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S E C O N D

R E P O R T

FROM THE

SELECT COMMITTEE

ON THE

S L A V E T R A D E ;

TOGETHER WITH THE

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE,

APPENDIX, AND INDEX.

Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed,
21 June 1849.

Veneris, 16° die Februarii, 1849.

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

Mercurii, 21° die Februarii, 1849.

Committee nominated :

Mr. Hutt.	The Earl of Lincoln.
Viscount Brackley.	Sir Robert Harry Inglis.
Mr. Gladstone.	Mr. Cardwell.
Mr. Evelyn Denison.	Mr. Simeon.
Mr. Jackson.	Mr. Monckton Milnes.
Lord John Hay.	Sir Edward Buxton.
Colonel Thompson.	Lord Harry Vane.
Admiral Bowles.	

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

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

Jovis, 3° die Maii, 1849.

Ordered, THAT the Minutes of the Evidence taken before the Select Committee of last Session be referred to this Committee.

Jovis, 24° die Maii, 1849.

Ordered, THAT the Committee have power to Report Observations and Minutes of Evidence, from time to time, to The House.

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SECOND REPORT.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE appointed to continue the Inquiry undertaken by a Committee appointed last Year, to consider the best Means which Great Britain can adopt for providing for the Final Extinction of the SLAVE TRADE, and to whom the Evidence taken before the said Committee was referred, and who were empowered to Report the EVIDENCE taken before them from time to time to The House, and who were further empowered to Report their Observations to The House;— HAVE further considered the Matters referred to them, and have agreed to the following REPORT:

THAT the Committee which was appointed in the last Session of Parliament to consider the best Means which Great Britain can adopt for providing for the Final Extinction of the Slave Trade, adopted certain Resolutions, which were reported to The House. In the purport of those Resolutions this Committee is agreed with the Committee of last Session.

That a long and large experience of attempts to suppress the Slave Trade by a Naval Force, leads to the conclusion that to put down that trade by such means is impracticable.

That over and above a return to the system of discouragement by Commercial Legislation, several measures have been suggested as suitable auxiliaries to the present preventive system, particularly the destruction of Barracoons, the infliction of the penalties of Piracy on the captains and crews of vessels engaged in the Slave Trade, and the enforced liberation of all Slaves illegally imported into Brazil and the Spanish Colonies.

That Your Committee have considered whether these expedients are practically available, as they conceive that if that were the case, such expedients ought to be tried before the abandonment of the system of forcible suppression should be resolved upon. But even assuming that Great Britain either is actually entitled, or could by negotiation acquire a title, to adopt all these measures, Your Committee are still convinced that such a prosecution of them as could alone be effectual, would not be sustained by the general opinion of other civilized countries; would be attended with the imminent risk of very serious calamities, and would scarcely be sooner commenced than abandoned.

Your Committee are, therefore, constrained to believe that no modification of the system of force can effect the suppression of the Slave Trade, and they cannot undertake the responsibility of recommending the continuance of that system. Your Committee are not, however, prepared to recommend the immediate and unconditional withdrawal, by Great Britain, of her contingent from that system which her influence has been so mainly instrumental in recommending to other countries, without any communication with those countries, and without any definite understanding of their views.

Your Committee are, however, of opinion, that the aim of those communications should be to release Great Britain from such treaty engagements in respect to the
Slave

Slave Trade, as place the question of maintaining a Blockading Squadron beyond the free and exclusive control of British authorities.

Your Committee do not conceive that if the use of force is to be abandoned, it therefore follows that Great Britain is to become neutral or indifferent with respect to the Slave Trade.

It is painful to Your Committee to acknowledge want of success in an undertaking to which the intelligence, the energy, and the wealth of Britain have been so long and so unsparingly applied ; an undertaking, the success of which this country has endeavoured to ensure by great sacrifices of human life, and for which it has consented to place at constant hazard the peace of the world ; but nothing can absolve Your Committee from the duty of recognising the truth of the case as their inquiry has brought it under view.

It would still be the duty of the British Government to avow its unabated hostility to the African Slave Trade ; to employ every means compatible with a just regard to the independence of other States to promote the mitigation of its evils and to accelerate its final extinction ; and by no means to shrink from suggesting further pacific efforts, and even further sacrifices, in the cause for which it has already toiled so much, if at any time they should be found necessary for the attainment of so happy a consummation.

That Your Committee entertain the hope that the internal improvement and civilization of Africa, will be one of the most effective means of suppressing the Slave Trade ; and for this purpose, that the instruction of the natives by missionary labours, by education, and by all other practical efforts, and the extension of legitimate commerce, ought to be encouraged wherever the influence of England can be directed, and especially where it has already been beneficially exerted.

21 June 1849.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE.

Martis, 6^o die Martii, 1849.

MEMBERS PRESENT :

Mr. Hutt.
Earl of Lincoln.
Viscount Brackley.
Mr. Gladstone.

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

Mr. HUTT called to the Chair.

Committee deliberated on their course of Proceeding.

[Adjourned.]

Lunæ, 19^o die Martii, 1849.

MEMBERS PRESENT :

WILLIAM HUTT, Esq. in the Chair.

Mr. Monckton Milnes.
Viscount Brackley.
Mr. Cardwell.
Lord John Hay.
Colonel Thompson.

Earl of Lincoln.
Lord H. Vane.
Sir E. Buxton.
Mr. Simeon.
Mr. Gladstone.

A Witness was examined.

[Adjourned till Monday next, at One o'clock.]

Lunæ, 26^o die Martii, 1849.

MEMBERS PRESENT :

WILLIAM HUTT, Esq. in the Chair.

Mr. Jackson.
Sir Edward Buxton.
Colonel Thompson.

Earl of Lincoln.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Admiral Bowles.

Witnesses were examined.

[Adjourned till Thursday, 19th April, at One o'clock.]

Jovis, 19° die Aprilis, 1849.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

WILLIAM HUTT, Esq. in the Chair.

Lord John Hay.
Admiral Bowles.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. Simeon.
Lord H. Vane.
Viscount Brackley.
Earl of Lincoln.

Mr. M. Milnes.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Sir E. Buxton.
Colonel Thompson.
Mr. Evelyn Denison.
Mr. Cardwell.

Motion made (Sir *Robert Inglis*), and question put, "That Captain Trotter be examined before this Committee."

Committee divided :

Ayes, 5.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Sir Edward Buxton.
Colonel Thompson.
Mr. Cardwell.

Noes, 5.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. Simeon.
Lord H. Vane.
Viscount Brackley.
Mr. Evelyn Denison.

The Chairman gave his vote with the Noes.

Motion made (Mr. *Gladstone*), and question proposed, "That in addition to Sir Charles Hotham, the Committee is prepared to receive further evidence from Dr. Lushington and Captain Trotter, and from no other persons now in this country."

Amendment proposed, "To insert after 'Captain Trotter,' 'Mr. Waddell.'"

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

Committee divided :

Ayes, 6.
Lord H. Vane.
Viscount Brackley.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Sir Edward Buxton.
Colonel Thompson.

Noes, 4.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. Simeon.
Mr. E. Denison.
Mr. Cardwell.

Words inserted.

Another amendment proposed (Sir *R. H. Inglis*), "To leave out all the words after the last amendment."

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

Committee divided :

Ayes, 7.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. Simeon.
Lord H. Vane.
Viscount Brackley.
Sir Edward Buxton.
Mr. Evelyn Denison.
Mr. Cardwell.

Noes, 3.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Colonel Thompson.

Main question as amended, put.

Committee divided :

Ayes, 9.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. Simeon.
Lord H. Vane.
Viscount Brackley.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Sir Edward Buxton.
Colonel Thompson.
Mr. Evelyn Denison.
Mr. Cardwell.

No, 1.
Sir R. H. Inglis.

Resolved, That in addition to Sir Charles Hotham, the Committee is prepared to receive further evidence from Dr. Lushington, Captain Trotter, and Mr. Waddell; and from no other persons now in this country.

Resolved, That this Committee will meet on Wednesday next, to receive the evidence of Sir Charles Hotham.

[Adjourned till To-morrow, at One o'clock.

Veneris, 20^o die Aprilis, 1849.

MEMBERS PRESENT :

WILLIAM HUTT, Esq. in the Chair.

Lord Harry Vane.
Mr. Simeon.
Viscount Brackley.

Sir Edward Buxton.
Earl of Lincoln.

A Witness was examined.

[Adjourned till Wednesday 25th, at One o'clock.

Mercurii, 25^o die Aprilis, 1849.

MEMBERS PRESENT :

WILLIAM HUTT, Esq. in the Chair.

Mr. Jackson.
Admiral Bowles.
Sir Edward Buxton.
Viscount Brackley.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. E. Denison.
Lord H. Vane.

Mr. Simeon.
Lord John Hay.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Mr. Cardwell.
Earl of Lincoln.
Sir R. H. Inglis.

A Witness was examined.

[Adjourned till Friday next, at Twelve o'clock.

Veneris, 27^o die Aprilis, 1849.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

WILLIAM HUTT, Esq. in the Chair.

Admiral Bowles.
Colonel Thompson.
Lord H. Vane.
Mr. Cardwell.
Mr. Gladstone.
Viscount Brackley.
Sir R. H. Inglis.

Sir Edward Buxton.
Mr. Simeon.
Mr. E. Denison.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Lord J. Hay.
Earl of Lincoln.

A Witness was examined.

[Adjourned till Tuesday next, at One o'clock.

Martis, 1^o die Maii, 1849.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

WILLIAM HUTT, Esq. in the Chair.

Mr. Cardwell.
Sir Edward Buxton.
Admiral Bowles.
Mr. Jackson.
Lord John Hay.
Colonel Thompson.

Mr. M. Milnes.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Simeon.
Viscount Brackley.
Earl of Lincoln.

Witnesses were examined.

[Adjourned till Thursday next, at One o'clock.

Jovis, 3^o die Maii, 1849.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

WILLIAM HUTT, Esq. in the Chair.

Mr. Simeon.
Mr. E. Denison.
Mr. Jackson.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. M. Milnes.

Earl of Lincoln.
Lord John Hay.
Sir E. Buxton.
Colonel Thompson.

A Witness was examined.

[Adjourned.

Martis, 22^o die Maii, 1849.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

WILLIAM HUTT, Esq. in the Chair.

Sir Edward Buxton.
Admiral Bowles.
Viscount Brackley.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Lord H. Vane.

Mr. E. Denison.
Mr. Cardwell.
Mr. Jackson.
Colonel Thompson.
Lord John Hay.

Resolved, That this Committee at its rising, do adjourn till Tuesday 12th June, at Twelve o'clock.

Resolved, That the Chairman be instructed to move for leave to Report the Evidence to this date to The House.

[Adjourned till Tuesday, 12th June, at Twelve o'clock.

Martis, 12^o die Junii, 1849.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

WILLIAM HUTT, Esq. in the Chair.

Mr. Cardwell.
Lord John Hay.
Sir Edward Buxton.
Mr. Simeon.
Mr. E. Denison.
Lord H. Vane.
Colonel Thompson.

Sir R. H. Inglis.
Viscount Brackley.
Mr. Jackson.
Admiral Bowles.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Mr. Gladstone.
Earl of Lincoln.

The Resolutions agreed to by the Committee which was appointed in the last Session of Parliament to consider the best means which Great Britain can adopt for providing for the final extinction of the Slave Trade; the Report proposed by the Chairman; and the Resolutions proposed by Sir R. H. Inglis, Admiral Bowles, and Mr. Monckton Milnes, on Paper c; by Sir Edward Buxton, Paper g; by Mr. Cardwell, Paper d; and by Colonel Thompson, Paper e; were severally read, as follows:—

“ RESOLUTIONS agreed to by the COMMITTEE of the last Session, and to be again proposed by the CHAIRMAN.

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

“ No. 1.

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

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

“ No. 2.

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

DATE.	Amount of Slaves Exported.	Average Casualties during the Voyage.		Slaves Imported into Spanish Colonies.	Imported into Brazil.	Captured by Cruisers.	Total Amount of Slaves Imported.	Loss by Casualties (again stated).	TOTAL (as at first)
		Average Proportion.	Amount.						
1840 - - -	64,114	25 per cent.	16,068	14,470	30,000	3,616	48,086	16,028	64,114
1841 - - -	45,097	25 "	11,274	11,857	16,000	5,966	33,823	11,274	45,097
1842 - - -	28,400	25 "	7,100	3,150	14,200	3,950	21,300	7,100	28,400
1843 - - -	55,062	25 "	13,765	8,000	30,500	2,797	41,297	13,765	55,062
1844 - - -	54,102	25 "	13,525	10,000	26,000	4,577	40,577	13,525	54,102
1845 - - -	36,758	25 "	9,189	1,350	22,700	3,519	27,569	9,189	36,758
1846 - - -	76,117	25 "	19,029	1,700	52,600	2,788	57,088	19,029	76,117
1847 - - -	84,356	25 "	21,989	1,600	57,800	3,967	63,267	21,089	84,356

Foreign Office Reports, and Bantline's Abstract.

3987. 4782, 4783.
4985. 5308.

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

*

4114. 4602. 5589,
5590.

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

Foreign Office Reports,
and Bandinel's
Abstract.

" 4. That the total number of negroes liberated by British cruisers in the years 1846 and 1847 scarcely exceeded four per cent. of the slaves carried off from Africa in those years, as estimated according to the table affixed to the 1st Resolution.

4103. 4343. 5354.
Foreign Office Reports.

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

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

4109. 4123. 4160.
4945. 5323.

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

2884. 2923. 3319.
3324. 3325.

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

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

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

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

" REPORT

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

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

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

“ REPORT to be proposed by Mr. *Hutt*, after moving the adoption of the Resolutions agreed to by the Committee of the last Session.

“ 1. THAT a long and large experience of attempts at forcibly suppressing the Slave Trade, leads to the conclusion that to put down that trade by a Marine Guard is impracticable.

“ 2. That over and above a return to the system of discouragement by commercial legislation, several measures related to the use of force have been suggested as capable of being employed in aid of the present preventive system, with a hope of rendering it effective, particularly the destruction of barracoons, the infliction of the penalties of Piracy on the captains and crews of vessels engaged in the Slave Trade, and the enforced liberation of all Slaves illegally imported into Brazil and the Spanish colonies.

“ 3. Your Committee have anxiously considered whether these expedients are practically available, as they conceive that if that were the case, such expedients ought to be tried before the abandonment of the system of forcible suppression should be resolved upon. But even assuming that Great Britain either is actually entitled, or could by negotiation acquire a title, to adopt all of these measures, Your Committee are still deeply convinced, that such a prosecution of them as could alone be effectual, would not be sustained by the general opinion of other civilized countries; would be attended with the imminent risk of most serious calamities, and would scarcely be sooner commenced than abandoned.

“ 4. Your Committee are, therefore, constrained to believe that no modification of the system of force can effect the suppression of the Slave Trade, and they cannot undertake the responsibility of recommending the continuance of that system.

“ 5. Your Committee do not, however, conceive that if the use of force is to be abandoned, it therefore follows that Great Britain is to become neutral or indifferent with respect to the Slave Trade.

“ 6. Your Committee are of the belief that the sentiments proper to humanity and to the Christian Religion, which forbid the existence of that traffic, are by no means extinct in the Slave-trading countries, and they think it is demonstrated, as even apart from evidence, it would have appeared every way probable, that these sentiments are at present unnaturally depressed from the alliance, which circumstances have created, between the cause of the Slave Trader and the spirit of national independence. They trust, however, that when once the system of forcible prevention by a foreign power shall have ceased, this traffic will be judged of in those countries by its own merits, and that the sentiments opposed to it, which have heretofore been lamentably weakened, will gradually grow into predominance. They believe that in relinquishing the system of forcible suppression, it will, upon the whole, be the wisest course for Great Britain to rely frankly upon those sentiments, and to study to promote and quicken their development by every suitable means. Nor would there be wanting in Cuba and Brazil motives of self-interest to come in aid of that policy which religion and the human heart suggest. The very fear of an unlimited importation of slaves would be likely to produce a strong reaction in public feeling. A further extensive increase in the relative numbers of the black population in Cuba and Brazil could not fail to be attended with a general sense of political and personal insecurity.

“ 7. It is painful to Your Committee to acknowledge want of success in an undertaking to which the intelligence, the energy, and the wealth of Britain have been so long and so unsparingly applied; an undertaking, the success of which this country has endeavoured to ensure by great sacrifices of human life, and for which it has consented to place at constant hazard the peace of the world; but nothing can absolve Your Committee from the duty of recognising the truth of the case as their inquiry has brought it under view.

“ 8. Even in these circumstances, Your Committee derive some consolation from the reflection, that in former ages, iniquity akin to this, even though not equal to it in system and in scale, has been put down, not indeed by the force of armaments, but by the silent influences, acting in happy concurrence, of advancing intelligence, and of that religion to which the civilized world yet pays its homage.

“ 9. It would still be the duty of the British Government to avow its unabated hostility to the African Slave Trade, to employ every means compatible with a just regard to the independence of other States, to promote the mitigation of its evils and to accelerate its final extinction; and by no means to shrink from suggesting further pacific efforts, and even further sacrifices, in the cause for which it has already toiled so much, if at any time they should be found necessary for the attainment of so happy a consummation.”

“ PROPOSED RESOLUTIONS.—Paper c.

“ 1. THAT this Committee was appointed by the House of Commons to consider the best means which Great Britain can adopt for the purpose of suppressing the Slave Trade.—(Sir *R. H. Inglis*.)

“ 2. That among the means of suppressing the Slave Trade this Committee recommend the consideration of The House the duty of submitting to Her Majesty forthwith to take measures,

measures, in communication with Her allies, whereby any vessel which either shall contain slaves, or shall be fitted up for the purpose of the slave trade, shall, when legally condemned, be declared to have been a pirate vessel, and whereby the officers and the crew of such vessel shall be condemned to imprisonment with hard labour; provided always that such crew shall not be claimed by any civilized state in alliance with Her Majesty, as the subjects of such state.—(Sir *R. H. Inglis*.)

“ 3. That your Committee recommend, as one other of the means of suppressing the Slave Trade, The House do take measures for enacting forthwith a law whereby no suit shall be permitted to be prosecuted in any English court for any damages for any alleged wrong arising out of measures for the suppression of the Slave Trade.—(Sir *R. H. Inglis*.)

“ 4. That in addition to the opinions of various other naval officers whose evidence is already on record, Your Committee have lately had an opportunity of examining Commodore Sir C. Hotham, K. C. B., who has recently held the chief command on the Coast of Africa, and although the view taken by him of the prospect of the suppression of the Slave Trade by the means at present in operation is certainly less encouraging than that of most of his brother officers, yet it appears that no one can deprecate more strongly than himself the withdrawal of the British squadron until all the treaties and arrangements which he suggests as better calculated to effect this object have been fully completed, and that it is his opinion that a force of at least 12 ships of war will be indispensable on the West Coast of Africa, to enforce the due execution of those contemplated stipulations with Brazil and other Powers, or, in any case, for the protection of the lawful commerce of this country.—(Admiral *Bowles*.)

“ 5. That it appears further, from the evidence of Sir C. Hotham, that the discipline and efficiency of the squadron under his command has always been perfectly satisfactory, while the mortality has not exceeded 1½ per cent., being below the usual average in the East or West Indies; and evidently disappointed as he is at the absence of that complete success which he had (perhaps too sanguinely) anticipated, and at the want of that co-operation on the part of the French squadron which circumstances prevented, but which if it could have been afforded, would probably have been attended with decisive results; it must, nevertheless, be observed, that the force under his command captured in two and a half years 176 vessels, and liberated above 15,000 slaves, and cannot therefore be considered that failure which its opponents would represent.—(Admiral *Bowles*.)

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

“ 7. That it would be advisable to establish on several points of the coast depôts of coals, to be contained in condemned slave vessels, anchored off the coast, which might at the same time serve to give shelter and protection to the boats of the cruisers sent on duty in shore.—(Mr. *Monckton Milnes*.)

“ 8. That it appears certain that any such diminution of the force of the squadron as would imply the abandonment of that resolution to suppress the Slave Trade, which the moral sense and religious feeling of this country so earnestly adopted, would give such an additional impulse to that traffic as would largely increase all the horrors of slave capture in Africa itself, multiply in an incalculable degree the miseries of the middle passage by the augmented competition of lesser capitalists, would re-introduce into British commerce the custom and habit of slave-dealing in defiance of British law, as Brazilian slave-dealing is carried on in defiance of Brazilian law, and would bring national discredit on this country throughout the world, by avowing that the British people were ready to abandon the greatest social reformation ever undertaken by a portion of mankind as soon as the difficulties and cost of the enterprise somewhat exceeded their expectations.—(Mr. *Monckton Milnes*.)

“ 9. That the treaty-engagements between this country and the chiefs and headmen on the West Coast of Africa having been on their part observed with remarkable fidelity, it would seem that such engagements might generally be contracted and enforced, with populations especially addicted to commerce, by offering on the one hand all the advantages of the friendship, assistance, and trade of Great Britain; and on the other, the blockade of the coast, the destruction of barracoons and depôts of goods, and other such forcible measures, as in the year 1842 had so nearly brought this work to a successful termination.—(Mr. *Monckton Milnes*.)

“ 10. That inasmuch as it has been conclusively proved that the whole supply of sugar from the sugar-growing regions of Brazil and Cuba is produced by forced labour; and inasmuch as such forced labour is not provided in those regions by slaves born therein, but is regularly and periodically furnished by successive shiploads from Africa; and inasmuch as such importations perpetuate accordingly all the horrors, by the infliction of which on Africa Christendom has been there chiefly known; and inasmuch as every pound of sugar, being such produce of forced labour in Brazil or in Cuba, which is imported thence into England, is not only a discouragement to the produce of free labour, but is a direct sanction and premium to the Slave Trade itself; and inasmuch as England has for several years cheerfully

cheerfully paid more than 300,000 *l.* per annum in maintaining a squadron on the coast of Africa for the purpose of preventing the importation of slaves into Cuba and Brazil,—it is inconsistent with common sense to discourage with the one hand, at a great cost of money and at a great risk of life, such supply of slaves to Brazil and Cuba, and, on the other hand, to encourage and invite into England the produce and labour of those slaves who, in despite of all the efforts of Her Majesty's preventive squadron, may have been imported into Brazil and Cuba: and the Committee considering that this conduct is alike inconsistent with ordinary reason, with the national character, and with Christian principle; and having been appointed by The House to consider the best means which Great Britain can adopt for providing for the final extinction of the Slave Trade, regard it as their first and highest duty most urgently to represent to The House that, while they respectfully submit the other considerations hereinbefore set forth, as either necessary or highly desirable for the prevention of the Slave Trade, no such measures can ever be crowned with complete success, or receive the Divine blessing, so long as, coldly and systematically, habitual encouragement is given to the wholesale commission of the sins and crimes connected with the Slave Trade, merely because the foreign perpetrators can thereby supply a pound of sugar at a fractional price below that at which the colonies of the British Empire can supply it by free and honest labour to their fellow subjects at home.—(Sir *R. H. Inglis.*)”

“AMENDED RESOLUTIONS, to be proposed by Sir *E. N. Buxton.*—Paper *g.*

“THAT the Committee appointed to consider the best means which Great Britain can adopt for providing for the extinction of the Slave Trade, has taken much evidence on the subject.

“1. That the attention of the Committee has been chiefly given to the efficiency of the naval armament hitherto employed, the means of increasing that efficiency, and the probable consequences of withdrawing the naval force altogether.

“2. That it is their opinion that the cruisers acting as a marine police have, by their vigilance and activity, diminished the foreign Slave Trade to a considerable extent, have restrained British subjects from openly and directly embarking in it, and have given protection to legitimate commerce, and to the lives and property of British subjects.

“3. That if the naval force were withdrawn, the Slave Trade would immediately increase; that it would be opened to the adventures of small capitalists, with a great aggravation of suffering to their victims; that the African seas would be infested with pirates; that the interior of Africa would be given up to war, rapine, and bloodshed; and that every facility would be afforded to unprincipled British subjects freely and directly to embark in the Trade.

“4. That in the absence of our naval police, not only might such practices be carried on with impunity, but without the possibility of laying before the Legislature satisfactory evidence of their existence.

“5. That the future prosperity of our sugar-growing colonies would be seriously affected by the unrestricted influx of slave labour into Cuba and the Brazils.

“6. That it appears from the evidence of the naval officers examined before the Committee, that a large force must, at all events, be maintained on the coast of Africa, for the security of the persons and property of British subjects engaged in lawful commerce.

“7. That by the withdrawal of the squadron the national character for honesty, consistency, and good faith would be endangered, and self-interested motives would be imputed to us for the unequalled efforts which we have now made for more than 40 years to extinguish the Slave Trade and Slavery.

“8. That this Committee is, therefore, not prepared to recommend that the naval armament on the African coast should be withdrawn, but rather that its efficiency should be increased.

“9. That with the view of effecting this object, the Committee would suggest,

“That additional steamers should be employed.

“That small forts or armed factories should be established at different points on the coast.

“That means should be adopted for the destruction of the slave barracoons and factories on or near the coast.

“That an Act should be passed to bar any slave trader of his right to bring an action for damages in the courts of this country, in consequence of injuries inflicted by our cruisers.

“That the officers of vessels engaged in the Slave Trade should be punished; opportunity being given, under due regulations, to any foreign country to claim them as subjects.

“10. That the attention of this Committee has also been given to the Treaties into which we have entered with slave-trading states.

"11. That it appears that by several treaties and conventions with Spain and Brazil, it is stipulated in relation to Spain by Article 1 of the Treaty of 1817, that the Trade shall be abolished throughout the entire dominions of Spain on the 30th day of May 1830, and that from and after that period it shall not be lawful for any of the subjects of the Crown of Spain to purchase slaves, or to carry on the Slave Trade upon any part of the coast of Africa, upon any pretext, or in any manner whatever; and in relation to Brazil, it was stipulated by Article 1 of the Convention of 1826, that at the expiration of three years, to be reckoned from the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty (which took place on the 13th of March 1827), it shall not be lawful for the subjects of the Emperor of Brazil to be concerned in the carrying on of the African trade under any pretext, or in any manner whatsoever, and the carrying on of such trade after that period by any person, subject to his Imperial Majesty, shall be deemed and treated as piracy.

"And it further appears, that in consequence of these engagements the governments of Spain and Brazil have issued decrees, by which all Africans who might be surreptitiously introduced into their colonies and territories respectively, in contravention of the said treaties, should be free, and all parties implicated in their introduction severely punished.

"12. That nevertheless it is a notorious fact that vast numbers of Africans have been imported into the Brazils and the Spanish colonies since the Slave Trade has been so declared unlawful, notwithstanding the protracted and costly efforts of this country to prevent it.

"13. That notwithstanding this systematic infraction by Cuba and the Brazils of the treaties made with Great Britain, the slave-grown sugar of those countries has been admitted on favourable terms into the British market, and that a great stimulus has thereby been given to the African Slave Trade.

"14. That this Committee, therefore, recommends to Her Majesty's Government, in accordance with its proceedings in relation to Spain in 1840, to make a formal demand on the Spanish and Brazilian governments for the liberation from slavery of all Africans who have been illegally imported into any part of their dominions, together with their descendants, and to notify to them that measures will be forthwith taken to exclude their produce from the British markets until such time as the treaties and conventions for the complete abolition of the Slave Trade, and the said decrees, be fully carried into execution, and effectual means taken to prevent a renewal of the trade.

"15. That the attention of this Committee has also been given to the state of commerce and civilization in Western Africa.

"16. That it appears that hitherto no continued efforts on a large scale have been made to open commercial intercourse with Western Africa; that but few settlements have been established; that instruction has not been systematically given to the natives; and that though various treaties have been entered into with African chiefs for the promotion of commerce, due provision has not been made for giving them effect.

"17. That wherever settlements have been made on the coast by the Government, or even by missionaries alone, the Slave Trade has been wholly or partially suppressed, as at the Gambia, Sierra Leone, Liberia, the Gold Coast, Badagry and Old Calabar; and that wherever it has been diminished legitimate commerce has sprung up, and is rapidly increasing.

"18. That the importance of the African trade, if it were effectually opened, would be very great, not merely with reference to the Slave Trade, but to the extensive markets which might be opened for British manufactures, and the abundant supply of raw produce which might be procured in exchange.

"19. That this Committee therefore recommend that attempts should be made, with due regard to health and economy, to adopt a more comprehensive and efficient scheme of establishing intercourse with Africa than has hitherto been adopted.

"20. That in the opinion of this Committee, no one measure, however promising in itself, should be relied upon as sufficient for the extinction of an evil of such magnitude, and so deeply rooted as the Slave Trade, but a combination of means of a practical character, and not involving an expense disproportionate to their promise, ought to be simultaneously and vigorously adopted; namely,

"The maintenance of an effective marine force.

"The exclusion of slave-grown sugar from this country, and the enforcement of our treaties with slave-trading states.

"And, lastly, the systematic encouragement of agriculture, legitimate commerce, and civilization in Africa itself."

“RESOLUTIONS to be proposed by Mr. *Cardwell*, to succeed the Resolutions adopted by the Committee of the last Session.—Paper *d*.

“IN this very unsatisfactory state of the case many courses have been recommended by the different witnesses.

“By some the withdrawal of the squadron has been strongly urged. In the view of those who recommend this course, the horrors of the Middle Passage would be greatly diminished by the removal of those apprehensions on the part of the slave dealer, which now occasion the peculiar construction of the slaving vessels, the short supplies of food and water, and the haste with which the slaves are often forced on board, when the opportunity serves for escaping the vigilance of the cruisers.

“It is further contended, that the present system enlists on the side of the slave trader the feeling of national pride in the Empire of Brazil, and discourages the party in that country by whom the continuance of the slave trade is opposed.

“It is also said that a growing apprehension is entertained in that country of the increasing disproportion between the races; and that, in the absence of any forcible interference on the part of foreign powers, considerations of domestic policy would press upon the government of Brazil the necessity of preventing the continued importation of slaves from Africa.

“It appears from the general course of the evidence, and particularly from the important testimony of Sir Charles Hotham, that some weight is fairly due to these opinions. On the other hand, however, Sir Charles Hotham decidedly considers that the trade would, upon the whole, be conducted with circumstances of still greater atrocity, if the squadron were at once removed without the adoption of other measures of repression at the same time, while the government of Brazil, whatever might be its motives, either of humanity or policy, is not sufficiently powerful to oppose itself with effect to the immediate interests of those who derive profit, directly or indirectly, from this traffic.

“Considerable stress has also been laid upon the importance of establishing a constant and free communication by steamers between the West India colonies and those ports of Africa in which the slave trade does not exist. It is proposed that this should be accomplished principally or entirely at the expense of the colony, and that the freedom of the emigrant should be secured by precautions to be taken at the place of embarkation under the authority of the British Government. It would be necessary, on the one hand, that a sufficient average length of servitude to repay the cost of the transit should be secured by contract, while, on the other hand, great advantages are expected to arise, both to the African race and to the West India colonies, by the return of a portion of the emigrants to their native country from time to time, with reports of the improved condition in which they have been placed in the West Indies. A double effect is expected from this plan; it is believed that it will operate materially to stimulate legitimate trade, and to open the way to civilization and Christianity in Africa itself; while, by enabling the colonies to compete successfully with the countries which now resort to the slave trade as the means of providing for the cultivation of sugar, it would strike a blow at that traffic in the point in which it is most vulnerable. This scheme, it is obvious, may equally be adopted, whether the forcible repression of the trade along the whole extent of the coast by means of cruisers be or be not persisted in by Great Britain and the countries which now co-operate with her for that purpose.

“By a different class of witnesses very different measures have been recommended. It has been said, with truth, that the penalties now inflicted on the persons taken in the actual commission of this crime are wholly disproportioned to its enormity, and inadequate to its repression. It is therefore suggested that the crime of slave trading should be visited with all the penalties of piracy. It has been particularly suggested to the Committee by the high authority of Dr. Lushington, that a system of personal chastisement might at once be carried into effect; reserving, however, to every nation the power of claiming and dealing with, by its own tribunals, any of its own subjects. By this plan it is supposed that all present risk of infringing the law of nations could be avoided, and that the gradual acquisition of all nations in an effectual system of repression would be obtained.

“Other measures have also been suggested, and particularly the requirement by this country, from Spain and Brazil, of the strict fulfilment of all their obligations by the general emancipation of all Africans now held in slavery contrary to the treaties now in force.

“It is plain that this requirement could only be enforced by actual hostility directed against Spain and Brazil; and that, before a British force could be employed for carrying into execution the other stringent measures to which reference has been made, a full understanding on the subject must be established among the principal powers of those which constitute the community of nations.

“Your Committee are not prepared to recommend the withdrawal, by Great Britain, of her contingent from that system which her influence has been so mainly instrumental in recommending to other countries, without any communication with those countries, and without any definite understanding of their views; nor do they feel, on the other hand, that all those considerations of international policy upon which the adoption of more stringent measures must depend, fall within their knowledge.

“Your Committee think that the future conduct of Great Britain with regard to the repression of the slave trade, must necessarily be influenced in some measure by the conduct of the other countries with which we are now associated by treaties for this object, and particularly by the conduct of France and of America. They think that the comparative failure of our efforts to attain the end in view furnishes to the executive Government matter for the gravest consideration, and especially for considering whether, by improved arrangements with the powers now engaged in co-operation with Great Britain on this subject, and by further communications between Great Britain, conjointly with those powers, upon the one side, and Spain and Brazil upon the other, more effectual measures may not at length be taken for the repression, and ultimate extinction, of a traffic so disgraceful to the nations by whose subjects it is still maintained in defiance of express stipulation by treaty, and in violation of the feelings of humanity.”

RESOLUTIONS to be proposed by Colonel *Thompson*.—Paper *e*.

“1. THAT the principal result of the evidence before Your Committee is to show, that the effect of the naval force employed against the Slave Trade on the west coast of Africa, has been the same that is reasonably to be expected from any naval operations against a hostile commerce, namely, the reduction of that commerce, in the first place by the amount of the actual captures, and in the second, by the extent to which the expenses of any future commerce are increased by the risk of future captures.

“2. That the evidence of many of the witnesses contains the marks of grave misconception on matters of theory, by which the tone of their evidence has been seriously affected; among which, since the duty of Your Committee is to give effect to facts and not to theories, may be noted as follow:

“3. The evident confounding of the question whether the squadron has produced the reasonable effects to be expected from any system of cruisers, with the question whether the squadron has or will by itself put an end to all manner of carrying slaves by sea. Upon which it is impossible to overlook, that in the naval wars within the cognizance of living men, and in fact in all naval wars whatsoever, the question never was whether the commerce of the enemy was so totally destroyed that no vessel of his could be found upon the seas, but whether it was crippled to such an extent as to be likely to produce a serious effect in aid of the termination of the war.

“4. The opinion plainly prevalent with some of the witnesses, including some naval officers, that cruising against an enemy's commerce is a useless operation, because by augmenting the risks, it increases the profits and wages necessary to cover them, the tendency of which they think is in turn to increase the commerce. Upon which it is open to remark, as before, that in the wars referred to, there is no doubt that the necessary profits and wages of the enemy's commerce were made greater; and it was precisely because they were so obliged to be greater, that the sum of the enemy's commerce was diminished.

“5. The opinion distinctly expressed in the same quarters, that it is useless to cruise against one part of an enemy's coast, because his commerce is thereby only driven to some other. Upon which it is open to remark, that if the enemy's commerce is driven from the place it prefers, to the place it does not, this in itself is to a great extent accomplishing the object of the cruisers. In further illustration of which, it is clear that in the actual case, the question was of driving the trade from the west coast, to which the traders from the slave-trading countries voluntarily betake themselves in an overwhelming proportion, to the east coast, where the number that voluntarily go is exceedingly small. Whence it is in the power of any man engaged in trade to calculate whether his own commerce would or would not be damaged by a forced transfer of the nature described.

“6. The persuasion prevalent among the same class of witnesses, that by the use of steam the enemy would only be driven to use steam too, and that by this his relative position would be as before. Upon which it is open to remark, that no such principle has been or will be admitted in the conduct of naval war in general, but on the contrary, the introduction of steam is universally felt to be certain to increase the power of the strongest, and carry further the diminution of that commerce which cannot be protected by meeting the hostile cruisers on equal terms upon the sea. In further illustration of which may be observed, that it appears in evidence that to carry on the Slave Trade by means of steam, would cause the expense of transporting a slave to be six times what it is at present. The effect of which must be, to reduce the number of slaves finally conveyed, in the same manner that would take place in any other trade by a sixfold increase of the expense of freight.

“7. The conviction manifestly existing among some of the witnesses as aforesaid, that the asserted fact (which may be correct or not) that the escape of one vessel in four is enough to make the trade profitable, is proof that the trade is not in the course of being seriously reduced. Whereas Your Committee cannot withhold its belief that this fact, if it has been reduced to experiment, is the very proof that the trade has been diminished to the extent attendant upon making its expenses four times greater than they would have been, and that the evidence in favour of the effectiveness of the squadron would only have been

been stronger, if instead of one in four being sufficient to pay for what were lost, it had been one in forty.

“ 8. That Your Committee is indisposed to join in the opinion traceable among some of the same witnesses, that there is a skill and energy among the seamen and shipbuilders of Brazil or other countries, with which the British navy and departments connected with it are incompetent to contend. And this indisposition is founded on the belief, that there are and can be no resources of science or otherwise at the disposal of the slave traders of those countries, which might not, with proper care, be communicated to the navy of Great Britain, supposing even the fact to be as intimated, that it is at present inferior in those points.

“ 9. That Your Committee is equally disposed to view with hesitation the opinion plainly in the minds of some of the same witnesses, that the sufferings of the slaves have been enhanced by the presence of the British cruisers in a degree which forms an argument against the continuance of a system of repression; such opinion appearing to be not grounded on facts established before Your Committee, but on vague and general judgments derived from hearsay, or other defective sources. In which place it is open to remark, that the allegation of increased sufferings may be divided into sufferings prior to embarkation, and sufferings after. The first of these, including the intimated dangers of massacre in the event of disappointment on reaching the coast, may be considered as having been before the public from the earliest moving of the question of the abolition of the slave trade, and to have been disposed of by public opinion as, to say the least, exaggerated and doubtful. The other, or the enhancement of the sufferings by sea, may be conceived to take place to a certain extent, in the same manner as the sufferings of the inhabitants of the shores of the Mediterranean, in the times when they were exposed to be carried off by Barbary cruisers, might by possibility be enhanced by the contingencies arising out of the dread of the cruisers of civilized powers. But Your Committee is unwilling to commit itself to the belief, that any collection of the natives of the Mediterranean shores would have been found petitioning for the removal of such cruisers, in order that their transport to the Barbary shores might be made less difficult and distressful.

“ 10. That on all the points named, in addition to the arguments from common reason and general experience, there is found a mass of evidence, from witnesses professionally, or otherwise capable of giving the best information, and entirely in support of the views here previously stated.

“ 11. On the subject of the health of the squadron on the west coast of Africa, it is found stated in evidence, that under a certain system of management, the deaths in the squadron were three times greater than on other tropical stations, as, for instance, the East and West Indies; and that under another system, they were less than on those stations. From which it follows, that there is no inherent reason why the naval force should be withdrawn from the west coast of Africa on account of danger from the climate, more than why it should be withdrawn from other tropical stations on the same account.

“ 12. On the subject of the manning of the African squadron, it has been given in evidence before your Committee, that seamen volunteer for Her Majesty's vessels on the African station with greater alacrity than for any others; the reason being stated to be, that the station is considered to be one of activity and hope. In which is apparent a strong contradiction to the belief of either the general ill success of the squadron as cruisers, or of the intolerable nature of the service.

“ 13. That though some of the witnesses have delivered an opinion, that the service on the west coast of Africa, on account of the mildness of the climate and other causes, is not favourable for the training of officers and seamen for the Royal Navy, it is palpable, on the other hand, that under the circumstances of the subdivision into small vessels, and the active nature of the service as established by the evidence alluded to in the last paragraph, the tendency to form officers and seamen is likely to be at least equal to the average in the navy actually afloat, composed as it is to a great extent of heavy ships, lying long in harbours, and not engaged in operations against anything of the nature of an enemy when at sea.

“ 14. That on the subject of the expense of the African squadron, there is reason from the evidence to believe, that the vessels and crews are larger than necessary for the service, and consequently the expense is so far unnecessarily increased in proportion to the efficiency. That it has been stated before your Committee, on authority of high reputation, that 25 steam-vessels, each carrying one long gun and 50 men, would, on an extensive view, be adequate to the service. Which, for the sake of reducing the relative amount of such an armament, in comparison with the resources of Great Britain, to terms with which the public and foreigners are familiar, may be stated as implying for vessels, crews, and their maintenance, an expense corresponding to that of two sail of the line; to which must be made addition on account of coals sent out to the coast and consumed, the amount of which might be usefully ascertained by further evidence.

“ 15. That it is plain to Your Committee from the Evidence, as well as from declarations made in Your Honourable House, that the great argument for the removal of the African squadron, and for the cessation of that repression of the Slave Trade which may be consequent upon its presence, is the profit which would arise to British merchants and manufac-

urers from being the furnishers of goods which might be used by foreigners for barter on the coast of Africa, or consumed within their own territories, in consequence of a general cultivation of the South American continent, with islands adjacent, by means of slaves from Africa.

“ 16. On which it is open in the first place to remark, that the acceptance of such profit has been over and over rejected by the morality of the nation; the principle being no other than was in discussion during the whole of the agitation which led to the abolition of the Slave Trade by Great Britain. And secondly, that while the existence of such profits is only contingent and in expectation, there exists a legitimate trade of great and growing amount with the interior of Africa through the coast, to which the proposed freedom of the foreign Slave Trade would be entirely hostile.

“ 17. That your Committee perceives with pleasure throughout the evidence, an entire absence of prejudice as to any natural inferiority of the African races, and a perfect admission that British-born subjects of African ancestry are as competent as any others, in proportion to their education and opportunities, to advance any just object of the British people, commercial, naval, or military. In which Your Committee cannot fail to see an unlimited opening for the extension of British commerce among the millions of the interior; being a natural result from the lead which Great Britain has taken in protesting against the permission of slavery, and maintaining the rights of the African population.

“ 18. That Your Committee cannot in any degree sympathize with the hardship suggested to be put upon foreign communities, as for instance Brazil, by demanding from them the execution of treaties which were entered into with their free consent, and palpably for a valuable consideration from the other side, to wit, the recognition and countenance afforded to them by Great Britain at the period of entering into such treaties.

“ 19. That Your Committee is not bound to give an opinion on the dictum of a Vice-Admiralty Judge of past times, by which the plain intentions of the contracting parties in declaring the Slave Trade piracy have been nullified. But it is in evidence on authority of at least equal weight, that the law of nations, like other laws, has been and is, cumulative and of gradual growth; that matters and points, now within the law of nations, were not always so, and consequently matters not now or in time past within the law of nations may come to be so; and that the natural course of such process is, that the new article or principle should be accepted and avowed by two or more nations first, in their solemn treaties with each other, and be acted upon within the limits by such treaties arranged and determined, till in the end it may come to be adopted by all, or by so nearly all, as to authorize the application of the term law of nations to the result. From which the conclusion must be, that the instant defect in the treaty with Brazil, consisted in not stating with sufficient perspicuity the intent of the contracting parties to be, that subjects of either found engaged in the prosecution of the slave trade, should be liable to be dealt with, and should be dealt with, by the other contracting party, in like manner as by any law or usage having the force of law, pirates upon the high seas have been wont to be dealt with.

“ 20. That your Committee, finally, is impressed with the belief, that the substantial means of co-operating with the effect of a naval blockade and the treaties connected with it, would have been by making the admission of foreign sugars contingent upon the producing countries acceding to reasonable terms for the suppression of the slave trade, and fulfilling the stipulations of the same. That though this involves the loss of the difference of price to the consumers so long as the exclusion lasted, there may be strong reasons for believing that the exclusion would not be lasting; and there would further have been the removal of the weighty inconveniences which will arise, from the inevitable efforts of the British colonial interests to obtain compensation for the admission of foreign sugars, by the relaxation of the laws prohibiting the export of negroes from Africa to British colonies. But if retrogression in this kind has long been condemned by the voice of the majority of the British community, economy as well as policy points to the concentration of the practicable methods of repression of the foreign slave trade, as the most compendious mode of preventing the evils both present and in prospect.”

Motion made and question put, “ That the Committee which sat during the last Session of Parliament adopted certain Resolutions which were reported to The House. In the report of those Resolutions this Committee is agreed with the Committee of last Session.”

Committee divided :

Ayes, 8.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. E. Denison.
Viscount Brackley.
Mr. Jackson.
Lord John Hay.
Mr. Cardwell.
Mr. Simeon.
Lord H. Vane.

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

Motion

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

Amendment proposed (Sir *Edward Buxton*), "To leave out all the words after 'That the,' and to insert the words, 'resolutions proposed by Sir Edward Buxton be now taken into consideration.'"

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

Committee divided :

Ayes, 7.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. E. Denison.
Viscount Brackley.
Mr. Jackson.
Earl of Lincoln.
Mr. Simeon.
Lord H. Vane.

Noes, 7.
Lord John Hay.
Colonel Thompson.
Admiral Bowles.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Cardwell.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Sir Edward Buxton.

The Chairman gave his vote with the Ayes.

Original question put.

Committee divided :

Ayes, 7.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. E. Denison.
Viscount Brackley.
Mr. Jackson.
Earl of Lincoln.
Mr. Simeon.
Lord H. Vane.

Noes, 7.
Lord John Hay.
Colonel Thompson.
Admiral Bowles.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Cardwell.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Sir Edward Buxton.

The Chairman gave his vote with the Ayes.

First paragraph of Report proposed by the Chairman again read as follows :

"That a long and large experience of attempts at forcibly suppressing the slave trade, leads to the conclusion that to put down that trade by a marine guard is impracticable."

Amendment proposed (Sir *R. H. Inglis*), "To leave out all the words after 'That,' and to insert the words 'the Resolutions proposed by Sir R. H. Inglis, Mr. M. Milnes, and Admiral Bowles, on Paper c, be adopted as the basis of the Report.'"

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

Committee divided :

Ayes, 7.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. E. Denison.
Viscount Brackley.
Mr. Jackson.
Earl of Lincoln.
Mr. Simeon.
Lord H. Vane.

Noes, 7.
Lord John Hay.
Colonel Thompson.
Admiral Bowles.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Cardwell.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Sir Edward Buxton.

The Chairman gave his vote with the Ayes.

Another amendment proposed (Sir *R. H. Inglis*), "To add at the end of the question the words 'if such marine guard be to be regarded as the single means to be employed for the purpose.'"

Question, "That those words be there added," put.

Committee divided :

Ayes, 8.
Viscount Brackley.
Lord John Hay.
Colonel Thompson.
Admiral Bowles.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Cardwell.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Sir Edward Buxton.

Noes, 6.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. E. Denison.
Mr. Jackson.
Earl of Lincoln.
Mr. Simeon.
Lord H. Vane.

Words added.

Question, "That the paragraph, as amended, stand part of the proposed Report," put.

Committee divided :

Ayes, 8.
 Viscount Brackley.
 Lord John Hay.
 Colonel Thompson.
 Admiral Bowles.
 Sir R. H. Inglis.
 Mr. Cardwell.
 Mr. M. Milnes.
 Sir Edward Buxton.

Noes, 6.
 Mr. Gladstone.
 Mr. E. Denison.
 Mr. Jackson.
 Earl of Lincoln.
 Mr. Simeon.
 Lord H. Vane.

Second paragraph of Report proposed by Chairman again read as follows :

"That over and above a return to the system of discouragement by commercial legislation, several measures related to the use of force have been suggested as capable of being employed in aid of the present preventive system, with a hope of rendering it effective, particularly the destruction of barracoons, the infliction of the penalties of piracy on the captains and crews of vessels engaged in the slave trade, and the enforced liberation of all slaves illegally imported into Brazil and the Spanish colonies."

Question, "That this paragraph stand part of the proposed Report," put.

Amendment proposed (Colonel *Thompson*), "To insert after the word 'That,' the words 'the Resolutions proposed by Colonel Thompson be taken into consideration.'"

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

Committee divided :

Ayes, 4.
 Colonel Thompson.
 Sir R. H. Inglis.
 Mr. M. Milnes.
 Sir Edward Buxton.

Noes, 10.
 Mr. Gladstone.
 Mr. E. Denison.
 Viscount Brackley.
 Mr. Jackson.
 Lord John Hay.
 Admiral Bowles.
 Earl of Lincoln.
 Mr. Cardwell.
 Mr. Simeon.
 Lord H. Vane.

Another amendment proposed (Mr. *Cardwell*), "After the word 'That' to insert the words 'the Resolutions proposed by Mr. Cardwell be adopted as the basis of the Report.'"

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

Committee divided :

Ayes, 7.
 Lord John Hay.
 Colonel Thompson.
 Admiral Bowles.
 Sir R. H. Inglis.
 Mr. Cardwell.
 Mr. M. Milnes.
 Sir Edward Buxton.

Noes, 7.
 Mr. Gladstone.
 Mr. E. Denison.
 Viscount Brackley.
 Mr. Jackson.
 Earl of Lincoln.
 Mr. Simeon.
 Lord H. Vane.

The Chairman gave his vote with the Noes.

Original question put, and agreed to.

Third paragraph of Report proposed by the Chairman read as follows :

"Your Committee have anxiously considered whether these expedients are practically available, as they conceive that if that were the case, such expedients ought to be tried before the abandonment of the system of forcible suppression should be resolved upon. But even assuming that Great Britain either is actually entitled, or could by negotiation acquire a title, to adopt all of these measures, Your Committee are still deeply convinced, that such a prosecution of them as could alone be effectual, would not be sustained by the general opinion of other civilized countries; would be attended with the imminent risk of most serious calamities; and would scarcely be sooner commenced than abandoned."

Amendment proposed (Mr. *Gladstone*), "After the word 'case' to insert the words 'and if a disposition on the part of the Legislature to reimpose differential duties on the sugar of Brazil and Cuba were to be presumed.'"

Question,

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

Committee divided :

Ayes, 8.
Mr. Gladstone.
Viscount Brackley.
Colonel Thompson.
Admiral Bowles.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Simeon.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Sir Edward Buxton.

Noes, 6.
Mr. E. Denison.
Mr. Jackson.
Lord John Hay.
Earl of Lincoln.
Mr. Cardwell.
Lord H. Vane.

Words inserted.

Another amendment proposed (Mr. *Gladstone*), "After the word 'expedients' to insert the words 'as the three which have been named.'"

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put and agreed to.

Words inserted.

Question, "That the paragraph, as amended, stand part of the proposed Report," put.

Committee divided :

Ayes, 4.
Mr. Gladstone.
Viscount Brackley.
Mr. Simeon.
Lord H. Vane.

Noes, 10.
Mr. E. Denison.
Mr. Jackson.
Lord John Hay.
Colonel Thompson.
Admiral Bowles.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Earl of Lincoln.
Mr. Cardwell.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Sir Edward Buxton.

Motion made (Mr. *Jackson*), and question proposed, "That Your Committee have considered whether these expedients are practically available, as they conceive that if that were the case, such expedients ought to be tried before the abandonment of the system of forcible suppression should be resolved upon. But even assuming that Great Britain either is actually entitled, or could by negotiation acquire a title, to adopt all of these measures, your Committee are still convinced, that such a prosecution of them as could alone be effectual, would not be sustained by the general opinion of other civilized countries; would be attended with the imminent risk of very serious calamities; and would scarcely be sooner commenced than abandoned."

Amendment proposed (Mr. *M. Milnes*), "To leave out all the words after 'Committee,' and to insert the words 'believing that the treaty-engagements between this country and the chiefs and headmen on the west coast of Africa having been on their part observed with remarkable fidelity, it would seem that such engagements might generally be contracted and enforced, with populations especially addicted to commerce, by offering, on the one hand all the advantages of the friendship, assistance, and trade of Great Britain; and on the other, the blockade of the coast, the destruction of barracoons and depôts of goods, and other such forcible measures, as in the year 1842 had so nearly brought this work to a successful termination.'"

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

Committee divided :

Ayes, 8.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. E. Denison.
Viscount Brackley.
Mr. Jackson.
Earl of Lincoln.
Mr. Cardwell.
Mr. Simeon.
Lord H. Vane.

Noes, 6.
Lord John Hay.
Colonel Thompson.
Admiral Bowles.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Sir Edward Buxton.

Original question put.

Committee divided :

Ayes, 7.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. E. Denison.
Viscount Brackley.
Mr. Jackson.
Earl of Lincoln.
Mr. Simeon.
Lord H. Vane.

Noes, 7.
Lord John Hay.
Colonel Thompson.
Admiral Bowles.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Cardwell.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Sir Edward Buxton.

The Chairman gave his vote with the Ayes.

Fourth paragraph of Report proposed by Chairman, read as follows :

“ Your Committee are, therefore, constrained to believe that no modification of the system of force can effect the suppression of the Slave Trade, and they cannot undertake the responsibility of recommending the continuance of that system.”

Amendment proposed (Mr. *Cardwell*), “ To leave out all the words after ‘ Your Committee are,’ and to insert the words, ‘ not prepared to recommend the withdrawal, by Great Britain, of her contingent from that system which her influence has been so mainly instrumental in recommending to other countries, without any communication with those countries, and without any definite understanding of their views ; nor do they feel, on the other hand, that all those considerations of international policy upon which the adoption of more stringent measures must depend, fall within their knowledge.’ ”

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

Committee divided :

Ayes, 7.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. E. Denison.
Viscount Brackley.
Mr. Jackson.
Earl of Lincoln.
Mr. Simeon.
Lord H. Vane.

Noes, 7.
Lord John Hay.
Colonel Thompson.
Admiral Bowles.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Cardwell.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Sir Edward Buxton.

The Chairman gave his vote with the Ayes.

Another amendment proposed, “ To add, at the end of the proposed paragraph, the words, ‘ After such communications with foreign powers as may be necessary, in order to liberate Great Britain from her engagements in respect of the Slave Trade, shall have been concluded.’ ”

Question, “ That those words be there added,” put.

Committee divided :

Ayes, 3.
Mr. Gladstone.
Earl of Lincoln.
Mr. Simeon.

Noes, 11.
Mr. E. Denison.
Viscount Brackley.
Mr. Jackson.
Lord John Hay.
Colonel Thompson.
Admiral Bowles.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Cardwell.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Sir Edward Buxton.
Lord H. Vane.

Another amendment proposed (Mr. *E. Denison*), “ To add, at the end of the proposed paragraph, the words, ‘ Your Committee are not, however, prepared to recommend the immediate and unconditional withdrawal, by Great Britain, of her contingent from that system which her influence has been so mainly instrumental in recommending to other countries, without any communication with those countries, and without any definite understanding of their views.’ ”

Question, “ That those words be there added,” put and agreed to.

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

Veneris, 15^o die Junii, 1849.

MEMBERS PRESENT:

WILLIAM HUTT, Esq. in the Chair.

Earl of Lincoln.
Admiral Bowles.
Sir Edward Buxton.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. Simeon.
Mr. Jackson.
Mr. M. Milnes.

Lord John Hay.
Mr. Cardwell.
Lord H. Vane.
Mr. E. Denison.
Viscount Brackley.
Colonel Thompson.
Sir R. H. Inglis.

Fourth paragraph of Report proposed by Chairman, again read, as amended, as follows:

“Your Committee are, therefore, constrained to believe that no modification of the system of force can effect the suppression of the Slave Trade, and they cannot undertake the responsibility of recommending the continuance of that system; Your Committee are not, however, prepared to recommend the immediate and unconditional withdrawal, by Great Britain, of her contingent from that system which her influence has been so mainly instrumental in recommending to other countries, without any communication with those countries, and without any definite understanding of their views.”

Question, “That this paragraph, as amended, stand part of the proposed Report,” put.

Committee divided:

Ayes, 11.
Earl of Lincoln.
Viscount Brackley.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. E. Denison.
Mr. Simeon.
Mr. Jackson.
Admiral Bowles.
Lord John Hay.
Colonel Thompson
Lord H. Vane.

Noes, 3.
Mr. Cardwell.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Sir Edward Buxton.

Motion made (Mr. Gladstone), and question put, “Your Committee are, however, of opinion, that the aim of those communications should be to release Great Britain from such treaty engagements in respect to the Slave Trade as place the question of maintaining a blockading squadron beyond the free and exclusive control of British authorities.”

Committee divided:

Ayes, 7.
Earl of Lincoln.
Viscount Brackley.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. E. Denison.
Mr. Simeon.
Mr. Jackson.
Lord H. Vane.

Noes, 7.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Cardwell.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Admiral Bowles.
Lord John Hay.
Sir Edward Buxton.
Colonel Thompson.

The Chairman gave his vote with the Ayes.

Motion made (Mr. Cardwell), and question proposed, “That the Committee are of opinion, that the present position of affairs as regards the suppression of the Slave Trade is most unsatisfactory; but they are greatly divided in opinion upon the many remedies which have been suggested by the different witnesses, and that many considerations which bear upon the subject, particularly those which relate to the probable conduct and feelings of other countries, have not been specially brought before the Committee by evidence.”

Amendment proposed (Viscount Brackley), “To leave out all the words after ‘That the,’ and to insert the words, ‘fifth paragraph of the Report proposed by the Chairman be taken into consideration.’”

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

Committee divided :

Ayes, 6.
 Sir R. H. Inglis.
 Mr. Cardwell.
 Admiral Bowles.
 Lord John Hay.
 Sir Edward Buxton.
 Colonel Thompson.

Noes, 8.
 Earl of Lincoln.
 Viscount Brackley.
 Mr. Gladstone.
 Mr. E. Denison.
 Mr. Simeon.
 Mr. Jackson.
 Mr. M. Milnes.
 Lord H. Vane.

Words omitted from question, and proposed words inserted.

Question as amended, put and agreed to.

Fifth paragraph of Report proposed by the Chairman, read as follows :

“Your Committee do not, however, conceive that if the use of force is to be abandoned, it therefore follows that Great Britain is to become neutral or indifferent with respect to the Slave Trade.”

Question, “That this paragraph stand part of the proposed Report,” put, and agreed to.

Motion made (Mr. *M. Milnes*), and question put, “That it nevertheless appears certain, that any such diminution of the force of the squadron as would imply the abandonment of that resolution to suppress the Slave Trade which the moral sense and religious feeling of this country so earnestly adopted, would give such an additional impulse to that traffic as would largely increase all the horrors of slave capture in Africa itself, multiply in an incalculable degree the miseries of the middle passage by augmented competition of the lesser capitalists, re-introduce into British commerce the custom and habit of slave dealing in defiance of British law, as Brazilian slave dealing is carried on in defiance of Brazilian law, and bring national discredit on this country throughout the world, by avowing that the English people were ready to abandon the greatest social reformation ever undertaken by a portion of mankind as soon as the difficulties and cost of the enterprise somewhat exceeded their expectations.”

Committee divided :

Ayes, 6.
 Sir R. H. Inglis.
 Mr. M. Milnes.
 Admiral Bowles.
 Lord John Hay.
 Sir Edward Buxton.
 Colonel Thompson.

Noes, 8.
 Earl of Lincoln.
 Viscount Brackley.
 Mr. Gladstone.
 Mr. Cardwell.
 Mr. E. Denison.
 Mr. Simeon.
 Mr. Jackson.
 Lord H. Vane.

Sixth paragraph of Report, proposed by the Chairman, read as follows :

“Your Committee are of the belief that the sentiments proper to humanity and to the Christian religion, which forbid the existence of that traffic, are by no means extinct in the slave-trading countries, and they think it is demonstrated, as, even apart from evidence, it would have appeared every way probable, that these sentiments are at present unnaturally depressed from the alliance, which circumstances have created, between the cause of the slave-trader and the spirit of national independence. They trust, however, that when once the system of forcible prevention by a foreign power shall have ceased, this traffic will be judged of in those countries by its own merits, and that the sentiments opposed to it, which have heretofore been lamentably weakened, will gradually grow into predominance. They believe that in relinquishing the system of forcible suppression, it will, upon the whole, be the wisest course for Great Britain to rely frankly upon those sentiments, and to study to promote and quicken their development by every suitable means. Nor would there be wanting in Cuba and Brazil motives of self-interest to come in aid of that policy which religion and the human heart suggest. The very fear of an unlimited importation of slaves would be likely to produce a strong reaction in public feeling. A further extensive increase in the relative numbers of the black population in Cuba and Brazil could not fail to be attended with a general sense of political and personal insecurity.”

Amendment proposed (Sir *Edward Buxton*), “to leave out all the words after ‘Your Committee are of,’ and to insert the words, ‘opinion that until the slave-trade treaties are honourably fulfilled by Cuba and the Brazils, the sugar of those countries ought not to be allowed to compete with free-grown sugar in the British markets.’”

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

The

The Committee divided :

Ayes, 9.
 Earl of Lincoln.
 Viscount Brackley.
 Mr. Gladstone.
 Mr. Cardwell.
 Mr. E. Denison.
 Mr. Simeon.
 Mr. Jackson.
 Lord John Hay.
 Lord H. Vane.

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

Question, "That this paragraph stand part of the proposed Report," put.

Ayes, 5.
 Earl of Lincoln.
 Viscount Brackley.
 Mr. Gladstone.
 Mr. Simeon.
 Mr. Jackson.

Noes, 9.
 Sir R. H. Inglis.
 Mr. Cardwell.
 Mr. E. Denison.
 Mr. M. Milnes.
 Admiral Bowles.
 Lord John Hay.
 Sir Edward Buxton.
 Colonel Thompson.
 Lord H. Vane.

Motion made (Sir *Edward Buxton*), and question proposed, "That it appears from the evidence of the naval officers examined before the Committee, that a force must at all events be maintained on the coast of Africa for the security of the persons and property of British subjects engaged in lawful commerce, and for the protection of missionaries established in that country."

Amendment proposed (Viscount *Brackley*), "To leave out all the words after the word 'That,' and to insert the words, 'The Committee do now proceed to the consideration of the next paragraph of the Report proposed by the Chairman.'"

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

Committee divided.

Ayes, 7.
 Sir R. H. Inglis.
 Mr. Cardwell.
 Mr. M. Milnes.
 Admiral Bowles.
 Lord John Hay.
 Sir Edward Buxton.
 Colonel Thompson.

Noes, 7.
 Earl of Lincoln.
 Viscount Brackley.
 Mr. Gladstone.
 Mr. E. Denison.
 Mr. Simeon.
 Mr. Jackson.
 Lord H. Vane.

The Chairman gave his vote with the Noes.

Words left out and proposed words inserted.

Original question, as amended, "That the Committee do now proceed to the consideration of the next paragraph of the Report proposed by the Chairman," put and agreed to.

Seventh paragraph of Report proposed by the Chairman, read as follows:—

"It is painful to Your Committee to acknowledge want of success in an undertaking to which the intelligence, the energy, and the wealth of Britain have been so long and so unsparingly applied ; an undertaking, the success of which this country has endeavoured to insure by great sacrifices of human life, and for which it has consented to place at constant hazard the peace of the world ; but nothing can absolve Your Committee from the duty of recognising the truth of the case as their inquiry has brought it under view."

Question, "That this paragraph stand part of the proposed Report," put.

Committee divided :

Ayes, 7.
 Earl of Lincoln.
 Viscount Brackley.
 Mr. Gladstone.
 Mr. E. Denison.
 Mr. Simeon.
 Mr. Jackson.
 Lord H. Vane.

Noes, 7.
 Sir R. H. Inglis.
 Mr. Cardwell.
 Mr. M. Milnes.
 Admiral Bowles.
 Lord John Hay.
 Sir Edward Buxton.
 Colonel Thompson.

The Chairman gave his vote with the Ayes.

Eighth paragraph of Report proposed by the Chairman read as follows :

“ Even in these circumstances, Your Committee derive some consolation from the reflection, that in former ages, iniquity akin to this, even though not equal to it in system and in scale, has been put down, not indeed by the force of armaments, but by the silent influences, acting in happy concurrence, of advancing intelligence, and of that religion to which the civilized world yet pays its homage.”

Question, “ That this paragraph stand part of the proposed Report,” put.

Committee divided :

Ayes, 5.
Earl of Lincoln.
Viscount Brackley.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. Simeon.
Mr. Jackson.

Noes, 9.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Cardwell.
Mr. E. Denison.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Admiral Bowles.
Lord John Hay.
Sir Edward Buxton.
Colonel Thompson.
Lord H. Vane.

Ninth paragraph of Report proposed by the Chairman read as follows :

“ It would still be the duty of the British Government to avow its unabated hostility to the African slave trade ; to employ every means compatible with a just regard to the independence of other states to promote the mitigation of its evils, and to accelerate its final extinction ; and by no means to shrink from suggesting further pacific efforts, and even further sacrifices, in the cause for which it has already toiled so much, if at any time they should be found necessary for the attainment of so happy a consummation.”

Question, “ That this paragraph stand part of the proposed Report,” put and agreed to.

Motion made (Sir *R. H. Inglis*), and question put, “ That this Committee entertain the hope that the internal improvement and civilization of Africa, will be one of the most effective means of suppressing the slave trade ; and for this purpose, that the instruction of the natives by missionary labours, by education, and by all other practical efforts, and the extension of legitimate commerce, ought to be encouraged wherever the influence of England can be directed, and especially where it has already been beneficially exerted.”

Committee divided :

Ayes, 11.
Earl of Lincoln.
Viscount Brackley.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Cardwell.
Mr. Jackson.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Admiral Bowles.
Lord John Hay.
Sir Edward Buxton.
Colonel Thompson.
Lord H. Vane.

Noes, 3.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. E. Denison.
Mr. Simeon.

First paragraph, as amended, of proposed Report, again read as follows :—“ That a long and large experience of attempts at forcibly suppressing the slave trade, leads to the conclusion that to put down that trade by a marine guard is impracticable, if such marine guard be to be regarded as the single means to be employed for the purpose.”

Amendment proposed (Viscount *Brackley*), “ To leave out the words ‘ if such marine guard be to be regarded as the single means to be employed for the purpose.’ ”

Motion made (Sir *R. H. Inglis*), and question put, “ That this Committee do now adjourn.”

Committee divided :

Ayes, 4.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Admiral Bowles.
Lord John Hay.
Sir Edward Buxton.

Noes, 8.
Earl of Lincoln.
Viscount Brackley.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. Cardwell.
Mr. E. Denison.
Mr. Simeon.
Mr. Jackson.
Lord H. Vane.

Amendment again proposed.

The messenger having announced that The Speaker was at Prayers,

[The Committee adjourned till Thursday next, at Twelve o'clock.

Jovis, 21^o die Junii, 1849.

MEMBERS PRESENT :

WILLIAM HUTT, Esq. in the Chair.

Lord Lincoln.
Viscount Brackley.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. Cardwell.
Mr. E. Denison.
Mr. Simeon.

Mr. Jackson.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Admiral Bowles.
Lord John Hay.
Sir Edward Buxton.
Colonel Thompson.
Lord H. Vane.

Proposed Report, printed as amended, read as follows :

“ THAT the Committee which sat during the last Session of Parliament, adopted certain Resolutions, which were reported to The House. In the purport of those Resolutions this Committee is agreed with the Committee of last Session.

“ That a long and large experience of attempts at forcibly suppressing the Slave Trade, leads to the conclusion that to put down that trade by a marine guard is impracticable, if such marine guard be to be regarded as the single means to be employed for the purpose.

“ That over and above a return to the system of discouragement by commercial legislation, several measures related to the use of force, have been suggested as capable of being employed in aid of the present preventive system, with a hope of rendering it effective, particularly the destruction of barracoons, the infliction of the penalties of piracy on the captains and crews of vessels engaged in the Slave Trade, and the enforced liberation of all slaves illegally imported into Brazil and the Spanish colonies.

“ That your Committee have considered whether these expedients are practically available, as they conceive that if that were the case, such expedients ought to be tried before the abandonment of the system of forcible suppression should be resolved upon. But even assuming that Great Britain either is actually entitled, or could by negotiation acquire a title, to adopt all of these measures, Your Committee are still convinced that such a prosecution of them as could alone be effectual, would not be sustained by the general opinion of other civilized countries ; would be attended with the imminent risk of very serious calamities, and would scarcely be sooner commenced than abandoned.

“ Your Committee are, therefore, constrained to believe that no modification of the system of force can effect the suppression of the slave trade, and they cannot undertake the responsibility of recommending the continuance of that system. Your Committee are not, however, prepared to recommend the immediate and unconditional withdrawal, by Great Britain, of her contingent from that system which her influence has been so mainly instrumental in recommending to other countries, without any communication with those countries, and without any definite understanding of their views.

“ Your Committee are, however, of opinion, that the aim of those communications should be to release Great Britain from such treaty engagements in respect to the Slave Trade, as place the question of maintaining a blockading squadron beyond the free and exclusive control of British authorities.

“ Your Committee do not, however, conceive that if the use of force is to be abandoned, it therefore follows that Great Britain is to become neutral or indifferent with respect to the Slave Trade.

“ It is painful to your Committee to acknowledge want of success in an undertaking to which the intelligence, the energy, and the wealth of Britain have been so long and so unsparingly applied ; an undertaking, the success of which this country has endeavoured to ensure by great sacrifices of human life, and for which it has consented to place at constant hazard the peace of the world ; but nothing can absolve your Committee from the duty of recognising the truth of the case as their inquiry has brought it under view.

“ It would still be the duty of the British Government to avow its unabated hostility to the African Slave Trade ; to employ every means compatible with a just regard to the independence of other states to promote the mitigation of its evils and to accelerate its final extinction ;

extinction; and by no means to shrink from suggesting further pacific efforts, and even further sacrifices, in the cause for which it has already toiled so much, if at any time they should be found necessary for the attainment of so happy a consummation.

“That this Committee entertain the hope that the internal improvement and civilization of Africa, will be one of the most effective means of suppressing the Slave Trade; and for this purpose, that the instruction of the natives by missionary labours, by education, and by all other practical efforts, and the extension of legitimate commerce, ought to be encouraged wherever the influence of England can be directed, and especially where it has already been beneficially exerted.”

Motion made (Colonel *Thompson*), and question put, “That this be the Report of the Committee.”

The Committee divided :

Ayes, 4.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Admiral Bowles.
Lord John Hay.
Colonel Thompson.

Noes, 10.
Earl of Lincoln.
Viscount Brackley.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. Cardwell.
Mr. E. Denison.
Mr. Simeon.
Mr. Jackson.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Sir Edward Buxton.
Lord H. Vane.

Report, proposed by Mr. *Jackson*, read as follows :

“1. THAT the Committee which was appointed in the last Session of Parliament to consider the best means which Great Britain can adopt for providing for the final extinction of the Slave Trade, adopted certain Resolutions, which were reported to The House. In the purport of those Resolutions this Committee is agreed with the Committee of last Session.

“2. That a long and large experience of attempts to suppress the Slave Trade by a naval force, leads to the conclusion that to put down that trade by such means is impracticable.

“3. That over and above a return to the system of discouragement by commercial legislation, several measures have been suggested as suitable auxiliaries to the present preventive system, particularly the destruction of barracoons, the infliction of the penalties of piracy on the captains and crews of vessels engaged in the Slave Trade, and the enforced liberation of all slaves illegally imported into Brazil and the Spanish colonies.

“4. That Your Committee have considered whether these expedients are practically available, as they conceive that if that were the case, such expedients ought to be tried before the abandonment of the system of forcible suppression should be resolved upon. But even assuming that Great Britain either is actually entitled, or could by negotiation acquire a title, to adopt all these measures, Your Committee are still convinced that such a prosecution of them as could alone be effectual, would not be sustained by the general opinion of other civilized countries; would be attended with the imminent risk of very serious calamities, and would scarcely be sooner commenced than abandoned.

“5. Your Committee are, therefore, constrained to believe that no modification of the system of force can effect the suppression of the Slave Trade, and they cannot undertake the responsibility of recommending the continuance of that system. Your Committee are not, however, prepared to recommend the immediate and unconditional withdrawal, by Great Britain, of her contingent from that system which her influence has been so mainly instrumental in recommending to other countries, without any communication with those countries, and without any definite understanding of their views.

“6. Your Committee are, however, of opinion, that the aim of those communications should be to release Great Britain from such treaty engagements in respect to the Slave Trade, as place the question of maintaining a blockading squadron beyond the free and exclusive control of British authorities.

“7. Your Committee do not conceive that if the use of force is to be abandoned, it therefore follows that Great Britain is to become neutral or indifferent with respect to the Slave Trade.

“8. It is painful to your Committee to acknowledge want of success in an undertaking to which the intelligence, the energy, and the wealth of Britain have been so long and so unsparingly applied; an undertaking, the success of which this country has endeavoured to ensure by great sacrifices of human life, and for which it has consented to place at constant hazard the peace of the world; but nothing can absolve Your Committee from the duty of recognising the truth of the case as their inquiry has brought it under view.

“9. It

"9. It would still be the duty of the British Government to avow its unabated hostility to the African Slave Trade; to employ every means compatible with a just regard to the independence of other States to promote the mitigation of its evils and to accelerate its final extinction; and by no means to shrink from suggesting further pacific efforts, and even further sacrifices, in the cause for which it has already toiled so much, if at any time they should be found necessary for the attainment of so happy a consummation.

"10. That Your Committee entertain the hope that the internal improvement and civilization of Africa, will be one of the most effective means of suppressing the Slave Trade; and for this purpose, that the instruction of the natives by missionary labours, by education, and by all other practical efforts, and the extension of legitimate commerce, ought to be encouraged wherever the influence of England can be directed, and especially where it has already been beneficially exerted.

Proposed Report again read, paragraph by paragraph.

Second paragraph read, as follows:—"That a long and large experience of attempts to suppress the Slave Trade by a naval force leads to the conclusion that to put down that trade by such means is impracticable."

Amendment proposed (Sir *R. H. Inglis*), to add at the end of the paragraph the words "if a naval force be to be regarded as the single means to be employed for that purpose."

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

The Committee divided:

Ayes, 7.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Cardwell.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Admiral Bowles.
Lord John Hay.
Sir Edward Buxton.
Colonel Thompson.

Noes, 7.
Earl of Lincoln.
Viscount Brackley.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. E. Denison.
Mr. Simeon.
Mr. Jackson.
Lord H. Vane.

The Chairman gave his vote with the Noes.

Question, "That this paragraph stand part of the proposed Report," put and agreed to.

Fourth paragraph of proposed Report read as follows:—

"That Your Committee have considered whether these expedients are practically available, as they conceive that if that were the case, such expedients ought to be tried before the abandonment of the system of forcible suppression should be resolved upon. But even assuming that Great Britain either is actually entitled, or could by negotiation acquire a title, to adopt all these measures, Your Committee are still convinced that such a prosecution of them as could alone be effectual, would not be sustained by the general opinion of other civilized countries; would be attended with the imminent risk of very serious calamities; and would scarcely be sooner commenced than abandoned."

Amendment proposed (Mr. *Cardwell*), "To leave out all the words after 'That,' and to insert the words, 'neither the relations between this country and the allies who cooperate with Her Majesty upon the coast of Africa, nor the general feeling of Europe and of the United States upon the subject of repressive measures for the extinction of the Slave Trade, have been specially brought under the notice of the Committee by evidence; and that it is, therefore, inexpedient to report to The House any opinion upon these subjects, or upon the effect which these considerations should produce upon the future policy of England.'"

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

Committee divided:

Ayes, 7.
Earl of Lincoln.
Viscount Brackley.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. E. Denison.
Mr. Simeon.
Mr. Jackson.
Lord H. Vane.

Noes, 7.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Cardwell.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Admiral Bowles.
Lord John Hay.
Sir Edward Buxton.
Colonel Thompson.

The Chairman gave his vote with the Ayes.

Question, "That this paragraph stand part of the proposed Report," put and agreed to.

Motion made (Mr. Jackson) and Question put, "That this be the Report of the Committee,"

Committee divided:

Ayes, 7.
Earl of Lincoln.
Viscount Brackley.
Mr. Gladstone.
Mr. E. Denison.
Mr. Simeon.
Mr. Jackson.
Lord H. Vane.

Noes, 7.
Sir R. H. Inglis.
Mr. Cardwell.
Mr. M. Milnes.
Admiral Bowles.
Lord John Hay.
Sir Edward Buxton.
Colonel Thompson.

The Chairman gave his vote with the Ayes.

Question, "That the Chairman do Report the same to The House," put and agreed to.

EXPENSES OF WITNESSES.

N A M E of W I T N E S S .	By what Member of Committee Motion made for Attendance of the Witness.	Total Number of Days in London.	Number of Days under Examination by Committee, or acting specially under their Orders.	Expenses of Journey to London and back.	Expenses in London.	TOTAL Expenses allowed to Witness.
				£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Commander C. W. Riley, R. N.	Sir Edward Buxton -	3	1	10 10 -	3 3 -	13 13 -
Sir C. Hotham, R. N., K. C. B.	Chairman - -	5	3	- -	5 5 -	5 5 -
					£.	18 18 -

A P P E N D I X.

PROCEEDINGS of the BRITISH GOVERNMENT in reference to AFRICAN SLAVES
illegally introduced into the *Spanish Colonies and Brazil.*

Appendix.
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ONE of the most important movements ever made by the British Government for securing the fulfilment of her treaties for the suppression of the Slave Trade by Spain and Brazil, will be found developed in the following documents, to which especial attention is called. Firmness on the part of Government is all that is now required to break up the greatest slave markets in the world, and to secure liberty to an immense multitude of human beings who have been, contrary to the faith of treaties and of municipal laws, fraudulently and inhumanly deprived of their freedom.

SPAIN.

EXTRACT of a LETTER from *John Scoble* to *Joseph Sturge*, shortly after having visited the Spanish Colony of *Porto Rico*, dated 30 July 1839.

THE Americans are the chief supporters of the trade of this colony. There are not less than 13 ports, besides the whole line of coast, into which the slavers can enter, and the demand for slaves is most extensive. It strikes me that an important question arises in connexion with the introduction of slaves into this island, as well as into Cuba. Spain is under treaties with us for the suppression of the slave trade; all the negroes, therefore, which have been introduced into these colonies since she declared it unlawful, are entitled to their liberty; and England, it appears to me, has a right to demand their liberty for them.

COPY of a LETTER from *David Turnbull*, Esq. to Viscount *Palmerston*, dated
13 March 1840.

My Lord,

IN consequence of Lord Leveson's letter of the 10th March 1840, the undersigned has the honour to submit the following statement to your Lordship, in elucidation of the plan he has conceived for the suppression of the foreign African slave trade.

From the great and increasing amount of this trade, the evils of which have only been aggravated by the various attempts that have hitherto been made to restrain it, the undersigned submits he is entitled to assume that the true principle on which an effective measure of abolition should be based, has not yet been disclosed. He will not assert that the plan he has now to bring forward is free from all difficulty; but he confidently maintains that there is no difficulty attending it which cannot be easily surmounted, if the Government will consent to apply to it the mere moral force at its disposal.

The lever with which it is proposed to overthrow this colossal grievance is to be found among the simplest elements of economical science. It is by cutting off the demand for victims that the supply is to be suppressed. It is by making the purchaser and possessor of an African slave insecure in the enjoyment of his unlawful acquisition, that he is to be deterred from paying the price. It is by demonstrating to the slave-dealer that imported Africans will no longer be a marketable commodity, and by that process alone, that he willingly abandons a trade which has ceased to be profitable.

The great consumers of African slaves are the empire of Brazil and the colonial dependencies of Spain.

The white inhabitants of the Brazilian empire begin to be sensible of the imminent danger to which they will expose themselves, if they persevere much longer in adding to the disproportionate amount of their negro population by the toleration of the African slave trade. With St. Domingo before their eyes, we have a reasonable guarantee of the sincerity of the professions of His Imperial Majesty's Government in favour of a system of absolute suppression.

The case is somewhat different with regard to the colonial dependencies of Spain. In Cuba the white and coloured portions of the population are nearly balanced in numerical strength.

Appendix.

strength. In Porto Rico the negroes are far outnumbered by the inhabitants of European descent. In both islands, but especially in Cuba, the natural desire for independence has of late years been stimulated into passion by the intolerable burthen of the fiscal exactions, which have been levied for the purpose of defraying the charges of a war in another hemisphere, in which they feel no interest.

It is in consequence of this state of things that the sincerity of the professions of the Government of Her Catholic Majesty on the subject of the suppression of the slave trade is liable to reasonable suspicion. The planters of Cuba and Porto Rico, wherever their estates are fully and properly peopled with a just proportion between the sexes, in place of desiring the continuance of the slave trade, have a direct and obvious interest in its suppression.

On the neighbouring continent, within two days' sail of the Havana, the average value of a field slave is at least 1,000 dollars. In Cuba the effect of the competition of the slave dealers with each other is to reduce the value of an imported African to less than a third part of that amount.

The high prices of slaves in those states of North America which adjoin the Gulf of Mexico is still maintained, in spite of the well known fact that in the breeding districts of Maryland and Virginia, the negro population is found to increase in a duplicate ratio, as compared with the inhabitants of those regions of European descent.

The planters of Cuba are aware that the negro population of Virginia has long been doubling itself every 12 years and a half, while the white inhabitants require 25 years to accomplish the process of duplication.

There is nothing in the climate of Cuba to prevent a similar rate of increase of the negroes. There is nothing, in short, but the cheapness of labour, arising from the toleration of the African trade, which prevents the proprietors of old plantations in Cuba from throwing themselves with confidence on the principle of propagation.

Here the undersigned desires respectfully to guard himself against the supposition of his being the apologist of slavery, under any circumstances, or with any degree of modification. His present business is to deal with the African slave trade, and to suggest a practicable mode of accomplishing its suppression. In the proper place, and at the proper period, he does not despair of being able to demonstrate, that by a resort to sound principles, the practice of slavery itself may be rooted out in those very countries whose social and political institutions are now so intimately blended with it.

The undersigned has not engaged in this conflict without endeavouring to measure the strength of their adversaries with whom he will have to contend; of these he perceives there are several classes.

The mere dealers in slaves, the man who invests his capital in the building and outfit of fast sailing clippers, in manning them with their ruffian crews, in loading them with cargoes of rum or gunpowder, and in devoting himself to the study of international treaties and preventive laws for the sole purpose of evading them, is not by any means to be regarded as a very formidable antagonist. The terms of "coward" and "capitalist" were never more truly convertible than in the person of the trafficker in slaves. He may hire the hands of ruffians and outcasts to hazard their lives in his service, but his money he will not peril without the assurance of a profitable return; that object he finds the means of accomplishing, either by spreading the risk over a sufficient number of separate adventures, or by abandoning a portion of the gain he contemplates in the shape of premiums of assurance to joint stock companies or private underwriters.

Another class of opponents will be found among the ministerial and judicial servants of the Spanish Government. Their superiors in the mother country have ingeniously made it the interest of a great number of these public functionaries to evade the execution of the laws, and convert that evasion into a fruitful source of profit, the better to secure the retention of the island in her Catholic Majesty's dependence.

Inasmuch, however, as the existence of the Court of Mixed Commission at the Havana, with all its acknowledged imperfections, has had the effect, during the 20 years elapsed since its creation, of disappointing the cupidity of these venal functionaries to a very considerable extent, the undersigned sees no reason to doubt that, with the improved machinery he proposes to introduce, this iniquitous source of profit will be completely dried up and extinguished.

Before entering on the specification of the nature of this machinery, it may not be inconvenient to indicate the first and most important step of the process he proposes to follow.

It is asserted by many of our most eminent philanthropists, that, according to the spirit of our existing treaties with Spain, we are entitled to demand the instant liberation of every individual consigned to slavery, in any part of the Spanish dependencies, since the date of the first of these conventions. To this argument it would not be easy to offer a satisfactory reply. For the present, however, the undersigned is content to cut off the source of future importation, and to leave this an open question, to be agitated by others. Should the humble voice of the undersigned be ever entitled to share in the decision, he trusts he need not say with what cordiality he would give it the affirmative.

Let us not embarrass ourselves, however, with too much work at a time. The most convenient moment for discussing it will be after the channels of importation shall have been cut off, and after the enormous masses of capital at this moment engaged in the trade of Africa shall have been finally drawn off, to find their due level in the great money markets of the world.

According to the views of the undersigned, the Courts of Mixed Commission at the Havanna and Rio de Janeiro, which, under the operation of existing treaties, have been gradually

gradually sinking into a state of listless inactivity, will at once be raised to a state of efficiency and vigour which they have not possessed at any period of their existence.

The plan of the undersigned is by the negotiation of new conventions or of additional clauses to existing treaties, to confer on these courts the power of enforcing the law of the country in which they sit, by declaring that *A, B, or C*, the inmate of a barracoon, or a labourer on a plantation, is not a native creole, but has been introduced into the country in violation of law and treaty. He would further propose that the onus of proving a lawful dominion over the slave should be thrown on the party claiming it; that in short there should be a legal presumption in favour of freedom; and there can be less objection to introduce and recognize this principle in the treaty he recommends for negotiation, inasmuch as he has been informed by the eminent Spanish juriconsults, with whom he has advised on the subject, that the presumption of freedom, in the absence of proof to the contrary, is already the right of every inhabitant of Her Catholic Majesty's dominions. Happily, however, for the cause of humanity, it is matter of notoriety among persons conversant with the subject, that a fresh imported, or bozal, negro, can, for many years after his arrival in America, be distinguished at a glance from the native creoles. The distinction in fact is so clear that the mere presentation of the individual in Court, without a word of evidence as to the place of his birth, would in most cases be sufficient to determine his condition.

Should Her Majesty's Government be induced to enter on such a negotiation, the true grounds and motives for the opposition to be expected from the Government of Her Catholic Majesty will not in all probability be openly avowed. It will never be admitted that a clandestine encouragement of the worst practices of the slave trade is rendered necessary by a sort of political necessity, in order to repress the aspirations of the creole population of Cuba for that sort of independence which the other Spanish provinces of America have already achieved.

Neither will it be pretended that the continuance of the slave trade is necessary to the successful cultivation of the soil, in presence of the facts already alluded to, of the rapid increase of the negro population in the neighbouring states of the North American Union.

The ostensible ground of opposition will probably be confined to a pretended fear of discontent and insurrection, on the part of those slaves who will not be entitled to a declaration of freedom in their favour, in consequence of the place of their birth, or the date of their introduction. Her Catholic Majesty's Government have constantly professed as ardent a desire as our own to concur in all the measures of suppression already proposed; yet the fact is undeniable that in place of being diminished or modified by any of the measures of restraint which have hitherto been resorted to, the evil is actually on the increase; a position satisfactorily established by the progressive nature of the official returns of the amount of slave population. The arguments that may be drawn from a pretended fear of discontent and insurrection may be answered by the fact that it is the wild and savage African alone whose removal we propose, and that it is no part of our plan to disturb the condition of the comparatively civilized creole. It is besides by units, not by cargoes, that the process of liberation will take place, so that the proceedings under the new treaty will be much less alarming in their general aspect or their individual amount than those already sanctioned by existing conventions.

As the proceedings of the Court of Mixed Commission, however, have hitherto been conducted in strict conformity with the Spanish principle of closed doors, written pleadings, and secret deliberations, it might possibly be advisable to adhere to the established practice, inasmuch as opposition would be thereby disarmed, and the presence of a British prosecutor, and one or more British judges, would afford a sufficient guarantee for their perfect regularity. The mere existence of the court for upwards of 20 years, in the course of which discussions have frequently arisen affecting the freedom of entire cargoes of Africans, without producing a single practical evil, to give the captain-general or government any substantial cause of complaint, appears to the undersigned to form a broad basis on which the demand for the enlargement of the powers of the Court may be conveniently founded. The great advantage of proceeding by units and not by masses, is that every individual liberation would amount to the assertion of a vital principle, without affording any reasonable pretext for apprehension or alarm.

It may not be easy to suggest any better expedient than that already recognized by treaty for the case of a difference of opinion between the two commissary judges. It is true that in doubtful cases a decided leaning has been observed on the part of the Spanish members of the court towards the acquittal of the prizes brought up for condemnation, and there may therefore be some reason to apprehend a corresponding disposition to resist the liberation of the negro clients of the British prosecutor as often as a sufficient air of doubt can be thrown over the case to justify the hesitation of the Spanish commissary judge. On the very worst supposition which it is possible to conceive, the drawing of lots for the choice of the arbitrator would be resorted to in every case without a single exception. The past practices of the Spanish judges, however indefensible, in many particular instances, has never yet been carried to this systematic extreme, and in fairness it cannot be said there is any just reason to anticipate such an unheard of degree of pertinacity for the future. But suppose for a moment that the Spanish judge and the Spanish arbitrator were to be for ever deaf to the calls of duty and the evidence of fact, it results from the mere doctrine of chances, which, when applied to thousands of cases, becomes infallible, that one half of the whole of them to be thus presented to the Mixed Court for adjudication would be decided in favour of the liberty of the slave. Now the systematic liberation of

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of one-half only of the future importations would be perfectly sufficient to prevent the planter from paying a remunerating price to the dealer or importer; and hence it is demonstrated that the system of the undersigned must be fatal to the trade.

Objections of a dilatory nature must of course be expected on the part of Her Catholic Majesty's Ministers at the outset of the negotiation. The necessity or convenience of consulting the governors and captains-general of their transatlantic possessions will probably be urged as a reason for withholding their immediate assent to a proposition which is calculated to affect the future interests and prosperity of the Spanish West India colonies.

To render this pretence unavailing, the undersigned is strongly of opinion that the past and future importations of slaves into these colonies should be separated from each other by a broad line of distinction, and that the object of the proposed negotiation should be exclusively confined to the case of future importations. The most convenient *terminus à quo* would probably be the date of the first official note of the British Ambassador directing the attention of Her Catholic Majesty's Government to the subject.

Were it consistent with the dignities or duty of a Cabinet Minister to undertake such a mission, the undersigned would respectfully suggest that the well-earned popularity of the Lord Privy Seal with the Spanish nation would convert, in his Lordship's hands, a tedious and difficult task into an easy and instantaneous operation. Before his Lordship's arrival the mind of the Spanish people might be prepared for his reception through the medium of the Peninsular press. His reappearance in Madrid would become a sort of triumphal entry, and the great and interesting object of his embassy would be accomplished under the influence of the first burst of national enthusiasm. In hazarding the prediction, the undersigned has not spoken without some knowledge of the Spanish character, nor without an intimate personal acquaintance with the machinery of the Peninsular press; it was his fortune to be a resident in Madrid during the period of the negotiation of the treaty of 1835.

Before closing this paper the undersigned entreats your Lordship's indulgent attention to a few of the collateral advantages which are destined to result from this plan.

1. The whole of the naval force so unprofitably, so injuriously employed in the ineffectual blockade of a whole continent on one side, of two large islands and a vast empire on the other, would be liberated from duties greatly involving loss of human life and a heavy charge to the State without any corresponding benefit in the shape of honour or profit, and would either be rendered disposable for services more useful to the country, or would produce a proportional saving of the national expenditure.

2. The commercial interests of the country are deeply injured by this toleration of a trade with the practice of which Her Majesty's subjects refuse to pollute themselves.

The honour of Her Majesty's Crown is grievously tarnished by the habitual disregard of the solemn treaties which Her Majesty and her Royal predecessors have concluded and ratified for its suppression. These interests will be protected, that honour will be saved, by the adoption of a sound system of abolition.

3. In the department for foreign affairs, a vast amount of labour would be saved to the Principal Secretary of State, by rendering it unnecessary to continue those widely ramified negotiations throughout the civilised world, the object of which is to create a universal league for the suppression of the slave trade. The unprofitable labour of our foreign embassies and legations would be equally spared, and a similar saving would be effected in the colonial departments of the Government.

4. The state of our relations with Spain would be greatly improved. The suppression of the slave trade, and the progressive civilisation of the creole negroes, to the total exclusion of any intermixture of savage Africans, would liberate the greater part of the overgrown garrisons of the Havana and of the outports of Cuba and Porto Rico, and would thus go far to enable the Spanish Government to satisfy their foreign creditors. If any serious difficulty presented itself in the course of the negotiation the undersigned submits that the incalculable importance of the object would justify the Government either in threatening on the one hand to recognise and guarantee the independence of Cuba in case of refusal, or in undertaking on the other, as the price of her consent to an effectual and *bonâ fide* suppression, to secure the mother country in the possession of this valuable dependency as long as it remained practically free from the stain of slave traing.

5. The existing differences with Portugal, our ancient ally, arising out of the infringement of our slave trade treaties, would be adjusted in the simplest and most satisfactory manner, by the total extinction of the original cause of quarrel.

6. A fruitful source of discord with the United States of America would likewise be extinguished by the peaceful mode of suppression which the undersigned recommends. The law of last Session in reference to Portugal, is evidently destined to throw the whole of the carrying trade in slaves, directly or indirectly, into the hands of the Americans. The discussions which are sure to arise out of this state of things will serve to embitter the boundary question; uniting the habits of the Southern States and of the Atlantic cities with the belligerents of Maine and the manufacturing interests of New England in their no longer latent desire of an open rupture with Great Britain.

7. But the crowning advantage to arise from the peaceful solution of this *questio vexata* ought rather to be regarded as direct than collateral. The introduction into the interior of Africa of habits of peace and order, Christianity and civilisation, will be the inevitable result of suppression. A taste for foreign luxuries is already implanted in the mind of the native African. To obtain the enjoyment of them, he resorts to war and rapine; to the capture

capture and sale of his fellow-creatures. The taste will remain, after the medium of exchange has lost its value; the arts of peace will take the place of deeds of violence; and the humanising influence of lawful commerce will follow in the steps of the man-stealer.

In laying this statement before your Lordship, the undersigned disburthens his mind of the high responsibility which has never ceased to press on it from the moment that his views have reached a reasonable degree of maturity. That responsibility he respectfully transfers to your Lordship; and with it the immortal honour of accomplishing the extinction of the greatest practical evil that ever afflicted mankind.

The British Minister who shall accomplish an object which has engaged the attention of statesmen and philanthropists for the last half century, defeating the ingenuity of the one and disappointing the zeal of the other, will be hailed by his contemporaries as the benefactor of his race, and will send down his name with glory to the latest posterity. The British Minister who should lightly reject the first practical remedy that has ever been brought forward, if its soundness and efficacy should afterwards be demonstrated, would not only throw away the wreath prepared for his acceptance, but would justly expose himself to the most serious reproach.

The undersigned, &c.
D. Turnbull.

Slave Trade Papers, Class B. 1840, pp. 4-8.

EXTRACT of an ADDRESS from the Anti-Slavery Committee to Viscount *Palmerston*, dated 20 March 1840.

BUT there is still another and a larger class, the Africans, who, contrary to the laws of Spain, Brazil, Holland, and the treaties which these powers have entered into with Great Britain, have been illicitly introduced into their respective territories, and are consequently illegally held and used as slaves. Had the laws of the countries referred to been carried into full effect, not only would the vast multitude of unhappy slaves who are now enduring the most terrible fate to which man can be exposed, and the untold human beings who have miserably perished under circumstances the most revolting and horrible, have been preserved from slavery and death, but the markets for slaves in these countries having been destroyed, the slave trade, with all its atrocious accompaniments, so far as they are concerned, would have ceased. Happily, however, for humanity, there is yet hope that no inconsiderable number of these Africans and their descendants, who have survived the perils through which they have been called to pass, may yet be free, and most honourable will it be to the Government of Her Majesty if it become the instrument of achieving their liberty.

Spain, Brazil, and Holland have been for many years under the most solemn engagements to co-operate with this country in the suppression of the slave trade. Under the treaties which exist with these powers the Government of this country has acquired the right to demand of them what has become of the Africans, who, it is notorious, have been illicitly and scandalously introduced by tens of thousands since the formation of those treaties; who still continue to be introduced into the colonies and territories of the two former powers, notwithstanding the vigilance of British cruisers, and an immense expenditure of treasure and of life on the part of this country. And further, in the judgment of the committee, the Government has not only acquired the right to demand what has become of these victims of cupidity and oppression, but also the power to interpose in their behalf, to declare their right to liberty, and to secure its enjoyment. The committee would therefore beg most earnestly of your Lordship to adopt such measures as shall be a test of the sincerity of these powers to abolish the slave trade, and shall lead, without delay, to the enforcement of their own laws. The importance of such a step must be obvious to your Lordship, inasmuch as it would secure the liberty of an immense number of Africans now unlawfully held as slaves; and what is now even of greater importance, would effectually destroy the slave trade. The committee conceive that the constitution of a court under the treaties referred to, possessing ample and summary powers to ascertain the bozal from the creole negroes; the imported Africans subsequently to the dates of the first treaties with these powers for the suppression of the slave trade, from those who had been previously introduced; and authority to decide without appeal, in all cases brought before it for adjudication upon the question of their right to liberty; the onus of proof, in all cases to the contrary, resting with the parties claiming ownership, would be of great value in this respect.

COPY of a DESPATCH from Viscount *Palmerston* to Mr. *Aston*, British Minister at Madrid, dated 25 May 1840.

ALTHOUGH the slave trade under the British flag has been, in a great measure, suppressed by means of the treaty of June 1835, between Great Britain and Spain, yet slave traders have hoisted other flags to protect their vessels, and thus the island of Cuba has continued to be supplied with fresh importations of negro slaves from Africa. It has been suggested, however, that these abuses might be stopped by investing the Mixed Court of Justice,

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Justice, established at the Havana, with authority to investigate the cases of negroes who are held in slavery in the island, and to declare whether such negroes have or have not been imported into that island since the 20th October 1820, and whether, therefore, they ought or ought not to be restored to freedom.

I have prepared a draft of convention with this view, and I transmit it herewith to you, and I have to desire that you will take an early opportunity of proposing it to the Spanish Ministry.

I have received from Mr. Turnbull a letter at some length upon this subject, and I herewith transmit to you a copy of it, in order that you may avail yourself of the arguments contained in it in discussing with the Spanish Minister the accompanying draft of convention.

Draft of Convention between Great Britain and Spain, on Slave Trade.

Preamble.—Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and Her Majesty the Queen Regent of Spain having reason to believe that, notwithstanding the stipulations of the treaty concluded on the 23d September 1817, and the further stipulations of the treaty concluded on the 28th June 1835, between Great Britain and Spain, negroes are from time to time imported from Africa into the colonial possessions of Her Catholic Majesty, and are there held in bondage contrary to the letter and to the spirit of the said treaties, and in violation of the decrees which have been promulgated in Spain for carrying the said treaties into effect,

Their said Majesties have named and appointed, as their plenipotentiaries, to devise and agree upon further measures for preventing the violation of the said treaties in the manner above mentioned,

Who, having exchanged their full powers, &c. have agreed upon the following articles :

Art. 1. The Mixed Court of Justice established at the Havana is hereby authorised to receive information upon oath, to the effect that grounds of suspicion exist that negroes recently arrived from Africa are detained as slaves in the transatlantic dominions of Spain; and the said Mixed Court, upon receiving such information, is hereby empowered and enjoined to summon before it such negroes, and the persons assuming to be the owners of such negroes, and all other individuals apparently concerned in, or having knowledge of, the transaction in question; and the said Mixed Court is further empowered and enjoined to examine all such persons on oath touching the said transaction, and if upon examination it shall not be clearly proved to the satisfaction of the said court that the said negroes, alleged to have been recently imported from Africa, were born in the transatlantic dominions of Spain, or were imported from Africa into those dominions before the 30th of October 1820, the said court shall declare such negroes to be free, and such negroes shall be set free accordingly.

Art. 2. If the owner or owners of the negroes said to be wrongfully held in bondage shall, upon the first summons of the court, refuse or demur to appear before the court, either by themselves, or by others in their behalf, the court shall summon the parties a second time; and if this second summons should not be effectual, the court shall, after the expiration of a proper interval of time, summon the parties a third time; and if the parties do not obey either of the three summonses, the court shall, notwithstanding the absence of such owner or owners, or other persons in their behalf, proceed to adjudge the cause, and to decide whether or not the negroes who are alleged to be wrongfully held in bondage shall be set free, and the decision of the court in such cases shall be held good and valid, notwithstanding the absence of the parties, and shall be carried into effect accordingly.

Art. 3. Her Catholic Majesty shall, within weeks after the exchange of the ratifications of this convention, promulgate a decree giving authority to the Mixed Court of Justice to enforce the execution of its decisions, in accordance with the provisions contained in the preceding articles. (*Ibid.* Class B, 1840, pp. 2, 3.)

Her Majesty's Commissioners at the *Havana* to the Right hon. Lord *Palmerston*,
dated Havana, 15 September 1841.

A VERY considerable excitement has prevailed here during the past month, in consequence of information received that your Lordship had demanded of the Spanish Government the liberation of all slaves introduced into the island since the year 1820. So righteous a measure must be hailed with the utmost gratification by all who wish the happiness of the human race, and would go far to efface slavery itself from the country. The proposition has roused every individual here to a sense of the evil consequences attending the further prosecution of the trade; and if it has no other effect than that of stopping these continued malpractices, we should receive it with the utmost satisfaction. (*Class A.* 1842, p. 240.)

Her Majesty's Commissioners at the *Havana* to Lord *Aberdeen*, dated Havana,
25 November 1841.

In our despatch, dated 15th of September last, we stated that information had been received here of Her Majesty's Government having demanded of the Spanish Government the

the delivery of all negroes unlawfully introduced here since the year 1820, which demand had been referred to the captain-general of this island, and was by him transmitted, for a report thereon, to the Junta de Fomento, or Association for the encouragement of Commerce and Agriculture, of which the captain-general is president. This junta has accordingly made the report, denying that any considerable number of Africans had been introduced in contravention of the treaty, though it acknowledges that some may have been secretly imported, an assertion similar only to those which the local government have been in the habit of constantly making, in answer to the remonstrances of Her Majesty's Commissioners, but which every one here knows is not consistent with truth. The report is written in terms somewhat unbecoming, as respects the right of England to interfere with the internal affairs of the island, the writers forgetting that every party to a treaty has an undoubted right to see that the provisions of the treaty are faithfully observed. Other reports have been ordered and obtained on the subject of the proposed treaty from the Tribunal del Comercio, the Patriotic Society, and the corporations of Havana and other principal places. These reports we have not seen, but understand that they are, with the exception of one from the Patriotic Society, all returned in the same spirit as the one first referred to. The Patriotic Society, which is composed almost entirely of creoles, have however, we understand, done full justice to the motives of Her Majesty's Government, and approved of the British policy in seeking an effective suppression of the slave trade. (Ibid, p. 253.)

Mr. *Turnbull* to Lord *Palmerston*, dated Havana, 10 May 1841.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to enclose the copy and translation of a royal order for the suppression of the slave trade.

TRANSLATION.

Royal Order officially communicated to His Excellency the President Governor and Captain-general by the Secretary of State, and inserted in this Gazette (*Diario*) in order to its observance and fulfilment.

ROYAL ORDER.

Most Excellent Sir,—His Britannic Majesty's minister at this court having complained of the fraudulent introduction of negroes into your island, in manifest contravention of the treaty of 1817, in the exact fulfilment of which the British Government and the British nation have always taken so great an interest, the king our sovereign can do no less than take this affair into consideration, and, in order to arrive at a more correct determination, he has not only advised with the council of the Indies, and with the members of his cabinet, but has informed himself by means of persons in whose special knowledge of the subject he has confidence; and having maturely considered the reasons assigned, and the means of action proposed, he has adopted those which in his wisdom he has thought the best suited to promote the extinction of such a contraband traffic; he believes that the measures already taken and prescribed in the various orders issued by the authorities of the island, during the whole time that has elapsed since the treaty of 1817 to the present date, have not been sufficient.

The king our sovereign has, in consequence, resolved that every vessel coming from the coast of Africa shall, at the moment of her arrival in any of the ports of the island, deliver her log-book to the naval commander for examination; and should there be any ground for suspecting that negroes have been brought and landed clandestinely, he shall immediately report the same to your Excellency, in order that investigation and punishment may follow, in terms of the laws now existing on the subject; it being understood that the cognizance of such affairs belongs to your Excellency, along with the guidance of your legal advisers.

His Majesty, at the same time, declaring that any one, of any class whatever, may denounce the fact of the illicit introduction of negroes, and if the informer be a slave, he is at once to be made free, and the purchaser is to be fined 200 dollars for each individual purchased.

His Majesty has also resolved, that the most reverend the Archbishop of Cuba and the reverend the Bishop of the Havana, shall cause it to be understood by the parochial curates in their respective dioceses that from this time, when his Majesty has thought fit to prohibit the traffic in negroes, its continuance, in any manner whatever, is not in conscience allowed, and that the fraudulent acquirers are guilty of a real robbery. To this effect I have this day addressed a despatch to the minister of grace and justice, in order that he may write what is necessary on the occasion to the right reverend prelates. Moreover, his Majesty has determined that freedom shall be granted to the negroes who denounce the vessels in which they themselves have been imported, provided it be subsequent to the order which your Excellency may publish to that effect, but not to those introduced into the island before such publication. All this I communicate to your Excellency by royal order, for your own guidance and that of the Mixed Court, in order that your Excellency may direct it to whomsoever it belongs, and that this sovereign resolution may receive complete effect

Appendix.

not only by your Excellency, but by the other authorities of the island, your Excellency not permitting these measures to be adopted until after publication.

(signed) *El Duque del Infantado*,
Captain-General of the Island of Cuba.

Mr. *Turnbull* to Viscount *Palmerston*, dated Havana, 31 August 1841.

I HAVE the satisfaction to be able to assure your Lordship that since the date of my last communication on the subject of the popular movement in this island in favour of the suppression of the slave trade, that movement has been accelerated in a very remarkable manner by the arrival of an intimation from the supreme government in Madrid that Her Britannic Majesty's Government had demanded the emancipation of all the African slaves introduced into the Spanish West Indies since the date of the first of the existing treaties for the suppression of the slave trade.

It is generally believed that the captain-general has been instructed to obtain the most authentic statistical information as to the number of slaves introduced into this island during the period in question, and in point of fact, it is known that his Excellency has addressed himself on the subject officially to several of the public or corporate bodies of the island, and also to a number of private individuals. (*Ibid.* p. 341.)

ANALYSIS OF INDEX.

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A.

ACTS OF PARLIAMENT. See *Captured Vessels, 2.* *Slave-grown Sugar.*

Adjudication of Captures. See *Captured Vessels, 2.*

Africa, Coast of. Witness does not consider the climate of the coast of Africa so injurious as reports commonly represent it, *Waddell 440, 441.*

See also *Blockade.* *Civilization.* *East Coast of Africa.* *Legitimate Trade.*
North Coast of Africa. *Revival of the Slave Trade.* *Slave Vessels.* *South*
Coast of Africa. *West Coast of Africa.*

Agents. See *Barracoons.*

Agriculture and Commerce. The introduction of agriculture and commerce into Africa, if practicable, would be the best means of putting down the slave trade, *Hon. S. Lushington 1069-1071.*

Ambriz. Number of slave vessels captured by the "Styx" cruiser, stationed at Ambriz, *Montresor 278.*

American Settlers (Cuba). The parties in Cuba who are most active in encouraging the slave trade are the American settlers, *Lord Palmerston 77.*

B.

Badagry. The mission has worked well at Badagry; a great many of the slaves who have been liberated at Sierra Leone have gone there and settled, *Riley 262.*

Bahia. Peculiar class of slaves required in Bahia; number imported annually into Bahia, *Sir C. Hotham 533-542.*

Bandinel, Mr. Witness entirely concurs in the views expressed by Mr. Bandinel before the Committee of last year, as to the necessity of having the assistance of the slave-holding states before we can suppress the slave trade, *Sir C. Hotham 702-704.*

See also *Catherine, St., Island.*

Barbados African Colonization Society. Address of the Barbados African Colonization Society to the Committee, dated 9 April 1849, stating the plan of operations of the society, its views, resolutions, &c., for the suppression of the slave trade, *Rep. i. App. 152-157.*

BARRACOONS:

1. *Use and locality of the Barracoons.*
2. *Opinions in favour of the destruction of Barracoons.*
3. *Particulars relative to the destruction of the Barracoons at the Gallinas.*

1. *Use and locality of the Barracoons:*

It is an entire mistake to suppose that it is necessary to detain slaves in barracoons, *Sir C. Hotham 820*—They are used chiefly by the agents on the coast, for collecting and protecting the slaves; their destruction would not throw any great difficulties in the way of the agents; how far the slaves are exposed to sufferings in these barracoons, *ib. 820-828*—Enumeration of the stations where slave factories and barracoons are at present situated, *ib. 886-890. 895, 896.*

BARRACOONS—continued.2. *Opinions in favour of the destruction of Barracoons :*

Opinion in favour of the destruction of the barracoons on the coast of Africa ; it would be most effectual in suppressing the slave trade, *Riley* 167-175—Necessity for the destruction of the barracoons on the coast of Africa, as a means of preventing the slave trade, *Montresor* 291. 326-328—Whilst the barracoons are allowed to remain it would be possible for steam vessels to run to them, and obtain a cargo of slaves, and escape, *ib.* 318—In the event of a squadron being maintained on the coast of Africa, they should be armed with the power of destroying barracoons, and with a declaration that the slave trade is piracy, *Sir C. Hotham* 740. 743 *et seq.*; *Rep.* ii. p. iii.

How far a repetition of such attacks as that at the Gallinas might lead to the formation of stations and factories at points a considerable distance from the coast, *Sir C. Hotham* 814-822—If this were the case, the health of our forces would probably suffer if they had to proceed far up the country to attack the factories, *ib.* 814-818—If Government were to give directions for the destruction of all barracoons, witness presumes the shift of the slave dealers would be to anchor ships off the coast, retain their goods on board, and retail them from thence, *ib.* 818-820—Thereby avoiding the necessity of having a factory on shore, *ib.* 818—And they would also obtain the protection of the flag of a nation which had not given us the power of visit or search, *ib.* 818-820. 882-884—Destroying the barracoons without the slaves are captured at the same time is of very little use, *ib.* 851.

3. *Particulars relative to the destruction of the Barracoons at the Gallinas :*

Witness has been engaged in the destruction of some slave factories, especially the factories at the Gallinas, *Sir C. Hotham* 803, 804—Circumstances attending the destruction of these factories, *ib.* 805. 809-816. 932—The factories at the Gallinas were destroyed under a positive treaty made for a special purpose, *ib.* 807—Doubts as to whether similar treaties could be made with other chiefs and headmen upon the coast, *ib.* 808.—See also *Foreign Powers. Gallinas.*

Benin, Bight of. The slave trade became very active in the Bight of Benin in the last three months of 1848, *Riley* 87-91—Extent of the squadron employed in the Bight of Benin, *ib.* 92—The legitimate commerce is very great in the Bight of Benin ; the more the slave trade is stopped there the more we shall find the value of commerce, *ib.* 265—It is impossible to keep up such a blockade as to prevent the slave trade existing in the Bight of Benin, though it is feasible on the north coast, *Sir C. Hotham* 642.

See also *Brazil, 1. Captured Vessels, 1. Ebo Country. Steam Vessels, 1.*

Benin River. There is no slaving up the River Benin, *Riley* 163-165.

Biafra, Bight of. It is the general opinion that the slave trade is extinguished in the Bight of Biafra ; it is probable they still carry on a sneaking slave trade there, *Waddell* 386, 387.

Bight of Benin. See *Benin, Bight of.*

Bight of Biafra. See *Biafra, Bight of.*

Blockade. Necessity for blockading the whole of the coast of Africa, *Montresor* 354, 355—Proportion, in miles, of coast which might be strongly blockaded, and portion of the coast which is not susceptible of being strongly blockaded, *Sir C. Hotham* 643 *et seq.*—Altogether there are not more than 100 miles out of 2,100 that could be effectually blockaded ; it would require four vessels to blockade this 100 miles, *ib.* 643-653.

See also *Calabar River. Gallinas. Preventive Squadron. Sailing Vessels. Steam Vessels, 2. West Coast of Africa.*

BRAZIL :

1. *State of the Slave Trade generally ; Causes of its Increase and Decrease.*
2. *Feelings of the Brazilians on the subject of the Slave Trade ; how far likely to tend to its Suppression.*
3. *Existing and proposed Treaties.*
4. *Violation of existing Treaties.*

1. *State of the Slave Trade generally ; Causes of its Increase and Decrease :*

The slaves captured by witness in the Bight of Benin were bound to Brazil, and under Brazilian colours, *Riley* 241-243—A very large number of slaves are imported into Brazil, *ib.* 250—The number of male slaves imported into Brazil is very disproportionate to the number of females, *Montresor* 337, 338—The Brazilian slave trade has been very vigorous during the last three years, *Sir C. Hotham* 499—There is a great difference in the character of the slave that is required for different purposes, and in different parts of the country, *ib.* 532-542.

BRAZIL—continued.

1. *State of the Slave Trade generally : Causes of its Increase, &c.*—continued.

The slave trade to the coast of Brazil is much larger now than it was in the years 1842 and 1843, *Sir C. Hotham* 543—Witness does not concur in the opinion that has been expressed by several naval officers, that if the same vigilant proceedings that were employed in 1842 and 1843 were now in operation, they would effectually extinguish the slave trade, *ib.* 544-547—The slave trade was only then in its infancy, *ib.* 544—Brazilian captains have assured witness that they can ship slaves at any season of the year, and from any port, *ib.* 583-586.

There is no doubt the slave trade is acted on by the same causes which affect legitimate branches of commercial industry, *Sir C. Hotham* 500. 594, 595—Consequently, a stagnation of the general trade of Brazil would be accompanied with a decrease of the slave trade, *ib.* 501. 594, 595—This was the case last year, during the existence of commercial distress in Europe, when the trade of Brazil was affected thereby, *ib.* 502, 503. 594, 595—Supposing the demand for slaves to be very high in Brazil, it would not be possible practically to prevent, by our present measures, the demand obtaining a supply for the coast of Africa, *ib.* 504, 505. 594, 595.

2. *Feelings of the Brazilians on the Subject of the Slave Trade ; how far likely to tend to its Suppression :*

There is a large party in Brazil opposed to the slave trade, whose numbers are on the increase, *Lord Palmerston* 66-68—The national feeling of the Brazilians has no effect with regard to the slave trade; the question upon which their conduct and opinions chiefly turn is the practicability or impracticability of continuing the trade, *ib.* 69, 70—Witness does not attach much value to the argument that if the squadron were withdrawn there would probably be so great a fear on the part of the Brazilians, from the increase in the number of slaves imported, that for their own safety they would take effectual measures to suppress the traffic, *ib.* 71—If the Brazilian government passed a law prohibiting the slave trade, and were sincerely bent upon carrying that law into execution, they have the power to do so, spite of public opinion, *ib.* 72—The moral feeling in Cuba and Brazil would not lead to the abolition of the slave trade, provided our squadron were withdrawn, *ib.* 73-77—If we could once effectually stop the slave trade in Cuba and Brazil, other habits and interests would spring up, which would prevent its revival, *ib.* 73.

The most important point would be to enlist the feelings of the Brazilians on our side, *Sir C. Hotham* 668-671. 684-685. 689-699. 709-738. 795-802—The best means of conciliating the Brazilians and suppressing the slave trade would be by proposing to them some such measure as this, viz. to allow the importation of slaves for a certain number of years, arranging the proportion of the sexes under certain conditions, and under the government of commissioners residing on the coast of Africa, *ib.* 672-674. 684, 685. 689-699. 709-738. 795-802—And after that period the Brazilian government would willingly consent to declare it piracy, and then we might look forward to a successful termination of our endeavours, *ib.* 672-674. 689-699. 795-802.

3. *Existing and proposed Treaties :*

Communications which have passed between the British Government and the government of Brazil relative to the suppression of the slave trade, *Lord Palmerston* 9—Intention of the Brazilian government to propose a treaty to this country for the abolition of the slave trade, *ib.* 18—How far public opinion in Brazil has undergone any alteration on the subject of the slave trade, so as to facilitate the execution of such a treaty, *ib.* 19, 20—Negotiations which have been going on with a view to persuade Brazil to give us a treaty for the suppression of the slave trade, *ib.* 49-57—Particulars relative to the existing treaties with the Brazilian government on the subject of the slave trade; if these treaties were enforced, it would tend greatly to the suppression of the traffic, *ib.* 58-62.

4. *Violation of existing Treaties :*

According to the Spanish law on the subject of slaves, a great number of negroes are illegally held in bondage in both Brazil and Cuba, *Lord Palmerston* 63—Witness is aware that there is an opinion strongly held in this country that the Brazils are bound by treaty to liberate, upon our demand, all slaves who have been illegally imported into that country, *Sir C. Hotham* 743—The enforcement of this demand would immediately amount to a declaration of war, which would bring things to a crisis, *ib.* 744.

See also *Foreign Powers.* *Guinea Coast.* *North Coast of Africa.* *Preventive Squadron,* 2. *Price of Slaves.* *Slave-grown Sugar.* *Steam Vessels,* 2. *Treaties,* 1. *West India Spanish Islands.*

British Capital. If the cruisers be withdrawn from the coast of Africa, it will be impossible to keep out British capital from engaging in the slave trade, *Hon. S. Lushington* 963. 967, 968.

Buxton, Sir Fowell. See *Preventive Squadron,* 1.

C.

Calabar River. The extinction of the slave trade in the Calabar River is partially attributable to the effective blockade of the river and the capture of the slavers, *Waddell* 383.

See also *Old Calabar*.

Capital. See *British Capital*.

CAPTURED VESSELS:

1. *Generally.*
2. *Papers laid before the Committee.*

1. *Generally:*

Large number of slave vessels captured in the year 1848; it greatly exceeds the number captured in 1847, *Lord Palmerston* 25. 39—Number of captures made by witness of slave vessels while stationed off the Bight of Benin, *Riley* 88-90—Number of slave vessels captured by the cruisers in the Bight of Benin, between May 1848 and January 1849, *ib.* 93, 94—Opinion that very few vessels got away from the coast without being captured, and none would have escaped had there been steam vessels instead of sailing vessels in the squadron, *ib.* 96. 101, 102. 244-247—Number of slavers captured by Captain Matson, on the south coast of Africa, *ib.* 108—Witness has every reason to believe that a great number of slave vessels got away from the coast of Africa, loaded with slaves, in consequence of the thick heavy weather, *Montresor* 279—Number of captures, and position of the captures, from 14 October to 31 October 1846; in the year 1847, and from 1 January to 1 March 1849; showing how the slavers regulate their supplies, *Sir C. Hotham* 594, 595. 925-928—Witness estimates the proportion of vessels captured to be rather more than one-third of the total number employed, *ib.* 596-603.

2. *Papers laid before the Committee:*

Return of all vessels captured by British cruisers, for violation of slave-trade treaties, in each year, from 1840 to 1847 inclusive, which have been brought before the Mixed Commissions established abroad, under treaties with foreign powers, for the adjudication of captured slave vessels; showing the name of the captured vessel, the date of capture, the sentence, whether forfeiture or restitution, by what court adjudicated, the tonnage, and whether destroyed as unseaworthy, *Rep. i. App.* 109-113—Return of all vessels captured by British cruisers, for violation of slave-trade treaties, in each year, from 1840 to 1847 inclusive, which have been brought before tribunals of the country to which such vessels belonged; showing the name of the captured vessel, the date of capture, the sentence, whether forfeiture or restitution, by what court adjudicated, the tonnage, and whether destroyed as unseaworthy, *ib.* 113—Return of all vessels captured by British cruisers, for violation of the statutes of 2 & 3 Vict. c. 73, and 8 & 9 Vict. c. 122, which have been brought before British courts of Vice-Admiralty abroad for adjudication, *ib.* 114-120—List of slave vessels captured in the years 1847 and 1848, by Her Majesty's cruisers employed in the suppression of the slave trade, *ib.* 136-139.

See also *Ambriz*. *Brazil*, 1. *Calabar River*. "*Curioso*," The (Slaver). *East Coast of Africa*. "*Maid of Islay*," The. *Mixed Commissions*. *North Coast of Africa*. *Steam Vessels*, 2. *Sufferings of Slaves*.

Catherine, St., Island. Witness concurs in the suggestion of Mr. Bandinel, that the British Government should occupy the island of St. Catherine, and hold it as a guarantee for the faithful execution of the treaty between the two countries, *Sir C. Hotham* 917-919.

Civilization. Hope entertained by the Committee that the internal improvement and civilization of Africa will be one of the most effective means of suppressing the slave trade, *Rep. ii. p. iv*—Recommendation, that for this purpose, the instruction of the natives by missionary labours, by education, and the extension of legitimate commerce, should be encouraged, *ib.*—The increase of educational and missionary establishments along the coast of Africa would be a very obvious means of suppressing the slave trade, *Waddell* 415—One consequence of our withdrawing the squadron from the coast of Africa would be that all hopes of civilizing Africa would be at least deferred indefinitely, if not extinguished, *Hon. S. Lushington* 961.—See also *Agriculture and Commerce*.

Climate. Witness does not consider the climate of the coast of Africa so injurious as reports commonly represent it, *Waddell* 440, 441.—See also *Africa, Coast of*.

Commerce. See *Agriculture and Commerce*. *Legitimate Trade*. *Protection of Commerce*.

Cruisers. See *Preventive Squadron*.

Cuba. The slave trade in Cuba has very greatly diminished during the past year, *Lord Palmerston* 27—From the report of Mr. Kennedy, it would appear that the local government of Cuba rather discourage the introduction of slaves into the island, *ib.* 28—In the event of the blockading squadron being withdrawn, the slave trade would rapidly increase in Cuba, *ib.* 30-34—The local government of Cuba, provided it was honest, could prevent the introduction of slaves without the aid of the squadron, *ib.* 33.

The number of male slaves introduced into Cuba greatly preponderates over the females, from this cause, stopping the importation for a few years would reduce the number of labourers, *Lord Palmerston* 36-38—The principal cause which has operated in Cuba to prevent the importation of slaves has been the want of demand, *Sir C. Hotham* 587-593—Return of exports and imports of the island of Cuba, from 1828 to 1847 inclusive, in dollars, *Rep. i, App. 108*—Return of duties and taxes of the island of Cuba, from 1828 to 1847 inclusive, in dollars, *ib.*

See also *American Settlers. Brazil, 2. 4. Foreign Powers. Price of Slaves. Slave-grown Sugar. Treaties, 1. West India Spanish Islands.*

“*Curioso*,” The (Slaver). Particulars relative to the capture of the “*Curioso*,” slaver, on the coast of Africa, *Riley* 98.

D.

Dacres, Admiral. See *East Coast of Africa. Mosambique.*

Dahomey, King of. Attempt made to enter into a treaty with King Dahomey for the suppression of the slave trade in his dominions, and failure thereof, *Riley* 264.

Decrease of the Slave Trade. See *Brazil, 1. Cuba. Ebo County.*

Demand for Slaves. In case the slave trade was left unrestricted, the demand for slaves would increase to an enormous extent, *Riley* 229—Witness conceives that the slave trade will continue as long as there is a demand for slaves, *Montresor* 365, 366—The slave trade is entirely dependent upon the commercial demand for slaves, and has little or no connexion with the squadron, *Sir C. Hotham* 565.

See also *Brazil, 1. Cuba. Preventive Squadron, 4. Slave-grown Sugar. Supply of Slaves.*

Denman, Honourable Captain. Witness is acquainted with the general features of the plan of Captain Denman for suppressing the slave trade, *Sir C. Hotham* 509—Reasons why witness considers this plan is not calculated to effect the extinction of the slave trade within any definite period, with the exception of the coast between Cape Palmas and Sierra Leone, where alone it is in any way applicable, *ib.* 510-518.

Destruction of Barracoons. See *Barracoons. Foreign Powers.*

Domestic Slavery. Existence of domestic slavery among the tribes of Old Calabar; they do not export them for the foreign market, *Waddell* 389-393. 431.

E.

East Coast of Africa. Reference to the report of Admiral Dacres, who has had the command of the squadron on the Cape station, reporting that for the last year the slave trade has been almost entirely extinguished on the eastern coast of Africa, *Lord Palmerston* 11—Witness has recently heard that the slave traders have shifted from the west coast to the east coast, in consequence of the number of captures which have been made upon the western coast, *Sir C. Hotham* 519—The necessity of passing round the Cape of Good Hope, and the greater length of the voyage, would not form any further impediment to the slave trade on the east coast as compared with the west, than the necessity for larger and better found vessels, *ib.* 520-527—Report of Vice-Admiral Dacres to the Secretary to the Admiralty, dated 1 December 1848, relative to the decline of the slave trade on the east coast of Africa, *Rep. i, App. 129-132.*

See also *Preventive Squadron, 2.*

Eastern Seas. See *Persia.*

Ebo Country. The slave trade has entirely ceased in the Ebo country of late years; it was carried on to a great extent formerly, *Waddell* 375-379—How far the slave trade may be said to be still carried on in the Ebo country, *ib.* 394-396—The Eboos would find great difficulty in exporting slaves, if the slave trade in the Bight of Benin were stopped, *ib.* 397.

Education. See *Civilization.*

Reports, 1849—continued.

Extinction of the Slave Trade. If the present policy of this country, of attempting to stop the slave trade by a blockading squadron be persisted in, witness cannot look forward to any definite period when it will effect the extinction of the trade, *Sir C. Hotham* 506, 507.—See also *Preventive Squadron.* *Suppression of the Slave Trade.*

F.

Factories. See *Barracoons.* *Gallinas.*

Female Slaves. See *Brazil*, 1. *Cuba.*

Fogs. See *Captured Vessels*, 1.

Foreign Markets. See *Domestic Slavery.*

Foreign Powers. Statement of the Committee, that over and above a return to the system of discouragement by commercial legislation, several measures have been suggested as suitable auxiliaries to the present preventive system, *Rep.* ii, p. iii—Particularly the destruction of barracoons, the infliction of the penalties of piracy on the captains and crews of vessels engaged in the slave trade, and the enforced liberation of all slaves illegally imported into Brazil and the Spanish colonies, *ib.*—Statement of the Committee, that they have considered whether these expedients are practically available, as if such were the case they ought to be tried before withdrawing the squadron, *ib.*—Doubts expressed by the Committee as to whether, even assuming them to be practically available, such a prosecution of them as could alone be effectual would be sustained by the general opinion of other civilised countries, *ib.*—And might not be attended with the imminent risk of very serious calamities, and be scarcely sooner commenced than abandoned, *ib.*

How far it would be practicable for England to adopt these three measures, viz., the destruction of the barracoons, the treatment of slave crews as pirates, and the demand to Brazil to fulfil, under treaty, their engagement to liberate all slaves illegally imported; whether this would be likely to lead us into war with foreign countries, *Sir C. Hotham* 745-769. 773-779. 784-794—There is no doubt that foreigners view our mode of endeavouring to suppress the slave trade with extreme jealousy, *ib.* 746-748.

See also *Captured Vessels*, 2. *Piracy.* *Preventive Squadron*, 3. *Slave Trade.*

France. Application made by the French government to this country to allow them to reduce their squadron on the coast of Africa to half the number agreed to by the treaty of 1845, *Lord Palmerston*, 2—The British Government have acquiesced in this application, *ib.*—Witness cannot undertake to say whether there is or is not any indisposition on the part of the French government to abrogate the treaty of 1845 altogether, *ib.* 3-7.

See also *Treaties*, 2.

Free Trade. See *Slave-grown Sugar.*

G.

Gaboon River. The slave trade is still carried on in the Gaboon River, *Waddell* 387, 388.

Gallinas. Hostile proceedings taken against the chief of the Gallinas in consequence of his having broken his treaty for the suppression of the slave trade, *Lord Palmerston* 48—Witness was of opinion that the destruction of the factories alone would not effectually stop the slave trade at the Gallinas, *Sir C. Hotham* 806—He therefore adopted the responsible measure of declaring the limits of the Gallinas country in a state of blockade, according to the strict sense of the word, *ib.*—These measures will stop the slave trade for some length of time at the Gallinas, but they will most likely drive it to other parts, *ib.* 807—Further evidence as to the blockade which witness established at the Gallinas, and its effects on the slave trade; how far such blockade would be likely to be effectual in other parts of the country, *ib.* 860-872. 885. 908-910.

See also *Barracoons*, 2. 3.

Guinea Coast. Witness's impression is that Brazil does not get her supply of slaves now from the Guinea Coast, *Waddell* 405—The slave trade has been considerably diminished on the coast of Guinea, *ib.* 407, 408.

H.

Havana. Report of Mr. Kennedy, the commissary judge at the Havana, dated 1 January 1849, relative to the state of the slave trade at that place, *Lord Palmerston* 27-29; *Rep.* i, *App.* 120-124—Mr. Kennedy disputes the statements which have been made, both as to the number of slaves imported from Africa and as to the profits made by the slave traders, *Lord Palmerston* 27—Letter from Her Majesty's commissary judge at Havana, dated 26 January 1849, relative to the decline of the slave trade, *Rep.* i, *App.* 132.—See also *Slave Vessels.*

Hay,

Hay, Right Hon. Lord *John*, C.B., M.P. (Analysis of his Evidence.)—Evidence to show that the Admiralty consider that Sir Charles Hotham carried out his instructions to the letter, with great judgment and zeal, and to the entire satisfaction of the Board, 934-939 —Witness is decidedly of opinion that if it had been possible to have stopped the slave trade by such means as were confided to Sir Charles Hotham, the trade would have been stopped under his control, 940—Witness concurs in the opinion expressed by Sir C. Hotham, that the substitution of the proportion stated by him of steam force for sailing force would be very desirable, 941-950.

Headmen. See *Barracoons*, 3.

Health. Healthy condition of the squadron on the African coast; there is less mortality on the coast than on any other station, except the Mediterranean, *Riley* 255.

See also *Climate.* *Mortality.*

Hook, Mr. Evidence relative to a proposal contained in the report of Mr. Hook, the commissary judge at Sierra Leone, for the employment of gentle means and a strict enforcement of the existing treaties, in conjunction with the squadron, as the most effectual means of suppressing the slave trade, *Lord Palmerston* 13-17.

Hotham, Sir *Charles*, R.N., K.C.B. (Analysis of his Evidence.)—Has recently held the command of the British squadron on the west coast of Africa; was relieved on 1st March 1849; held the command from October 1846 to March 1849; 466-468—The naval force under witness's orders seldom averaged 22 ships of all kinds; the number of steamers varied very much; the largest number was seven, 469-471—Witness considered the force, generally speaking, in a high state of discipline, 472—Witness's views were carried out by the officers under his command to his entire satisfaction, 473—This force did not succeed in stopping the slave trade, nor did it even cripple it to such an extent as is calculated to give it a permanent check, 474, 475.

The length of the line of coast on the western side of Africa, along which the slave trade could be carried on, is 2,195 miles, 476. 579-582—This gives a distance of 91 miles for each cruiser to blockade; difficulties in the way of their carrying on blockading operations for this distance, 477-487. 583-586—Circumstances which have tended to check the slave carried on to the West India Spanish Islands, while there has been an increase of the slave trade to the coast of Brazil, 488-505—It may be mainly attributed to the local government connected with the exertions of the squadron on that part of the coast, 488-505.

The Brazilian slave trade has been very vigorous during the last three years, 499—There is no doubt the slave trade is acted on by the same causes which affect legitimate branches of commercial industry, 500. 594, 595—Consequently a stagnation of the general trade of Brazil would be accompanied with a decrease of the slave trade, 501. 594, 595—This was the case last year during the existence of commercial distress in Europe, when the trade of Brazil was affected thereby, 502, 503. 594, 595—Supposing the demand for slaves to be very high in Brazil, it would not be possible practically to prevent by our present measures the demand obtaining a supply from the coast of Africa, 504, 505. 594, 595.

If the present policy of this country, of attempting to stop the slave trade by a blockading squadron, be persisted in, witness cannot look forward to any definite period when it will effect the extinction of the slave trade, 506, 507—Witness is persuaded that our present measures are perfectly futile, and that our operations should be undertaken on the other coast, in connexion with the Brazilian government, 508—Witness is acquainted with the general features of the plan of Captain Denman for suppressing the slave trade, 509—Reasons why witness considers this plan is not calculated to effect the extinction of the slave trade within any definite period, with the exception of the coast between Cape Palmas and Sierra Leone, where alone it is in any way applicable, 510-518.

Witness has recently heard that the slave traders have shifted from the west coast to the east coast, in consequence of the number of captures which have been made upon the western coast, 519.—The necessity of passing round the Cape of Good Hope, and the greater length of the voyage, would not form any further impediment to the slave trade on the east coast as compared with the west, than the necessity for larger and better-found vessels, 520-527—Was professionally employed on the coast of Brazil for a short time; commanded the "Gorgon" steam vessel upon the coast; has landed repeatedly in the Brazilian territory, 528-531—There is a great difference in the character of the slave that is required for different purposes, and in different parts of the country, 532—Peculiar class of slaves required in Bahia; number imported annually into Bahia, 533-542—The slave trade to the coast of Brazil is much larger now than it was in the years 1842 and 1843; 543—Witness does not concur in the opinion that has been expressed by several naval officers, that if the same vigilant proceedings that were employed in 1842 and 1843 were now in operation they would effectually extinguish the slave trade, 544-547—The slave trade was then only in its infancy, 544.

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Hotham, Sir Charles, R.N., K.C.B. (Analysis of his Evidence)—continued.

Grounds for forming the opinion that an increase of the steam force, as compared with the sailing force, would not tend materially to effect the suppression of the slave trade, 548-564. 566-578. 604 *et seq.*—The slave trade is entirely dependent upon the commercial demand for slaves, and has little or no connexion with the squadron, 565—Brazilian captains have assured witness that they can ship slaves at any season of the year, and from any port, 583-586—The principal cause which has operated in Cuba to prevent the importation of slaves has been the want of demand, 587-593—The number of slaves imported into Brazil from the north coast is as a drop in the ocean compared with the rest, 594.

Number of captures, and position of the captures, from the 14th October to 31st October 1846, in the year 1847, and from 1st January to 1st March 1849, showing how the slavers regulate their supplies, 594, 595—Witness estimates the proportion of vessels captured to be rather more than one-third of the total number employed, 596-603—Evidence in detail, showing the profits of the slave dealers, 604-641—It is impossible to keep up such a blockade as to prevent the slave trade existing in the Bight of Benin, though it is feasible on the north coast, 642—Proportion, in miles, of coast which might be strictly blockaded, and portion of the coast which is not susceptible of being strongly blockaded, 643 *et seq.*—Altogether there are not more than 100 miles out of 2,100 that could be effectually blockaded; it would require four vessels to blockade this 100 miles, 643-653—The palm-oil trade, or any other regular trade, and the slave trade, cannot co-exist; the imputation that those persons engaged in the regular trade connive at the slave trade is unjust, 654-663.

Witness believes it to be impossible to repress the slave trade with our present means, nor is he prepared to suggest any modification of those means, 664-667—The most important point would be to enlist the feelings of the Brazilians on our side, 668-671. 684, 685. 689-699—The best means of conciliating the Brazilians, and suppressing the slave trade, would be by proposing to them some such measure as this, viz., to allow the importation of slaves for a certain number of years, arranging the proportion of the sexes, under certain conditions, and under the government of commissioners residing on the coast of Africa, 672-674. 684, 685. 689-699—And after that period the Brazilian government would willingly consent to declare it piracy, and then we might look forward to a successful termination of our endeavours, *ib.*—Evidence relative to the mortality among the slaves, 675-680—The commerce of this country will always require a certain force to be kept up on the coast of Africa, independently of slave cruising; the squadron cannot be reduced to less than ten or twelve sail, 680-683. 686-689. 697-699.

[Second Examination.]—Further evidence as to the necessity for keeping up a certain squadron on the west coast of Africa, 700, 701—Witness entirely concurs in the views expressed by Mr. Bandinel before the Committee of last year, wherein he refers to the necessity of having the assistance of the slave-holding states before we can suppress the slave trade, 702-704—Copy of a despatch written by witness at Ascension, dated 5 December 1848, on the subject of the suppression of the slave trade, 704-708—Further evidence as to the great importance in the first place of conciliating the feelings of the Brazilians, and enlisting them on our side; and also further evidence on the measures witness proposes with this view, 709-738—Witness does not see any prospect of repressing the slave trade by an armed force upon the coast, 739-742.

In the event of a squadron being maintained, they should be armed with the power of destroying barracoons, and with a declaration that the slave trade is piracy, 740. 743 *et seq.*—Witness is aware that there is an opinion strongly held in this country that the Brazils are bound by treaty to liberate, upon our demand, all slaves who have been illegally imported into that country, 743—The enforcement of this demand would immediately amount to a declaration of war; which would bring things to a crisis, 744—How far it would be practicable for England to adopt these three measures, viz. the destruction of barracoons, the treatment of slave crews as pirates, and the demand to Brazil to fulfil, under treaty, their engagement to liberate all slaves illegally imported; whether this would be likely to lead us into war with foreign countries, 745-769. 773-779. 784-794.—There is no doubt that foreigners view our mode of endeavouring to suppress the slave trade with extreme jealousy, 746-748.

Witness is not prepared to recommend that, in the event of the slave trade being declared piracy, the extreme penalty of the law should, immediately on the capture of the crew, be carried out at the yard-arm; still the penalty should be a severe one, 756-764. 780-783—How far any danger would be likely to arise from treating the slave trade as piracy in the case of nations who have made special treaties with us that it shall be so treated, 765-769—Further evidence as to the failure of the efforts of our squadron, 770-772.

Slave trading is piracy by the law of the United States; still there are very few instances of a vessel equipped for the slave trade being condemned by the United States, in consequence of the severity of the law, 773, 774—Witness is of opinion that the United

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United States would never allow any authority but her own to administer the penalties of piracy on her subjects, 775, 776. 784—Further evidence relative to the arrangement which witness has proposed should be made with the Brazilian government as to the slave trade being sanctioned for a certain number of years, under certain conditions, 795-802.

Witness has been engaged in the destruction of some slave factories, especially the factories at the Gallinas, 803, 804—Circumstances attending the destruction of these factories, 805—Witness was of opinion that the destruction of these factories alone would not effectually stop the slave trade at the Gallinas, 806—He therefore adopted the responsible measure of declaring the limits of the Gallinas country in a state of blockade, according to the strict sense of the word, *ib.*—These measures will stop the slave trade for some length of time at the Gallinas, but they will most likely drive it to other parts, 807—The factories at the Gallinas were destroyed under a positive treaty made for a special purpose, *ib.*—Doubts as to whether similar treaties could be made with other chiefs and headmen upon the coast, 808.

[Third Examination.]—Further evidence as to the destruction of the barracoons and factories at the Gallinas, 809-816. 932—How far a repetition of such attacks as that at the Gallinas might lead to the formation of stations and factories at points a considerable distance from the coast, 814-822—If this were the case the health of our forces would probably suffer if they had to proceed far up the country to attack factories, 814-818—If Government were to give directions for the destruction of all barracoons, witness presumes the shift of the slave dealers would be to anchor ships off the coast, retain their goods on board, and retail them from thence, 818-820—Thereby avoiding the necessity of having a factory on shore, 818—And they would also obtain the protection of the flag of a nation which had not given us the power of visit or search, 818-820. 882-884.

It is an entire mistake to suppose that it is necessary to detain slaves in barracoons, 820—They are used chiefly by the agents on the coast for collecting and protecting the slaves; their destruction would not throw any great difficulties in the way of the agents; how far the slaves are exposed to sufferings in these barracoons, 820-828. 847-850. 877-881—The middle passage is not, in witness's opinion, conducted with the horrors which people generally imagine; the slaves are not in general too closely packed on board the vessels; how far they have any medical attendance on board, 829-846—Destroying the barracoons without the slaves are captured at the same time, is of very little use, 851—Though our squadron on the coast of Africa is inefficient for the purpose for which it was intended, still it diminishes the sufferings of the slaves, 852-859.

Further evidence as to the blockade which witness established at the Gallinas, and its effects on the slave trade; how far such blockade would be likely to be effectual in other parts of the country, 860-872. 885. 908-910—Enumeration of the stations where slave factories and barracoons are at present situated, 886-890. 895, 896—Evidence in detail as to the distance from the coast at which witness's squadron cruised; erroneous statements which have been made on this subject; general orders which were issued to the ships, 891-903—The Portuguese government have always professed the greatest willingness to assist us in putting down the slave trade; but from the weakness of their power on the coast, they have not been able to do so, nor have they carried their treaty into effect, 904-907—Evidence as to the mortality on the African station, 911-916.

Witness concurs in the suggestion of Mr. Bandinel, that the British Government should occupy the island of St. Catherine, and hold it as a guarantee for the faithful execution of the treaty between the two countries, 917-919—Witness anxiously hopes that our squadron may not be withdrawn, unless a sufficient substitute can be found by this Government, 920—At the same time, witness does not consider that our present means are satisfactory, *ib.*—Any system having the object of suppressing the slave trade in view, must be uniform and consistent, without reference to the instructions which may be sent out, 921-924—Further evidence as to the captures made by witness's squadron, 925-228—Extent to which our squadron might be diminished, provided steam vessels were substituted for the remainder, 933.

Hotham, Sir Charles. Evidence to show that the Admiralty consider that Sir Charles Hotham carried out his instructions to the letter, with great judgment and zeal, and to the entire satisfaction of the Board, *Lord John Hay* 934-939—Witness is decidedly of opinion, that if it had been possible to have stopped the slave trade by such means as were confided to Sir C. Hotham, the trade would have been stopped under his control, *ib.* 940—Copies of despatches received by the Board of Admiralty from Commodore Sir Charles Hotham, K. C. B., on the subject of the slave trade, since the Report of the Committee on Slave Trade in the Session of 1848, *Rep. i. App.* 140-150—Letter from Sir Charles Hotham to the Secretary of the Admiralty, dated 13 February 1849, relative to the slave trade on the coast of Africa, with enclosures, *ib.* 157.

See also *Preventive Squadron*, 1. *Steam Vessels*, 1.

Reports, 1849—continued.

Human Sacrifices. The practice of human sacrifices still exists among the people of Calabar, *Waddell* 433-436—If a representation were strongly made by the Government, and by the commercial parties engaged in the River Calabar, the people would be in a considerable measure induced to put down the system of human sacrifices; they should be dealt with very strongly upon the subject, *ib.* 451-455—Suggestions as to the most effectual mode of enforcing any recommendations on this subject, *ib.* 453-455.

I.

Idolatry. Prevalance of idolatry among the people of Calabar, *Waddell* 434.

Imports and Exports. See *Cuba*.

Increase of the Slave Trade. See *Brazil*, 1. *Preventive Squadron*, 4. *Revival of the Slave Trade*.

Interior of Africa. The slaves are often brought from a very great distance in the interior of Africa, *Waddell* 398-400. 424-431.

K.

Kennedy, James. Copy of the report from J. Kennedy, Her Majesty's Commissary Judge at Havana, dated 1 January 1849, relative to the state of the slave trade at this place, *Lord Palmerston* 27-29; *Rep. i. App.* 120-124.

See also *Cuba*. *Havana*.

L.

Lagos. Inquiries which have been instituted into the report that 2,000 slaves were put to death by the Chief of Lagos, because our cruisers had prevented the vessels intended to carry them off from embarking them; there is no foundation for that report, *Lord Palmerston* 27.—See also *Massacre of Slaves*.

LEGITIMATE TRADE:

1. *Importance of the Legitimate Trade of Africa, as a Means of suppressing the Slave Trade.*
2. *Protection afforded by the Preventive Squadron to the Legitimate Trade.*
3. *Possibility of the Co-existence of the Slave Trade and Legitimate Trade.*

1. *Importance of the Legitimate Trade of Africa, as a Means of suppressing the Slave Trade:*

Could the slave trade be entirely put down, there would be a very great increase of legitimate trade with the coast of Africa, *Lord Palmerston* 48—There is no doubt but that as legitimate trade increases on the coast of Africa, there would be a proportionate diminution of the slave trade, *Montresor* 365—Beneficial effect which the establishment of legitimate commerce on the coast of Africa has had in diminishing the slave trade, *Waddell* 380—Extensive legitimate trade carried on at Old Calabar; average annual export of palm oil, *ib.* 381, 382—Employment of the slaves of king Eyo, of Calabar, in collecting palm oil, and the cultivation of yams and other things, *ib.* 438, 439.

2. *Protection afforded by the Preventive Squadron to Legitimate Trade:*

The only encouragement that can be given to the legitimate trade with the coast of Africa is the security afforded by the presence of our cruisers, and the multiplication of treaties with native chiefs, *Lord Palmerston* 46—The necessary vigilance of the cruisers has never been found to operate injuriously on legitimate commerce, *Riley* 187—It would be found impossible to keep up the legitimate trading establishments on the coast of Africa were the squadron withdrawn, and the slave trade made an open free trade, *ib.* 212. 218—Advantage of the cruisers on the coast of Africa as a protection to the legitimate trade, *Waddell* 411—The commerce of this country will always require a certain force to be kept up on the coast of Africa, independently of slave cruising, *Sir C. Hotham* 680-683. 686-689. 697-699—The squadron cannot be reduced to less than ten or twelve sail, *ib.*—One consequence of our withdrawing the squadron from the coast of Africa would be that the legitimate trade with Africa would be diminished, *Hon. S. Lushington* 961—Way in which witness considers that the withdrawal of the squadron for the suppression of the slave trade would decrease the legitimate trade, *ib.* 1054-1057.

3. *Possibility*

LEGITIMATE TRADE—continued.

3. Possibility of the Co-existence of the Slave Trade and Legitimate Trade :

Where legitimate commerce has been established, the chiefs find it too profitable ever to give it up and return to the slave trade, *Riley* 164, 165—How far the native chiefs would be led to abandon legitimate commerce, were the slave trade allowed to exist wholly unrestricted, *ib.* 222-226. 232-234—The more legitimate commerce is encouraged the greater is the profit to the native chiefs engaged therein, *ib.* 228—Possibility of the slave trade and legitimate commerce being carried on simultaneously to a certain extent, *Waddell* 422, 423.

See also *Brazil*, 1. *Civilization.* *Old Calabar.* *Palm Oil Trade.* *Pre-ventive Squadron*, 4. *Protection of Commerce.* *Revival of the Slave Trade.*

Liberated Africans. See *Badagry.* *Brazil*, 4.

Liberia. Communication between the president of Liberia and our Government relative to the suppression of the slave trade, *Lord Palmerston* 23—The Liberians are exceedingly anxious to suppress the traffic in slaves; they have succeeded in entirely putting a stop to the traffic upon a considerable distance of coast, *ib.* 23-25.

Lushington, Right Hon. *Stephen*, D.C.L. (Analysis of his Evidence.)—Was employed by the Government to draw up a treaty with France in 1845, in connexion with the slave trade; particulars relative to the drawing up of this treaty, and nature thereof, 951-954—Under this treaty Her Majesty's Government undertook to station 26 cruisers, steam and sailing vessels, within certain degrees of latitude on the coast of Africa, 955—And his majesty the King of the French stipulated that he also would place an equal number on the same coast, 955—It was the general opinion of the captains, English and French, that the measures that were proposed to be adopted would prove effectual in putting down the slave trade, 956. 1005-1009. 1014, 1015—They have however not been effectual; reason of their failure, 957, 958. 1005-1009. 1014, 1015.

There is not a shadow of a doubt that the Act of Parliament of 1846, by which slave-grown sugar was admitted into this country, has had the effect of largely stimulating the slave trade, 959-961. 971-981. 1048-1053—Difficulty of suggesting any measure by which our squadron on the coast of Africa might be made more effective than it now is, 960—Witness's own opinion is, that more pains ought to be taken to form treaties with the native powers, 960. 1010-1013.

Reasons for forming the opinion that the first consequence of our withdrawing the squadron from the coast of Africa would be a great increase of the slave trade, 961—Another consequence would be, that the legitimate trade with Africa would be diminished, *ib.*—A third consequence would be, that all hopes of civilising Africa would be at least deferred indefinitely, if not extinguished, *ib.*—As to a fourth consequence, it is this, the total destruction of our West India colonies, 961. 1048-1053—Our West India colonies cannot compete with slave trade sugar, 961, 962. 1048-1053—If our cruisers were withdrawn, the horrors resulting from the slave trade on the Continent of Africa would increase, 963-966.

If the cruisers be withdrawn it will be impossible to keep out British capital from engaging in the slave trade, 963. 967, 968—The moral effect of the withdrawal of the squadron would be to induce other countries to imagine that England had abandoned, as hopeless and chimerical, her crusade against the slave trade, 969, 970—And therefore the general opinion as to the guilt of this trade would be very much diminished, *ib.*—So long as the Act of 1846 is the law of the land, the suppression of the slave trade is hopeless, 971-981—What would be still more important than the conclusion of treaties with native powers would be, the punctual observance of them, particularly in the case of making presents which have been stipulated to be given to the native chiefs, 982-985.

We have gone back to the system of force to suppress the slave trade, which was condemned by Lord John Russell and the late Sir Fowell Buxton in 1839; particulars relative to the Niger expedition, 986-100—Further evidence in favour of continuing the maintenance of a force on the west coast of Africa, 1016-1021—The squadron has prevented the natural increase of the slave trade which would have taken place independently of the causes of the alteration of the sugar duties, and the increased demand consequent thereupon from Cuba and the Brazils, 1021-1023—Opinion, that by the application of any force which this country could now apply to the object, looking at the present causes stimulating the slave trade, it would not be practicable to stop the slave trade, but merely to diminish it, 1024.

The measure which witness would suggest to aid the exertions of the squadron would be, to pass an Act of Parliament subjecting to punishment, by imprisonment or transportation, the master, supercargo, and mates of every vessel detected in carrying on the
slave

Reports, 1849—continued.

Lushington, Right Hon. *Stephen*, D. C. L. (Analysis of his Evidence)—continued.

slave trade contrary to treaty, 1025-1447—And in order to prevent the possibility of its being a violation of the law of nations, giving the right to every country whose subjects we might so take engaged in the trade, to demand them back again, if they thought fit to do so, at any time, 1025-1047. 1072-1086—Difficulties in the way of proclaiming the slave trade to be piracy, 1039-1044. 1072-1086.

Way in which witness considers that the withdrawal of the squadron for the suppression of the slave trade would decrease the legitimate trade, 1054-1057—The effect of the withdrawal of the squadron would be to produce, for a time at least, so great a convulsion in the minds of the people of Africa, that they would look upon it as a public announcement that England had abandoned her attempts to suppress the slave trade, 1058—There would then be the greatest possible readiness to increase the supply of slaves, but it is the demand which would govern the numbers that would be taken away, 1059-1062—Evidence as to the object and failure of the Niger expedition, 1063-1068. 1070, 1071.

The introduction of agriculture and commerce into Africa, if practicable, would be the best means of putting down the slave trade, 1069-1071—Reasons why witness considers that the measures which we have adopted towards the Brazilians are sanctioned by the law of nations, 1087 *et seq.*—The Act of Parliament which was passed in the year 1845, commonly called the Brazilian Act, was in accordance with the law of nations, 1088—Witness considers that the treaty made between Brazil and this country has been grossly violated by the Brazilian government, 1088-1090.

There is no doubt a very large number of slaves has been detained in the Brazils and Cuba contrary to the treaty, 1091, 1092. 1099—This country has a perfect right to demand from Cuba and the Brazils the manumission of these slaves, but witness fears there is no means of enforcing it, except by resorting to war, 1093. 1099-1103—Some benefit might arise from our giving due notice to these governments, that unless they manumit these slaves we will refuse to admit their produce into this country; following up this threat by the execution of it, 1094-1098.

M.

“*Maid of Islay*,” The. Particulars relative to the seizure of the “*Maid of Islay*,” suspected of being engaged in the slave trade, *Riley* 188-192.

Massacre of Slaves. Witness does not know of his own knowledge that slaves have been put to death because there was no sale for them, but has heard that such has been the fact, *Waddell* 456-462.—See also *Lagos*.

Matson, Captain. See *Captured Vessels*, 1.

Merchants. Ready information given by the English and Hamburg merchants to the cruisers as to the movements of the slavers, *Riley* 248, 249.

Missionaries. See *Badagry*. *Civilisation*. *Whydah*.

Middle Passage. See *Mortality*, 2. *Sufferings of the Slaves*.

Mixed Commission. Provided the Spanish Government would consent to the establishment of a Mixed Commission for the purpose of examining the negroes, to ascertain whether they were legally held, there would be no difficulty to such a commission, *Lord Palmerston* 64, 65.—See also *Captured Vessels*, 2.

Montresor, Commander *Frederick*, R. N. (Analysis of his Evidence.)—Commander in the British navy, 267—Has recently returned from the African station, where he has been for three years, 268-270—Parts of the coast of Africa on which witness has been stationed, 271, 272—Commanded the “*Cygnet*” 6-gun brig in April 1846; was in her about eight months, 273-277—Afterwards commanded the “*Wanderer*,” a 12-gun brig, for two years, 275-277—The slave trade was carried on with great activity during the whole of the three years witness was on the coast of Africa, 278—Number of slaves captured by the “*Styx*,” stationed at Ambrize, *ib.*—Witness has every reason to believe that a great number of slave vessels got away from the coast loaded with slaves in consequence of the thick heavy weather, 279—No diminution whatever has taken place in the extent to which the slave trade is carried on, notwithstanding the efficiency and strength of the squadron, 280-283.

Employment of steam-vessels in conveying the slaves from the African coast, 284—The only efficient way of putting down the slave trade is by the employment of a cordon of steamboats, 285-291—Necessity for the destruction of the barracoons on the coast as a means of preventing the slave trade, 291. 326-328—Importance of making the punishment of slave trading more severe than at present, 291—Opinion that the withdrawal of the squadron and allowing the markets to become glutted with slaves would tend

Montresor, Commander Frederick, R. N. (Analysis of his Evidence)—continued.

tend to the suppression of the traffic, 292. 315-317. 336-348—It will be necessary to keep a small number of cruisers on the coast of Africa, even if the slave trade is suppressed, to prevent its revival, 293, 294—Evidence as to the number of steam vessels requisite as cruisers on the coast of Africa; number of men and armament required, 297-309. 313, 314—It would be almost impossible with a steam blockade for steamers to run into the coast and get on board a cargo of slaves and escape, 310-312.

Whilst the barracoons are allowed to remain it would be possible for steam-vessels to run to them, and obtain a cargo of slaves, and escape, 318—The present naval force is wholly inefficient for the purpose of extinguishing the slave trade, 319-323—Grounds of witness's opinion, that were the slave trade now suppressed it would revive again, 324—Witness does not think the slave traders would use large steam-vessels with a heavy armament, from the enormous expense, 329-335—The number of male slaves imported into Brazil is very disproportionate to the number of females, 337, 338—Emaciated and diseased condition of the slaves on board the vessels captured by witness, 349-353—Necessity for blockading the whole of the coast of Africa, 354, 355—Capture of steamers used by the Brazilians as slave vessels, 356—A much larger number of slaves is carried off from the coast of Africa for the purpose of meeting the demand of the slave trade, than is landed on the coast of Brazil, 357-361—The mortality among the slaves on the passage from the coast of Africa to Brazil is very great, 358-361—Opinion that in proportion as we relaxed our efforts for the suppression of the slave trade, the traffic would increase, 362, 363—There is no doubt but that as legitimate trade increases on the coast of Africa, there would be a proportionate diminution of the slave trade, 365—Witness conceives that the slave trade will continue as long as there is a demand for slaves, 365, 366.

MORTALITY:

1. *Among Officers and Crews of the Preventive Squadron.*
2. *Among Slaves.*

1. *Among Officers and Crews of the Preventive Squadron:*

Evidence as to the mortality among the officers and crews on the African station, *Sir C. Hotham* 911-916.

2. *Among Slaves:*

A much larger number of slaves is carried off from the coast of Africa for the purpose of meeting the demand of the slave trade, than is landed on the coast of Brazil, *Montresor* 357-361—The mortality among the slaves on the passage from the coast of Africa to Brazil is very great, *ib.* 358-361—Evidence as to the mortality among the slaves, *Sir C. Hotham* 675-680.—See also *Health*.

Mozambique. Report from Vice-admiral Dacres to the Secretary of the Admiralty, dated 4 September 1848, relative to the progress being made in the suppression of the slave trade in the Mozambique Channel; with enclosures, *Rep. i. App.* 127-129—Extract from a report, dated Zanzibar, 24 October 1848, by Captain Anson, of Her Majesty's Ship "Eurydice," to Vice-admiral Dacres, relative to the slave trade at Mozambique, *ib.* 129.

N.

Native Chiefs. Great advantage would result from this country obtaining treaties from the native chiefs for the abolition of the slave trade; giving them presents would induce them to enter into the required treaties, *Wuddell* 413-421—An advantage would be gained by inducing the native chiefs at some time or other to sign a renunciation of the slave trade, if followed up by other measures, *ib.* 462-464.

See also *Barracoons*, 3. *Legitimate Trade*, 2. 3. *Old Calabar. Treaties*, 3.

Naval Force. See *Preventive Squadron*.

Negroes. The stoppage of the slave trade would greatly improve the condition of the negroes; they would become like the peasantry of a country where serfage exists, *Lord Palmerston*, 73.—See also *Brazil*, 4.

Niger Expedition. Evidence as to the object and failure of the Niger expedition, *Hon. S. Lushington* 1063-1068. 1070, 1071.—See also *Preventive Squadron*, 1.

North Coast of Africa. Attempt made by the slave traders to obtain slaves from the northward, but all the vessels have been captured, *Riley* 251—The number of slaves imported into Brazil from the north coast is as a drop in the ocean compared with the rest, *Sir C. Hotham* 594.

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O.

Old Calabar. The treaties entered into with the native chiefs of Old Calabar have been effectual in inducing them to abandon the slave trade, *Waddell* 383-385—The attention of the chiefs and the king of Old Calabar is entirely directed to the legitimate trade, *ib.* 389—There is nothing in the habits or morals of the people of Calabar that would induce them to give up the slave trade if left to themselves, *ib.* 437—Particulars relative to an application having been made by the chiefs of Calabar to Captain Hope to permit the English flag to be hoisted there, and possession to be taken, *ib.* 442-451.

See also *Calabar River.* *Domestic Slavery.* *Human Sacrifices.* *Idolatry.*
Legitimate Trade, 1.

P.

Palm Oil Trade. The palm oil trade, or any other regular trade, and the slave trade cannot co-exist; the imputation that those persons engaged in the regular trade connive at the slave trade is unjust, *Sir C. Hotham* 654-663.

See also *Legitimate Trade*, 1.

Palmas, Cape. See *Denman*, Hon. Captain.

Palmerston, The Right Hon. Viscount. (Analysis of his Evidence.)—No measures have been taken by the Government to change the policy of this country for the suppression of the slave trade, in consequence of the resolutions adopted by the Slave Trade Committee of last year, 1—Application made by the French Government to this country to allow them to reduce their squadron on the coast of Africa to half the number agreed to by the treaty of 1845; 2—The British Government have acquiesced in this application, *ib.*—Witness cannot undertake to say whether there is or is not any indisposition on the part of the French Government to abrogate the treaty of 1845 altogether, 3-7—Nothing particular has arisen since the last Session of Parliament which has altered the relation of this country with other states, in connexion with the slave trade, 8.

The Persian Government have lately given greater facilities for the interception of the slave trade in the eastern seas, 8—Communications which have passed between the British Government and the Government of Brazil relative to the suppression of the slave trade, 9—Opinion that the endeavours now making to suppress the slave trade are more successful than formerly, 10—There is a better prospect now than ever of making very considerable progress in the suppression of that trade, *ib.*—Grounds of that opinion, and statement of facts in support, 11 *et seq.*—Reference to the report of Admiral Dacres, who has had the command of the squadron on the Cape station, reporting that for the last year the slave trade has been almost entirely extinguished on the eastern coast of Africa, 11—Reference to the despatch from Mr. Hudson, at Rio Janeiro, stating that the vigilance of our cruisers on the western coast of Africa rendered the slave trade on that part of the coast exceedingly hazardous, and attended with much loss, 11.

Extract from a report of Mr. Hook, the Commissary Judge at Sierra Leone, dated 1 January 1849, detailing the numerous captures of slavers, and the success which has attended the efforts to suppress the slave trade on the western coast of Africa, 11, 12—Evidence relative to a proposal contained in Mr. Hook's report, for the employment of gentle means, and a strict enforcement of the existing treaties, in conjunction with the squadron, as the most effectual means of suppressing the slave trade, 13-17—Intention of the Brazilian Government to propose a treaty to this country for the abolition of the slave trade, 18—How far the public opinion in Brazil has undergone any alteration on the subject of the slave trade, so as to facilitate the execution of such a treaty, 19, 20.

Activity which has been displayed in obtaining treaties from the native chiefs for the suppression of the slave trade in their dominions; great success which has attended these exertions, 20-25—Communication between the president of Liberia and our Government, relative to the suppression of the slave trade, 23—The Liberians are exceedingly anxious to suppress the traffic in slaves; they have succeeded in entirely putting a stop to the traffic upon a considerable distance of coast, 23-25—Large number of slave vessels captured in the year 1848; it greatly exceeds the number captured in 1847; 25, 39—The slave trade in Cuba has very greatly diminished during the past year, 27.

Report of Mr. Kennedy, the Commissary Judge at the Havana, dated 1 January 1849, relative to the slave trade at that place, 27-29—Mr. Kennedy disputes the statements which have been made, both as to the number of slaves imported from Africa and as to the profits made by the slave traders, 27—Opinion that the accounts relative to the slave

Palmerston, The Right Hon. Viscount. (Analysis of his Evidence)—continued.

slave trade have been much exaggerated by interested parties, 27.—It is obviously the interest of the slave traders to misrepresent facts; first that our measures fail, next that the profit is enormous, and thirdly that our measures are not only ineffectual but are productive of great cruelties, *ib.*—Inquiries which have been instituted into the statement that 2,000 slaves were put to death by the chief of Lagos, because our cruisers had prevented the vessels intended to carry them off from embarking them; there is no foundation for that report, *ib.*—From the report of Mr. Kennedy, it would appear that the local government of Cuba rather discourage the introduction of slaves into the island, 28.

In the event of the blockading squadron being withdrawn, the slave trade would rapidly increase in Cuba, 30-34.—The local government of Cuba, provided it was honest, could prevent the introduction of slaves, without the aid of the squadron, 33.—The number of male slaves introduced into Cuba greatly preponderates over the females; from this cause, stopping the importation for a few years would reduce the number of labourers, 36-38.—The fall in the price of sugar in Cuba has led to a diminution in the demand for slaves, 44, 45.—The only encouragement that can be given for the establishment of legitimate trade in Africa is the security afforded by the presence of our cruisers and the multiplication of treaties with native chiefs, 46.—The treaties entered into by the native chiefs have generally been adhered to by them, 47, 48.—Could the slave trade be entirely put down there would be a very great increase of legitimate trade with the coast of Africa, 48.—Hostile proceedings taken against the chief of the Gallinas, in consequence of his having broken his treaty for the suppression of the slave trade, *ib.*

Reasons why no measures have been taken to carry out the recommendations of the Slave Trade Committee of last year, 49.—Negotiations which have been going on with a view to persuade Brazil to give us a treaty for the suppression of the slave trade, 49-57.—Particulars relative to the existing treaties with the Brazilian government on the subject of the slave trade; if these treaties were enforced it would tend greatly to the suppression of the traffic, 58-62.—According to the Spanish law on the subject of slaves, a great number of negroes are illegally held in bondage in both Cuba and Brazil, 63.—Provided the Spanish government would consent to the establishment of a mixed commission, for the purpose of examining the negroes to ascertain whether they were legally held, there would be no difficulty to such a commission, 64, 65.—There is a large party in Brazil opposed to the slave trade, whose numbers are on the increase, 66-68.—The national feeling of the Brazilians has no effect with regard to the slave trade; the question upon which their conduct and opinions chiefly turn is the practicability or impracticability of continuing the trade, 69, 70.

Witness does not attach any value to the argument, that if the squadron were withdrawn, there would probably be so great a fear on the part of the Brazilians, from the increase in the number of slaves imported, that for their own safety they would take effectual measures to suppress the traffic, 71.—If the Brazilian Government passed a law prohibiting slave trade, and were sincerely bent upon carrying that law into execution, they have the power to do so, spite of public opinion, 72.—The moral feeling in Cuba and Brazil would not lead to the abolition of the slave trade, provided our squadron was withdrawn, 73-77.—If we could once effectually stop the slave trade in Cuba and Brazil, other habits and interests would spring up, which would prevent its revival, 73.—The stoppage of the slave trade would greatly improve the condition of the negroes; they would become like the peasantry of a country where serfage exists, *ib.*—The parties in Cuba who are most active in encouraging the slave trade are the American settlers, 77.

Penalties. See Piracy. Punishments.

Persia. The Persian Government have lately given greater facilities for the interception of the slave trade in the Eastern Seas, *Lord Palmerston* 8.

Piracy. Witness is not prepared to recommend that, in the event of the slave trade being declared piracy, the extreme penalty of the law should, immediately on the capture of the crew, be carried out at the yard arm; still the penalty should be a severe one, *Sir C. Hotham* 756-764. 780-783.—How far any danger would be likely to arise from treating the slave trade as piracy, in the case of nations who have made special treaties with us that it shall be so treated, *ib.* 765-769.—Slave trading is piracy by the law of the United States, but there are very few instances of a vessel equipped for the slave trade being condemned by the United States, in consequence of the severity of the law, *ib.* 773, 774.—Witness is of opinion, that the United States would not allow any authority but her own to administer the penalty of pirates to her own subjects, *ib.* 775-779. 784.

Opinion that by the application of any force which this country could now apply to the object, looking at the present causes stimulating the slave trade, it would not be practicable to stop the slave trade, but merely to diminish it, *Hon. S. Lushington* 1024.—The measure which witness would suggest to aid the exertions of the squadron would be, to pass an Act of Parliament, subjecting to punishment, by imprisonment or transportation, the master, supercargo, and mates of every vessel detected in carrying on

Piracy—continued.

the slave trade contrary to treaty, *Hon. S. Lushington* 1025-1047—And in order to prevent the possibility of its being a violation of the law of nations, giving the right to every country, whose subjects we might so take engaged in the trade, to demand them back again, if they thought fit to do so at any time, *ib.* 1025-1047. 1072-1086—Difficulties in the way of proclaiming the slave trade to be piracy, *ib.* 1039-1044. 1072-1086.—See also *Brazil*, 2. *Foreign Powers*.

Portuguese Government. The Portuguese Government have always professed the greatest willingness to assist us in putting down the slave trade, but from the weakness of their force on the coast they have not been able to do so, nor have they carried their treaty into effect, *Sir C. Hotham* 904-907—Extract from a report dated 20 January 1849, presented by the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs to the Portuguese Chamber of Deputies, relative to the traffic in slaves having ceased to be carried on under the Portuguese flag, *Rep.* i. *App.* 132-135.

Postal Communication with Africa. One thing that makes the African service unpopular among the officers is the great irregularity of the correspondence, *Riley* 259, 260.

Presents to Native Chiefs. See *Native Chiefs. Treaties*, 3.

PREVENTIVE SQUADRON :

1. *Strength of the Squadron ; Disposal of the Vessels ; Instructions Issued, Effect of its Operations.*
2. *Failure of the Attempt to Suppress the Slave Trade by means of this Force.*
3. *Conditions under which the Withdrawal of this Force is Recommended.*
4. *Evils which will Probably Result from its Withdrawal.*

1. *Strength of the Squadron ; Disposal of the Vessels ; Instructions Issued ; Effect of its Operations :*

Course adopted by the cruisers on the African coast on obtaining sight of a suspicious looking vessel, *Riley* 138-140—Instructions issued to the cruisers not to fire at any vessel ; these instructions are not always followed, *ib.* 139-146—Opinion in favour of the present regulations as to the positions which the cruisers occupy as to their distance from the shore, *ib.* 254—No officer could dispose the squadron better than *Sir Charles Hotham* has done, *ib.*—Popularity of the service on the coast of Africa with the seamen, though this is not so with the officers, *ib.* 256-261—By means of the squadron, with an increase of steamers, we shall be able to put down the slave trade, *ib.* 265, 266.

The cruisers have thrown difficulties in the way of the slave trade ; they have greatly diminished it in some places, and extinguished it in others, *Waddell* 404—Witness has recently held the command of the British squadron on the west coast of Africa ; was relieved on the 1st March 1849 ; held the command from October 1846 to March 1849, *Sir C. Hotham* 466-468—The naval force under witness's orders seldom averaged 22 ships of all kinds ; the number of steamers varied very much ; the largest number was seven, *ib.* 469-471—Witness considered the force, generally speaking, in a high state of discipline, *ib.* 472—Evidence in detail as to the distance from the coast at which witness's squadron cruised ; erroneous statements which have been made on this subject ; general orders which were issued to the ships, *ib.* 891-903—We have gone back to the system of force to suppress the slave trade, which was condemned by Lord John Russell and the late *Sir Fowell Buxton* in 1839 ; particulars relative to the Niger expedition, *Hon. S. Lushington* 986-1004.

2. *Failure of the Attempt to Suppress the Slave Trade by means of this Force :*

Opinion of the Committee that a long and large experience of attempts to suppress the slave trade by a naval force leads to the conclusion that to put down that trade by such means is impracticable, *Rep.* ii. p. iii—Opinion of the Committee that no modification of the system of force can effect a suppression of the slave trade ; they cannot therefore undertake the responsibility of recommending the continuance of that system, *ib.*—Regret of the Committee as to the failure of this means of suppressing the slave trade, *ib.* p. iv—No diminution whatever has taken place in the extent to which the slave trade is carried on, notwithstanding the efficiency and strength of the squadron, *Montresor* 280-283—The present naval force is wholly inefficient for the purpose of extinguishing the slave trade, *ib.* 319-323.

Our force did not succeed in stopping the slave trade, nor did it even cripple it to such an extent as is calculated to give it a permanent check, *Sir C. Hotham* 474, 475-770-772—Witness is persuaded that our present measures are perfectly futile, and that our operations should be undertaken on the other coast, in connexion with the Brazilian government, *ib.* 508—Witness believes it to be impossible to repress the slave

PREVENTIVE SQUADRON—continued.

2. Failure of the Attempt to Suppress the Slave Trade—continued.

slave trade with our present means, nor is he prepared to suggest any modification of these means, *Sir C. Hotham* 664-667. 739-742—Any system having the object of suppressing the slave trade in view must be uniform and consistent, without reference to the instruction which may be sent out, *ib.* 921-924—Difficulty of suggesting any measure by which our squadron on the coast of Africa might be made more effective than it now is, *Hon. S. Lushington* 960.

3. Conditions under which the Withdrawal of this Force is recommended:

The Committee, however, are not prepared to recommend the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of that system without communication with foreign countries, *Rep. ii. p. iii*—The object of these communications being to release Great Britain from such treaties in respect of the slave trade as place the question of maintaining a blockading squadron beyond the free and exclusive control of British authorities, *ib. p. iii, iv*—Opinion of the Committee that if the use of force is to be abandoned, it does not follow that Great Britain is to become neutral or indifferent with respect to the slave trade, *ib. p. iv*—Opinion, however, that it will still be the duty of the British Government to show its unabated hostility to the slave trade, and to employ every just and available means to promote the mitigation of its evils and accelerate its final extinction, *ib.*

4. Evils which will probably result from its Withdrawal:

The slave trade would increase were our squadron withdrawn from the African coast, *Riley* 147—The removal of the squadron would cause our commerce to suffer materially, *ib.* 227—The withdrawal of the squadron would encourage the renewal of the slave trade to a great extent, *Waddell* 401, 402. 406. 409, 410—Evidence as to the necessity for keeping up a certain squadron on the west coast of Africa, *Sir C. Hotham* 700, 701—Witness anxiously hopes that our squadron may not be withdrawn unless a satisfactory substitute can be found by this Government, *ib.* 920—At the same time he does not consider that our present means are satisfactory, *ib.*

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1. *Recommendations for the Employment of Steam Vessels in the Suppression of the Slave Trade.*

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