienfuegos, Cardenas, Colon, and the Isle of Pines were ordered to prevent or to capture said adventure, together with the outfitters and abettors of the expedition; and that all the authorities named, after having taken the most active steps to prevent the said landing, have answered that it has not taken place in any of their respective jurisdictions.

God preserve, &c.

(Signed) FCO. SERRANO.

No. 287.

Acting Consul-General Crawford to Earl Russell.—(Received July 28.)

My Lord,

Havana, July 2, 1862.

HER Catholic Majesty's steam gun-vessel "*Neptuno*" having brought into this port, on the evening of the 13th ultimo, a brigantine and a schooner, which it was reported had been seized at an outport in the act of fitting out for the Slave Trade, I applied to the Captain-General for information on the subject, and I have the honour of laying before your Lordship a copy of my letter, with his Excellency's answer, in which he promises to communicate to me the final result of the course which may be adopted by this Government with reference to these cases, but throws no light upon the circumstances attending the capture.

From private sources I have been able to learn that these vessels, the Spanish brig "*Deseo*," 136 tons, which was cleared on the 3rd instant in ballast, for La Guayra, by Mr. Pertusio (the same person who despatched the "*Laura*" some time ago), and the coasting schooner "*Margarita*," had proceeded to Cay Anguila, there to complete the fittings of the former vessel for the Slave Trade, and that upon the appearance of the "*Neptuno*" the crews abandoned their ships, which were taken possession of by the man-of-war, and were towed into this port, where they were at once put into the Court of Admiralty.

The pecuniary loss to the slave-traders in this instance is a matter of very little moment, but the fact of the seizure at Anguila, by a Spanish gun-boat, cannot fail to produce a very salutary effect on the minds of these unscrupulous people.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN V. CRAWFORD.

Inclosure 1 in No. 287.

Acting Consul-General Crawford to the Captain-General of Cuba.

Havana, June 16, 1862.

HER Catholic Majesty's gun-boat "*Neptuno*" having brought in a brig and schooner last Friday evening, which are reported to have been engaged in preparations for the Slave Trade, it would be very satisfactory for the British Government to be made acquainted with the circumstances of this seizure; and I therefore respectfully apply to your Excellency for information on the subject, assuring you that it will afford me very great

pleasure to report to Her Majesty's Government this fresh proof of your Excellency's desire to put an end to the detestable Traffic in Slaves.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN V. CRAWFORD.

Inclosure 2 in No. 287.

The Captain-General of Cuba to Acting Consul-General Crawford.

(Translation.)

Havana, June 20, 1862.

IN answer to your Honour's official letter, in which you ask this Government for information respecting the capture made by the Spanish war-steamer "Neptuno" of a schooner which was fitting out for the Slave Trade, I have to state to you that on the 12th instant I received a telegram from the Marine Department, informing me that said steamer "Neptuno" had arrived at this port, bringing in, not one, but two vessels which she captured at Cay Anguilla, where she found them abandoned and fitted for the Slave Trade. Up to this time I have not received any further details on the subject, and I await the judicial proceedings which the Marine authority must transmit to me with regard to this capture, in order to resolve what I may deem necessary, and I shall communicate to your Honour the final result of the resolution which may be come to by this Government.

God preserve, &c.

(Signed) FCO. SERRANO.

No. 288.

Acting Consul-General Crawford to Earl Russell.—(Received August 29.)

My Lord,

Havana, July 14, 1862.

I HAVE the honour of laying before your Lordship a copy of a letter which I addressed to the Captain-General on the 21st ultimo, with reference to the landing of a cargo of 750 slaves, about ten days previous, in the jurisdiction of Bahia Honda, his Excellency not having answered me on the subject at least, up to this date.

I am enabled, however, to assure your Lordship that I have every reason to believe that my information is quite correct, as I have ascertained that the said cargo belonged to parties residing in this city, and that the negroes were sold at an average of 18 doubloons (306 dollars) each, at the hacienda of Buena Vista.

The fact of an American-built vessel, the barque "Virginia Ann," having been found off Bahia Honda by a United States' cruiser, and taken into Key West, empty, but with all the usual appearances of having just landed a cargo of Africans, shortly after the occurrence alluded to, leaves no doubt in my mind as to the truth of this landing, which must have been effected, as usual, with the connivance of the local authorities.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN V. CRAWFORD.

Inclosure in No. 288.

Acting Consul-General Crawford to the Captain-General of Cuba.

Havana, June 21, 1862.

IT is my very disagreeable duty to be obliged to report to your Excellency that reliable intelligence has reached me that a cargo of 750 Bozal negroes was landed in the Partido de las Pozas, in the jurisdiction of Bahia Honda, on or about the 12th instant, the negroes having been taken to the estate of Hacienda de Buena Vista, which is near the La Mulata. I have no doubt that this infraction of the law and of the Treaty has been duly reported to your Excellency by the authorities of Bahia Honda; and I request the favour of your Excellency to acquaint me, for the information of Her Britannic Majesty's Government, what has been the result of any steps which may have been taken in consequence thereof.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN V. CRAWFORD.

No. 289.

Acting Consul-General Crawford to Earl Russell.—(Received August 29.)

My Lord,

Havana, July 15, 1862.

I HAVE the honour of transmitting herewith to your Lordship a copy of a letter which I considered it my duty to address to the Captain-General, relative to a cargo of 520 slaves, which was landed at Sierra Morena about the beginning of last month.

I have not yet been favoured with an answer from his Excellency, although there has been ample time for any investigation which may have been ordered with reference to this affair, and I am quite prepared for a denial of the occurrence, although it is very well known that 120 of the negroes were bought for the sugar-estate San Pedro, and were landed in lighters belonging to a M. Pequeño, who received a doubloon a-head for that service.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN V. CRAWFORD.

Inclosure in No. 289.

*Acting Consul-General Crawford to the Captain-General of Cuba.**Havana, June 21, 1862.*

ACCORDING to information of a reliable nature which I have received, it appears that a landing of about 520 Bozal negroes was effected about a fortnight since in the vicinity of or at Sierra Morena, from a brig said to be Spanish-built, the adventure being chiefly owned by parties residing at Cardenas.

I shall be most happy to hear from your Excellency what information may have reached you with regard to this affair; and it would be most pleasing to me to be able to report to Her Britannic Majesty's Government that the adventure had been captured, and that the parties interested in it have been arrested.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN V. CRAWFORD.

No. 290.

Acting Consul-General Crawford to Earl Russell.—(Received August 29.)

My Lord,

Havana, August 4, 1862.

I HAVE the honour of transmitting, herewith, to your Lordship a copy of a letter which I addressed to the Captain-General on the 14th ultimo, denouncing the landing of a cargo of 700 slaves at Cayo Coco, in the jurisdiction of Puerto Principe.

The Captain-General has not yet favoured me with an answer, but I have been informed that his Excellency having sent orders by telegram to Puerto Principe, the Alcalde Mayor Villanueva set out for Yayabacoa twenty-four hours afterwards; an agent of his, Don Fernando Betancourt, being hurried off in the interval to treat with Don Antonio Guzman, the holder of the negroes, exacting from him 25,000 dollars for the Alcalde, and 12,000 dollars for the Fiscal Morales, so that these officers returned to Puerto Principe without having been able to discover anything.

Messengers were also sent to Cay Romano, Point Lucretia, and other outposts, to change the signals for the other vessel which is expected, and which is no doubt the barque "*Oregon*," which was cleared at Nuevitas for the coast of Africa, on the 2nd of March last.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN V. CRAWFORD.

Inclosure in No. 290.

*Acting Consul-General Crawford to the Captain-General of Cuba.**Havana, July 14, 1862.*

IT has come to my knowledge that a landing of about 700 Bozals was effected a short time since at Cayo Coco, in the jurisdiction of Puerto Principe. It appears that the vessel

was barque-rigged; that she took a pilot at either Punta Lucretia, Punta de Ganado, or at Punta de Maternillo, at all of which places look-outs had been stationed; and that after landing her cargo at Cayo Coco, she was taken out to sea and set fire to.

The negroes were hidden at Cayo Coco and at Cayo Toro, being then taken to Yayabacoa, and were kept at El Sarzal, San Juan de Dios, and Las Mercedes; the clothing and other necessaries for the adventure having been in readiness at San Juan de Dios, or some other estate under the management of a certain Don Antonio Guzman; and it is reported that preparations had been made to pass them into the district of Moron, and the jurisdiction of Remedios.

I am informed that there was no impediment whatever to the introduction of this cargo, and that the same parties are expecting another vessel to arrive at any moment.

I hasten to lay this information before your Excellency in the hope that all those who may have been concerned in this flagrant violation of the law will be severely punished; and I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN V. CRAWFORD.

No. 291.

Acting Consul-General Crawford to Earl Russell.—(Received August 29.)

(Extract.)

Havana, August 4, 1862.

A CARGO of about 400 negroes having been landed about a fortnight ago at Jaimanita, a place not quite ten miles to the westward of this port, I considered it my duty to address the Captain-General upon the subject, as per copy which I have the honour of transmitting to your Lordship, in terms more forcible than usual.

The negroes have not been taken from the parties who imported them, nor have they been sent to the Depôt of Emancipados.

My despatches by this packet report the landing of no less than 2,370 slaves. How many more may have been introduced into the island during the last two months has not transpired; but certain it is, that the Slave Trade is still carried on with impunity, and that there appears to be no inclination on the part of Spain to put an end to it.

Inclosure in No. 291.

Acting Consul-General Crawford to the Captain-General of Cuba.

Havana, July 31, 1862.

IT being quite public and notorious that a large cargo of Bozal negroes was quite recently landed near Jaimanita, not far from Marianao, and that said negroes were captured by the Chief of Police of this city, at the estate Toledo, I beg leave most respectfully to request the favour of your Excellency to furnish me, for the information of Her Britannic Majesty's Government, with such details of the occurrence as may have been discovered; and I sincerely trust that not only will the negroes be declared free, but that all the parties who are interested in this most audacious and shameful breach of the law and of the Treaty for the suppression of the Slave Trade, will be unflinchingly brought to justice, and punished in such a manner as to prove to those who are engaged in this iniquitous Traffic that Spain is in earnest in wishing to put an end to a Trade which has been declared to be at once the most detestable and most demoralizing which exists.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN V. CRAWFORD.

No. 292.

Acting Consul-General Crawford to Earl Russell.—(Received September 29.)

(Extract.)

Havana, September 4, 1862.

I HAVE the honour of reporting to your Lordship that I received information on the 21st ultimo, acquainting me that a screw-steamer was signalled to windward at that port on the 11th, and that she passed to the westward without hoisting her colours, a report being at the same time in circulation that a landing of slaves had been safely effected on the coast, near Point Berracos, about twenty-four miles to the eastward.

My informant states, however, that he had been unable to procure any positive information on which to base an official communication to the Governor of the Eastern Department, and I regret that my own inquiries have been also unsuccessful, although about the first week in August it was quite currently rumoured that a screw-steamer had arrived with 1,400 negroes, and that the cargo had been safely landed.

I am inclined to think that the steamer called at Punta Berracos for instructions only, although she may possibly have landed a part of her cargo there; and that she proceeded to a rendezvous either at the Doce Leguas, or at the Jardinillos Cays, where the negroes were transferred to coasting-vessels, and taken to different places in the island, which is the common practice now, so as to prevent discovery.

I have not been able to obtain sufficient data upon which to address the Captain-General on the subject; but I am, nevertheless, convinced that this large adventure has actually arrived in safety.

The "*Noc Daqui*," after delivering her negroes to coasting-craft in June last, proceeded to the coast of Honduras, where I understand she refitted, and has sailed again for the coast of Africa.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN V. CRAWFORD.

No. 293.

Acting Consul-General Crawford to Earl Russell.—(Received October 20.)

My Lord,

Havana, September 23, 1862.

I HAVE the honour of reporting to your Lordship that the American-built brigantine "*Laura*," 156 tons, which arrived on the 1st instant, in ballast, from Vera Cruz, has been sold to a Portuguese slave-trader, and was cleared yesterday for San Thomé, as the Portuguese brigantine "*Laura*," Lucas, master, with a cargo stated to consist of 16 boxes sugar, 8 arrobas coffee, and 40,000 cigars. I have no doubt, however, that this vessel is intended for the Slave Trade.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN V. CRAWFORD.

No. 294.

Acting Consul-General Crawford to Earl Russell.—(Received October 20.)

My Lord,

Havana, September 25, 1862.

I HAVE the honour of reporting to your Lordship that a Baltimore-built brigantine called the "*Venus*," which came to this port under a provisional certificate of British registry, granted on the 25th February, 1861, at New Orleans, was sold on the 16th instant to a Portuguese of the name of Da Costa, and I am therefore apprehensive that she will be employed in the Slave Trade.

The "*Venus*" was formerly called the "*Union*," and is 140 tons American measurement. She arrived here on the 14th of June, 1861, and has been in this harbour since that date. She has a square stern, no gallery, has a billet-head, and has a house on deck.

I have not been able to ascertain under what flag she will be placed, but I shall watch her movements and duly report her sailing to your Lordship.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN V. CRAWFORD.

No. 295.

Acting Consul-General Crawford to Earl Russell.—(Received November 28.)

My Lord,

Havana, October 20, 1862.

THE Portuguese brigantine "*Laura*," which I had the honour of reporting to your Lordship in my despatch of the 23rd ultimo, as having cleared for San Thomé, was detained here by the authorities on the 15th instant, on suspicion of being fitted out for

CLASS B.

the Slave Trade, and was subjected to a rigorous search, but as nothing was found to criminate the vessel, she was permitted to proceed upon her voyage.

I have no doubt whatever that the "*Laura*" is intended for the Slave Trade, and I hope that our cruizers on the coast of Africa will keep a strict watch over her movements.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN V. CRAWFORD.

No. 296.

Acting Consul-General Crawford to Earl Russell.—(Received November 28.)

(Extract.)

Havana, October 30, 1862.

A REPORT having reached me that a cargo of negroes had been landed on the 2nd instant in the district of Trinidad, I immediately waited upon the Captain-General to inform him thereof; but as his Excellency appeared to doubt it, not having received any information on the subject from any of his own officers, I considered it prudent to satisfy myself of the fact before writing to him respecting it.

Having received such details as to do away with any doubt as to the truth of the landing having actually taken place, I again had an interview with his Excellency, and delivered to him the official communication of which I have the honour of transmitting a copy herewith to your Lordship.

I informed his Excellency that the adventure consisted of at least 490 slaves, that they had been sold publicly at the estate Manaca Armenteros, and that the whole affair had been conducted in the most scandalous manner, and with the connivance of the authorities.

I furnished his Excellency with a list of the purchasers of 180 of the negroes, and also with a Memorandum of the distribution of the hush-money which it was reported had been paid upon the occasion, by which it appears that the Lieutenant-Governor received 34,000 dollars, the Alcalde Mayor 17,000 dollars, the Commandant of Marine 8,000 dollars, the District Police Officer, Don Geronimo Hermoso, 2,000 dollars, &c.; and I urged his Excellency to deal summarily with all the parties concerned, without waiting for legal proofs, which experience has shown can never be obtained in cases of slave-trading.

The Captain-General stated frankly that he was convinced, from private information, which he had also received, that the landing had been effected; that he felt disposed to make an example of the officers who had so shamefully betrayed their trust, and to punish the other parties who were interested in the adventure, but that he could do nothing without legal proof, which he was aware could not be obtained.

His Excellency stated that such a state of things could not exist if the Spanish Government would declare the Slave Trade to be piracy, a step which he had repeatedly urged them to take, and to promulgate at the same time a stringent penal law, which should be untrammelled in its operation.

His Excellency stated further, that he had requested his Government to provide an adequate number of suitable vessels of war to cruise in the waters of Cuba for the prevention of the Slave Trade, as he considered it to be the duty of Spain to perform that service herself, instead of leaving it to foreign nations.

Inclosure in No. 296.

Acting Consul-General Crawford to the Captain-General of Cuba.

Havana, October 27, 1862.

I HAD the honour of verbally informing your Excellency on the 13th instant that a cargo of Bozal negroes had been landed about the 6th instant at Macio Bay, near Trinidad, and that they were being sold quite publicly at the Ingenio Manaca Armenteros, belonging to Don Antonio Fonts.

I regret that I am now compelled, in the performance of my duty, to acquaint your Excellency that there cannot be any doubt whatever on the subject, and that it is currently reported that both the Lieutenant-Governor and the Alcalde were not only cognizant of the fact, but that they accepted large bribes as the price of their acquiescence, and at the expense of their honour.

The adventure consisted of 490 Bozals—at least that was the number sold on the

estate above mentioned. They were conveyed there from Macio by Don Pedro Choperena, partner of Don Salvador Zulueta, to whom the expedition belonged, and by the Teniente de Partido of Casilda.

I have also to acquaint your Excellency that I am credibly informed that all the arrangements have been made for the landing of another cargo of Africans in the same jurisdiction.

I sincerely trust that your Excellency will punish all the parties implicated in these shameful transactions, and that they will be summarily dealt with, without waiting for proofs, which, as your Excellency is well aware, are most difficult, if not impossible, to obtain in such cases.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN V. CRAWFORD.

No. 297.

Acting Consul-General Crawford to Earl Russell.—(Received November 28.)

My Lord,

Havana, October 31, 1862.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 25th ultimo, I have now the honour of reporting to your Lordship that the brigantine "Venus," Pinto master, cleared for San Paulo de Loanda on the 28th instant, and sailed yesterday under Portuguese colours with an assorted cargo of merchandise

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN V. CRAWFORD.

No. 298.

Acting Consul-General Crawford to Earl Russell.—(Received November 28.)

My Lord,

Havana, November 5, 1862.

IT is with great satisfaction that I have the honour of laying before your Lordship the inclosed translation of a letter which I have just received from General Serrano, in answer to my communication of the 27th ultimo relative to the recent landing of slaves near Trinidad.

His Excellency being convinced of the correctness of my representations has waived the necessity of waiting for legal proof on this occasion, and has dismissed the Lieutenant-Governor of Trinidad, and the Lieutenant of Police of Casilda, and he has brought the conduct of the Commandante of Marine and the chief Alcalde of Trinidad under the notice of their respective Chiefs with a view, no doubt, to their removal or punishment.

The justness of my appreciatipn of General Serrano's high sense of honour has thus been fully borne out, and it is only to be regretted that his Excellency had not acted as energetically from the moment he assumed the government of Cuba, as he has now done upon the eve of quitting it.

Unfortunately the good intentions of the Captain-General must stop with the dismissal of these unworthy officers. He cannot subject them to trial in the absence of proofs, and thus the ends of justice are defeated, as the mere loss of their situations is of very little moment to them so long as they can retire with their ill-gotten wealth, as so many have done before them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN V. CRAWFORD.

Inclosure in No. 298.

The Captain-General of Cuba to Acting Consul-General Crawford.

(Translation.)

Havana, November 4, 1862.

IN answer to your Honour's official letter of the 27th October, in which you ratify officially the verbal information which you gave me relative to a landing of Bozals which had taken place at Macio Bay in the jurisdiction of Trinidad, about the 6th ultimo, I beg leave to acquaint your Honour that Don Hipolito Adriaensens, the Lieutenant-Governor, and Don Geronimo Hermoso, Lieutenant of Police of Casilda, have been removed from their

respective posts by a decree of this day's date, and the necessary communications have been addressed to his Excellency the Admiral of the station, and to the President of the Supreme Court, respecting the Commandant of Marine and the Chief Alcalde of said jurisdiction.

Nothing absolutely appears of an official character against the officers alluded to, but the strong suspicions which I have, and my desire to show that they alone suffice in slave-trading matters for me to act with inexorable energy, have prompted me to order these removals, all of which I shall report to Her Majesty by the earliest opportunity.

God preserve, &c.

(Signed) F. SERRANO.

No. 299.

Mr. Layard to Acting Consul-General Crawford.

Sir,

Foreign Office, December 31, 1862.

I AM directed by Earl Russell to transmit to you the accompanying extract of a despatch from Her Majesty's Consul at Lagos,* reporting the shipment, on the morning of the 20th of October last, from Aghwey of a cargo of 1,000 slaves on board a steamer under French colours.

As there can be no question that these slaves were destined for the Cuban market, I am to desire that you will use your best endeavours to ascertain the name of the vessel, and any other particulars which may tend to throw light on this slave-trading transaction, and the parties engaged in it.

I am, &c.

(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

* No. 35.

SPAIN. (*Consular*)—*Porto Rico.*

No. 300.

Earl Russell to Consul Cowper.

Sir,

Foreign Office, July 25, 1862.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Commissioners at Loanda,* reporting the capture on the 27th of March last, by Her Majesty's ship "Griffon," of a barque fully equipped for the Slave Trade, which, according to the statement of some of the crew, was destined to land her slaves in the Island of Puerto Rico.

As the importation of slaves into that island would appear to be a new feature in the Slave Trade, I have to desire that you will inform the Captain-General of the capture of the barque in question, and of the report that her cargo was destined to be landed in Porto Rico, in order that the authorities may be placed on their guard against attempts that may be made by the slave-traders to carry out their designs in this quarter.

I am, &c.

(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 301.

Consul Cowper to Earl Russell.—(Received July 28.)

My Lord,

Porto Rico, July 13, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that no attempt at African Slave Trade has been made in this island during the past quarter.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. AUGUSTUS COWPER.

No. 302.

Consul Cowper to Earl Russell.—(Received September 15.)

My Lord,

Porto Rico, August 20, 1862

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 25th ultimo, relating to the capture of two vessels engaged in the Slave Trade by Her Majesty's schooner "Griffon," whose destination was reported to be the Island of Puerto Rico.

In obedience to your Lordship's instructions I immediately waited upon the Captain-General, and placed him in possession of the facts. His Excellency assured me that no Slave Trade should be carried on successfully during his tenure of the Government; he stated that he was not only an enemy to the Traffic, but to the institution of slavery; and that if any one were to assert before him that Cuba and Puerto Rico could not prosper without it, he would tell them that they were utterly mistaken. He intended the available labour of the country to be made use of by the strictest laws against idleness, and that he saw no objection to enforcing the labour of the free, when it was certain that the poor man who did not work, must, of necessity, become a thief; and he added that the labour of every man who could work being thus secured, there would be no necessity for slavery.

With regard to the present case, his Excellency said that if I could discover the merchants or others engaged in this speculation, he would deal with them in a summary manner.

I have addressed a circular to the Vice-Consuls, desiring them to be upon the alert. Trusting that I have carried out your Lordship's instructions in a manner to merit your approbation, I have, &c.

(Signed) H. AUGUSTUS COWPER.

No. 303.

Earl Russell to Consul Cowper.

Sir,

Foreign Office, September 25, 1862.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 20th ultimo, reporting the result of your conversation with the Captain-General of Puerto Rico, upon the subject of the Slave Trade in that Island, and I have to convey to you my approval of the steps which you have taken to carry out the instructions contained in my despatch of the 25th of July last.

I am, &c.

(Signed) RUSSELL.

SPAIN (Consular)—*St. Jago de Cuba.*

No. 304.

Vice-Consul Beattie to Earl Russell.—(Received November 28.)

My Lord,

St. Jago de Cuba, September 31, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's perusal, copy of a despatch which I have this day addressed to the senior officer in command of Her Majesty's naval forces, Port Royal, regarding the expected arrival from the coast of Africa (second voyage) of a barque with a cargo of slaves, to be landed in this province between Guantanamo and Cape Cruz.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RIC. HUDSON BEATTIE.

Inclosure in No. 304.

Vice-Consul Beattie to the Senior Naval Officer, Port Royal.

Sir,

St. Jago de Cuba, October 31, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to report, for your information, the movements of a barque engaged in the African Slave Trade, the same which already, when named the "*Fleet Eagle*" of Boston, and under American colours, landed a cargo of negroes on the south coast of this province, in the district of Manzanillo, in November last.

From this island she proceeded to Curaçoa, where she was put under the Dutch flag, and on 8th April last entered this port as the barque "*Jane*," with a cargo of salt, after the discharge of which she was chartering to load sugars for Havre.

Circumstances which then came under my notice caused me to suspect that the owners of the vessel (resident here) contemplated a second illegal voyage, and I communicated my suspicions to Her Majesty's Consul-General.

I have lately learned that the same barque was to sail in October from Rotterdam to the African coast, to take in a cargo of slaves for some point between Guantanamo and Cape Cruz, in this island, for owner's account. She is reported to be now under the French flag, and has probably again changed her name.

am, &c.
(Signed) RIC. HUDSON BEATTIE.

TURKEY.

No. 305.

Earl Russell to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir,

Foreign Office, February 20, 1862.

I TRANSMIT to your Excellency herewith copies of a despatch and its inclosures from the Government of Bombay, which have been communicated to me by the Secretary of State for India, relative to the Slave Trade which is carried on from the Turkish ports in the Red Sea.

I also transmit copies of a despatch and its inclosure on the same subject from Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General at Alexandria, and I have to instruct your Excellency to call the attention of the Turkish Government to this Traffic in Slaves, which, it would appear, still continues to be carried on from Turkish ports in violation of the orders of the Porte.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

Inclosure 1 in No. 305.

The Governor of Bombay in Council to the Secretary of State for India in Council

(Extract.)

December 27, 1861.

WITH reference to our despatch in this Department, dated 12th ultimo, we do ourselves the honour to forward copy of a letter, with inclosures, from Mr. G. E. Stanley, Her Majesty's Consul and British Agent at Jeddah, dated the 8th October last, relative to the measures adopted by him for liberating certain Abyssinian slaves, and we would respectfully draw attention to the facts disclosed in this correspondence.

2. We have also the honour to forward copy of a letter from the Acting Political Resident at Aden, dated the 16th ultimo, inclosing copy of a communication to the senior naval officer at that station from the officer commanding Her Majesty's schooner "Mahi," in which he reports his fruitless endeavours to liberate certain slaves at Massowah.

Inclosure 2 in No. 305.

Consul Stanley to the Secretary to the Bombay Government.

(Extract.)

Jeddah, October 8, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith copies of two letters addressed by me to the Pasha of Jeddah, in consequence of a letter to me from Mr. Barroni, Her Majesty's Acting Consul at Massowah, of which an extract is given in my first letter to the Pasha. I also send translations of the Pasha's letters in reply, which appear satisfactory, though I do not believe his statement that all possible means have been used to find these eleven slaves.

The owner of the buggalow has never been questioned, and is still at Massowah.

Perteb Effendi certainly arrived to-day. As to the Traffic in Slaves, it is said that nearly as many enter Jeddah as formerly, not directly by sea, but landed along the coast. I can hardly believe this, though certainly the price of slaves continues the same.

As this Government either cannot or will not put a stop to it, and if, as I presume is the case, it is desired that this commerce should cease, the only effectual means appears

to me that there should be a cruizer continually in this sea, and as a very large number of slaves is annually exported from the west coast of this sea, a great blow to Mahometan slavery would thereby be struck, and one which could easily be effected by one small war-steamer.

Inclosure 3 in No. 305.

Acting Consul Barroni to Consul Stanley.

(Extract.)

Massowah, September 6, 1861.

THE refusal of the Turkish authorities at Jeddah to give you up the eleven slaves mentioned in your letter of the 1st May has determined King Theodore to take those steps which I mentioned to you in my letter dated the 21st June; and since you have informed the Turkish authorities of his intentions, the responsibility for what may ensue will be on them.

Inclosure 4 in No. 305.

Acting Consul Monge to Ali Pasha.

Sir, *Jeddah, September 25, 1862.*

I SEND your Excellency a copy of a letter to the address of Perteb Effendi, Kaimakam of Massowah, now at Mecca, and to whom I have sent the original. It appears from it that the men who had taken these Abyssinians as slaves had actually, after they had been liberated, taken them again by force from the house of the Acting British Consul at Massowah.

I beg that your Excellency will inquire into this, and will take measures for protecting the Consuls at Massowah in the execution of their duties, and will also order the authorities at Massowah to use their utmost endeavours to find and to send over to Jeddah the men who have dared to do this.

I hope also that Perteb Effendi will speedily return to Massowah, since it appears that his substitute, Suleyman Agha, is a most incapable man, not to use a more severe expression. I hope also that your Excellency will order that all these affairs, of which Mr. Barroni writes in his letter to Perteb Effendi, be scrupulously examined into.

(Signed) L. MONGE.

Inclosure 5 in No. 305.

Ali Pasha to Acting Consul Monge.

(Translation.)

Tarif, 29 Rabi-evvel, 1278.

I HAVE received your letter relative to the eleven Abyssinians who have been brought from Massowah to Jeddah, and whom the Kaimakam has endeavoured to find, but as yet fruitlessly; and you tell me that it has been decided to take in revenge eleven Mussulmans in the place of these eleven, and also that the Trade in Slaves still exists at Massowah, and that it is necessary to put a stop to it. You know well, without my repeating it, that we have done our utmost to find these eleven persons, and to send them back to their own country, and we have not failed to do what was fitting with the people who brought them over, and you find us still endeavouring to put a stop to this trade, since the Traffic in Slaves is forbidden by the Sublime Porte, and it is very necessary to put a stop to it.

Finally, as I tell you in another letter sent to-day, the Kaimakam of Massowah has already left this place for his post: we have also written to him a copy of your letter, and have instructed him to carry out the will of the Sublime Porte.

Please God nothing will arrive contrary to the wish of the Sublime Porte.

I salute you.

(Signed) ALI PASHA.

Inclosure 6 in No. 305.

Ali Pasha to Acting Consul Monge.

(Translation.)

Tarif, 29 Rabi Evvel, 1278.

I HAVE received your letter, with the copy of the letter of the Acting Consul at Massowah to Perteb Effendi, Kaimakam of Massowah, with the other letter addressed to you, and have understood their contents relating to the persons who have taken the Abyssinians from the Consul's house, and you desire that I should speak to the said Kaimakam about slavery and about his immediate return to Massowah.

The said Kaimakam, his health being re-established, left yesterday for Mecca with the intention of returning to Massowah.

I have ordered him to take the necessary measures as regards these persons according to the will of the Sublime Porte, and you know well that on his arrival at Massowah he will vigorously put into execution all the means in his power for the proper settlement of this question.

(Signed)

ALI PASHA.

Inclosure 7 in No. 305.

The Acting Secretary to the Bombay Government to Consul Stanley.

Sir,

Bombay Castle, November 29, 1861.

I AM directed by his Excellency the Governor in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter (with accompaniment), dated the 8th ultimo, relative to the measures adopted for liberating certain Abyssinian slaves.

2. In reply, I am desired to state that your proceedings in this matter are approved by Government, and that the attention of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India will be drawn to the facts disclosed by you.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

A. KINLOCH FORBES.

Inclosure 8 in No. 305.

The Acting Political Resident at Aden to the Acting Secretary to the Bombay Government.

(Extract.)

November 16, 1861.

HER Majesty's schooner "Mahi" returned to Aden yesterday, having been detained by contrary winds for a considerable time in the lower part of the Red Sea.

I attach copy of a letter to the senior naval officer from the officer commanding Her Majesty's ship "Mahi," detailing the fruitless endeavour made by him, at Mr. Barroni's request, to induce the Governor to surrender certain slaves who had been liberated by Mr. Barroni, and subsequently lodged with some of the people of Massowah.

It may be competent for Consular Officers to insist on Christian slaves being liberated and sent back to their own country, but I am in doubt whether we can demand their being made over to a British man-of-war.

I should be glad to have the opinion of Government on this point for my guidance in the present and future similar cases.

Inclosure 9 in No. 305.

Lieutenant Fendall, I.N., to Commander Cruttenden, I.N.

(Extract.)

"Mahi," Mocha, November 1, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to report that, in compliance with your orders, I left Aden in Her Majesty's ship "Mahi," Indian Navy, under my command, on the 27th September, and proceeded to Hodeidah, arriving there on the 2nd October.

I left Hodeidah the same day, and proceeded to Massowah, arriving there on the 5th. Mr. Barroni, the Acting Consul, informed me that he had 5 female slaves in his hands, but that he had already made arrangements for sending them back to their own country; also that there were 3 slaves in the hands of some merchants in the town, but that he had

not hitherto been able to persuade the officiating Governor to give them up to him. He therefore requested that I would call on the Governor, and request that they might be sent on board the "Mahi" for passage to Aden, there being no means of sending them back to their country. I accordingly had an interview with the Governor the following day, when he stated that he had doubts about their being slaves, and that it was his intention to send them back to their own country; but as Mr. Barroni had already assured me that they were slaves, and that it would be impossible to send them back to their own country, I again requested that they might be given up. After making several petty objections—the principal of which was, that he was afraid that the people of the town might do Mr. Barroni some injury if they were given up, but which objection Mr. Barroni at once overruled—he promised that they should be given up to me on the next day but one.

On the evening of the 8th I was informed by Mr. Barroni that the Governor had intimated to him that it was not his intention to give the slaves up. I therefore had another interview with him, when he informed me that he had not the power to give them up without the authority of the Pasha, who was at Jeddah. Finding that he was deaf to all arguments, I formally demanded that they should be given up to me, which demand was formally refused. There being nothing more to detain me at Massowah, and having received Mr. Barroni's despatches, I left Massowah on the morning of the 9th ultimo to return to Aden.

Inclosure 10 in No. 305.

The Acting Secretary to the Bombay Government to the Acting Political Resident at Aden.

(Extract.)

Bombay Castle, December 12, 1861.

I AM directed by the Honourable the Governor in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 16th ultimo, reporting the return to Aden of Her Majesty's schooner "Mahi," submitting a communication from the Commander of that vessel, in which it is stated that his demand for the restoration of slaves has not been complied with by the Turkish authorities at Massowah, and requesting instructions for future guidance with reference to the delivery of slaves from a Turkish province.

In reply, I am instructed to inform you that the attention of Her Majesty's Government has recently been drawn to the unsatisfactory state of our relations with the Ottoman Government in respect to the Slave Trade.

Inclosure 11 in No. 305.

Acting Consul Monge to Ali Pasha.

Sir, *Jeddah, September 25, 1861.*

YOUR Excellency will remember that some months ago the British Consul at Jeddah demanded the Kaimakam to restore to liberty eleven Abyssinians who had been brought as slaves from Massowah to this country.

The Kaimakam acknowledged the truth of this, but could not find these people, which the British Consul has always considered extraordinary, and of which he has not failed to inform his Government; the more so, as there are now proofs that one of these slaves was, during these demands, in a house at Jeddah,—a fact well known to many.

Since then the British Consul informed the Kaimakam that Theodore, King of Abyssinia, had declared that if these slaves, his subjects, were not sent back to Massowah, he would take a Mussulman for each one of these eleven, and would, moreover, cause an estimate to be made of the number of his subjects who had been stolen of late years, and would take an equal number of Mussulmans.

I send your Excellency some lines copied from a letter that the British Consul has just received from the Acting British Consul at Massowah, from which your Excellency will see that King Theodore appears determined to put in execution his intention.

I therefore seriously beg that your Excellency, in order to avert the regrettable occurrences that may otherwise ensue, will give the strictest orders to put a stop to all Traffic in Slaves at Massowah—a trade which the Acting Consul there assures me is still very active; and to inform me in writing of these orders, so that I may inform the Consul at Massowah of them, and that he may communicate them to King Theodore.

(Signed) L. MONGE.

No. 306.

Sir H. Bulwer to Earl Russell.—(Received March 29.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, March 14, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a copy of a note which I have addressed to the Sublime Porte, calling its serious attention to the continued prevalence of the Slave Trade in the Red Sea, as pointed out in your Lordship's despatches of the 20th and 22nd ultimo.

I have, &c.

For Sir H. Bulwer,
(Signed) E. M. ERSKINE.

Inclosures in No. 306.

Sir H. Bulwer to Aali Pasha.

Sir,

Constantinople, March 14, 1862.

BY accounts recently received from the British Consular Agents in the Red Sea, Her Majesty's Government have learnt with regret that in violation of the orders of the Sublime Porte, the Slave Trade continues, as heretofore, to be carried on for Turkish ports.

Her Majesty's Consul at Jeddah has repeatedly called the attention of the local authorities to the prevalence of this odious Traffic, and has specified instances in which slaves shipped at Massowah were landed near Jeddah, and notoriously disposed of in that town.

He likewise informed the Governor of Jeddah that Theodore, King of Abyssinia, had declared that if eleven slaves, his subjects, were not sent back to Massowah, he would take a Mussulman for each of the eleven slaves carried off, and would cause an estimate to be made of the number of his subjects who had been stolen of late years, and would retaliate by taking an equal number of Mussulmans.

Indeed, so little concealment is there with respect to the existence of the Slave Trade, that at Jeddah, as I am credibly informed, slaves are publicly sold by auction every morning, where they are stripped naked and examined by any one wishing to purchase. And the fact that a great number of these persons cannot speak a word of Arabic proves that fresh slaves are being constantly imported.

The Acting British Consul at Massowah reports likewise that the Slave Trade is now the principal commerce of that district, and is protected, almost publicly, by the Ottoman authorities. On one occasion this gentleman had succeeded in rescuing nine slaves coming by contraband from Abyssinia; unfortunately, however, owing to the negligence of his servants, the slaves were again carried off by the dealers from whom they had been taken, and although the Acting Consul applied to the Kaimakam with a view to their re-capture, that officer showed so little zeal in the matter that it was impossible to recover the slaves.

Her Majesty's Consul at Jeddah is inclined to think that if the Sublime Porte would give orders for the confiscation of the boats carrying slaves, and severely punish the owners and all engaged in the Traffic, it might be considerably checked, if not altogether put an end to.

Having been instructed by Her Majesty's Government to call your serious attention to this subject, I shall confine myself to the statement of facts already given, in the full confidence that the Sublime Porte, no less than Her Majesty's Government, is bent upon the eradication of an evil which has been so frequently admitted and deplored; and your Highness, I am satisfied, will adopt some measure more effectual than those which have yet been tried for giving effect to the humane intentions of the Porte.

I avail, &c.

For Sir H. Bulwer,
(Signed) E. M. ERSKINE.

No. 307.

Sir H. Bulwer to Earl Russell.—(Received April 5.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, March 26, 1862.

WITH reference to Mr. Consul Taylor's despatch of the 5th ultimo, copy of which is herewith inclosed, reporting that the Slave Trade continues to be carried on at Diarbekir,

I have the honour to transmit herewith a translation of a Vizirial letter which has been placed in my hands by the Porte, enjoining the most unremitting vigilance on the local authorities with a view to the prevention of this abuse.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY L. BULWER.

Inclosure 1 in No. 307.

Consul Taylor to Sir H. Bulwer.

Sir, *Diarbekir, February 5, 1862.*
I REGRET again to bring to your Excellency's notice the continued Traffic in Slaves.

Three days ago my dragoman met a well-known slave-dealer of Mossul, named Ahmed ibn Khullef el Madlic, offering a black girl for sale in the public bazaar. She proved to be one of four, three of whom he had sold here the day before, who, according to the Bagdad Custom-house teskereh in the man Ahmed's possession, had been exported by him from Bagdad to Aleppo; subsequently, not finding an advantageous market for them there, he brought them, *via* Birjik and Orfa (as attested by the different Custom-house seals on the original teskereh) to this town.

In this case, as in the preceding one reported to your Excellency in my despatch of July 1, 1861, the slaves are represented in the Custom-house teskereh as "mulbelledeen," that is, reared in the country; but in both cases a long experience gained in Busreh fully satisfied me that they were "jelleb," or recent importations from the African coast; I have, therefore, in reporting the circumstances to Her Majesty's Consul-General at Bagdad, suggested that probably a smuggling trade in these individuals is carried on between Busreh and Bagdad, and that perhaps in such a case they would be liable to seizure at the latter town as forming part of an illicit trade.

I have represented the circumstances detailed in this letter to the Pasha, and at the same time expressed my regret that such a Traffic should have been carried on with the notorious publicity (unchecked) that attended it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) J. G. TAYLOR.

Inclosure 2 in No. 307.

Vizirial Letter to the Governor of Kurdistan.

(Translation.)

Sublime Porte, Foreign Department,

Sir,

21 Ramazan, 1278 (March 22, 1862).

IT has been reported that the Slave Trade is at this moment still being carried on in Diarbekir.

The strong measures which His Majesty's Government have taken respecting the prohibition of this Trade, which has been made known everywhere, and amongst other places in Diarbekir, require that this prohibition should be enforced, and the slightest laxity on this score will entail responsibility.

You will therefore exercise constant vigilance, and adopt such measures as may be necessary for preventing the occurrence of any act or circumstance contrary to the provisions of the resolution which was proclaimed respecting the prohibition in question.

(Signed) MEHEMED FUAD.

No. 308.

Sir H. Bulwer to Earl Russell.—(Received August 1.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, July 22, 1862.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch of the 20th of February, I have the honour to transmit herewith a copy in translation of a Vizirial letter to the Pasha of Jeddah, desiring him to make every effort in his power for the suppression of the Slave Trade in the Red Sea.

I have forwarded a copy of this document to Her Majesty's Acting Agent and Consul-General in Egypt, for communication to our Consuls at Jeddah and Massowah.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY L. BULWER.

Inclosure in No. 308.

Vizirial Letter to the Governor of Jeddah and the Kaimakam of Massowah.

(Traduction.)

De 7 Zilhidjé, 1278 (le 23 Juin, 1862).

ATTENDU que le commerce des esclaves fut dernièrement mis en pratique dans les parages de Jedda et de Mahsou, l'Ambassade Britannique a fait à ce sujet certaines communications par un "tacrir" dont une copie traduite vous a été transmise.

Conformément aux mesures efficaces prises par la Sublime Porte à l'égard de la prohibition de ce commerce, mesures publiées et communiquées à plusieurs reprises aux susdits endroits, la continuation de cette prohibition est nécessaire, et toute négligence à cet égard, quelque minime qu'elle soit, doit attirer une grande responsabilité sur les employés du Gouvernement de l'endroit.

Par conséquent la Sublime Porte, ayant répété ses recommandations à cet égard au Caïmacam de Mahsou, invite également votre Excellence de maintenir une surveillance continuelle, et de prendre les mesures nécessaires afin qu'il n'ait lieu aucun acte ou circonstance en dehors du cercle de la décision publiée à l'égard de la prohibition en question.

TURKEY. (*Consular*)—*Alexandria.*

No. 309.

Consul-General Colquhoun to Earl Russell.—(*Received February 19.*)

(Extract.)

Alexandria, February 10, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inclose, for your Lordship's information, copy of a despatch just received from Mr. Consul Stanley.

I have confined myself to mentioning to Mr. Stanley the fact that Captain Cameron must by this time be at his post, and that his special attention would be drawn to the Traffic in Slaves which appears undeniably to be carried on, though with great precaution, between Massowah and the neighbouring mainland and the Arabian coast. I shall call Captain Cameron's attention to this matter, and I would respectfully suggest your Lordship should also mention the circumstance to him.

By a letter lately received from Aden, I learn that Captain Cameron had been detained for some time at that place by fever, but had gone on to his post.

It would be a great matter could the Porte be induced to confiscate such coasting-vessels as may be convicted of carrying slaves for the market, but this may be difficult of achievement.

Inclosure in No. 309.

Consul Stanley to Consul-General Colquhoun.

(Extract.)

Jeddah, January 21, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inclose some copies of letters received from Mr. Barroni.

The eleven slaves he mentions are those referred to in my letter of the 8th October, 1861.

As in his letters there appears to me no actual proof of connivance in slavery against Perteb Effendi, I abstain from writing to the Governor of Jeddah on the subject. I can however, contradict the assertion of Perteb Effendi that these eleven slaves did not leave Massowah in Baghafur's boat which was commanded by Abdool Hair. Baghafur was implicated in the murders of June 1858, and is at Constantinople. Abdool Hair was put in prison at Jeddah, owning that the eleven slaves had been landed near Jeddah from his boat, and the Abyssinians who came in the same boat declaring that these slaves were embarked at Massowah.

As the Jeddah authorities did nothing in the matter beyond imprisoning for a short time the master, though it was known to many that these slaves were still at Jeddah, it is improbable that Perteb Effendi will effect anything. The new Governor, Izzet Pasha, may be more energetic than the late one, but he left for Mecca immediately after his arrival and I scarcely saw him. I also share Mr. Barroni's opinion that Perteb Effendi connives at slavery, though I could not prove it. All the Abyssinians and others arriving from Massowah with whom I have spoken on the subject make similar statements to me, though probably they would give different accounts if confronted with the Turkish authorities, nor are they willing to sign their statements.

As to Mr. Barroni's complaint that Perteb Effendi places no soldiers on the coast to prevent the departure of slaves, it is but fair to remark that Perteb Effendi when here assured me he had barely sufficient to act as police for the town, and that he could not possibly distribute them along the coast.

In the absence of a ship of war the traffic could be considerably, and I believe almost completely, stopped, were the Turkish authorities to confiscate the boats carrying slaves,

and severely punish, according to a pre-arranged and published code, the owners and all engaged in the Traffic.

In Jeddah slaves are publicly sold by auction every morning, when they are stripped almost naked, and examined by any one wishing to purchase. The fact that a great number of these cannot speak a word of Arabic proves that fresh ones are constantly imported.

No. 310.

Mr. Cohen to Earl Russell.—(Received April 28.)

(Extract.)

Alexandria, April 16, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to forward a despatch* just received from Her Majesty's Consul at Khartoum.

We learn that the Maltese subject Debono, the uncle, has arrived at Cairo, declaring that he brings with him ample evidence exculpatory of his participation in the odious crime imputed to him.

Mr. Petherick's letter to Mr. Colquhoun will, as soon as Mr. Colquhoun is able to leave the house, be communicated to the Viceroy in substance, though with faint hopes of efficient measures being taken for the establishment of a river police or other means to suppress the Trade.

No. 311.

Earl Russell to Consul-General Colquhoun.

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 3, 1862.

I HAVE received Mr. Cohen's despatch of the 16th ultimo, inclosing a despatch from Her Majesty's Consul at Khartoum on the subject of the Slave Trade in Upper Egypt, and in the neighbourhood of the White Nile.

If you should not already have communicated the substance of Mr. Petherick's despatch to the Viceroy, you will lose no time in doing so, and you will impress upon his Highness the necessity for some energetic steps being taken to put a stop to the deplorable state of things depicted by Her Majesty's Consul, and for the punishment of the persons engaged in and conniving at the African Slave Trade.

I have further to desire that you will use your utmost endeavours to bring Andrea Debono to justice, and to procure for him the punishment which his crimes deserve, if the result of inquiries which you will yourself make should tend to prove that this individual has been engaged in the system of razzias on the natives, and in the Traffic in Slaves, as reported by Mr. Consul Petherick.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 312.

Consul-General Colquhoun to Earl Russell.—(Received June 22.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, June 6, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 3rd ultimo, respecting the Slave Trade as carried on in Upper Egypt reported by Her Majesty's Consul at Khartoum.

I have not failed to convey your Lordship's instructions to Mr. Petherick, and as the Viceroy is absent, I have addressed a note, as strongly worded as possible, to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, requiring his Excellency to lay it before the Regent urging him to take every possible measure to check the Traffic, by full powers committed to the Governors and Mudirs to seize, fine, and punish severely all convicted of participating in the Trade, and, further, to establish an organized system of river police to carry out the orders of the Government.

Though lengthy, I beg to inclose copy of my note to the Secretary of State.

With respect to Andrea Debono, he is now down here on business, and having large interests at stake will not leave. I must, however, remark that the evidence I possess against him is most meagre, hardly sufficient to send him before a Court; while he, having learnt the accusation which hangs over him, has brought down a number of certificates of character and good conduct from the French, Austrian, and American Consuls at Khartoum, and from the local authorities and several merchants.

As Sir Edmund Hornby is expected here very shortly, the whole papers will be laid before him for his professional opinion.

I have, &c.
(Signé) ROBERT G. COLQUHOUN.

Inclosure in No. 312.

Consul-General Colquhoun to Cherif Pasha.

M. le Ministre,

Alexandrie, le 4 Juin, 1862.

LE Consul de Sa Majesté à Khartoum, par ses rapports adressés au Gouvernement de Sa Majesté et à moi-même, porte à ma connaissance que le Trafic des Esclaves existe dans la Haute Egypte et sur le Nil Blanc à un degré, et par des voies, qui est revoltant à l'humanité.

Mr. Petherick dit que la Traite des Noirs a énormément augmentée depuis son départ le printemps de 1859; que le Gouverneur de Khartoum a, il est vrai, publié une proclamation faisant connaître l'illégalité de ce commerce et menaçant de punir ceux qui en seraient convaincus. Mais ces demi-mesures ne suffisent pas, et pour mettre fin à un crime qui, par l'opinion du monde, est si flétri, il faut avoir recours à un système vigoureux de police riveraine ayant des barques armées, qui seraient chargées de visiter chaque bateau trafiquant entre Khartoum et Helset-Kaka, et de conduire par devant les autorités du pays toute personne convaincue de complicité dans la Traite; que les autorités soient ordonnées de procéder avec vigueur et sommairement à punition des auteurs par emprisonnement et par la confiscation et mise en liberté des nègres et par la saisie des biens appartenants aux coupables. Des mesures de ce genre seul, M. le Ministre, pourront tenir en échec ce honteux Trafic, et ramener le commerce légitime, aujourd'hui entièrement supprimé, dans sa voie normale.

Mr. Petherick écrit en sus, que depuis le territoire des Shillooks aux districts du Balm-el-Gazal, il est impossible de s'avancer dans l'intérieur qu'à force d'armes, et que, par conséquent, depuis son retour il a dû cesser son commerce dans ce quartier. Il cite nommément un certain Mahomed Kheir, sujet Ottoman, un Dougalani de naissance, dont les faits sont trop nombreux pour que je les cite ici. Les effets de ce système immoral sont :—

1. Que le marché de Kaka, autrefois très fréquenté pour les blés, le bétail, &c., n'existe plus.

2. Les malheureux Shillooks, poussés par le désespoir, font des représailles, et ils ont déjà commis des déprédations, auxquelles ils paraissent avoir été poussés.

3. Cet état de choses induit un nombre d'aventuriers de partir de Khartoum ostensiblement pour transporter du blé pour compte de Mahommed Kheir, mais réellement pour se joindre à lui dans ses razzias, qui offrent de grands profits.

Mr. Petherick n'hésite pas de dire qu'un grand nombre d'esclaves est apporté du Haut Nil et au voisinage de Gondocoro à Khartoum.

Je suis chargé spécialement, M. le Ministre, d'entretenir le Gouvernement Egyptien de ce sujet, et de lui démontrer la nécessité d'adopter des mesures vigoureuses et efficaces pour reprimer le Trafic des Nègres, qui déshonore un pays aussi éclairé et civilisé que celui où nous vivons.

Son Altesse le Viceroi étant absent, je viens vous prier de soumettre cette dépêche à Son Altesse le Régent et de l'engager de ne pas perdre un moment pour porter remède à une plaie si nuisible à l'Egypte; premièrement par les ordres et pouvoirs extraordinaires dont doivent être investis les autorités du Soudan pour punir sommairement et sévèrement les personnes prises en flagrant délit; et, secondement, l'établissement d'un service de police riverain pour visiter les bateaux soupçonnés de complicité dans la Traite.

Agréé, &c.
(Signé) ROBERT G. COLQUHOUN.

No. 313.

Acting Consul-General Saunders to Earl Russell.—(Received August 8.)

(No. 4.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, July 31, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to bring under your Lordship's consideration the copy of a further despatch from Her Majesty's Consul for the Soudan, dated from Nouaer, on the White Nile, containing additional accounts of the scandalous system of expeditions engaged in the capture of slaves and cattle on the Upper Nile, more especially in the direction of Gondokoro.

Mr. Petherick had fallen in with several boats laden with slaves belonging to these nefarious traders, and among others with one of his own returning thence under the command of a person described as his principal agent, a certain Abd-il-Magd.

This person was sent in irons to Khartoum, where, as I am informed by a letter from the local Governor to the British Consular Agent, he was confined in prison pending the examination of the charges against him.

Among other boats thus freighted with slaves Mr. Petherick also mentions having met with one belonging to the Maltese Amabile, nephew of Debono, which unfortunately he did not examine at the time, when for several hours in his company, though on the subsequent testimony of his own boat's crew (whose depositions, however, are not forwarded) he states that 15 or 20 slaves were concealed in Amabile's boat, and from 80 to 100 on board another belonging to the same individual, and navigating together.

These allegations are, to a certain extent, borne out by an Arabic document which accompanies Mr. Petherick's report, translation whereof is annexed, giving a detailed account of the division of spoils in one of these maurauding expeditions.

This evidence, however, is only that of a single witness, speaking from information derived from other sources, not given in the presence of the accused, and hardly available in a criminal process to substantiate the charges against these miscreants.

The said Amabile has, however, been placed under arrest by the British Consular Agent at Khartoum, and handed over to the local authorities, in accordance with Consul Petherick's instructions, for conveyance to Cairo, where, on his arrival, he will be detained in custody until your Lordship shall determine whether or not he should be admitted to bail until further evidence can be procured, or what other steps should be taken in the matter.

As no reasonable doubt can exist of the guilty practices of this individual in the slave expeditions around Gondokoro, wherein he is stated to have taken a prominent part for the last two years, I have instructed Consul Hay not to accept bail for his appearance at present, should he reach Cairo previously to the receipt of your Lordship's orders in this respect.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

SIDNEY SMITH SAUNDERS.

P.S.—The preceding papers connected with the charges against these Maltese, De Bono and Amabile, having been submitted to Sir Edmund Hornby for his professional opinion, who has deferred reporting thereon until furnished with certain translations now transmitted to him, it may be desirable that these supplementary papers should be added to the former in order to complete the evidence at present available for such report.

S. S. S.

 Inclosure 1 in No. 313.
Consul Petherick to Consul-General Colquhoun.

Sir,

Nouaer, White River, May 24, 1862.

AFTER three months' tedious voyage, having reached latitude 8° north, I met some of my boats returning from Gondokoro under the guidance of my principal agent, Abd-il-Magd.

You may naturally conceive I was shocked to discover on board one of the boats, hidden under hatches, 17 slaves, stolen or illegally procured from various places near and beyond Gondokoro.

These were intended for sale to the various Arab tribes and traders on the

confines of the Egyptian territories, the facts of which it was never intended I should learn.

The only explanation of such a violation on my boats is due to the lateness of the season, it never having been imagined by the parties concerned that I should pursue my voyage to Gondokoro during the rains; therefore, with every hope of not being discovered in this nefarious Traffic, they were, fortunately, caught directly in the act.

Immediately I had the fellow put in irons, and have forwarded him in that state, in one of my boats, to Khartoum, to be delivered over to the authorities there for punishment. The slaves I take with me to return them to their various homes, at which, as a matter of course, they are delighted.

I send you inclosed a *procès-verbal*, drawn out in Arabic, given by two of most trustworthy agents, who have been in the country along with Abd-il-Magd, and been direct witness not only of the guiltiness of Abd-il-Magd, but of other Arab traders, and also one European and British subject.

The document is signed by the parties themselves, and hence may be considered as equal to an original written by them.

I regret to have to inform you that, from subsequent information obtained, I learn that every boat we have passed, with one exception, have had more or less slaves on board; in fact, that in the Upper Country, as it is here called, there has been nothing but a system of razzias going on.

I have likewise written to my agent, Halil-il-Shami, at Khartoum, that on the arrival of Amabile, the British subject implicated, he is immediately to arrest him, and place him under the care of the Egyptian authorities, to be sent under escort to the British Consulate at Cairo, there to be dealt with as you may judge proper.

I may further mention that this person has taken a most active part in most of the slave expeditions around Gondokoro for the last two years, according to the testimony of my men, whom I have sifted on the subject.

As you may already know, he is nephew of Andrea Debono, who went to Cairo to attempt to clear himself of serious charges of a like nature. The authenticity of the guilt of Amabile will be seen on perusal of the signed documents.

His two boats passed us in the night, whilst we were moored to the bank, and it was with much difficulty that I induced the Reis of one of them to come to shore and make fast close by us. Amabile was in this boat, but the other, the larger of the two, continued its journey down the river. When at a considerable distance, in company with another Arab boat belonging to Achmed-il-Agad, and under the direction of a Circassian of the name of Kurshid, they both made fast to the shore.

For various reasons I detained Amabile for several hours, and did not detect slaves on board his boat, which, from the testimony of my men, I subsequently learned contained some 15 or 20 slaves hidden in the after-hatch.

On his departure I sent my small boat to the larger boat before mentioned for some provisions, and, to my astonishment on its return, learned that from 80 to 100 slaves were on board, crowded together in a most horrible manner, amongst whom there were a number of adults with long forked sticks fastened to their necks, and one or both hands tied thereto. Kurshid's boat had a similar freight.

It is needless to observe that before I became aware of these facts the boats were sailing with a fair wind down the river, and out of my power.

I have forwarded to the Governor of Khartoum despatches containing a copy of the *procès-verbal*; also, duly signed, an account of the facts, as far as I have yet been able to learn, of the guilty conduct of Abd-il-Magd and other Arabs, requesting him to act strictly and summarily with this Abd-il-Magd, making him an example in punishment to the many others following the same course on a greater scale.

I need hardly mention how necessary it is to be also severe with the Maltese Amabile, not only on account of his guilt, but to strike terror into the other Europeans in this country who, to my knowledge, are carrying on the same disgusting Traffic.

In one word, legal commerce from Khartoum to Gondokoro is at an end. Such a thing as trading with the natives is out of the question. They are prepared for fight or flight, according to the density of the population and circumstances.

Suspicious in a high degree, they cunningly watch all the boats passing, fearing, when they see more than one, that a descent on them is meditated; or when opportunity offers, attacking and murdering crews.

Fearful and sickening circumstances have occurred under my own eyes in my voyage thus far, and trustworthy reports of similar acts further up the river are daily turning up; so that in giving but a short despatch at present, I do so with the conviction that I will be

enabled to corroborate the facts, and send a detailed account to the Home Government on reaching Gondokoro: the same being directed under flying-seal, you will use at your discretion.

I have had so many difficulties and trying circumstances through the lateness of the season and warlike condition of the natives on the river, as to prevent me from delivering as circumstantial a report as I could have desired.

I regret to have to report, while a little lower down the river, another boat laden with slaves (belonging to a Frenchman of the name of Barthelemy) touched shore at night in the immediate vicinity of my own boats, which they evidently mistook for the boats before cited, under Amabile and Kurshid; but instantly on the discovery of the error by the Reis he let go his fastenings, and no inducement on the part of my crew could prevail on him to stop till the morning.

This short interval was sufficient for the observation of its illegitimate cargo by several of my sailors; which circumstances I was not apprised of till the following morning.

Further particulars upon this subject I hope to forward from Gondokoro at a future date, whence I strongly suspect the cargo to have been taken in.

Before the conclusion of this despatch a second boat, twenty-one days from Gondokoro and three from Abu Kuka, at which latter place they left their owner, Barthelemy, during the night, moored alongside us, 3 slaves were seen on board by Dr. Murie and many of my own men; a mother and child and another little girl, said to have been purchased at Gondokoro by the Reis, and one of the men from the Circassian Kurshid.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN PETHERICK.

Inclosure 2 in No. 313.

Procès-Verbal.

(Translation.)

Interrogation.

To Sheikh Ahmed, formerly my agent at Bahr-el-Gazel, and now at Ghebel; also to Messaed, my agent at the coast of Gebel.

BOTH of you have been residing at Gebel Bimbera, then you have come to Gebel, and from that place to this of Beneeweer; but as Abd-el-Magd, my general agent, had come with you, I now request you to let me know the place from which the slaves which were embarked with Abd-el Maged in Reis Diab Mohamed's boat have been originally taken; whether they were brought or seized by force, and in what way; what was their original number; has he sent any of them to some place; and lastly, at what place can they be found? Reply conscientiously.

23 *Zilkade*, 1278 (May 21, 1862).

(Signed) JOHN PETHERICK.

Answer.

I, the Undersigned, Messaed Mohamed, do declare that in the month of Sciawal 1278, he had brought slaves from Sanda, a village of Namanen; they were eighteen in number. I remained at Bahbara and he left for the river. I do not know what became of them. When I was on board I was informed that eight of them ran away. This is all I know.

I, the Undersigned, Sheikh Ahmed Hamad, do declare that I know from good authority that Abd-el-Magd, Khourshid, M. Amabile, and Mohammed Ahmadein went altogether to Ghebel-el-Raggaff, one of their villages; they attacked them, and having captured both negroes and cattle, Abd-el-Magd got for his share twenty-four head of negroes (slaves) and 238 head of cattle. These were all brought to the church in my presence. As to the negroes (slaves) eight of the best ran away. I do not know where they have gone to. The remaining sixteen still remained with us; he then gave one, a lad, to the Reis of Khourshid's boat, thus leaving fifteen, of whom six ran away, and nine remained. He then gave one and her child to one of our party, a soldier, by name Regeb; he also gave a girl to Ismail, another soldier of our party. He then took away the remaining six. I do not know to what place he forwarded them. This is what I have already informed you of; the six remaining slaves and the ten reported by Messaed are now on Reis Diab Mohamed's boat.

23 *Zilkade*, 1278 (May 21, 1862).

(L.S.)

MESSAED MOHAMED, *Agent.*
SHEIKH AHMET HAMAD, *Agent.*

Interrogation.

To Sheikh Ahmed and Messaed, my agents at Ghebel.

In your answer of the 23rd Zilkade, 1278, you stated that the negroes which Abd-el-Magd brought are in Reis Diab's boat, and amount to sixteen in number. I, however, found them out to be seventeen heads. How is it that there is one more and above of what you have reported? Give a direct answer.

23 Zilkade, 1278 (May 21, 1862).

(Signed) JOHN PETHERICK.

Answer.

As to the extra head you found out she is a maid-servant of Abd-el-Magd; he had given her to me since last year for God's and the Prophet's sake (viz., she was not given to him for money, but as a present).

23 Zilkade, 1278 (May 21, 1862).

(L.S.) MESSAED MOHAMED, *Agent.*

Interrogation.

To Sheikh Ahmed Hamad.

In your answer you have stated that some village of Raggaff was attacked by Abd-el-Magd, Khourshid, M. Amabile and Mohamed Ahmadein, and that Abd-el-Magd had for his share twenty-four negroes and 238 head of cattle. Say now what was the whole number of negroes and cattles taken, and how many had each of them for his share.

25 Zilkade, 1278 (May 23, 1862).

(Signed) JOHN PETHERICK.

Answer.

As to the number of cattle which they brought on their return from the villages of Raggaff, it was about 3,000; the negroes amounted to 351. Abd-el-Magd had twenty-four head of negroes and 238 of cattle, as already stated. M. Amabile and Khurshid each of them had 113 negroes and 1,000 head of cattle, and Mohamed Mahmadein had 111 negroes and 762 head of cattle.

23 Zilkade, 1278 (May 21, 1862).

(L.S.) SHEIKH AHMET HAMAD

Interrogation.

To Reis Diab Mohamed.

In the year 1276 the Syrian merchant, Halil Saff, our agent at Khartoum, delivered to my agent of the Ghebel on the White River three negroes, in presence of Ibrahim Ahmed Gonein, agent of my house at Khartoum. These were confided to him that he might take them to their friends at their own mountains. As Abd-el-Magd and the three negroes embarked on your boat, you are hereby requested to inform me whether the said three negroes were safely conveyed to their relations at the mountain, or not. If they have not been delivered up to their friends, say at what place they left your boat, what was the motive thereof, and what became of them.

23 Zilkade, 1278 (May 21, 1862).

(Signed) JOHN PETHERICK.

Answer.

What I know to be conscientiously true is this, that Ibrahim Ahmed Gonein, agent of your house, embarked the three negroes and consigned them to Abd-el-Magd. I do not know whether they were taken back to their friends at Gebel, or to be sold. As to their landing it was at the village of Kaka in that same day; they have not come with him until the following day, he saying, go to the village of Kaka and bring an elephant's tusk, on our way up the river and on our way down the river; we have taken another elephant's tusk, in all two. This is all I know; moreover, the three negroes remained at the village of Kaka.

23 Zilkade, 1278 (May 21, 1862).

(L.S.) REIS DIAB MOHAMED.
MESSAED MOHAMED, *Agent.*
SHEIKH AHMED, *Agent.*

N.B.—The above translation is a true one of the Arabic original, which, in the above answer, has no very clear meaning, being very badly expressed. The Arabic words are clearly written, but do not convey any good meaning or clear sense.

Interrogation.

To Reis Diab Mohamed.

The same day I met you at the village of Nubeer on your way down from Ghebel, you had with you Abd-el-Magd and his party. Whilst we were running down I found in your boat seventeen negroes hidden. I consequently have forbidden very strictly (on my part) either to deal in negroes or embark a single negro on board your boat. Now you must say conscientiously why these came with you.

23 *Zilkade*, 1278 (*May* 21, 1862).

(Signed)

JOHN PETHERICK.

Answer.

I have understood your interrogation, and have to say that according to the letter I received by Moallem Scenudah's boat, which signified that I should meet you with the "dahabia" (big boat), I had two days ago prepared myself to meet you, but your agent, Abd el-Magd, did not allow me to run down, and I remained with the "dahabia." He said that he himself would go to meet you. He then embarked with the negroes on board of the "nagr" (a transport boat, not the "dahabia"). This is all I know of.

After my arrival it was he who met you. I told you this, and repeated it over again before you put me the above question, viz., that I did not consent to the embarkation of the negroes, and that he said, "I shall meet my master; you have nothing to do with it, nor are you to be concerned in or responsible for anything."

23 *Zilkade*, 1278 (*May* 21, 1862).

(L.S.)

REIS DIAB MOHAMED.

No. 314.

Acting Consul-General Saunders to Earl Russell.—(Received August 8.)

(Extract.)

Alexandria, July 31, 1862.

WITH reference to my preceding despatch upon the subject of the stimulus imparted to the Traffic in Slaves in the remote districts of the Upper Nile, beyond Egyptian rule, from the encouragement given thereto by European adventurers, I have the honour to submit to your Lordship copy of the reply which I have addressed to Consul Petherick respecting the several matters to which he has adverted.

Your Lordship will not fail to observe a certain discrepancy in the explanations contained in the fourth paragraph of Mr. Petherick's despatch, as compared with those of the Captain of his boat, in reply to the last interrogatory; for by the said reply it is shown, that both the Reis and the agent were perfectly aware two days previously that they would meet their master shortly, and that nevertheless with this foreknowledge the said agent had subsequently embarked the slaves on his own responsibility.

With respect to the remarks addressed to Mr. Petherick as to the guilty connivance of the authorities at Gondokoro and Hellet Kaka, it should perhaps be explained that Egyptian rule is not considered to extend to the White Nile, so that ivory and other articles of merchandize, furnished with certificates of origin at Khartoum as coming from the White Nile, are only chargeable with transit duty on exportation here.

As, moreover, it is stated by Consul Petherick in his preceding despatch of 25th November, that all the slaves are disposed of previously to reaching Khartoum, where on arrival the boats have no slaves on board, the guilty parties having the appearance of legitimate ivory traders, it will be observed that the proposed river police for the suppression of this traffic must be established beyond the present limits of Egyptian territory.

Inclosure in No. 314.

Acting Consul-General Saunders to Consul Petherick.

Sir,

Alexandria, July 29, 1862.

I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 24th May, dated from Nouaer on the White River, containing further details respecting the nefarious Traffic in Slaves carried on by Europeans and others between Gondokoro and Khartoum, and the scandalous system of razzias practised in connection therewith.

I have also received advices in Arabic from your deputy at Khartoum, stating that the Maltese Amabile, together with Abd-il-Magd, and a certain Mohammed Hassan Said

(not mentioned by you), had been arrested by the Mudir at his request, the former to be sent for trial before the British Consular Court at Cairo, the two latter for criminal prosecution at Khartoum. It does not, however, appear why the infamous companion of Amabile, the Circassian Khourshid, has not been comprised in the same category, and I have consequently instructed the British Consular Agent at Khartoum to instigate proceedings against him whensoever he can be found.

It is much to be regretted that with your knowledge of the parties and of the iniquitous practices which you describe as prevailing for the last two years, and especially considering the previous charges against this same Amabile, which formed the subject of a correspondence between your deputy, Halil el Shami, and the Cairo Consulate, in October 1860, a more diligent search should not have been made at the time on board a boat belonging to this Maltese, and stationed for several hours in proximity to your own.

With regard to the Arabic depositions which accompany your despatch, such evidence, to be available in a criminal prosecution, should be taken in the presence of the accused, who should be afforded an opportunity of cross-examination. Moreover, certain errors of dates and computations appear in this Arabic document, whereby ten more slaves figure in the division of spoils than were actually captured, one of the questions being also dated two days later than the reply thereto.

It will remain for Her Majesty's Government to decide what should be done for the ends of justice in this case, and whether the presumptive guilt of Amabile may be considered such as to warrant his detention in arrest until sufficient evidence can be obtained to substantiate the charges against him.

In the meantime you will furnish every additional information in your power as to other circumstances which you state to have occurred under your own eye, and such as may be likely to come under your observation in the sequel, pointing out what you may deem most feasible at Gondokoro and Hellet Kaka, which you describe in a former despatch as the first great slave-mart with Egyptian traders, in order to put a stop to this odious Traffic, and explaining to whom the authorities at either place may be held amenable for their guilty connivance in such practices.

I have, &c.
(Signed) SIDNEY SMITH SAUNDERS.

No. 315.

Acting Consul-General Saunders to Earl Russell.—(Received August 15.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, August 6, 1862.

WITH reference to my preceding despatches upon the subject of the charges against a certain Amabile for trading in slaves on the White Nile, I have now the honour to submit to your Lordship translations from the Arabic of further papers since received from Consul Petherick's deputy at Khartoum relating thereto.

The second of these papers is important as containing Amabile's statements in refutation, and his protest against Consul Petherick for all the losses to which he may be subjected.

He not unnaturally complains of these charges not having been duly substantiated against him at the time when in Mr. Petherick's company, instead of being made behind his back after separating from the latter. Not being aware of the nature of the evidence upon which these charges rest, he nevertheless calls attention to the irregular and inefficient manner in which such evidence has been obtained, without, however, appealing to any testimony of others in his own exculpation.

The Governor of Khartoum, who, in dealing with a British subject delivered over to him for a specific purpose, had properly no right to exercise any discretion in the matter, has, nevertheless, taken upon himself to accept bail for the prisoner's appearance after the settlement of his affairs on the spot.

However irregular this proceeding on the one hand, yet, on the other, considering the defective evidence already furnished, and the consequent necessity of further reference to Khartoum (if not to Consul Petherick himself) for the purpose of supplying such deficiency, any delay occasioned by this concession of the Governor is, perhaps, to be considered rather fortunate than otherwise.

I likewise annex copy of my reply to the Acting Consul at Khartoum.

I have, &c.
(Signed) SIDNEY SMITH SAUNDERS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 315.

Acting Consul Lutfallah to Consul Hay.

(Translation.)

Sir,

Khartoum, 23 Zilhidge, 1278 (June 20, 1862).

HAVING received directions from Mr. Petherick, Her Majesty's Consul, to arrest Mr. Amabile, nephew of Debono, and send him to Cairo for having dealt in slaves which were found in his boat, he (Amabile) was arrested by the Mudir (Governor) of Khartoum, as I informed you.

Mr. Amabile has presented a petition to the said Governor complaining against Mr. Petherick, and protesting against him, copy of which has been sent to me, which I forward inclosed. I consider that Mr. Amabile is wrong in presenting a petition to the local authorities when there was a Consular officer of Her Britannic Majesty in the place. I also consider that the Governor is wrong in interfering between a British subject and his Consulate; and, therefore, I wrote a letter to the above-named Governor, demanding by what authority he released Mr. Amabile, and why, up to this time, Amabile has not been sent down to Cairo, and observing that his interference in sending a copy of Amabile's protest was not justifiable.

I am sorry to see that the Governor released Mr. Amabile from prison without my sanction, stating, as a reason, to have done so under good guarantee in order that he might settle his affairs in a few days, and afterwards be sent to Cairo, as by his letter inclosed dated 23 Zilhidge.

(Signed) MICHAEL LUTFALLAH.

P.S.—Concerning the Governor's statement in his letter, viz., that he released Amabile from prison in order that he might settle his business, this is not a correct statement, as the said Mr. Amabile has no commercial business in the place, all the business belonging to Debono, who left a representative of the name of Said Ahmet Refai Atkad.

 Inclosure 2 in No. 315.
Petition of Mr. Amabile.

To the Governor of Sennaar and Khartoum.

ON Thursday the 14th Zilhidge, corresponding to the 12th June, 1862, at 8 P.M., there came a cavass to my house requesting me to present myself before your Excellency, and as soon as I came I was imprisoned by your orders, and on asking the reason why I was imprisoned, you showed me the letter you received from Mr. John Petherick, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul at Khartoum, in which he states that in the boat with which I arrived from the White Nile there was a large number of slaves, and he, therefore, desired that I should be arrested and sent to Cairo; but I beg leave to say that I have many reasons which I must formally explain. First, when the said Mr. Petherick was going up the White Nile at a place called Nouaer, which is beyond the boundaries of the Egyptian provinces (territory), I remained with him twenty-four hours, and delivered to him above eight kantars of elephant tusks which my uncle Debono owed him, and he requested me to write a letter to my agents and employés who are there (on the White Nile) to assist him in all his business, and I wrote the letter according to his wishes, and left him amicably. Had I had any slaves in my boat during my stay with him, why did he not stop them and arrest me at once, and make a verbal procès on the spot in presence of witnesses, and get the same signed and sealed by them, and return the slaves to their country, and send me under arrest to Khartoum with evidence of my guilt, which it was his duty to do in order to maintain his authority and prove his active and good services, and showing my guilt on good grounds? I being a British subject under his special jurisdiction nothing prevented him from doing so; instead of permitting me to pass (as he says) with slaves in my possession, he ought to have taken me on the spot, which would lead people to credit his statement, instead of sending letters after me, which is contrary to law, and which is untrue in all particulars.

By what authority does he cause me to be arrested and sent to Cairo without being convinced of my guilt? And how did he stop the slaves brought in his boats by his own men, and send them back, and arrest the servants, and send them prisoners to Khartoum, and not treat me in the same manner, being a British subject?

With regard to his saying that I brought down slaves, did he actually see them himself, or was it reported to him? Should he say that he had seen them himself, why

did he not stop them, as he would thereby be acting justly and properly? Should he, on the other hand, say that it was reported to him, then by what legal authority did he cause me to be arrested without a previous investigation of the matter to corroborate this report? His proceedings are entirely contrary to all law and regulation.

I observe that the first notion of these intrigues occurred to Mr. Petherick since I last saw him. As I brought down a large quantity of goods with me, this appears to have excited his jealousy, and to have given rise to this accusation against me; he being a merchant as well as a Consul, in the latter capacity he exercises his authority over British subjects on the slightest pretext who may happen to be in the same line of business as himself, so far as to compel them to quit the neighbourhood, at the same time exhibiting great zeal and activity in executing his duties as a Consular officer; though, on the contrary this is far from being the real state of affairs, his object being to baffle the efforts of others who desire to trade on the White Nile, and to appropriate entirely to himself the commerce of the place, thereby obtaining possession of the produce without the interference of our adherents.

This is, of course, done to secure to himself all the profit, and has caused him to bring forward this false accusation against me. I have further to observe that it is not advisable for a Consul to be a merchant at the same time in such a place as the White Nile, where there is such an amount of competition in trade, which is the cause of much ill-feeling and jealousy, the latter feeling having undoubtedly induced the Consul to take such steps against me, knowing it would secure to himself the greater part of the trade.

The above are the sole reasons which induced him to persecute me in this manner. But the laws of justice do not permit such treatment without previous careful investigations and proofs, and as I have been dealt with in this manner by Mr. Petherick, I protest against the said Consul, Mr. Petherick, from this day, for his having compelled me to be sent to Cairo, thereby putting a stop to my business in general, and I now find I am prevented from going up the White Nile this year, in which season I should have been able to bring down three times the quantity of goods I brought with me on the last trip, having this time engaged 150 men in lieu of 60, which I employed the last time. I, therefore, intend to hold him responsible for all this. Further, I left a quantity of goods on the White River, and I also have a great quantity here, which I now cannot send, as I am prevented from going there myself; all losses which may be incurred shall be charged to Mr. Petherick, which, together with my loss of time in going to Cairo and my expenses there, must be paid by him.

In short, all losses which his proceedings against me may bring about, I require should be made good by him.

I pray your Excellency, after taking note of the present petition, to transmit an exact copy thereof to Mr. Halil, Mr. Petherick's deputy, with a note from you that he should keep it in his archives, and acknowledge the receipt of the same officially, sealed by the Consular seal, and inform me accordingly.

20 *Zilhidje*, 1278 (*June 17*, 1862).

(Signed)

AMABILE, *Nephew of Latiff Effendi (Debono).*

Inclosure 3 in No. 315.

The Governor of Sennaar and Khartoum to Acting Consul Lutfallah.

(Translation.)

Sir,

20 *Moharam* (17 *June*, 1862).

I RECEIVED this protest from M. Amabile, of which he desires me to send an exact copy to you, in order to make known its contents to the Consulate, and inform me of its receipt. I, therefore, make this exact copy, which you will please take note of, and kindly acknowledge its receipt.

(Signed)

THE MUDIR OF SENNAAR AND KHARTOUM.

Inclosure 4 in No. 315.

The Governor of Sennaar and Khartoum to Acting Consul Lutfallah.

(Translation.)

Sir,

23 *Zilhidje* (*June 20*, 1862).

I RECEIVED your letter dated the 22nd instant, by which you complain of my having sent you a copy of the petition of Mr. Amabile, of my having released him out of prison, and of not having sent him already down to Cairo.

CLASS B.

I have to inform you that the said person was on the White Nile, that he arrived a short time ago, carries on mercantile business here, and owes money for salaries to his men who were with him on the White Nile; his creditors demand payment, and the Government is obliged to procure the payment of the same before his departure for Cairo, as it is not known positively if he will return or not. I was obliged to act as I have done under a good guarantee; that is to say, release him for a short time to enable him to pay his debts. It is true Amabile is not our subject, but the merchants and others to whom he owes money are Ottoman subjects; and if a British subject should have so received money from an Ottoman subject, you would undoubtedly prevent his departure until he should have paid his debts. Mr. Amabile will therefore be forwarded, under charge of the police, to Cairo; and I therefore consider my conduct was fully justifiable for the ends of justice, and I did not expect such a letter from you on the subject.

With regard to Mr. Amabile's protest, I cannot understand its nature; but I simply forward it to you at his request, and it remains with you to accept or reject it.

(Signed)

THE GOVERNOR OF SENNAAR AND KHARTOUM.

Inclosure 5 in No. 315.

Acting Consul-General Saunders to Acting Consul Lutfallah.

(Translation.)

Sir,

Alexandria, August 6, 1862.

I HAVE received your two official letters dated the 19th and 23rd Zilhidjé, 1278 (16th and 20th June), respecting the instructions addressed to you by Mr. Consul Petherick to procure the arrest of Mr. Amabile in order that he might be sent to Cairo in safe custody on the charge of being addicted to the opprobrious Trade in Slaves.

I have perused the paper which the said Mr. Amabile addressed to the Mudir (Governor) in the form of a protest, communicated to you by the Mudir, and have observed the reasons put forward by the said Mudir to justify his having provisionally liberated M. Amabile on bail to enable him to settle his affairs on the spot before his departure.

The right of deciding upon this matter belonged certainly to the Consular authority, and not to the Mudir. The protest should also have been addressed to the Consular authority, although forwarded through the channel of the Mudir.

On the other hand, there is no reason to subject any one to losses by preventing the liquidation of accounts; and the delay occasioned thereby can have no injurious effect upon ultimate results.

As to the other two individuals mentioned in the Mudir's letter, namely, Mr. Petherick's agent Abd-il-Magd, and a certain Mohammed Hassan Said, I should wish to know what has become of the Circassian Kourshid, also a dealer in slaves, who was navigating in Mr. Amabile's company on board another boat, and who was a party concerned in those infamous expeditions the nefarious profits whereof were divided among the ruthless partners in such undertakings. This miscreant should also be tried, and punished according to his deserts.

Should you be able to obtain some useful evidence to substantiate the charge against the said Amabile, it would be desirable that, previously to his departure from Khartoum, you should take down in writing such evidence, to be given upon oath in presence of the accused, who should be allowed the opportunity of cross-examining each witness by asking him any questions through your medium, and inserting as an integral part of the evidence such questions and answers for due effect of law.

I have finally to acquaint you that all the correspondence upon this subject, together with Mr. Petherick's reports and other documents, have been submitted to Her Majesty's Government for such instructions as may be deemed fitting; and it would be desirable, therefore, to suspend the departure of the said Amabile until further orders, in the event of his not having already left for Cairo.

(Signed)

SIDNEY SMITH SAUNDERS.

No. 316.

Acting Consul-General Saunders to Earl Russell.—(Received September 21.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, September 12, 1862.

WITH reference to my despatches of the 31st July and 6th August last, I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship the copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Consul

at Cairo, announcing the arrival in that city of the Maltese Amabile Mussù, sent under arrest from Khartoum, in pursuance of instructions from Consul Petherick, on the charge of being one of a party engaged in marauding expeditions for the capture of slaves, and of having had a number of these concealed on board his boats on the occasion of meeting Consul Petherick on the White Nile.

I have already informed your Lordship that this individual would be detained in arrest at Cairo until the receipt of your Lordship's orders upon the subject.

As, however the evidence which has been furnished in the matter is scarcely such as to satisfy legal requirements, it will be desirable to know what steps should be taken to supply the deficiency, and how the accused should be disposed of in the interval.

I annex copy of the instructions previously addressed to Her Majesty's Consul at Cairo upon this subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) SIDNEY SMITH SAUNDERS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 316.

Consul Hay to Acting Consul-General Saunders.

Sir, *Cairo, September 5, 1862.*

I HAVE the honour to inform you that, on the 29th ultimo, having ascertained that Amabile Mussù, the person referred to in your despatch of the 25th July as being about to be sent in custody to Cairo on the charge of trafficking in slaves, was seen walking about in the streets of Cairo, I issued a warrant for his arrest and placed him in safe custody in accordance with your instructions.

It appears that Amabile had been sent under escort by the Mudir of Khartoum, but was left at liberty, at about two days' journey from Cairo, to proceed by himself.

I think it right to mention that Amabile declares that there has been no preliminary examination of the charge on which he was arrested by Mr. Petherick's orders.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. R. DRUMMOND HAY.

Inclosure 2 in No. 316.

Acting Consul-General Saunders to Consul Hay.

Sir, *Alexandria, July 25, 1862.*

FROM the letter in Arabic which accompanied your despatch of the 22nd instant, you will have learnt that, in pursuance of instructions from Consul Petherick to the British Consular Agent at Khartoum, a Maltese of the name of Amabile has been arrested and delivered into the charge of the Mudir of that place for the purpose of being sent under escort to Cairo on the charge of being engaged in the nefarious Traffic in Slaves.

In addition to the depositions already transmitted by Consul Petherick in support of this charge, he states that further evidence will be forwarded in the sequel; and as the *prima facie* testimony affecting Amabile is such as to leave no reasonable doubt of his guilt, he must be detained in custody on reaching Cairo until Her Majesty's Government shall have decided in what manner he should be brought to trial.

I have, &c.
(Signed) SIDNEY SMITH SAUNDERS.

No. 317.

Earl Russell to Consul-General Colquhoun.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, October 31, 1862.

I HAVE referred, for the consideration of the proper Law Officers of the Crown, the despatches, as noted in the margin,* from yourself and from Consuls Saunders, Cohen, and Petherick, relative to the proceedings of two British subjects, natives of Malta, named Debono and Amabile, who are accused of having been engaged in the Slave Trade on the White Nile.

* Nos. 310, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, and 322.

I also communicated to Her Majesty's Law Officers the reports from Sir Edmund Hornby relating to this affair, and I have, in conformity with the opinion of Her Majesty's Law Advisers, to state to you that it would not be expedient, upon the evidence at present adduced, to institute criminal proceedings against either Debono or Amabile for being engaged in the Slave Trade, and you will, therefore, cause them to be released from any further restraint.

There is, however, little moral doubt that Amabile has been extensively engaged in the Slave Trade, and if the statements of Mr. Consul Petherick are not wholly incorrect, it must have been, and may still be, possible to obtain proper and legal evidence of his guilt.

It is also most probable that his uncle Debono has connived at and co-operated with his conduct in this respect, and it will be expedient, therefore, that you should take such steps as you may deem best calculated to make known the firm resolution of Her Majesty's Government to proceed criminally, wherever evidence can be obtained, against any British subjects engaged in Slave Traffic.

It is much to be regretted that, owing to the want of proper evidence, justice cannot, in the present instance, be made to reach parties who have notoriously been engaged in carrying on a desolating Slave Trade on the White Nile. You will, however, omit no opportunity of pressing upon the Egyptian Government the necessity of their using their best exertions to put a stop to this Traffic, and you will also request your European colleagues to use their influence to procure the punishment of any of the subjects of countries under their protection who may be engaged in the atrocious proceedings reported by Mr. Petherick.

No. 318.

Acting Consul-General Saunders to Earl Russell.—(Received November 6.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, October 23, 1862.

WITH reference to my despatches of the 31st of July, 6th of August, and 12th of September, upon the subject of the arrest of a certain Amabile Mussu, of Malta, on a charge of trafficking in slaves, I have the honour to transmit for your Lordship's consideration the copy of a petition which has been addressed to me by the prisoner at Cairo, accompanied by a series of documents enumerated in the annexed list, and a paper containing arguments in support of an application to be released from prison on the ground of illegality and informality in the proceedings as therein set forth.

The papers marked A and B accompanying the aforesaid petition (Inclosures 2 and 3) are herewith transmitted in the original, the remaining documents, consisting of Arabic and Italian depositions, being retained here for further consideration.

I further annex copy of the instructions which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Consul at Cairo upon the subject of the prisoner's application aforesaid, and I would submit that these additional papers should be referred to Sir Edmund Hornby, in whose hands the case at present rests.

I have, &c.

(Signed) SIDNEY SMITH SAUNDERS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 318.

Amabile Mussu to Acting Consul-General Saunders.

Sir,

Cairo, October 11, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to lay before you the several documents mentioned in the list herewith annexed, and I do hereby respectfully request you immediately to peruse the said documents, and also the inclosed copy of the warrant under colour or pretence whereof I am now imprisoned at Cairo, and inasmuch as such imprisonment is unlawful, and the consequence of a charge wilfully and maliciously brought against me by John Petherick, Esq., Her Majesty's Consul at Khartoum and dependencies, out of motives of personal revenge as by the said documents fully explained and proved, and inasmuch as I am entitled to be released from such false and malicious imprisonment, I do hereby respectfully, in pursuance of the statutes in that case made and provided, request you as Her Majesty's Agent and Consul General, immediately, and in proper form, to award and

grant a *habeas corpus*, returnable immediately, so that I may be removed and released from such imprisonment.

(Signed) A. MUSSU.

Signed and delivered by the said Amabile Mussu, on this 11th day of October, 1862, in the presence of
(Signed) A. M. BONFANTI S. PINI.

Inclosure 2 in No. 318.

List of Papers accompanying Amabile Mussu's written request to Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General in Egypt, dated October 11, 1862.

1. Copy of a protest presented to his Excellency the Governor of Khartoum on the 20th Zilhidje, 1278 (19th June, 1862).
 2. Translation of the above paper in Italian.
 - 3 and 4. Two original promissory notes delivered by Abdel-Maghed to Amabile, 5 Zilkade, 1278, with orders endorsed thereon by John Petherick to Khaleel Lutfallah, dated respectively 14th Zilkade, 1278 (13th May, 1862).
 5. Original letter addressed to the said Khaleel Lutfallah demanding payment of the above promissory notes, and reply thereto from Khaleel Lutfallah, dated 21st Zilhidje, 1278.
 6. Translations in Italian of Nos. 3, 4, 5.
 7. Original letter from Debono to Amabile Mussu, dated 10th February, 1862, and receipt made thereon by John Petherick, dated 13th May, 1862.
 8. Declarations of several merchants, captains, and mercantile agents in favour of Amabile Mussu, dated 25th and 27th Zilhidje, 1278.
 9. Translations in Italian of the above document.
 10. Affidavit made by Andrea Debono at Cairo, and sworn before Her Majesty's Consul on the 9th October, 1862.
 11. Affidavit made by Amabile Mussu at Cairo, on the 11th October, 1862, and sworn on the same day before Her Majesty's Consul.
 12. Original petition addressed by Amabile Mussu to Her Majesty's Acting Consul at Khartoum, requesting to obtain from the Austrian Consul there, some information about Slave Trade, carried on by Mr. John Petherick, dated 18th Zilhidje, 1278 (17 June, 1862), with accompanying letter from Her Majesty's Acting Consul aforesaid, dated 19th Zilhidje, 1278.
 13. Original official answer to the above, addressed by the Austrian Consul to Her Majesty's Acting Consul at Khartoum, dated 20th June, 1862 (19 Zilhidje, 1278).
 14. Translation in Italian of the above documents.
 15. Original depositions of witnesses taken before the Cadi of Khartoum, on or about the 25th Sciawal, 1272, relating to the ill-treatment used by Mr. Petherick towards certain slaves by him detained on the White River.
 16. Translation in Italian of the above depositions.
 17. Original letter from the Governor of Khartoum, dated 23rd Zilhidje, 1278, inclosing copies of letters addressed to him by Mr. Petherick, and by Her Majesty's Acting Consul at Khartoum. (It will be observed that Petherick's and Lutfallah's letters are both without date, but their dates may be inferred from their contents, viz., Lutfallah's letter alludes to one by him received from Petherick, dated 23rd Zilkade, 1278. Petherick's letter to the Governor states that he wrote to Lutfallah concerning Mussu's arrest. Therefore Petherick's letter to the Governor was written after the 23rd Zilkade, 1278, if not on the same day. As to Lutfallah's letter to the Governor, it appears to have been written on the same day of my arrest, 13th of June, 1862.)
 18. Translations in Italian of the above letters.
 - (A.) Copy of warrant issued by Her Majesty's Consular Court at Cairo on the 29th day of August, 1862.
 - (B.) Arguments in support of the application made by Amabile Mussu to Her Majesty's Acting Agent and Consul-General for immediate release.
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Inclosure 3 in No. 318.

Arguments in support of an Application made by Amabile Mussu to Acting Consul-General Saunders, for his release from false Imprisonment, dated October 11, 1862.

1st. As to the illegality and informality of the imprisonment.

The powers vested in Her Majesty's Consuls in the Levant are well defined by the Order of Her Majesty in Council dated the 27th August, 1860, which provides amongst other things (section 33), that the Supreme and every other Consular Court shall have power and authority to cause to be apprehended and brought before it any British subject, being within the district of the Court, and charged with having committed any crime or offence, &c., &c., or where the crime or offence is triable and is to be tried in England, to take the preliminary examination and commit the accused for trial, and cause or allow him to be taken to England.

By section 5 of the said Order it is provided that, subject to the other provisions of the present Order, the civil and criminal jurisdiction aforesaid (section 4) shall, as far as circumstances will admit, be exercised upon the principles of and in conformity with the common law, the rules of equity, the statute law and other law for the time being in force in and for England, and with all the powers vested in and pursuant to the course of procedure and practice observed by and before Courts of Justice and Justices of the Peace in England, according to their respective jurisdictions and authorities.

The rules framed under the same Order by the Judge of Her Majesty's Consular Court, and approved by one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, are assimilated in many respects, with regard to the course of procedure in criminal matters, to the course of procedure and practice of Justices of the Peace in England, as provided for by 11 and 12 Vict., cap. 42, sec. 18. In fact, under the head of Preliminary Examination and Indictment, Rules 305, 306, and following, fully explain the mode of taking down preliminary examinations, the statement of the accused, the recognizance to prosecute, &c., the remand, and commitment, Rule 315, which expressly provides that when all the evidence adduced at the preliminary examination on the part of the prosecution has been heard, if the Court is of opinion that it is not sufficient to put the accused on his trial, the Court shall forthwith order the accused, if in custody, to be discharged as to the particular charge in question. But if, on the contrary, the Court is of opinion that the evidence is sufficient to put the accused on his trial, or that it raises a strong or probable presumption of his guilt, the Court shall either by warrant (Form 47) commit him to prison, there to remain till delivered by due course of law, or admit him to bail.

In the present case, as shown by Amabile Mussu's affidavit, no preliminary examination was taken in his presence; and he was sent to Cairo, where he was informed by Her Majesty's Consular Court that he is committed on his trial under charge of having been engaged in the Traffic of Slaves on the White River, in consequence of orders conveyed by Her Majesty's Acting Agent and Consul-General in Egypt.

Amabile, therefore, is committed on his trial on the charge of an indictable offence in the absence of any evidence to support the charge, as such evidence, if ever taken by the Consular Court at Khartoum, was taken without the presence of the accused, and without his having been aware of its nature, and having had any opportunity to confute it either by cross-examination or other means, as he is entitled to do by law. Such evidence so taken, according to the practice of the Courts of Justice in England, would not be received against the accused on his trial, and if such trial were to take place, the charge would be dismissed at once by any Court of Justice in England.

The informality of process results from the fact that even the warrant of commitment issued by Her Majesty's Consular Court at Cairo, pursuant to instructions conveyed by Her Majesty's Acting Agent and Consul-General, does not state the names of the witnesses, nor does it allude at all to any witnesses, on whose oath the accused stands charged, as required by law.

Another informality of the imprisonment is that Amabile Mussu was sent to Cairo, instead of being detained in custody at Khartoum, where the preliminary examination ought to have been taken in present case.

2ndly As to the wilful and malicious prosecution on the part of the aforesaid John Petherick: firstly, such malicious prosecution is in general to be inferred from the want of cause, which in the present case results from the prosecutor's own statements.

In fact, in his letter to the Governor of Khartoum he states that he had found all the boats travelling on the White River, belonging both to natives and to Europeans, having slaves on her board except the boat of Amabile Mussu, which was exempt from having slaves on her board. Then he goes on, in a subsequent paragraph of the same letter:—

“Having now found slaves on board Signor Debono’s boat, who has left for his agent Amabile Mussu, I request you should cause his arrest (Amabile’s), and send him under escort to Cairo.” The above statements are contradictory, and show by themselves, on one hand, the absence of cause expressed by the writer himself; on the other hand, the falsehood of his statement with regard to Debono’s boat.

Petherick’s own statement, that he found Amabile’s boat exempt from having slaves on her board, implies that he met the said boat and searched, or caused her board to be searched. Amabile’s affidavit proves that both the boat on board of which he was and that of Debono travelled always together, and arrived at Khartoum at the same time. There can be no evidence to show that Debono’s boat, alluded to in Petherick’s letter to the Governor of Khartoum, was met by Petherick after Amabile’s departing from him, on or about the 14th day of Zilkade, 1278, corresponding to the 13th May, 1862, on which day precisely Petherick endorsed the order to his agent, Khaleel Lutfallah, at Khartoum, on two promissory notes given by Abd-el-Maghed to Amabile Mussu to pay the amounts respectively mentioned in the said promissory notes; and also he, Petherick, on that same day did sign a receipt to Amabile for eight cantars of elephant tusks. Petherick’s statement, therefore, that he found slaves on board Debono’s boat at the time he wrote the letter is necessarily as improbable as completely false. In fact, the letter is dated 23rd Zilkade, 1278 (22nd May, 1862), that is to say, nine days after Amabile departing from Petherick on the White River. The said letter reached at Khartoum on the 14th Zilhidge, or 13th June, 1862; and, judging from its date, it must have remained about twenty or twenty-one days *en route*. Wherefore Petherick would have discovered the slaves on board Debono’s after such boat was at a distance from him of twenty or twenty-one days’ voyage, and three days before her arrival at Khartoum! And on the other hand it cannot be said that he noticed the slaves on Debono’s boat when he met with Amabile on the 13th May, 1862, as above stated, because in such case nothing could prevent him from capturing the boat, taking a preliminary examination on the spot, and then commit Amabile on his trial, as he did in the case of his own agent Abd-el-Maghed. Nor can it be said that Debono’s boat was not travelling with Amabile’s, because otherwise it would imply that the boat was not under Amabile’s charge, and therefore he could not be accused of having transported slaves, as it would not be his own act if there had been slaves kept on such boat.

From the above arguments it clearly results that there was no cause whatever for Amabile’s imprisonment on the charge of being employed in the Traffic of Slaves; and if it be considered that Petherick, from a long time, has tried on several occasions, and still persists in trying, all vexatious means in his power to injure Amabile’s uncle, Andrea Debono, as shown in his affidavit, both in his character and business, no doubt shall remain as to the express malice on the part of Petherick in bringing forward the present charge.

The documents which are herewith annexed concerning certain Slave Trade carried on by the aforesaid Petherick have been submitted to Her Majesty’s Agent and Consul-General, with a view to show that the character of the man who is invested with the powers of a Consul at Khartoum is not precisely the upright character generally expected in one of Her Majesty’s functionaries, and that the man on whose statements Amabile is detained in custody during four months now last past, is not the trustworthy man on whose representations another functionary in Her Majesty’s service may depend upon to restrain the personal liberty of a British subject.

The application for relief is made to Her Majesty’s Agent and Consul-General as Her Majesty’s Senior Officer in Egypt, exercising Her Majesty’s jurisdiction over British subjects, and under whose directions Amabile Mussu is now detained in custody, without being regularly committed on his trial.

Inclosure 4 in No. 318.

Acting Consul-General Saunders to Consul Hay.

Sir,

Alexandria, October 23, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 16th instant, forwarding a letter, with its inclosures, addressed to me by Amabile Mussu, who is in custody on a charge preferred against him by Her Majesty’s Consul for the Soudan of trafficking in slaves.

I have to request that you will acquaint the said Amabile that I have carefully

perused the papers which he has sent me, and the arguments in support of his application to be released from prison, on the grounds set forth in the inclosure marked B.

I have to acquaint him, in reply, that as the charge against him, and the papers connected therewith, have been submitted to the Judge of the Supreme Consular Court, it is not for me to pronounce as to the sufficiency or insufficiency of the evidence upon which he has been sent under arrest to Cairo, nor can I take it upon myself to weigh the arguments adduced in his defence, which, however, I shall not fail to bring under the notice of Sir Edmund Hornby, as bearing upon a question which appertains to his exclusive authority and jurisdiction, under the circumstances above stated.

The instructions conveyed to you by my despatch of the 25th July last, in pursuance of which the petitioner has been detained under arrest at Cairo, were the natural consequence of his position as a prisoner sent in custody from Khartoum on so serious a charge, and who, in point of fact, should have been delivered over to the competent authorities at Cairo by the Khartoum police.

Taking, however, into consideration the peculiar circumstances attending this case in consequence of the difficulties and delays necessarily involved in communicating with Consul Petherick, and in carrying into effect any instructions which Her Majesty's Government, or the Judge of Her Majesty's Supreme Consular Court, may see fit to issue in connection with the crime with which the prisoner stands charged, I am willing to assume the responsibility of taking heavy bail for his appearance before the British Consular Court at Cairo whenever called upon to answer this charge, during a period of six months from the date of the recognizances, and the amount which I would recommend you to require for this purpose would be his own security in 500*l.*, and two sureties in 250*l.* each.

I have, &c.

(Signed) SIDNEY SMITH SAUNDERS.

No. 319.

Acting Consul-General Saunders to Earl Russell.—(Received December 8.)

My Lord,

Alexandria, November 27, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to transmit, for your Lordship's information, the extract of a letter addressed to me by Captain Playfair, Acting Political Resident at Aden, communicating the circumstances attending the massacre of Lieutenant Fountaine, R.N., and fourteen men belonging to Her Majesty's ship "Penguin," and the subsequent execution of the murderers at the scene of their crime on the African coast, in the presence of the officers and crews of Her Majesty's ships "Semiramis" and "Penguin."

I have, &c.

(Signed) SIDNEY SMITH SAUNDERS.

Inclosure in No. 319.

Captain Playfair to Acting Consul-General Saunders.

(Extract.)

Aden, November 18, 1862.

I ONLY returned two days ago from a month's cruize on the African coast, where I have been engaged in inquiring into and avenging the massacre of an officer (Lieutenant Fountaine, R.N.) and fourteen men belonging to Her Majesty's ship "Penguin."

Lieutenant McHardy, who commands that vessel, being engaged in the duty of preventing the Slave Trade on the East Coast of Africa, sent his cutter and whaler with the above crews to search for slave-boats between Juba River and Port Durnford. It is probable that they were beguiled further north than was prudent in pursuit of a slaver; but whatever the reason, it is clear that they could not get back again, and were compelled to keep their northward course. They touched at Ras Maäber for water, and the cutter having anchored some little distance out, sent the whaler on shore. The crew got into collision with the natives and had to run for their lives; they jumped into the sea and swam off to the cutter, leaving the whaler on the beach.

Both crews in the one remaining boat continued their course, and having rounded Cape Guardafui, anchored in a bay about fifteen miles to the west, at a place called Bareda. Here again they fell foul of the natives, but with worse luck; every soul on board was massacred. The particulars will never be known for certain; the natives say that the sailors were the aggressors, and probably there was a mutual misunderstanding, as the boat had no

interpreter on board. Nor can I make out whether they were attacked unawares by a small number, or overpowered by superior numbers.

One thing is certain; the natives of this country have hitherto been conspicuous for their kindness and hospitality to distressed seamen when wrecked on their coast, and have been the means of saving many lives.

I demanded of the Sultan that the murderers should be surrendered for execution, and he agreed to my demand, on a gentle hint that he would catch it if he did not; he demanded ten days to capture them, to which I agreed.

Punctually to the time he met me and brought eight prisoners: he assured me that only fifteen Somalis had been implicated; of these three were killed by the sailors, four escaped, and the remainder he had brought. To cut a long story short, I made him execute these on the beach, in the presence of all the boats of the "Semiramis" and "Penguin."

TURKEY. (*Consular*)—*Massowah*.

No. 320.

Consul Cameron to Earl Russell.—(Received May 5.)

(Extract.)

Massowah, March 20, 1862.

ON one point, in which we are deeply interested, namely, the suppression of the Slave Trade, there can be no doubt that the co-operation of King Theodore might be made in the highest degree valuable.

Slaves are collected principally in the Galla country, and are conveyed through Abyssinia for the most part by Allai to Massowah, and by Hamazeyn to the ports between Massowah and Souakin. The command of these thoroughfares, as well as of those more inland, is now entirely in the hands of the King.

King Theodore has at times acted vigorously in order to put down the Slave Traffic; but this action was of necessity fitful, on account of his own precarious position.

It might now, however, if he really wished, be renewed with almost paralyzing effect.

TURKEY. (*Consular*)—*Smyrna.*

No. 321.

Consul Blunt to Earl Russell.—(Received October 13.)

My Lord,

Smyrna, October 3, 1862.

I BÉG leave to transmit to your Lordship, inclosed, a copy of an article which appeared in the "Impartial," published at Smyrna, reporting the arrival of a vessel with slaves from Tripoli.

There is no truth whatever in the assertion of the arrival and sale of slaves in Smyrna.

The facts are these; the Pasha of Tripoli sent a telegram to the Pasha of Smyrna, informing him of the departure of the "Saied" (under Turkish flag), Captain Hamid, with slaves from Tripoli. The Pasha of Smyrna had the vessel searched immediately upon her arrival at Smyrna, but there were no slaves on board; nevertheless the Pasha has detained the ship, to endeavour to ascertain where the slaves were landed before coming to Smyrna. The Captain of the "Saied" is under French protection, but the Consul-General concurs with the Pasha in all his proceedings to gain information respecting these slaves.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES BLUNT.

Inclosure in No. 321.

Extract from the "Impartial" of September 26, 1862.

ON sait que depuis longtemps le commerce des esclaves est aboli en Turquie. Cependant, malgré les peines qu'encourent les contrevenants, il y a souvent des Turcs ou des Arabes que se livrent encore à ce commerce illicite. Un navire sous pavillon Turc, le "Saïd," Capitaine Hamid, arrivé ces jours derniers de Tripoli de Barbarie, avait à son bord 25 esclaves de tout âge et des deux sexes. Ces pauvres créatures, qui étaient adressées à des négociants indigènes, ont été librement vendues par eux. Nous savons que le Gouverneur de Tripoli de Barbarie, Mahmoud Pasha, a signalé par le télégraphe aux autorités de Smyrne la destination du "Saïd," et nous aimons à croire que des mesures énergiques ont été prises par ces dernières contre le Capitaine de ce navire et les négociants qui ont vendu les esclaves.

TURKEY. (*Consular*)—*Soudan*.

No. 322.

Consul Petherick to Earl Russell.—(Received April 28, 1862.)

My Lord,

Khartoum, November 25, 1861.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that since my arrival at this place, on the 16th October, reported by me on the 28th of the same month, I have let no opportunity escape me to inform myself of the particulars of the Slave Traffic, which I regret to have to report has been energetically pursued, commencing with the autumn of 1859, and ostensibly increasing up to the present time.

The Arab traders, by far the most numerous culprits, have been rivalled by Europeans, the most conspicuous of whom, it is my painful duty to report, after most careful inquiries, leaving no doubt upon my mind, are British subjects, namely, Andrea Debono, known generally in this country as Latif Effendi, and his nephew Amabile, a lad of 19 years of age, both natives of Malta.

The information I have been able to obtain, and of the veracity of which I cannot doubt, is not official, as although both Europeans and natives converse with more or less reserve upon the subject, no one resident here will come forward to formally accuse or give evidence against the guilty parties.

The inclosed extract of Baron von Harnier's letter, I could not obtain with a formal declaration accompanying it, by the party, in M. Natterer's absence, though not officially employed, authorized to open his private correspondence.

Never, prior to the year 1859, had the Slave Trade been prosecuted with such vigour, beyond the confines of the negro territories, in the direction of the White River, as it has since that period; and to the requirements of the Egyptian Government, prosecuted by Ahmed el Agad, possessing boats and establishments on the Upper White Nile, in the vicinity of Gondokoro, the increase owes its origin.

From thence, also, Andrea Debono and his nephew—connected, until recently, by partnership with Ahmed el Agad in the expeditions of the White River—supplied themselves with slaves, with little or no difficulty.

Suffering from a famine, hundreds of the aborigines are stated to have presented themselves to the traders in search of food, and it has been freely given them; the negroes, little expecting slavery as their doom, willingly accepted the proposal to accompany them to Khartoum, and to return with them the following year.

On the downward voyage small-pox created great havoc amongst them in the overcrowded boats. Numbers died, and others are said to have been thrown overboard before death had taken place; more left unprovided for on shore to abide an equally certain death.

The remaining survivors were sold at Hellit Kaka to Arab traders and the nomade Arabs between that place and the confines of the Egyptian territory, principally the Shookryeh Arabs on the East shore.

Debono is said to have realized in 1860 the sum of 40,000 piastres, equivalent at an exchange of 97½ to 410*l.* 3*s.*, the half of which is stated to have been in Egyptian piastres, and the remainder in crude gold.

The sales are reported to have been effected by the nephew, and Arabs in charge of each boat, of which Debono possessed four; whilst the latter person, not having accompanied the expedition, received at Khartoum the value.

From 2*l.* to 5*l.* appears to have been the price of each slave, and assuming 3*l.* 10*s.* as the average, the number sold to the account of Debono will amount to 117.

The able-bodied brought by Ahmed el Agad were openly made over to the Egyptian

Government and forwarded to Cairo, but I am happy to say his Highness the Viceroy has since issued orders to the Governor of this place to receive no more and to endeavour to put a stop to the trade.

An eye-witness, a European traveller, not commercially employed, then on the White Nile, in about 7 degrees north latitude, but who does not wish his name to be known in connection with the subject, assured me recently that the boats of A. Debono were crowded with slaves; the majority, suffering from small-pox, presenting a revolting spectacle.

According to the extract of Baron von Harnier's letter, above alluded to, it will appear that, in addition to the slaves voluntarily presenting themselves from hunger at Gondokoro, others were forcibly captured.

Whilst these proceedings were pursued on the upper part of the White Nile, the territories of the Shillooks and Dinkas on opposite sides of the river, in about latitude 11 degrees north, were ravaged to a far greater extent, at the instigation of a scoundrel of the name of Mahomed Kheir, an Ottoman subject, and Dongolani by birth, calling himself a "Fucké," a sanctified title of Islamism.

After a residence of, perhaps, fifteen years amongst the Shillooks, and connected by marriage with them, Mahomed Kheir induced strong parties of horsemen, members of the Hawasma and Selaem tribes of nomade Arabs, to join him in rising against the Shillooks, and so effectually did they succeed that after slaying great numbers of the aborigines, and driving the survivors out of the district, they carried pillage to the fullest extent. The Sultan's residence is said to have furnished them with crude gold, but the number of slaves and cattle captured is said to be countless, and was divided amongst the Arabs.

A great part of the cattle were sold at this place for slaughter, but the most of the slaves, in various ways, were forwarded to Egypt; and I may add, that so little is the real impediment on the part of the Egyptian authorities towards the Trade, that on my way here from Korusko I met three caravans composed entirely of slaves in the Nubian Desert.

That his Highness the Viceroy's orders have been received here by the local Governor for the suppression of the Slave Trade is a fact, which also by the latter personage has been publicly proclaimed; but that unless they are followed up by active measures, such as the institution of a river police, with right of search from this to Kaka, in the recent Shillook territory, and a certain punishment to offenders, the endeavours of his Highness will produce no results.

It is rumoured here, and I believe with certainty, that the marauder Mahomed Kheir has made overtures to the Egyptian Government, in return for its recognition of him as Chief of the plundered district, to pay an annual contribution of 1,000 head of cattle; and, awaiting instructions, the Local Governor is said to have already invested him with the customary insignia of robe and sabre.

Should his Highness concede to the proposal, I am certain he has not been correctly informed of the rascality of Mahomed Kheir, or have an idea of the amount of injury committed by this reprobate against legitimate trade; but in order to collect his revenue from the Arabs above alluded to, who sojourn in the neighbourhood of the Shillook territory to evade their due payments to the Government of Kordofan, to which they appertain, if his Highness will place a responsible official, duly supported, in the district, invite the defeated and badly-used Shillooks to return to their homes, and not to interfere with their administration, with full power to prevent the Slave Trade, a more efficient measure, if honestly carried out, could not, in my opinion be conceived.

The necessity of some such measure, or a well-regulated police on the river, will appear to you the more desirable, as to my certain knowledge no less than thirty boats containing armed hordes of marauders only, in addition to cargoes of grain, have left this place, ostensibly for the sale of the cargoes, but in reality to join Mahomed Kheir in any attempt against the aborigines, in the plunder of whom and capture of slaves they anticipate great gain.

Under the above circumstances, I trust satisfactorily explained, can it be wondered at that legitimate trade is almost extinct?

Personally I am a considerable sufferer from having been the first to open the Bahr-il-Gazal to commerce. I am the first to abandon it, as razzias for the capture of slaves by the Arab traders have become so systematic that, without fighting pitched battles, no advance is to be made in the interior; and since my return I have been compelled to abandon my establishments among the Djour and Dôr tribes, and remove the men to other less disturbed localities.

The losses to legitimate traders are greater than at first sight they appear, as not only are greatly-increased escorts required, but also boats to convey them, both of which

augment the expenditure : whilst at the same time the fear of treachery on the part of the negroes produced by these razzias causes an incalculable impediment to commercial proceedings.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN PETHERICK.

Inclosure in No. 322:

Baron von Harnier to Dr. Natterer.

(Translation.)
(Extract.)

Shier Negro territory, Lat. 5° N., March 14, 1861.

THE expeditions which the traders undertake are now but razzias ; the ivory is stolen, villages are sacked, women and children carried off as slaves, and the men shot down : hence the reason for the great number of armed dependents.

Immediately after our arrival at Gondokoro, an expedition as described arrived ; a part of the people belonged to Latiff (the adopted name of Andrea Debono, a Maltese and British subject), another, I believe, to Kurshid (a Circassian, agent and partner of Ahmed il Agâd, both Ottoman subjects).

Owing to our presence the transport of slaves was despatched down the river by night.

I could write pages to you upon the subject, but it is preferable to wait until we can communicate verbally with each other.

No. 323.

Earl Russell to Consul Petherick.

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 3, 1862.

I REGRET to learn from your despatch of the 25th of November last, that the reports which had reached Her Majesty's Government on the subject of the extent to which the Slave Trade was carried on in Upper Egypt, and in the neighbourhood of the White Nile, are well founded.

You will continue to keep Her Majesty's Government informed on this matter, and you will omit no opportunity of furnishing Mr. Colquhoun with any information or suggestions which may enable him to use his influence with the Government of Egypt to put a stop to the Traffic in Slaves, and to the system of rapine and bloodshed which would appear to be so extensively carried on in the neighbourhood of the White Nile.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 324.

Earl Russell to Consul Petherick.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, October 31, 1862.

I HAVE received your despatches as noted in the margin* relative to the Slave Trade on the White Nile, and to the participation in that Traffic of two British subjects, natives of Malta, named Debono and Amabile.

I have to state to you that although there can be no moral doubt that Amabile has been extensively engaged in the Slave Trade, and that his uncle Debono also connived at and co-operated with his conduct in this respect, yet that, owing to the imperfect state of the evidence collected by you against these persons, it would be impossible for Her Majesty's Government to institute criminal proceedings against them with any chance of a successful result. I have therefore instructed Her Majesty's Consul-General at Alexandria to cause Messrs. Debono and Amabile to be released from any further restraint, unless he should in the meanwhile have received other and further proof of their guilt.

* Inclosure 1 in No. 313, and No. 322.

UNITED STATES.

No. 325.

Earl Russell to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, January 15, 1862.

I TRANSMIT to you, for your Lordship's information, a copy of a letter addressed to the Secretary of the Admiralty by Commander Raby, of Her Majesty's ship "Alecto,"* reporting his having boarded the American barque "George and Mary," off the West Coast of Africa.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 326.

Earl Russell to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, January 30, 1862.

I TRANSMIT to you, for your Lordship's information, copies of a letter and its inclosure, addressed to Commodore Edmonstone by Commander Raby, of Her Majesty's ship "Alecto,"† reporting his having boarded the schooner "Wells," under American colours.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 327.

Earl Russell to Lord Lyons.

Sir,

Foreign Office, February 15, 1862.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 19th of December last, reporting the boarding of the American vessel "J. J. Cobb" by Her Majesty's ship "Arrogant," I transmit to your Lordship, for your information, copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Commissioners at Loanda,‡ reporting the arrival of that vessel at Loanda, having been towed into port by Her Majesty's ship "Alecto" at the request of her commander.

I likewise transmit a copy of Commander Raby's letter to the Secretary of the Admiralty,§ reporting his having boarded the "J. J. Cobb," and his reasons for having subsequently taken her in tow.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 328.

Earl Russell to Lord Lyons.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, February 28, 1862.

MR. ADAMS spoke to me a few days ago on the subject of the African Slave Trade. He deplored the vigour and success with which the Traffic is carried on at Cuba, and

* Class A, No. 83.

† Ibid., No. 85.

‡ Ibid., No. 31.

§ Ibid., No. 84.

placed in my hands a despatch from the United States' Consul at Havana, containing information on this subject similar to that which had already reached Her Majesty's Government from Her Majesty's Consul at Havana.

Mr. Adams went on to say that the Government of the United States would be glad to see our cruizers sent to the coast of Cuba.

I did not give any formal answer, but said that the difficulty lay in the question of the right of search upon which so much correspondence has taken place.

The United States are bound by Treaty to have a squadron with eighty guns on the coast of Africa to intercept and prevent the Slave Trade: they have now only one vessel of twenty-two guns.

No. 329.

Lord Lyons to Earl Russell.—(Received April 8.)

My Lord,

Washington, March 25, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of a note from Mr. Seward, proposing to me to enter into negotiation with him for the conclusion of a Treaty between Great Britain and the United States for the suppression of the Slave Trade.

I have also the honour to inclose a copy of the answer which I have made to this communication.

I have, as your Lordship will perceive, assured Mr. Seward that Her Majesty's Government have the strongest desire to act in concert with the Government of the United States for this object; and I have informed him that I am quite ready to enter upon the negotiation which he has done me the honour to propose to me.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 329.

Mr. Seward to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Department of State, Washington, March 22, 1862.

I THINK it is already well known to the Government of Great Britain that the President of the United States is animated by a sincere desire for the complete suppression of the African Slave Trade. On reviewing the history of that trade during the period which has elapsed since the Convention which was entered into between that Government and our own on the 9th day of August, 1842, it has been found that during that time no slaves have been carried into any of the territories of Great Britain, and with the exception of the case of the barque "Wanderer," none have been brought into the United States. But it is equally certain that large numbers of African slaves have been carried into the Colonies of Spain, and that this infamous Traffic has been mainly carried on by persons resident in other countries, including the United States, and under the fraudulent cover of their flag. The operations of the naval forces of the two countries on the Coast of Africa, when prosecuted under the most favourable circumstances, proved very ineffectual; this inefficiency has been recently aggravated by the necessary withdrawal of a considerable part of our own naval force from that coast to suppress a domestic insurrection. The President does not doubt that the Government of Her Britannic Majesty is fully impressed with the importance of this grave subject, and is animated by a desire not less strong than his own, for the suppression of a surreptitious trade which has been justly condemned by all enlightened nations.

Having received instructions to negotiate with you, if possible, some arrangements with a view to that object, I have the honour to inquire of your Lordship, for greater certainty, what is the actual disposition of the British Government upon the question, and whether your Lordship has authority to treat with me upon it in the spirit I have indicated.

If your answer should be favourable, I will have the honour to submit for your consideration the form of a Convention, upon which, if acceptable to your Government, the President would ask the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Inclosure 2 in No. 329.

Lord Lyons to Mr. Seward.

Sir,

Washington, March 22, 1862.

I HASTEN to acknowledge the receipt of your note of this day's date communicating to me the views of the President of the United States with regard to the suppression of the African Slave Trade. In that note you are so good as to inform me that you have received instructions to enter, if possible, into negotiation with me with a view to making more effectual arrangements than those which now exist for combining the efforts of the two countries to put a stop to this trade, and you do me the honour to inquire whether I have authority to treat with you on this subject.

I will say, in the first place, that you do no more than justice to Her Majesty's Government in believing that they are fully persuaded that the President is animated by a sincere and earnest desire for the complete suppression of this inhuman Traffic. Her Majesty's Government have, on their part, the strongest wish to act in concert with the President for the attainment of this object; they believe that it is on the co-operation of the United States that the success of their own persevering labours in the cause must mainly depend; they will be prompt to agree to any stipulations giving increased efficacy to that co-operation. I have no hesitation in declaring that I am ready to enter at once upon the negotiation which you do me the honour to propose to me.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 330.

Earl Russell to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, April 10, 1862.

I HAVE received your Lordship's despatch of the 25th ultimo, inclosing a copy of a note from Mr. Seward, containing overtures for the negotiation of a Treaty between the British and United States' Governments, having for its object the suppression of the African Slave Trade; and I have to acquaint you that I entirely approve of your reply to Mr. Seward's communication, assuring him of the desire of Her Majesty's Government to act in concert with the Government of the United States in this matter, and of your own readiness to enter at once into negotiations with him for the attainment of the object in view.

You are authorized to make use of the full powers already in your possession for the signature of a Treaty for the suppression of the Slave Trade, reserving, of course, to Her Majesty's Government the right to refuse ratifications should such Treaty appear to them objectionable in its essential provisions.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 331.

Lord Lyons to Earl Russell.—(Received April 14.)

My Lord,

Washington, March 28, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of a draft of a Treaty for the Suppression of the Slave Trade, which has been sent to me by Mr. Seward in pursuance of the proposal to enter into negotiation on the subject contained in his note of the 22nd instant.

Mr. Seward's draft contains a clause giving to each Party power to put an end to the Treaty, after the expiration of ten years, on giving one year's notice of the intention to do so. I think that Her Majesty's Government would prefer a Treaty of unlimited duration, and I have accordingly addressed a note to Mr. Seward suggesting that the draft might, in this respect, be amended with great advantage.

I do myself the honour to inclose a copy of my note.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 331.

Draft Treaty between Her Majesty and the United States of America, for the Suppression of the African Slave Trade.

HER Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the United States of America, being desirous to render more effectual the means hitherto adopted for the suppression of the Slave Trade carried on upon the coast of Africa, have deemed it expedient to conclude a Treaty for that purpose, and have named as their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say :

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, &c. ;

And the President of the United States of America, &c. ;

Who, after having communicated to each other their respective full-powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon and concluded the following Articles :—

ARTICLE I.

The two High Contracting Parties mutually consent that those ships of their respective navies which shall be provided with special Instructions for that purpose, as hereinafter mentioned, may visit such merchant-vessels of the two nations as may, upon reasonable grounds, be suspected of being engaged in the African Slave Trade, or of having been fitted out for that purpose, or of having, during the voyage on which they are met by the said cruisers, been engaged in the African Slave Trade, contrary to the provisions of this Treaty ; and that such cruisers may detain, and send or carry away, such vessels, in order that they may be brought to trial in the manner hereinafter agreed upon.

In order to fix the reciprocal right of search in such a manner as shall be adapted to the attainment of the object of this Treaty, and at the same time avoid doubts, disputes, and complaints, the said right of search shall be understood in the manner and according to the rules following :—

First. It shall never be exercised except by vessels of war, authorized expressly for that object, according to the stipulations of this Treaty.

Secondly. The right of search shall in no case be exercised with respect to a vessel of the navy of either of the two Powers, but shall be exercised only as regards merchant-vessels ; and it shall not be exercised by a vessel of war of either Contracting Party within the limits of a settlement or port, nor within the territorial waters of the other Party.

Thirdly. Whenever a merchant-vessel is searched by a ship of war, the Commander of the said ship shall, in the act of so doing, exhibit to the Commander of the merchant-vessel the special Instructions by which he is duly authorized to search ; and shall deliver to such Commander a certificate, signed by himself, stating his rank in the naval service of his country, and the name of the vessel he commands, and also declaring that the only object of the search is to ascertain whether the vessel is employed in the African Slave Trade, or is fitted up for the said Trade. When the search is made by an officer of the cruiser who is not the Commander, such officer shall exhibit to the Captain of the merchant-vessel a copy of the before-mentioned special Instructions, signed by the Commander of the cruiser ; and he shall in like manner deliver a certificate, signed by himself, stating his rank in the navy, the name of the Commander by whose orders he proceeds to make the search, that of the cruiser in which he sails, and the object of the search, as above described. If it appears from the search that the papers of the vessel are in regular order, and that it is employed on lawful objects, the officer shall enter in the log-book of the vessel that the search has been made in pursuance of the aforesaid special Instructions ; and the vessel shall be left at liberty to pursue its voyage. The rank of the officer who makes the search must not be less than that of Lieutenant in the navy, unless the command, either by reason of death or other cause, is at the time held by an officer of inferior rank.

Fourthly. The reciprocal right of search and detention shall be exercised only within the distance of two hundred miles from the coast of Africa, and to the southward of the thirty-second parallel of north latitude ; and within thirty leagues from the coast of the Island of Cuba.

ARTICLE II.

In order to regulate the mode of carrying the provisions of the preceding Article into execution, it is agreed,—

First. That all the ships of the navies of the two nations which shall be hereafter employed to prevent the African Slave Trade shall be furnished by their respective

CLASS B.

Governments with a copy of the present Treaty, of the Instructions for cruizers annexed thereto (marked A), and of the Regulations for the Mixed Courts of Justice annexed thereto, (marked B), which Annexes respectively shall be considered as integral parts of the present Treaty.

Secondly. That each of the High Contracting Parties shall, from time to time, communicate to the other the names of the several ships furnished with such Instructions, the force of each, and the names of their several Commanders. The said Commanders shall hold the rank of Captain in the Navy, or at least that of Lieutenant: it being nevertheless understood that the instructions originally issued to an officer holding the rank of Lieutenant of the Navy, or other superior rank, shall, in case of his death or temporary absence, be sufficient to authorize the officer on whom the command of the vessel has devolved, to make the search, although such officer may not hold the aforesaid rank in the service.

Thirdly. That if at any time the Commander of a cruizer of either of the two nations shall suspect that any merchant-vessel under the escort or convoy of any ship or ships of war of the other nation carries negroes on board, or has been engaged in the African Slave Trade, or is fitted out for the purpose thereof, the Commander of the cruizer shall communicate his suspicions to the Commander of the convoy, who, accompanied by the Commander of the cruizer, shall proceed to the search of the suspected vessel; and in case the suspicions appear well-founded, according to the tenour of this Treaty, then the said vessel shall be conducted or sent to one of the places where the Mixed Courts of Justice are stationed, in order that it may there be adjudicated upon.

Fourthly. It is further mutually agreed, that the Commanders of the ships of the two navies, respectively, who shall be employed on this service, shall adhere strictly to the exact tenour of the aforesaid Instructions.

ARTICLE III.

As the two preceding Articles are entirely reciprocal, the two High Contracting Parties engage mutually to make good any losses which their respective subjects or citizens may incur by an arbitrary and illegal detention of their vessels; it being understood that this indemnity shall be borne by the Government whose cruizer shall have been guilty of such arbitrary and illegal detention; and that the search and detention of vessels specified in the First Article of this Treaty shall be effected only by ships which may form part of the two navies, respectively, and by such of those ships only as are provided with the special Instructions annexed to the present Treaty, in pursuance of the provisions thereof. The indemnification for the damages of which this Article treats shall be paid within the term of one year, reckoning from the day in which the Mixed Court of Justice pronounces its sentence.

ARTICLE IV.

In order to bring to adjudication, with as little delay and inconvenience as possible, the vessels which may be detained according to the tenour of the First Article of this Treaty, there shall be established, as soon as may be practicable, three Mixed Courts of Justice, formed of an equal number of individuals of the two nations, named for this purpose by their respective Governments. These Courts shall reside, one at Sierra Leone; one at the Cape of Good Hope; and one at New York.

But each of the two High Contracting Parties reserves to itself the right of changing, at its pleasure, the place of residence of the Court or Courts held within its own territories.

These Courts shall judge the causes submitted to them according to the provisions of the present Treaty, and according to the Regulations and Instructions which are annexed to the present Treaty, and which are considered an integral part thereof; and there shall be no appeal from their decision.

ARTICLE V.

In case the commanding officer of any of the ships of the navies of either country, duly commissioned according to the provisions of the First Article of this Treaty, shall deviate in any respect from the stipulations of the said Treaty, or from the Instructions annexed to it, the Government which shall conceive itself to be wronged thereby shall be entitled to demand reparation; and in such case the Government to which such commanding officer may belong, binds itself to cause inquiry to be made into the subject of the

complaint, and to inflict upon the said officer a punishment proportioned to any wilful transgression which he may be proved to have committed.

ARTICLE VI.

It is hereby further mutually agreed, that every British or American merchant-vessel which shall be searched by virtue of the present Treaty may lawfully be detained, and sent or brought before the Mixed Courts of Justice established in pursuance of the provisions thereof, if, in her equipment, there shall be found any of the things hereinafter mentioned, namely :—

1st. Hatches with open gratings, instead of the close hatches which are usual in merchant-vessels.

2nd. Divisions or bulk-heads in the hold or on deck, in greater number than are necessary for vessels engaged in lawful trade.

3rd. Spare plank, fitted for laying down as a second or slave-deck.

4th. Shackles, bolts, or handcuffs.

5th. A larger quantity of water in casks or in tanks than is requisite for the consumption of the crew of the vessel as a merchant-vessel.

6th. An extraordinary number of water-casks, or of other vessels for holding liquid ; unless the master shall produce a certificate from the Custom-house at the place from which he cleared outwards, stating that a sufficient security had been given by the owners of such vessel that such extra quantity of casks, or of other vessels, should be used only to hold palm oil, or for other purposes of lawful commerce.

7th. A greater number of mess-tubs or kids than requisite for the use of the crew of the vessel as a merchant-vessel.

8th. A boiler, or other cooking apparatus, of an unusual size, and larger, or capable of being made larger, than requisite for the use of the crew of the vessel as a merchant-vessel ; or more than one boiler, or other cooking apparatus, of the ordinary size.

9th. An extraordinary quantity of rice, of the flour of Brazil, of manioc or cassada, commonly called farinha, of maize, or of Indian corn, or of any other article of food whatever, beyond the probable wants of the crew ; unless such rice, flour, farinha, maize, Indian corn, or other article of food, be entered on the manifest as part of the cargo for trade.

10th. A quantity of mats or matting greater than is necessary for the use of the crew of the vessel as a merchant-vessel, unless such mats or matting be entered on the manifest as part of the cargo for trade.

If it be proved that any one or more of the articles above specified is or are on board, or have been on board during the voyage in which the vessel was captured, that fact shall be considered as *prima facie* evidence that the vessel was employed in the African Slave Trade, and she shall in consequence be condemned and declared lawful prize ; unless the master or owners shall furnish clear and incontrovertible evidence, proving to the satisfaction of the Mixed Court of Justice, that at the time of her detention or capture the vessel was employed in a lawful undertaking, and that such of the different articles above specified as were found on board at the time of detention, or as may have been embarked during the voyage on which she was engaged when captured, were indispensable for the lawful object of her voyage.

ARTICLE VII.

If any one of the articles specified in the preceding Article as grounds for condemnation should be found on board a merchant-vessel, or should be proved to have been on board of her during the voyage on which she was captured, no compensation for losses, damages, or expenses consequent upon the detention of such vessel shall in any case be granted either to the master, the owner, or any other person interested in the equipment or in the lading, even though she should not be condemned by the Mixed Court of Justice.

ARTICLE VIII.

It is agreed between the two High Contracting Parties, that in all cases in which a vessel shall be detained under this Treaty, by their respective cruisers, as having been engaged in the African Slave Trade, or as having been fitted out for the purposes thereof, and shall consequently be adjudged and condemned by one of the Mixed Courts of Justice to be established as aforesaid, the said vessel shall, immediately after its condemnation, be broken up entirely, and shall be sold in separate parts, after having been so broken up ; unless either of the two Governments should wish to purchase her for the use of its navy

at a price to be fixed by a competent person chosen for that purpose by the Mixed Court of Justice; in which case the Government whose cruiser shall have detained the condemned vessel shall have the first option of purchase.

ARTICLE IX.

The captain, master, pilot, and crew of vessels condemned by the Mixed Courts of Justice shall be punished according to the laws of the country to which they belong, as shall also the owner or owners, and the persons interested in her equipment or cargo, unless they prove that they had no participation in the enterprise.

For this purpose the two High Contracting Parties agree that, in so far as it may not be attended with grievous expense and inconvenience, the master and crew of any vessel which may be condemned by a sentence of one of the Mixed Courts of Justice, as well as any other persons found on board the vessel, shall be sent and delivered up to the jurisdiction of the nation under whose flag the condemned vessel was sailing at the time of capture; and that the witnesses and proofs necessary to establish the guilt of such master, crew, or other persons, shall also be sent with them.

The same course shall be pursued with regard to subjects or citizens of either Contracting Party who may be found by a cruiser of the other on board a vessel of any third Power, or on board a vessel sailing without flag or papers, which may be condemned by any competent Court for having engaged in the African Slave Trade.

ARTICLE X.

The negroes who are found on board of a vessel condemned by the Mixed Courts of Justice, in conformity with the stipulations of this Treaty, shall be placed at the disposal of the Government whose cruiser has made the capture; they shall be immediately set at liberty and shall remain free, the Government to whom they have been delivered guaranteeing their liberty.

ARTICLE XI.

The Acts or Instruments annexed to this Treaty, and which it is mutually agreed shall form an integral part thereof, are as follows:—

(A.) Instructions for the ships of the navies of both nations destined to prevent the African Slave Trade.

(B.) Regulations for the Mixed Courts of Justice.

ARTICLE XII.

The present Treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged in from this date, or sooner if possible.

It shall continue and remain in full force for the term of ten years from the day of exchange of the ratifications, and further, until the end of one year after either of the Contracting Parties shall have given notice to the other of its intention to terminate the same, each of the Contracting Parties reserving to itself the right of giving such notice to the other at the end of said term of ten years. And it is hereby agreed between them, that, on the expiration of one year after such notice shall have been received by either from the other Party, this Treaty shall altogether cease and determine.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty, and have thereunto affixed the seal of their arms.

Done at

Annex (A) to the Treaty between Great Britain and the United States of America, for the Suppression of the African Slave Trade, signed at

Instructions for the Ships of the British and United States' Navies employed to prevent the African Slave Trade.

ARTICLE I.

The Commander of any ship belonging to the British or United States' navy, which shall be furnished with these Instructions, shall have a right to search and detain any British or United States' merchant-vessel which shall be actually engaged, or suspected to be engaged, in the African Slave Trade, or to be fitted out for the purposes thereof, or to have been engaged in such Trade during the voyage in which she may be met with by such

ship of the British or United States' navy ; and such commander shall thereupon bring or send such merchant-vessel (save in the case provided for in Article V of these Instructions), as soon as possible, for judgment, before one of the three Mixed Courts of Justice established in virtue of the IVth Article of the said Treaty, that is to say :—

If the vessel shall be detained on the Coast of Africa, she shall be brought before that one of the two Mixed Courts of Justice to be established at the Cape of Good Hope and at Sierra Leone which may be nearest to the place of detention, or which the captor, on his own responsibility, may think can be soonest reached from such place.

If the vessel shall be detained on the coast of the Island of Cuba, she shall be brought before the Mixed Court of Justice at New York.

ARTICLE II.

Whenever a ship of either of the two navies, duly authorized as aforesaid, shall meet a merchant-vessel liable to be searched under the provisions of the said Treaty, the search shall be conducted with the courtesy and consideration which ought to be observed between allied and friendly nations: and the search shall, in all cases, be made by an officer holding a rank not lower than that of Lieutenant in the navy ; or by the officer who at the time shall be second in command of the ship by which such search is made.

ARTICLE III.

The Commander of any ship of the two navies, duly authorized as aforesaid, who may detain any merchant-vessel in pursuance of the tenour of the present Instructions, shall leave on board the vessel so detained, the master, the mate or boatswain, and two or three, at least, of the crew ; the whole of the negroes, if any, and all the cargo. The captor shall, at the time of detention, draw up, in writing, a declaration, which shall exhibit the state in which he found the detained vessel ; such declaration shall be signed by himself, and shall be given in or sent, together with the captured vessel, to the Mixed Court of Justice before which such vessel shall be carried or sent for adjudication. He shall deliver to the master of the detained vessel a signed and certified list of the papers found on board the same, as well as a certificate of the number of negroes found on board at the moment of detention.

In the declaration which the captor is hereby required to make, as well as in the certified list of the papers seized, and in the certificate of the number of negroes found on board the detained vessel, he shall insert his own name and surname, the name of the capturing ship, and the latitude and longitude of the place where the detention shall have been made.

The officer in charge of the detained vessel shall, at the time of bringing the vessel's papers into the Mixed Court of Justice, deliver into the Court a certificate signed by himself, and verified on oath, stating any changes which may have taken place in respect to the vessel, her crew, the negroes, if any, and her cargo, between the period of her detention and the time of delivering in such paper.

ARTICLE IV.

If urgent reasons, arising from the length of the voyage, the state of health of the negroes, or any other cause, should require that either the whole or a portion of such negroes should be disembarked before the vessel can arrive at the place at which one of the Mixed Courts of Justice is established, the Commander of the capturing ship may take upon himself the responsibility of so disembarking the negroes, provided the necessity of the disembarkation, and the causes thereof, be stated in a certificate in proper form. Such certificate shall be drawn up and entered at the time on the log-book of the detained vessel.

ARTICLE V.

In case any merchant-vessel detained in pursuance of the present Instructions should prove to be unseaworthy, or in such a condition as not to be taken to one of the three ports where the Mixed Courts of Justice are to be established in pursuance of the Treaty of this date, the Commander of the detaining cruizer may take upon himself the responsibility of abandoning or destroying her, provided the exact causes which made such a step imperatively necessary be stated in a certificate verified on oath. Such certificate shall be drawn up and formally executed in duplicate at the time.

In case of the abandonment or destruction of a detained vessel, the master and crew, together with the negroes and papers found on board, and one copy of the sworn certificate

mentioned in the preceding paragraph of this Article, shall be sent and delivered to the proper Mixed Court of Justice at the earliest possible moment.

The undersigned Plenipotentiaries have agreed, in conformity with the XIth Article of the Treaty signed by them on this day, that the present Instructions shall be annexed to the said Treaty, and be considered an integral part thereof.

Done at _____ the _____ of _____, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-

Annex (B) to the Treaty between Great Britain and the United States of America, for the Abolition of the African Slave Trade, signed at

Regulations for the Mixed Courts of Justice.

ARTICLE I.

The Mixed Courts of Justice to be established under the provisions of the Treaty, of which these Regulations are declared to be an integral part, shall be composed in the following manner:—

The two High Contracting Parties shall each name a Judge and an Arbitrator, who shall be authorized to hear and to decide, without appeal, all cases of capture or detention of vessels which, in pursuance of the stipulations of the aforesaid Treaty, shall be brought before them.

The Judges and the Arbitrators shall, before they enter upon the duties of their office, respectively make oath before the principal Magistrate of the place in which such Courts shall respectively reside, that they will judge fairly and faithfully; that they will have no preference either for claimant or for captor; and that they will act in all their decisions in pursuance of the stipulations of the aforesaid Treaty.

There shall be attached to each of such Courts a Secretary or Registrar, who shall be appointed by the Party in whose territories such Court shall reside.

Such Secretary or Registrar shall register all the acts of the Court to which he is appointed; and shall, before he enters upon his office, make oath, before the Court, that he will conduct himself with due respect for its authority, and will act with fidelity and impartiality in all matters relating to his office.

The salaries of the Judges and Arbitrators shall be paid by the Governments by whom they are appointed.

The salaries of the Secretaries or Registrars of the two Courts to be established in the territories of Great Britain shall be paid by Her Britannic Majesty; and that of the Secretary or Registrar of the Court to be established in the territories of the United States shall be paid by the United States' Government.

Each of the two Governments shall defray half of the aggregate amount of the other expenses of such Courts.

ARTICLE II.

The expenses incurred by the officer charged with the reception, maintenance, and care of the detained vessel, negroes, and cargo, and with the execution of the sentence, and all disbursements occasioned by bringing a vessel to adjudication, shall in case of condemnation, be defrayed from the funds arising out of the sale of the materials of the vessel, after the vessel shall have been broken up, of the ship's stores, and of such parts of the cargo as shall consist of merchandize. And in case the proceeds arising out of this sale should not prove sufficient to defray such expenses, the deficiency shall be made good by the Government of the country within whose territories the adjudication shall have taken place.

If the detained vessel shall be released, the expenses occasioned by bringing her to adjudication shall be defrayed by the captor, except in the cases specified and otherwise provided for under Article VII of the Treaty to which these Regulations form an Annex, and under VII of these Regulations.

ARTICLE III.

The Mixed Courts of Justice are to decide upon the legality of the detention of such vessels as the cruisers of either nation shall detain, in pursuance of the said Treaty.

The said Courts shall adjudge definitively and without appeal, all questions which shall arise out of the capture and detention of such vessels.

The proceedings of the Courts shall take place as summarily as possible ; and for this purpose the Courts are required to decide each case, as far as may be practicable, within the space of twenty days, to be dated from the day on which the detained vessel shall have been brought into the port where the deciding Court shall reside.

The final sentence shall not, in any case, be delayed beyond the period of two months, either on account of the absence of witnesses, or for any other cause, except upon the application of any of the parties interested ; but in that case, upon such party or parties giving satisfactory security that they will take upon themselves the expense and risks of the delay, the Courts may, at their discretion, grant an additional delay, not exceeding four months.

Either party shall be allowed to employ such Counsel as he may think fit, to assist him in the conduct of his cause.

All the acts and essential parts of the proceedings of the said Courts shall be committed to writing and placed upon record.

ARTICLE IV.

The form of the process, or mode of proceeding to judgment, shall be as follows :—

The Judges appointed by the two Governments, respectively, shall in the first place proceed to examine the papers of the detained vessel, and shall take the depositions of the master or commander, and of two or three, at least, of the principal individuals on board of such vessel ; and shall also take the declaration on oath of the captor, if it should appear to them necessary to do so, in order to judge and to pronounce whether the said vessel has been justly detained or not, according to the stipulations of the aforesaid Treaty, and in order that, according to such judgment, the vessel may be condemned or released. In the event of the two Judges not agreeing as to the sentence which they ought to pronounce in any case brought before them, whether with respect to the legality of the detention, or the liability of the vessel to condemnation, or as to the indemnification to be allowed, or as to any other question which may arise out of the said capture ; or in case any difference of opinion should arise between them as to the mode of proceeding in the said Court, they shall draw by lot the name of one of the two Arbitrators so appointed as aforesaid, which Arbitrator, after having considered the proceedings which have taken place, shall consult with the two Judges on the case ; and the final sentence or decision shall be pronounced conformably to the opinion of the majority of the three.

ARTICLE V.

If the detained vessel shall be restored by the sentence of the Court, the vessel and the cargo, in the state in which they shall then be found (with the exception of the negroes found on board, if such negroes shall have been previously disembarked under the provisions of Articles IV and V of the Instructions annexed to the Treaty of this date), shall forthwith be given up to the master, or to the person who represents him ; and such master or other person may, before the same Court, claim a valuation of the damages which he may have a right to demand. The captor himself, and in his default his Government, shall remain responsible for the damages to which the master of such vessel, or the owners either of the vessel or of her cargo, may be pronounced to be entitled.

The two High Contracting Parties bind themselves to pay, within the term of a year from the date of the sentence, the costs and damages which may be awarded by the Court ; it being mutually agreed that such costs and damages shall be paid by the Government of the country of which the captor shall be subject.

ARTICLE VI.

If the detained vessel shall be condemned, she shall be declared lawful prize, together with her cargo, of whatever description it may be, with the exception of the negroes who shall have been brought on board for the purpose of trade ; and the said vessel, subject to the stipulations in the VIIIth Article of the Treaty of this date, shall, as well as her cargo, be sold by public sale for the profit of the two Governments, subject to the payment of the expenses hereinafter mentioned.

The negroes who may not previously have been disembarked, shall receive from the Court a certificate of emancipation, and shall be delivered over to the Government to whom the cruizer which made the capture belongs, in order to be forthwith set at liberty.

ARTICLE VII.

The Mixed Courts of Justice shall also take cognizance of, and shall decide definitively

and without appeal, all claims for compensation on account of losses occasioned to vessels and cargoes which shall have been detained under the provisions of this Treaty, but which shall not have been condemned as legal prize by the said Courts; and in all cases wherein restitution of such vessels and cargoes shall be decreed, save as mentioned in the VIIth Article of the Treaty to which these Regulations form an Annex, and in a subsequent part of these Regulations, the Court shall award to the claimant or claimants, or to his or their lawful attorney or attorneys, for his or their use, a just and complete indemnification for all costs of suit, and for all losses and damages which the owner or owners may have actually sustained by such capture and detention: and it is agreed that the indemnification shall be as follows:—

First. In case of total loss, the claimant or claimants shall be indemnified,—

(A.) For the ship, her tackle, equipment, and stores.

(B.) For all freights due and payable.

(C.) For the value of the cargo of merchandize, if any, deducting all charges and expenses which would have been payable upon the sale of such cargo, including commission of sale.

(D.) For all other regular charges in such case of total loss.

Secondly. In all other cases (save as hereinafter mentioned) not of total loss, the claimant or claimants shall be indemnified,—

(A.) For all special damages and expenses occasioned to the ship by the detention, and for loss of freight, when due or payable.

(B.) For demurrage when due, according to the Schedule annexed to the present Article.

(C.) For any deterioration of the cargo.

(D.) For all premium of insurance on additional risks.

The claimant or claimants shall be entitled to interest at the rate of 5 (five) per cent. per annum on the sum awarded, until such sum is paid by the Government to which the capturing ship belongs. The whole amount of such indemnifications shall be calculated in the money of the country to which the detained vessel belongs, and shall be liquidated at the exchange current at the time of the award.

The two High Contracting Parties, however, have agreed, that if it shall be proved to the satisfaction of the Judges of the two nations, and without having recourse to the decision of an Arbitrator, that the captor had been led into error by the fault of the master or commander of the detained vessel, the detained vessel, in that case, shall not have the right of receiving, for the time of her detention, the demurrage stipulated by the present Article, nor any other compensation for losses, damages, or expenses consequent upon such detention.

Schedule of demurrage, or daily allowance for a vessel of

100 tons to 120 inclusive,	£5 per diem.
121 " 150 " 6 "	
151 " 170 " 8 "	
171 " 200 " 10 "	
201 " 220 " 11 "	
221 " 250 " 12 "	
251 " 270 " 14 "	
271 " 300 " 15 "	

and so on in proportion.

ARTICLE VIII.

Neither the Judges nor the Arbitrators, nor the Secretaries or Registrars of the Mixed Courts of Justice, shall demand or receive from any of the parties concerned in the cases which shall be brought before such Courts, any emolument or gift, under any pretext whatsoever, for the performance of the duties which such Judges, Arbitrators, and Secretaries or Registrars, have to perform.

ARTICLE IX.

The two High Contracting Parties have agreed that, in the event of the death, sickness, absence on leave, or any other legal impediment, of one or more of the Judges or Arbitrators composing the above-mentioned Courts respectively, the post of such Judge or Arbitrator shall be supplied, *ad interim*, in the following manner:—

First. On the part of Her Britannic Majesty, and in those Courts which shall sit

within the possessions of Her said Majesty:—if the vacancy be that of the British Judge, his place shall be filled by the British Arbitrator; and either in that case, or in case the vacancy be originally that of the British Arbitrator, the place of such Arbitrator shall be filled by the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor resident in such possession; in his unavoidable absence, by the principal Magistrate of the same; or in the unavoidable absence of the principal Magistrate, by the Secretary of the Government; and the said Court, so constituted as above, shall sit, and in all cases brought before it for adjudication shall proceed to adjudge the same, and to pass sentence accordingly.

Secondly, on the part of Great Britain, and in that Court which shall sit within the territories of the United States of America:—if the vacancy be that of the British Judge, his place shall be filled by the British Arbitrator; and either in that case, or in case the vacancy be originally that of the British Arbitrator, his place shall be filled by the British Consul, or in the unavoidable absence of the Consul, by the British Vice-Consul; and in case the vacancy be both of the British Judge and of the British Arbitrator, then the vacancy of the British Judge shall be filled by the British Consul, and that of the British Arbitrator by the British Vice-Consul. But if there be no British Consul or Vice-Consul to fill the place of British Arbitrator, then the United States' Arbitrator shall be called in, in those cases in which the British Arbitrator would be called in; and in case the vacancy be both of the British Judge and of the British Arbitrator, and there be neither British Consul nor Vice-Consul to fill, *ad interim*, the vacancies, then the United States' Judge and Arbitrator shall sit, and in all cases brought before them for adjudication shall proceed to adjudge the same, and pass sentence accordingly.

Thirdly. On the part of the United States, and in that Court which shall sit within their territories:—if the vacancy be that of the United States' Judge, his place shall be filled by the United States' Arbitrator; and either in that case, or in case the vacancy be originally that of the United States' Arbitrator, the place of such Arbitrator shall be filled by and the said Court, so constituted as above, shall sit, and in all cases brought before them for adjudication shall proceed to adjudge the same, and pass sentence accordingly.

Fourthly. On the part of the United States of America, and in those Courts which shall sit within the possessions of Her Britannic Majesty:—if the vacancy be that of the United States' Judge, his place shall be filled by the United States' Arbitrator; and either in that case, or in case the vacancy be originally that of the United States' Arbitrator, his place shall be filled by the United States' Consul, or in the unavoidable absence of the Consul, by the United States' Vice-Consul. In case the vacancy be both of the United States' Judge and of the United States' Arbitrator, then the vacancy of the Judge shall be filled by the United States' Consul, and that of the United States' Arbitrator by the United States' Vice-Consul. But if there be no United States' Consul or Vice-Consul to fill the place of the United States' Arbitrator, then the British Arbitrator shall be called in, in those cases in which the United States' Arbitrator would be called in; and in case the vacancy be both of the United States' Judge and of the United States' Arbitrator, and there be neither United States' Consul nor Vice-Consul to fill, *ad interim*, the vacancies, then the British Judge and the British Arbitrator shall sit, and, in all cases brought before them for adjudication, shall proceed to adjudge the same, and pass sentence accordingly.

The chief authority of the place in the territories of either High Contracting Party where the Mixed Courts of Justice shall sit, shall, in the event of a vacancy arising, either of the Judge or the Arbitrator of the other High Contracting Party, forthwith give notice of the same by the most expeditious method in his power to the Government of that other High Contracting Party, in order that such vacancy may be supplied at the earliest possible period. And each of the High Contracting Parties agrees to supply definitively, as soon as possible, the vacancies which may arise in the above-mentioned Courts from death, or from any other cause whatever.

The undersigned Plenipotentiaries have agreed, in conformity with the XIth Article of the Treaty signed by them on this day, that the preceding Regulations shall be annexed to the said Treaty, and considered an integral part thereof.

Done at _____, the _____ of _____ in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-

Inclosure 2 in No. 331.

Lord Lyons to Mr. Seward.

Sir,

Washington, March 28, 1862.

I HAVE given my best attention to the draft of a Treaty for the Suppression of the African Slave Trade, which you have done me the honour to lay before me in pursuance of the proposal made to me in your note of the 22nd of this month.

I frankly confess that I think that in one respect the draft might be amended with great advantage. The last clause limits the duration of the Treaty; would not a Treaty of unlimited duration correspond more exactly to the sentiments and intentions of the two Governments? Would it not have a greater moral effect as expressing emphatically an irrevocable determination to suppress this inhuman Traffic?

I will only add that, in submitting these considerations to you, I am very far from desiring to obstruct or retard the progress of the negotiation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 332.

Lord Lyons to Earl Russell.—(Received April 15.)

(Extract.)

Washington, March 31, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of a note which I have just received from Mr. Seward, in answer to that in which I suggested an amendment in the draft of a Treaty for the Suppression of the Slave Trade which he submitted to me, and of which a copy was inclosed in my despatch to your Lordship of the 28th instant.

I proposed, as your Lordship will recollect, to strike out the clause reserving to each Party the right to put an end to the Treaty after the expiration of ten years from the exchange of the ratifications. Mr. Seward considers it advisable to retain this clause, and declares that he is ready to conclude the Treaty with me at once, if my objection to the clause be not insurmountable.

I do not think that the difference between a Treaty of which the duration is unlimited, and a Treaty terminable after ten years, will be found in practice to be of any importance. At all events, as the Treaty proposed by Mr. Seward corresponds exactly in every other particular to the views of Her Majesty's Government, I do not think that your Lordship would wish to risk the success of the negotiation by insisting upon my amendment. If, therefore, after again conferring personally with Mr. Seward, I shall find that he attaches great importance to the clause, I shall not hesitate to consent to its being retained.

Inclosure in No. 332.

Mr. Seward to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Department of State, Washington, March 31, 1862.

YOUR Lordship's note of the 28th, suggesting a modification of the Treaty for the suppression of the Slave Trade, which I had previously submitted for your Lordship's consideration, has been submitted to the President.

The object of the proposed Treaty is a special one, and it is hoped, and even confidently believed, that if the proposed Treaty should go into effect, and be faithfully and vigorously executed, the African Slave Trade will be brought to an end within the term of ten years proposed as the limitation of the Treaty. On the contrary, should the flagrant Traffic survive that long period, it may easily be seen that then some new and probably different means from that which the Treaty proposes will have become necessary for the vindication of the cause of humanity in common.

Understanding by your note that the objection you have taken is not an insurmountable one, I shall be ready to execute the Treaty with you in the form at first proposed.

I am, &c.
(Signed) WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

No. 333.

Earl Russell to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, April 17, 1862.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 28th ultimo, inclosing the draft of a Treaty for the suppression of the Slave Trade, which has been sent to you by Mr. Seward, in pursuance of the proposals for entering into negotiations with you on this subject contained in his note of the 22nd of March last.

I have to acquaint your Lordship that I approve the note which you addressed to Mr. Seward, submitting for the consideration of the United States' Government whether the clause in the proposed Treaty which limits its duration to ten years would not be better omitted.

In other respects, Her Majesty's Government entirely approve the stipulations of the Treaty and of its two Annexes, and I have to desire that your Lordship will sign the Treaty forthwith, if possible without the limit of duration, but if that is not attainable, with the limitation as proposed by Mr. Seward.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 334.

Lord Lyons to Earl Russell.—(Received April 23.)

My Lord,

Washington, April 7, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship a Treaty for the suppression of the Slave Trade, which has been this day signed by myself, as Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary, and by Mr. Seward, as Plenipotentiary of the United States.

With the exception of a verbal correction in the first sentence of Article IX, it is identical with the draft proposed by Mr. Seward, of which a copy was transmitted to your Lordship with my despatch of the 28th ultimo.

It provides that the ratifications shall be exchanged in London in six months, or sooner if possible.

The President has not, however, as your Lordship is aware, the power to ratify a Treaty without the consent of the Senate; and it requires a majority of two-thirds of the Senators present to give that consent.

Mr. Seward informed me that he should submit the Treaty which we had signed to the Senate with the least possible delay; and that although it was impossible to ascertain positively beforehand what the decision of that body would be, he felt confident that the majority necessary for the ratification would be obtained.

Treaties are discussed by the Senate in secret session.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 335.

Earl Russell to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, April 26, 1862.

I HAVE received your Lordship's despatch of the 7th instant; and I have to acquaint your Lordship that I approve of your having signed the Treaty for the suppression of the Slave Trade proposed to you by Mr. Seward, which accompanied that despatch.

The Treaty in question will be ratified by Her Majesty if no alterations are introduced into it by the United States' Senate.

I am &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 336.

Lord Lyons to Earl Russell.—(Received May 10.)

My Lord,

Washington, April 25, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of a note from Mr. Seward, informing me that the Senate of the United States approved yesterday, by an unanimous vote, the Treaty for the suppression of the Slave Trade which I signed with him on the 7th instant. I have also the honour to inclose a copy of a note to Mr. Seward by which I have acknowledged this communication.

Mr. Seward informed me to-day, verbally, that the ratification of the United States would be sent to London as soon as it could be engrossed. He was, he said, afraid it could hardly be got ready before this day week, but he hoped to be able to send a messenger with it to Mr. Adams by that time at latest. He attached great importance to the exchange of the ratifications being effected as soon as possible, in order that the legislative measures for carrying out the stipulations might be passed by Congress before the adjournment of that body. Mr. Seward expressed also an earnest desire that the Treaty should be brought into practical operation at the earliest possible moment.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 336.

Mr. Seward to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Washington, April 24, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that the Treaty for the suppression of the African Slave Trade has this day been approved by an unanimous vote of the Senate of the United States.

I avail myself of this occasion to tender to you my cordial congratulations on this auspicious event, and to renew, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM H. SEWARD

Inclosure 2 in No. 336.

Lord Lyons to Mr. Seward.

Sir,

Washington, April 24, 1862.

IT is with no ordinary satisfaction that I hasten to offer to you my acknowledgment for your note of this day's date, informing me that the Senate of the United States has approved by an unanimous vote the Treaty for the suppression of the Slave Trade which I had the honour to sign with you on the 7th of this month.

In thanking you cordially for the gratifying terms in which you have conveyed this information to me, I cannot but express my confident hope that the happiest results will follow the united efforts of the two nations in the cause of humanity.

I have, &c.

(Signed) LYONS.

No. 337.

Earl Russell to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 10, 1862.

I HAVE received your Lordship's despatch of the 25th of April, reporting that the Senate had unanimously approved the Treaty for the suppression of the Slave Trade, signed by you and Mr. Seward on the 7th of April, that Mr. Seward had informed you that the ratification of the President would be sent to London as soon as it could be engrossed, and that Mr. Seward attached great importance to the exchange of the ratifications being effected as soon as possible, in order that the Legislative measures for carrying out the stipulations of the Treaty might be passed by Congress before the adjournment of that Body.

Her Majesty's Government have received this information with the greatest satisfac-

tion, and are glad to take this opportunity of expressing to your Lordship their entire approval of the judicious manner in which you have carried through this important negotiation.

You will acquaint Mr. Seward that Her Majesty's ratification of the Treaty is being prepared, and that it will be ready to be exchanged with the ratification of the President as soon as Mr. Adams shall have acquainted me that the latter has arrived in this country.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 338.

Lord Lyons to Earl Russell.—(Received May 17.)

My Lord,

Washington, May 6, 1862.

THE United States' ratification of the Treaty for the suppression of the Slave Trade signed by Mr. Seward and me on the 7th ultimo, was dispatched to New York yesterday, and is to go on to England by the same packet which will convey this despatch to your Lordship. I understand that, notwithstanding great diligence, it was impossible to complete the engrossing sooner.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 339.

Earl Russell to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, May 23, 1862.

IT was with great satisfaction that Her Majesty's Government proceeded to the ratification of the Slave Trade Treaty. The Treaty has since been laid before both Houses of Parliament by Her Majesty's command.

The conduct of Mr. Seward in promoting the conclusion of this Treaty has obtained general approbation in this country. The readiness which he evinced to encounter the prejudices hitherto fatal to all attempts to agree upon effectual measures for the suppression of the Slave Trade is highly creditable, and will hereafter be considered as one of the main causes of the abolition of that detestable Traffic.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 340.

Lord Lyons to Earl Russell.—(Received June 26.)

My Lord,

Washington, June 11, 1862.

I TOOK an opportunity on the 7th instant of speaking to Mr. Seward in the terms of your Lordship's despatch of the 23rd ultimo, on the sense entertained by Her Majesty's Government of his conduct in promoting the conclusion of the Slave Trade Treaty of the 7th of April.

Mr. Seward expressed his satisfaction at the appreciation of his desire to co-operate with Great Britain for the suppression of the Traffic. He said that measures would be taken without loss of time to obtain from Congress the means of putting the Treaty into execution. Mr. Seward afterwards sent me a copy of a despatch which he wrote to Mr. Adams on receiving Her Majesty's ratification of the Treaty. I have the honour to transmit a copy to your Lordship herewith.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure in No. 340.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Adams.

Sir,

Department of State, Washington, June 7, 1862.

YOUR despatch of May 22 has been received, together with the duplicate and ratified Treaty for the suppression of the Slave Trade. These papers were brought to me by Captain Schultz, to whose care, with the approval of Earl Russell, you have confided them. The Treaty will be immediately proclaimed.

You will express to Earl Russell the satisfaction with which the President has learnt that Her Majesty's Government has given a prompt and cordial adhesion to a measure which he hopes and believes will bring to a speedy end an unlawful and inhuman Traffic, whose calamities, while they have fallen most heavily on two continents, have afflicted the whole world.

I am, &c.
(Signed) WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

No. 341.

Lord Lyons to Earl Russell.—(Received June 26.)

My Lord,

Washington, June 13, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that on the day before yesterday the House of Representatives received a Message from the President, transmitting a copy of the Slave Trade Treaty of the 7th April, and recommending that such legislation as is necessary to carry it into effect be enacted as soon as may comport with the convenience of Congress.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 342.

Earl Russell to Mr. Stuart.

Sir,

Foreign Office, July 5, 1862.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith copies of a letter and its inclosures from Rear-Admiral Sir Baldwin Walker, the Commander-in-chief of Her Majesty's naval forces on the Cape of Good Hope Station,* reporting the circumstances under which the United States' ship "*Storm King*" was visited by a boat from Her Majesty's ship "*Penguin*" on suspicion of her being engaged in the Slave Trade.

As the master of the "*Storm King*" complained of having been detained, and may possibly make a representation to the United States' Government on the subject, I have to desire that you will communicate to Mr. Seward the particulars of the detention as reported by the Commander of the "*Penguin*."

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 343.

Mr. Stuart to Earl Russell.—(Received July 11.)

My Lord,

Washington, June 26, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to state, with reference to Lord Lyons' despatch dated the 13th instant, that Mr. Seward informed me this morning that the necessary appropriations required from Congress for carrying into effect the provisions of the Slave Trade Treaty of the 7th April will be passed in the course of the next few days.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. STUART.

No. 344.

Earl Russell to Mr. Stuart.

Sir,

Foreign Office, July 26, 1862.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Commissioners at Loanda,* reporting the capture, by Her Majesty's ship "Griffon," on the 27th of March last, of a barque and schooner, without name or colours, fully equipped for the Slave Trade, off Black Point, on the West Coast of Africa.

As the barque in question is stated to have left New York on the 1st of December last, it will be right that the Government of the United States should be made acquainted with this capture, and I have accordingly to desire that you will communicate the substance of the Commissioners' report to Mr. Seward.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 345.

Mr. Stuart to Earl Russell.—(Received August 4.)

My Lord,

Washington, July 20, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of the "Act to carry into effect the Treaty between the United States and Her Britannic Majesty for the Suppression of the African Slave Trade."

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. STUART.

Inclosure in No. 345.

An Act to carry into Effect the Treaty between the United States and Her Britannic Majesty for the Suppression of the African Slave Trade.

BE it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That to carry into effect the provisions of the Treaty between the United States and Her Britannic Majesty for the suppression of the African Slave Trade, the President be and he is hereby authorized to nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate to appoint, a Judge and also an Arbitrator on the part of the United States to reside at New York; a Judge and also an Arbitrator to reside at Sierra Leone; and a Judge and also an Arbitrator to reside at the Cape of Good Hope.

Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That the said Judge at New York shall be paid at the rate of two thousand five hundred dollars, and the said Arbitrator there at the rate of one thousand dollars a-year; and the said Judges at Sierra Leone and the Cape of Good Hope shall be paid at the rate of two thousand five hundred dollars a-year, respectively, and the said Arbitrators at these two places at the rate of two thousand dollars a-year, respectively; the said salaries to begin with the acceptance of their commissions by the said Judges and Arbitrators respectively.

Sec. 3. And be it further enacted, That the Judge of the Court at New York, whose appointment is authorized by this Act, shall have power to appoint a Clerk or Registrar to the said Court, who shall receive such fees for his services as are allowed by law to the Clerk of the Court of the United States for the Southern District of New York for similar services; and it shall be the duty of the Marshal of the Southern District of New York, and he is hereby authorized, to serve all processes and execute all orders and decrees of the said Court, for which he shall be allowed fees in the discretion of the Judge of the said Court.

Sec. 4. And be it further enacted, That all Acts and parts of Acts of Congress inconsistent with the stipulations of the Treaty aforesaid, and with the present Act, be, and the same are hereby repealed.

Approved, July 11, 1862.

No. 346.

Earl Russell to Mr. Stuart.

Sir,

Foreign Office, August 16, 1862.

I TRANSMIT to you, for communication to the United States' Government, an extract of a letter from Commodore Edmonstone to Rear-Admiral Sir B. Walker,* containing intelligence respecting the Slave Trade on the West Coast of Africa.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 347.

Earl Russell to Mr. Stuart.

Sir,

Foreign Office, August 23, 1862.

I TRANSMIT to you, for your information, a copy of a letter addressed by Commander Wratislaw, of Her Majesty's ship "Ranger," to Commodore Edmonstone,† which has been communicated to this Department by the Board of Admiralty, reporting his having boarded on the 23rd of May last the American barque "Clarissa," bound to the River Congo.

I take this opportunity of informing you that at the end of last year an application was made by the United States' Consul at Zante to the Resident in that island for the assistance of the Ionian authorities to enable him to detain the papers of the "Clarissa," which vessel he suspected to be about to engage in the Slave Trade.

As, however, the "Clarissa" had not made her appearance at any of the Ionian ports, no opportunity was afforded the authorities of complying with the wishes of the United States' Consul in this matter.

I have to desire that you will communicate to the United States' Government the foregoing particulars regarding this vessel.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 348.

Mr. Stuart to Earl Russell.—(Received August 24.)

My Lord,

Washington, August 11, 1862.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch of the 26th ultimo, I have the honour to inclose herewith copies of the note which I addressed to Mr. Seward, and of his reply thereto, relative to the capture off Black Point, on the West Coast of Africa, in March last, by Her Majesty's ship "Griffon," of a barque and schooner, without name or colours, fully equipped for the Slave Trade.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. STUART.

Inclosure 1 in No. 348.

Mr. Stuart to Mr. Seward.

Sir,

Washington, August 10, 1862.

THE inclosed copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Commissioners at Loanda‡ relates to the capture by Her Majesty's ship "Griffon," on the 27th of March last, of a barque and schooner, without name or colours, fully equipped for the Slave Trade, off Black Point on the West Coast of Africa.

I have been instructed by Earl Russell to communicate this capture to you, as of interest to the Government of the United States, in consequence of the barque in question having been stated to have left New York on the 1st of December last.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. STUART.

Inclosure 2 in No. 348.

*Mr. Seward to Mr. Stuart.**Department of State, Washington, August 11, 1862.*

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your note of yesterday, accompanied by a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Commissioners at Loanda to Earl Russell, announcing the capture off Black Point, on the West Coast of Africa, by Her Majesty's ship "Griffon," on the 27th of March last, of a barque and schooner, without name or colours, fully equipped for the Slave Trade.

In reply, I have to thank you for the information thus communicated, which is, in every respect, entirely acceptable and gratifying.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

No. 349.

*Earl Russell to Mr. Stuart.**Foreign Office, August 30, 1862.*

Sir,

I TRANSMIT to you herewith, for communication to the Government of the United States, a copy of the instructions which it is intended to furnish to the Commanders of Her Majesty's cruisers who may be employed in carrying out the provisions of the Treaty recently concluded between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of the United States for the suppression of the African Slave Trade.

I also inclose a list of the several ships employed on the African, North American, and West Indian stations, whose commanders will be authorized to act under this Treaty, stating also the names of the commanders and the force of each vessel; and I have to desire that you will request the United States' Government to furnish you with a similar list of United States' cruisers.

I have, at the same time, to desire that you will inform Mr. Seward that Her Majesty's Government have already Mixed Commission Courts established at Sierra Leone and the Cape of Good Hope, and that, by the next mail from this country, the officers in those Courts will be authorized and instructed to adjudicate in the cases of any vessels that may be brought before them under the provisions of this Treaty.

As regards the Court to be established at New York, Mr. Archibald, Her Majesty's Consul in that city, will be appointed to the office of Her Majesty's Judge, and Mr. Ryder, now Her Majesty's Arbitrator in the Mixed Commission Court at the Havana, will be appointed in a similar capacity at New York.

In making known these appointments to the United States' Government, you will state that Her Majesty's Government are only now waiting the appointment of officers on the part of the American Government to the Courts to be established at the Cape of Good Hope and Sierra Leone, in order to issue the necessary instructions to Her Majesty's cruisers to carry out the stipulations of the Treaty between the two countries.

An officer, in whose discretion and judgment Her Majesty's Government have every confidence, will be appointed in a few days to the command of Her Majesty's naval forces on the West Coast of Africa, and he will, it is expected, take his departure from this country towards the end of the month of September next. It will be important that he should take out with him the instructions for the squadron to act under the Treaty, and you will, therefore, ask Mr. Seward whether there will be any objection on the part of the United States' Government to the necessary instructions being sent out by that officer, or whether they would wish that the operations of the squadron should be delayed until they are assured of the arrival at their post of the officers appointed on the part of the United States' Government to the Mixed Commission Courts on the African coast.

I should be glad to be made acquainted with the decision of the United States' Government on this matter with as little delay as possible.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

RUSSELL.

No. 350.

Mr. Stuart to Earl Russell.—(Received September 18.)

My Lord,

Washington, September 4, 1862.

IN compliance with the instructions conveyed to me in your Lordship's despatch of the 16th ultimo, I lost no time in communicating to Mr. Seward a copy of the extract, with which I had been furnished by your Lordship, of a letter from Commodore Edmonstone to Rear-Admiral Sir Baldwin Walker, relative to the Slave Trade on the West Coast of Africa. I have the honour to inclose herewith a copy of my note, as well as of Mr. Seward's reply, expressing his satisfaction at the tribute paid by Commodore Edmonstone to the efficacy of the measures taken by the United States' Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. STUART.

Inclosure 1 in No. 350.

Mr. Stuart to Mr. Seward.

Sir,

Washington, September 2, 1862.

I HAVE been instructed by Earl Russell to communicate to you, for the information of the United States' Government, the accompanying extract of a letter from Commodore Edmonstone to Rear-Admiral Sir Baldwin Walker, containing intelligence respecting the Slave Trade on the West Coast of Africa.

You will observe with satisfaction that the present suspension of that obnoxious Traffic is attributed to the severe measures which have been lately taken by the United States' Government to punish persons engaged in it.

I avail, &c.
(Signed) W. STUART.

Inclosure 2 in No. 350.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Stuart.

Sir,

Department of State, Washington, September 4, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 2nd instant, with the accompanying extract of a letter from Commodore Edmonstone to Rear-Admiral Sir Baldwin Walker, on the subject of the African Slave Trade, and to inform you in reply that you are entirely correct in supposing that I would learn with satisfaction that the present suspension of that obnoxious Traffic may be ascribed to the measures which have been taken in this country towards punishing those engaged in it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

No. 351.

Earl Russell to Mr. Stuart.

Sir,

Foreign Office, October 6, 1862.

I TRANSMIT to you, for your information, a copy of a letter from Commodore Edmonstone,* with its inclosure, reporting the boarding of the American barque "Seamew" by Her Majesty's ship "Arrogant," off Mangue Grande, to prove her nationality.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 352.

Earl Russell to Mr. Stuart.

Sir, *Foreign Office, October 11, 1862.*
 I TRANSMIT to you herewith, for your information, copies of a letter and its inclosure from Commodore Edmonstone to the Secretary to the Admiralty,* reporting his having boarded on the 11th of June last, off the River Congo, the barque "Clarissa" under American colours, on suspicion of her being engaged in the Slave Trade.

I am, &c.
 (Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 353.

Earl Russell to Mr. Stuart.

Sir, *Foreign Office, October 17, 1862.*
 WITH reference to my despatch of the 11th instant, relative to the boarding of the barque "Clarissa," under American colours, by a boat from Her Majesty's ship "Arrogant," I now transmit to you a copy of a letter from the Commander of Her Majesty's ship "Torch,"† reporting his having detained that vessel in the River Congo on the 24th of July last, and that she has been since condemned by the Vice-Admiralty Court at Sierra Leone on the ground of her being engaged in the Slave Trade, and not entitled to the protection of the American flag or that of any other State or nation.

I have to desire that you will inform Mr. Seward of the capture and condemnation of the "Clarissa."

I am, &c.
 (Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 354.

Mr. Stuart to Earl Russell.—(Received October 23.)

My Lord, *Washington, October 9, 1862.*
 I THIS morning verbally informed Mr. Seward that it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government, as stated in your Lordship's despatch of the 20th instant, to establish an effective system of cruising off the Cuban Coast for the suppression of the Slave Trade, and that the Commanders of Her Majesty's ships would be instructed to cooperate with the Commanders of the United States' and Spanish vessels of war which may be employed off that coast on similar service.

Mr. Seward appeared pleased to hear that such was the intention of Her Majesty's Government, and gave me to understand that although no United States' cruisers had been specially appointed for the same service, those of them which are stationed in the neighbourhood of Cuba for other purposes have likewise been instructed to be on the watch for ships engaged in the Slave Trade.

I have, &c.
 (Signed) W. STUART.

No. 355.

Mr. Stuart to Earl Russell.—(Received October 23.)

(Extract.) *Washington, October 9, 1862.*
 I HAVE not yet received an answer to the note which I addressed to Mr. Seward on the 13th ultimo, in conformity with the directions contained in your Lordship's despatch of the 30th of August last, relative to the instructions which it is intended to furnish to the Commanders of Her Majesty's cruisers who may be employed in carrying out the provisions of the Treaty recently concluded between Great Britain and the United States for the suppression of the African Slave Trade.

* Class A, No. 114.

† Ibid., No. 116.

When I first reminded Mr. Seward that Her Majesty's Government were anxious to receive his answer with as little delay as possible, he informed me that he was waiting for the decision of the Navy Department, to whom my note had been referred.

He, however, authorized me to tell your Lordship, that although the United States' Government could not, under present circumstances, detach a squadron to the coast of Africa for the suppression of the Slave Trade, it was their desire that the operations of Her Majesty's cruisers under the Treaty should not on that account be delayed, and he did not appear to entertain any objections to the instructions proposed by Her Majesty's Government. It was less necessary, he observed, that United States' cruisers should be furnished with similar instructions or commissions, as their Commanders are now empowered to search all vessels in the exercise of their belligerent rights.

I believe that Her Majesty's Government may safely act upon the assurance given to me by Mr. Seward that Her Majesty's cruisers may exercise their right of search under the Treaty without further delay. But his official note to that effect will probably reach me in a day or two, as it was stated to be detained merely on account of a slight alteration being required in it.

A copy of my note to Mr. Seward is herewith inclosed.

Inclosure in No. 355.

Mr. Stuart to Mr. Seward.

Sir,

Washington, September 13, 1862.

I HAVE been instructed by Earl Russell to communicate to you the accompanying copy of this instruction, which it is intended to furnish to the Commanders of Her Majesty's cruisers who may be employed in carrying out the provisions of the Treaty recently concluded between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of the United States for the suppression of the African Slave Trade.

I have the honour likewise to inclose lists of the several ships employed on the African, North American, and West Indian stations, whose Commanders will be authorized to act under the Treaty, stating also the names of the Commanders and the force of each vessel, and I am to request that you will furnish me with a similar list of United States' cruisers.

I am at the same time desired to inform you that Her Majesty's Government have already Mixed Commission Courts established at Sierra Leone and the Cape of Good Hope; and that by the first mail from England in the present month the officers in those Courts were to be authorized and instructed to adjudicate in the cases of any vessels that may be brought before them under the provisions of the Treaty.

As regards the Court to be established at New York, Mr. Archibald, Her Majesty's Consul in that city, is to be appointed to the office of Her Majesty's Judge, and Mr. Ryder, now Her Majesty's Arbitrator in the Mixed Commission Court at the Havana, is to be appointed in the same capacity at New York.

In making known these appointments to the United States' Government, I am to state to you that Her Majesty's Government are only now waiting the appointment of officers on the part of the American Government to the Courts to be established at the Cape of Good Hope and Sierra Leone, in order to issue the necessary instructions to Her Majesty's cruisers to carry out the stipulations of the Treaty between the two countries.

An officer, in whose discretion and judgment Her Majesty's Government have every confidence, was to be appointed in a few days after the date of Lord Russell's despatch to me (which was of the 30th ultimo), to the command of Her Majesty's naval forces on the West Coast of Africa, and it is expected that that officer will take his departure from England towards the end of this month.

As it is considered important that he should take out with him the instructions for the squadron to act under the Treaty, I am further instructed to ask you whether there will be any objections on the part of the United States' Government to the necessary instructions being sent out by him, or whether they would wish that the operations of the squadron should be delayed until they are assured of the arrival at their post of the officers appointed on the part of the United States' Government to the Mixed Commission Courts on the African coast.

I shall accordingly feel obliged to you if you will make me acquainted with the decision of the United States' Government on this matter with as little delay as possible.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. STUART.

No. 356.

Earl Russell to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, November 7, 1862.

I TRANSMIT to your Lordship herewith an extract of a letter from Rear-Admiral Sir Baldwin Walker, Bart., the Commander-in-chief of Her Majesty's naval forces on the Cape of Good and African Stations,* pointing out that vessels under American colours are in the habit of shipping slaves from the west coast of the Island of Madagascar beyond the limits laid down by the Treaty of the 7th of April last, within which British cruizers are empowered to detain United States' vessels engaged in the Slave Trade.

As the object which the two Governments had in view in concluding the Treaty above referred to would to a certain extent be frustrated if American vessels were permitted to ship slaves with impunity from the coasts of the Island of Madagascar, I have to desire that you will bring this matter to the notice of the United States' Government, and you will ask Mr. Seward whether the Cabinet of Washington would consent to conclude a Convention extending the mutual right of search and detention to within a certain distance of the coast of Madagascar.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 357.

Mr. Stuart to Earl Russell.—(Received November 13.)

My Lord,

Washington, October 30, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith a copy of a note which I addressed to Mr. Seward on the 28th instant, communicating to him the substance of your Lordship's despatches of the respective dates of the 6th and 11th instant, relative to the boarding by Her Majesty's ship "Arrogant" of the two American barques "Seamew" and "Clarissa" near the Congo River, as well as a copy of the answer which I have received from Mr. Seward, stating that the information contained in my note is satisfactory.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. STUART.

Inclosure 1 in No. 357.

Mr. Stuart to Mr. Seward.

Sir,

Washington, October 28, 1862.

IT will perhaps interest you to be informed that Commodore Edmonstone, of Her Majesty's ship "Arrogant," employed in the suppression of the Slave Trade on the West Coast of Africa, has reported to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty that he boarded two vessels on the 11th of July last, which both turned out to be American.

One of them, which was observed off Mangué Grande, the great shipping-place a little to the south of the Congo, proved to be the barque "Seamew," of Salem, a legal trader ninety-eight days out, and consigned to a Mr. Cunningham, merchant at St. Paul de Loanda. The other, boarded while off the River Congo, was the "Clarissa." She had no register, but produced a certificate signed by the United States' Consul at Cadiz, to the effect that her register having been lost on the passage between New York and that port, he had given the certificate to enable her to claim the protection of the American flag. She was consequently permitted to proceed on her voyage, and was again seen ten days later in the Congo. The Commodore had ordered Her Majesty's cruizers to watch for her, feeling convinced that she was not a legal trader, and that she intended to ship a cargo of slaves as soon as a favourable opportunity offered.

The masters do not appear, in the case either of the "Seamew" or the "Clarissa," to have made any complaint, nor to have required any notation to be made in their logs.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. STUART.

Inclosure 2 in No. 357.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Stuart.

Sir,

Department of State, Washington, October 29, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your note of yesterday, and to state that the information therein contained touching Commodore Edmonstone's boarding on the 11th of July last of two American vessels,—the "Seamew" and the "Clarissa,"—the one a little to the south of the Congo, and the other while off that river, is satisfactory.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WILLIAM H. SEWARD

No. 358.

Earl Russell to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, November 24, 1862.

I TRANSMIT to your Lordship herewith a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Judge in the Mixed Commission Courts at Sierra Leone, reporting his having himself taken before the Chief Justice of that Colony, and afterwards administered to Mr. Registrar Smith, the oaths prescribed by Article 1 of Annex B to the Treaty concluded at Washington, on the 7th of April last, between Great Britain and the United States, for the suppression of the African Slave Trade.

I have to instruct your Lordship to communicate the above information to the United States' Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 359.

Lord Lyons to Earl Russell.—(Received November 28.)

My Lord,

Washington, November 14, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship a copy of a note which Mr. Stuart addressed to Mr. Seward, in compliance with the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch of the 17th ultimo, respecting the detention of the barque "Clarissa," on suspicion of her being engaged in the Slave Trade on the West Coast of Africa, and her condemnation by the Vice-Admiralty Court at Sierra Leone. I inclose also an acknowledgment of the receipt of Mr. Stuart's note which has been received from Mr. Seward.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 359.

Mr. Stuart to Mr. Seward.

Sir,

Washington, November 6, 1862.

REFERRING to the note which I had the honour to address to you on the 28th ultimo, and in which I acquainted you with the boarding of the barque "Clarissa," sailing under American colours, by a boat from Her Majesty's ship "Arrogant," I have now been instructed to inform you that a letter, under date of the 20th of August last, has been received from the Commander of Her Majesty's ship "Torch," reporting his having detained the "Clarissa" in the River Congo on the 24th of July, and that she has been since condemned by the Vice-Admiralty Court at Sierra Leone, on the ground of her being engaged in the Slave Trade, and not entitled to the protection of the American flag, or that of any other State or nation.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. STUART.

Inclosure 2 in No. 359.

Mr. Seward to Mr. Stuart

Sir,

Department of State, Washington, November 11, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 6th instant, relative to the capture and subsequent condemnation by the Vice-Admiralty Court at Sierra Leone of the barque "*Clarissa*," on the ground of her being engaged in the Slave Trade.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

No. 360.

Earl Russell to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, December 6, 1862.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith, for your Lordship's information, and for communication to the United States' Government, a copy of a letter from Commander Symons, of Her Majesty's ship "*Lee*,"* reporting his having boarded on the 27th of August last, off Great Popoe, the American barque "*Elizabeth*" on suspicion of her being engaged in the Slave Trade.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 361.

Lord Lyons to Earl Russell.—(Received December 9.)

My Lord,

Washington, November 24, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of a note by which Mr. Seward has communicated to me information given by the United States' Consul at Trinidad de Cuba, concerning the landing of kidnapped Africans in the neighbourhood of that place.

I send to-day to Vice-Admiral Sir Alexander Milne a copy of Mr. Seward's note.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

Inclosure 1 in No. 361.

Mr. Seward to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Department of State, Washington, November 22, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that Mr. William H. Russell, the Consul of the United States at Trinidad de Cuba, under date of the 15th ultimo, advises this Department that he has reliable information that a large cargo of kidnapped Africans has been recently landed in that vicinity, and that others are shortly expected; but that the character of the coast is such, dotted all along with cays or small islets, they can land them and hurry them off into the interior without his having the slightest knowledge of the fact until the deed is done.

This information has also been communicated to the Secretary of the Navy.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Inclosure 2 in No. 361.

Lord Lyons to Mr. Seward.

Sir,

Washington, November 24, 1862.

I BEG you to accept my thanks for the information you have been so kind as to convey to me by your note of the day before yesterday's date with regard to the landing of kidnapped Africans in the neighbourhood of Trinidad de Cuba.

I have lost no time in communicating this information to Her Majesty's Government, and to the Commander-in-chief of Her Majesty's naval forces on the North American and West Indian Stations.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 362.

Earl Russell to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, December 13, 1862.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch of the 24th ultimo, I have to acquaint you that I approve of your having communicated to the Commander-in-chief of Her Majesty's naval forces on the North American and West Indian Stations the information furnished to you by Mr. Seward regarding the landing of slaves in the vicinity of Trinidad de Cuba.

Her Majesty's Government have received similar information from the Acting British Consul-General in Cuba; and as Mr. Crawford's reports relate, no doubt, to the same transaction as that referred to by the United States' Agent in Cuba, I inclose them for your Lordship's information;* by which you will see that the Lieutenant-Governor of Trinidad and the Chief of Police have been summarily dismissed by the Captain-General of Cuba for conniving at the landing of the slaves in question.

I am, &c.
(Signed) RUSSELL.

No. 363.

Lord Lyons to Earl Russell.—(Received December 17.)

My Lord,

Washington, December 2, 1862.

IN obedience to the instruction contained in your Lordship's despatch of the 7th ultimo, I yesterday asked Mr. Seward whether the Cabinet of Washington would consent to conclude a Convention extending to within a certain distance of the coast of Madagascar the mutual right of search and detention established by the Treaty of the 7th of April last.

Mr. Seward said that he could not give me an official answer without taking the orders of the President; but that he himself was of opinion that there would not be any difficulty in making the proposed extension.

Mr. Seward added that it would be important that the Convention for the purpose should be signed as soon as possible, in order that it might be submitted without delay to the Senate for ratification. The present session, he observed, would end on the 4th March next, and the press of business towards the close would be so great that the Senate might not have time to act upon a Convention which was not sent in early.

It would, probably, expedite matters if your Lordship should send me, in answer to this despatch, a draft in regular form of such a Convention as Her Majesty's Government would wish to conclude. I could, of course, sign under my general full powers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 364.

Lord Lyons to Earl Russell.—(Received December 17.)

My Lord,

Washington, December 2, 1862.

WHEN speaking to Mr. Seward yesterday on the subject of extending the provisions of the Treaty of the 7th of April last to the neighbourhood of Madagascar, I took an opportunity of asking him whether he thought there would be any objection to extending them at the same time to Puerto Rico. I said that I had no instructions to ask him this question, and that I did not know whether Her Majesty's Government desired or would agree to such an extension. Mr. Seward had, I observed, no doubt seen that Lord Brougham had, in the House of Lords, while expressing warmly the satisfaction which he

* Nos. 296 and 298.

derived from the Treaty in general, criticized it on the ground of its not having been made applicable to Puerto Rico. This had induced me to mention the subject privately to Mr. Seward, in order to save time, if it should turn out that both Governments desired now to include that island.

Mr. Seward said that, speaking privately between ourselves, he would tell me that he believed that this Government would be quite willing to extend the Treaty to Puerto Rico.

I shall, of course, say no more to him on the subject without instructions from your Lordship.

It may, perhaps, be worth while to consider whether or no it would be advisable to extend the Treaty to San Domingo also.

As I have stated in my immediately preceding despatch of this date, the shortness of the present session of the Senate renders it important that any Articles which it is desired to insert in a Convention should be put into form as soon as possible.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

No. 365.

Lord Lyons to Earl Russell.—(Received December 26.)

My Lord,

Washington, December 12, 1862.

WITH reference to my despatches of the 2nd instant, I have the honour to report to your Lordship that Mr. Seward informed me yesterday that he was authorized to express to me officially the consent of the President to the proposal to conclude a Convention extending to within a certain distance of Madagascar the mutual right of search and detention established by the Treaty of the 7th of April last.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LYONS.

UNITED STATES. (*Consular*)—*Boston.*

No. 366.

Consul Lousada to Earl Russell.—(*Received July 8.*)

My Lord,

Boston, June 24, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to inclose, in duplicate, a Memorandum of the circumstances attending the case of Appleton Oaksmith, of New Bedford, Massachusetts, who has been found guilty of fitting out the "*Margaret Scott*," ostensibly as a whaler, but in reality for a slaving expedition.

The vigilance of the United States' Government's legal officers will have the best effect for furtherance of the repression of this horrible Traffic.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRANCIS LOUSADA.

Inclosure in No. 366.

Newspaper Extract.

UNITED STATES. (*Consular*)—*New York.*

No. 367.

Consul Archibald to Earl Russell.—(Received March 12.)

(Extract.)

New York, February 24, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that the execution of the sentence of death on Captain Nathaniel Gordon, of the slaver "*Erie*," took place on Friday last the 21st instant. The most strenuous efforts on the part of his friends, aided doubtless by the pecuniary influence of the slave-trading interest in this city, were made with a view to set aside the conviction, and, failing success, by resort to every available legal proceeding, to obtain a commutation of the sentence of death. A petition, said to have been signed by 25,000 inhabitants of New York, was, for this purpose, presented to the President, who, however, remained inflexible. A general impression prevailed to the last moment that the sentence would not be carried into effect, so little was the public sentiment in harmony with this exceptional enforcement of a law which, not very long since, was regarded to be so sanguinary as to induce a former prosecuting officer to abstain from pressing prosecutions for its violation.

This execution of this unhappy man at last took place under the most shocking circumstances, the prisoner having attempted to commit suicide by the taking of poison, and, from the effects of stimulants to prevent the action of poison, being all but unconscious of what was taking place. Revolting, however, as are all these sickening incidents of the death-scene, for which the miserable victim was himself responsible, there is no question that whatever good effect the conviction may have, would have been very greatly lessened, had the prisoner been allowed to die by his own act.

No. 368.

Consul Archibald to Earl Russell.—(Received November 17.)

(Extract.)

New York, October 31, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship the conviction, after a patient and impartial trial in the United States' Circuit Court, of Albert Horn, of the crime of fitting-out and despatching from this port, for the purpose of slave-trading, the steam-ship "*City of New York*."

The punishment for the offence is penal servitude for not exceeding five years, and a fine of not less than 1,000 dollars nor more than 3,000 dollars.

The conviction of this notorious offender, and the no less important conviction which will be thereby impressed upon the minds of all similar offenders, that juries can now be relied on to pronounce a verdict of guilty in cases in which the evidence will sustain such verdicts, will have a wholesome influence in suppressing, or, at least, in greatly diminishing the enterprise in the equipment of slave-trading expeditions, for which New York has so long been pre-eminent.

I beg leave at the same time to report that Captain Booth, of the well-known slave-trading brig "*Buckeye*," was yesterday brought to trial for the offence of receiving negroes on board and transporting them to Cuba, but owing to disappearance of a material witness he was acquitted.

No. 369.

Consul Archibald to Earl Russell.—(Received December 1.)

(Extract.)

New York, November 17, 1862.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that the motion for a new trial in the case of Albert Horn was refused, and that he has, consequently, been sentenced to imprisonment for the term of five years.

The vigour which has characterized the proceedings of the Federal officers at this port during the last twelve months in discovering and bringing to trial parties suspected of having been engaged in slave-trading has been productive of very beneficial results. According to the best information which I have been able to obtain, no slave-trading expedition from New York has been undertaken for many months past. It would be perilous to attempt such an adventure in the face of the recent convictions, the vigilance of the police, and the change in the public sentiment in reference to the execution of the laws for the suppression of slave-trading.

Information lately communicated to me, although somewhat vague, leads me to suspect that attempts will be made to fit out slave-trading vessels from Liverpool. It is by no means improbable that, acting on the supposition that vigilance would hardly be directed towards the detection of a proceeding so little likely to be suspected in such a place as Liverpool, adventurers may yet be bold enough to organize expeditions from that port. Cadiz, Barcelona, and Marseilles will henceforth be more resorted to than heretofore by intending slave-traders.
