Class C.

CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

SLAVERY

AND

THE SLAVE TRADE

IN

FOREIGN COUNTRIES,

AND

OTHER MATTERS.

From January 1 to December 31, 1870.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
1871.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

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Class C.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH BRITISH REPRESENTATIVES AND AGENTS IN EUROPE AND AMERICA.

BRAZIL.

No. 1.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Mathew.

Foreign Office, February 4, 1870.

Sir,

I TRANSMIT to you herewith, for any observations you may wish to make thereon, a translation of a letter signed "Booz," and addressed, in the month of October last, to the First Lord of the Treasury, calling attention to the prevalence of Slave Trade in Brazil, which is alleged to be carried on with the cognizance of the Government authorities.

I am, &c.

(Signed) CLARENDON.

Inclosure in No. 1.

Letter to Mr. Gladstone signed "Booz."

(Translation.)

Jaguary, Brazil, October 19, 1869.

Sir,

PARDON me for calling your attention to a question in favour of which Her Britannic Majesty's Government has never spared its efforts: it is the question of the Abolition of Slavery in Brazil. The abolitionists, seeing that the present Government was falling back from the measures with which the previous Ministry sought to enter upon a course for the liberation of the slaves, began by bringing the question of the law of 1831 before the Courts, in order to aid the cause at once by liberating the slaves imported since then to the present time, who are very numerous; and in this attempt they meet with opposition from their own Government, as I am going to state to you.

I speak of Jaguary, a small town of the province of Minas, in Brazil. In this locality there were many Africans imported in 1849, some of them married, with numerous children, and all subjected to fierce slavery. I thought of Mr. Thornton, Her Britannic Majesty's Minister at Rio de Janeiro; I pointed out to his Excellency some of those Africans who were suffering most; he took measures to make the Brazilian Government attend to the matter, and Citizen Bento Gomez d'Escobar, who had been suspended because he belonged to the party which has lately gone out of power, was reinstated as first Deputy of the Municipal Judge; and that citizen at once attended to the complaints of the Africans (which the other judges had neglected), taking them out of the power of their executioners, putting them under trust, and appointing such advocates and curators as they might require before the Court in the question of their freedom; but this regular course was at once obstructed by the Brazilian Government, which desires to stifle, at any cost, the abolitionist propagandism at its birth, for that might greatly assist in the liberation of the slaves and powerfully second the efforts of Her Britannic Majesty's Government; and then the withdrawal of Mr. Thornton, and the criminal and intentional inaction of Mr. Mathew, who has taken no notice of the information he has received from this place. So, in order to displace Judge Escobar, and to render his efforts useless, a pro-slavery

magistrate has been appointed, who is related to persons here who are owners of the Africans. Then unseemly manœuvres began. The curators appointed by Escobar were displaced by others, and thus the claims in favour of the poor Africans have been paralyzed, and the most revolting scandal now publicly occurs, for, in order to attain the end, and to restore those Africans, although indirectly, to the power of their so-called masters, the new Judge adopted the pretext of appointing a new trustee, and did, in fact, appoint one, *ad hoc*, and he, signing the trust, ordered the Africans to go to the house of their rancorous so-called masters. The Africans cried out loudly in the public places, demanding justice, and many persons assembled in favour of the Africans; then it was pretended to give way and a new trustee was appointed, who took them a long way from this town, and it is feared that from thence they may be taken by night and in bonds, to be sold in the interior of the province of St. Paul, where there is great talk at present; and they will not be the first, for some owners of Africans, who had already been summoned to appear in Court by the Judge Escobar, seeing themselves delivered from that Judge and protected by the other, have gone to sell them in the province of St. Paul. From the article in the "Radical," a paper published in the capital of this province, and which I take the liberty of sending to you, you will see, sir, a specimen of what has happened. From the time that pro-slavery curators were appointed for the Africans the cause of the freedom of these miserable creatures has been paralyzed, and it is wished to deliver them up to their pretended masters for good. It appears, also, that in the club of the party at which the new Municipal Judge was present, it was agreed to carry this out in February, 1850, after lay judges were appointed, because they have not so much responsibility, nor does it matter if they commit crimes, because they do not make a profession of the magistracy. Pray, sir, assist these unfortunate Africans, whose lot is now aggravated by the turn which things have taken. The remedy is, the immediate interposition of Her Britannic Majesty's Government, and, to be effectual, the British Government ought to obtain the removal of the present Municipal Judge, whose name is Maximiano Augusto de Barros Cobra, from this town, and the re-appointment of Escobar, the only enlightened, honoured, and energetic abolitionist who is here capable of executing the laws of 1831, and of April 12th, 1832; and the British Government should continue its vigilance, in order that the Brazilian Government may not obstruct him in such a course by immediately appointing other pro-slavery judges like those who support the existing order of things in this country. If these measures were taken, not only would the Africans still residing here be safe, but also those already taken to St. Paul. I have no doubt, sir, but that your heart will sympathize with me in the feelings which have prompted me to make this communication to you, and that speedy directions will issue from your sense of justice.

(Signed) BOOZ.

No. 2.

Mr. Mathew to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received February 18.)

My Lord, *Rio de Janeiro, January* 9, 1870.

I REGRET to have to report to your Lordship an attempted organization for the introduction of slaves from abroad to the Province of San Paolo, with the view chiefly, I suspect, of supplying the settlers from the Southern United States on the coast near Iguapé and in the interior near Campinas, in that province, with slave labour.

Some months ago Her Majesty's Consul at this port, Mr. Hunt, communicated to me that he had received information that a North American citizen of the name of Forrest, who owns some small vessels trading on the coast of Brazil, was engaged in bringing Africans, a few at a time, from slavers, supposed to be received at some "keys" off the coast of Cuba, to Brazil.

I instructed Mr. Bushby, Acting Consul at Santos, to endeavour to ascertain the truth of this statement, and that gentleman found himself, after some time, enabled to assure me positively that the accusation was well founded, and that Africans had been recently landed, probably on Forrest's property on the coast, and sold in various quarters.

I then felt myself justified in calling the attention of the Brazilian Government to the subject, and I placed myself in communication with Mr. Blow, the Minister of the United States, by whom the question was warmly taken up. I also instructed Mr. Bushby to wait upon the President of the Province of San Paolo, and to furnish him with every information in his power.

I have now been officially informed by M. de Cotegipe that, with the assent of the

Minister of the United States, Forrest has been sent out of the country, and I entertain the hope that the formal manner in which I have been enabled to call the attention of the authorities to the alleged violation of their laws will insure their future vigilance.

At the same time your Lordship may probably think it advisable to call the attention of the officer commanding Her Majesty's naval forces in the West Indies to the supposed transfer of Africans to Brazilian schooners off the coast of Cuba.

I feel it due to Mr. Bushby to bring to your Lordship's cognizance the energy and the great tact he has evinced in most successfully carrying out my instructions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE BUCKLEY MATHEW.

No. 3.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Mathew.

Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 25, 1870.

With reference to your despatch of the 9th ultimo, I have to inform you that I have requested the Lords of the Admiralty to communicate to the Commander-in-chief on the West India Station your report as to the attempted introduction into the Province of San Paolo of slaves from Cuba destined for sale, in order that measures may be taken to frustrate any such attempts.

I have at the same time to instruct you to thank the Brazilian Government for their prompt action in this matter, and you will convey to Mr. Bushby my approval of his proceedings.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 4.

Mr. Mathew to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received May 12.)

My Lord, *Petropolis, March* 31, 1870.

I BEG leave to acknowledge your Lordship's despatch of the 25th ultimo, and to inclose a copy of a note I have received from Baron de Cotegipe, assuring me that a due vigilance would be used with regard to any co-operation in the endeavour to introduce slaves from abroad on the part of the settlers in the Province of St. Paolo from the Southern States of North America.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE BUCKLEY MATHEW.

Inclosure in No. 4.

Baron de Cotegipe to Mr. Mathew.

(Translation.) *Rio de Janeiro, March* 23, 1870.

HAVING called the attention of the Minister of Justice to the last part of the note which Mr. George Buckley Mathew, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Her Britannic Majesty addressed to me on the 14th December last. That Minister answered me in his despatch of 14th instant that he had advised the President of S. Paulo to take measures in order that the local authorities should exercise proper vigilance over the colony founded near Iguape by emigrants from the southern part of the United States of North America, so as to prevent any attempt at importing slaves.

Having answered the said confidential note of Mr. Buckley Mathew, I have, &c.
(Signed) BARAO DE COTEGIPE.

No. 5.

Mr. Mathew to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received May 12.)

My Lord, *Petropolis, March* 31, 1870.

I BEG leave to acknowledge your Lordship's despatch of the 1st ultimo inclosing copy of a communication from a person in Minas, under the signature of "Booz," and an answer to his address.

I received a letter in the same handwriting, though under a different pseudonym, and although as a rule I do not notice anonymous letters, of which I have received many in Brazil, I was induced, as a particular case of Africans held in slavery was adduced, to call the attention of the Government to the subject, as your Lordship will perceive from the inclosed translation of a note I have already received from Baron de Cotegipe.

I wrote to a gentleman in Minas to let me know if any one of the name Booz was resident at Jaguary, and am informed the name is unknown there.

It is evidently a masonic assumption, and I suspect that the writer is moved by personal and political hostility against individuals in office rather than by philanthropic sentiments.

Under these circumstances I take upon myself to withhold your Lordship's letter until further instructions.

As to the general allegation made by "Booz," I fear that it is very true that the Law of November 1831, although supported by the Penal Decree of March 15th, 1857, declaring all Africans free imported after the former date is systematically evaded in the interior, even by the local authorities, but I know not that I can do more than to call the attention of the Government to any cases brought to my knowledge, or that I am legally entitled to take even that limited step of intervention in Brazilian affairs.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CLARENDON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 5.

Baron de Cotegipe to Mr. Mathew.

(Translation.) *Rio de Janeiro, March* 23, 1870.

IN addition to my note of 15th January of last year, I have the honour to present Mr. George Buckley Mathew, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Her Britannic Majesty, with a copy of the particulars relative to the African man and woman and their three children who were serving Jose Bernardino de Almeida Borges, with which the President of the Province of Minas Geraes furnished the Minister of Justice, who transmitted the same to me with the despatch of the 17th instant, of which I also inclose a copy.

From the aforesaid particulars will be seen the reason why this affair is still undecided.

Having now answered the note which Mr. Buckley Mathew addressed to me on the 16th instant, I avail myself of the opportunity to reiterate to him the assurance of my high consideration.

(Signed) BARAO DE COTEGIPE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 5.

Senhor Nebias to Baron de Cotegipe.

(Translation.)

Most Illustrious and Excellent Sir, *Rio de Janeiro, March* 17, 1870.

IN answer to your Excellency's Confidential despatch of the 4th instant, pressing for the particulars requested on the 26th of last November relative to the African man and woman and their three children who were serving José Bernardine de Almeida Borges, I have the honour to forward to your Excellency a copy of the official letter on the subject, which I have just received from the President of Minas Gerais, to whom I have this day written, urging him to afford all the aid he can to the judicial authorities, with whom, as your Excellency will see, depends the decision of the question of the freedom of the aforesaid Africans.

(Signed) JOAQUIM OCTAVIO NEBIAS.

Inclosure 3 in No. 5.

Senhor de Sá e Benevides to Senhor Nebias.

(Translation.)

Most Illustrious and Excellent Sir, *Ouro Preto, Februarg* 23, 1870.

IN order to carry out the instructions which the Ministry under your charge sent to this Residency on the 19th November last, I demanded of the Judge of the District of Jaguary information on the final decision of the question of freedom of the Africans still remaining in José Bernadino de Almeida Borges' possession; and further, if the three children belonging to the above Africans were also placed under trust. On the 7th January last that Judge sent me the copy annexed to the process, from which your Excellency will see that, after a guardian and trustee were appointed for the said Africans and their three children, they were all placed in trust under the charge of Manoel Francisco de Espirito Santo on the 3rd April of last year. This person begging to be excused, and his excuse having been attended to, the Africans in trust were removed on the 16th October, and placed with Lieutenant-Colonel Manoel Ferreira de Carvalho.

The guardian remonstrates against that removal on account of the new trustee having sent the Africans and their children to their would-be master's house to be under his control. The Municipal Judge, therefore, removed the trust to João Evangelista de Noronha under whose dominion the Africans are at present.

The suit for the recovery of their liberty was begun, but the defendant having called for the heirs of the seller, Aureliano Furquim de Almeida, on the plea of their responsibility the said suit was stopped until the heirs who reside in the provinces, and in different places, could be notified.

This is all that I have the honour to inform your Excellency of, to whom I will give, at a fitting opportunity, an account of the final result of the question.

God preserve, &c.

The President of the Province,

(Signed) JOSE MARIA CORREIA DE SA E BENEVIDES.

No. 6.

Mr. Mathew to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received May 16.)

My Lord, *Petropolis, April* 19, 1870.

I HAVE only now seen the letter addressed by his Royal Highness the Count d'Eu to the Provisional Government of Paraguay, inviting them to abolish, by a formal Act, the remnant of slavery still existing in that Republic, which was at once answered by a Decree of Emancipation.

The sentiments of this letter are so honourable to His Royal Highness and so important in his relative position to the Crown of Brazil, where this institution is, as yet, untouched—I might add, so distinctive of the noble character of which he has given constant proof, that I think it desirable to bring it to your Lordship's cognizance.

I have &c.

(Signed) GEORGE BUCKLEY MATHEW.

Inclosure in No. 6.

The Count d'Eu to the Provisional Government of Paraguay.

(Translation.)

Most Illustrious and Excellent Sirs, *Asuncion, September* 12, 1869.

AT many places through which I have passed at the head of the Brazilian forces in operation against the Dictator Lopez, I have occasionally met individuals who said they were slaves of others, and a great number of them came to me and asked me to grant them their freedom and to give them real cause for joining the Paraguayan nation in the joy which it feels in seeing itself free from a cruel Government which oppressed it.

It would be a source of heartfelt gratification to me if I could grant them what they want, but to the Provisional Government under your Excellencies' charge, and, happily, already constituted, belongs all questions relative to the civil administration of the country.

The best thing that I can do is to address myself to your Excellencies to call your

attention to the situation of those unhappy beings at a time when all Paraguay is so full of its emancipation. Should your Excellencies grant the freedom which they ask you will solemnly do away with an institution which some of the nations of free America unfortunately inherited during ages of despotism and of deplorable ignorance.

In acting upon that resolution, which will have but little influence on the produce and material resources of the country, your Excellencies will inaugurate in a worthy manner a Government destined to repair all the evils caused by lengthened tyranny, and to lead the Paraguayan nation into the path of that civilization in which other nations of the world tread.

God preserve, &c.

(Signed) GASTON D'ORLEANS.

The Provisional Government, on the 2nd October following, answered this unpretending and noble letter by a Decree containing four Articles, ordaining the immediate and complete abolition of slavery throughout the whole territory of Paraguay.

No. 7.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Mathew.

Sir, *Foreign Office, May* 17, 1870.

I APPROVE the course which you propose to pursue with respect to my reply to Mr. Booz's letter, as well as your views as to the limit of your interference in matters connected with domestic slavery in Brazil, as stated in your despatch of the 31st of March last.

I am, &c.

(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 8.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Mathew.

Sir, *Foreign Office, May* 23, 1870.

I HAVE read with sincere satisfaction the letter from His Royal Highness Count d'Eu to the President of Paraguay, of which a translation is inclosed in your despatch of the 19th ultimo, urging the Government of that Republic to abolish slavery; and I should wish His Royal Highness to know how highly Her Majesty's Government appreciate the advice contained in his letter, which reflects the greatest credit upon him, and has led to a Decree for the emancipation of the slaves throughout Paraguay.

I am, &c.

(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 9.

Mr. Mathew to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received July 15.)

My Lord, *Rio de Janeiro, June* 5, 1870.

I AM sorry to say that no real progress has hitherto been made in the Brazilian Legislature on the question of slave emancipation.

In the Senate, owing probably to the prolonged absence of some leading liberal members, from illness and other causes, no step has been as yet taken, while in the Chamber of Deputies the Premier (the Viscount d'Itaborahy) has stated, in reply to a question addressed to him by M. Teixeira, junior, that the Government had no intention of bringing forward any proposals on the subject.

Public opinion, however, unquestionably favours the adoption, without further delay, of some distinct measure for the abolition of slavery, and in deference, doubtless, to this feeling the Chamber of Deputies assented to the appointment of a Committee to investigate and report upon the various plans which have been or may be prevented.

The fact, however, that the members selected comprise some of the most uncompromising opponents of all emancipation, must detract from the utility and from the effect of the step taken by the Chamber, and will, I believe, create a very strong feeling throughout the empire.

I inclose, herewith, an article recently published on the question by the "Anglo-Brazilian Times," which, however strongly worded, appears to express the general feeling with which the course of the Government is viewed.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE BUCKLEY MATHEW.

Inclosure in No. 9.

Extract from the "Anglo-Brazilian Times," June 4, 1870.

THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON SLAVERY.—Another act of the farce got up for the outer world was played last week in the Chamber of Deputies, in regard to the pressing question of emancipation of the slaves. The first act had come off earlier in the month, when, in response to M. Teixeira Junior's interpellation, his Excellency, the Visconde de Itaborahy, rung the usual changes of a procrastinating purpose, and chimed of inopportuneness, studies, and the like.

But the hollowness of his mock humanitarianism, of his platitudes on public opinion, and of his professed willingness to accept private initiative in respect to legislation on the question, was too transparent in its hypocrisy to deceive the friends of emancipation, or to put to rest the fears of its opponents. While the former demand some legislative action, no matter how trifling if genuine, as an initiation of an emancipatory policy, the more acute among the latter wish for some sop to be thrown to public opinion, to deceive or soothe it it for a time at least, to remove that uncertainty which, as they complain, has depreciated slaves, and consequently plantations, and rendered them of merely nominal value. Thus was brought about the anomalous fact that the notice of Sir Teixeira Junior's motion to appoint a Special Committee, to report upon the question of the emancipation of the slave element in Brazil, had, as signers, men of the most determined anti-abolition sentiments in apparent alliance with a man like Senhor Perdigão Malheiros, who for years has been an advanced and steady advocate of emancipation of the slaves.

On the 24th the second act was played: a Special Committee of five was elected, composed in its majority of the most uncompromising enemies of abolition in any form; without a real emancipationist, like Senhor Perdigão Malheiros, among them, to represent that public sentiment whose rapid and extraordinary development in action throughout the empire is the wonder of these days.

But few, if any, in Brazil have expected that his Excellency the President of the Council and his elder colleagues would belie their past, and consent to any emancipatory policy; and as here, at least, all the actors in the Special Committee farce are well-known and appreciated, the public of Rio de Janeiro remains in amused and careless expectancy, for the succeeding act of this comedy concocted, to use the Brazilian proverb, "para ver o Inglez,"—for the English to see.

No. 10.

Mr. Cobbold to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 16.)

Rio, July 9, 1870.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship translation of a project of law presented to the Chamber of Deputies on the 7th instant, by Senhor Alencar, the late Minister of Justice, for the gradual emancipation of slaves in this country.

The project has been sent to the Special Committee charged with these matters, but it seems at present doubtful whether it will pass into law.

I have, &c.
(Signed) T. CLEMENT COBBOLD.

Inclosure in No. 10.

Newspaper Extract.

(Translation.)

YESTERDAY, in the Chamber of Deputies, after the reading of the order of the day, Senhor J. de Alencar presented the following project of a law, which was sent to the Special Committee entrusted with such matters:—

"The General Assembly resolves—

"Article 1. The following privileges are granted to those Emancipation Societies which are already formed and to those which may be organized for the future :—

"§ 1. Exemption from the tax of *meia siza*, and of that on slaves purchased for the purpose of liberation.

"§ 2. Privilege over the services of liberated slaves for indemnification of the price paid for his or her purchase.

"Only those Societies which shall bind themselves to free the slaves within the maximum period of five years shall enjoy these privileges.

"Art. 2. The Government shall apply annually 1,000 contos of reis, to manumitting slaves, giving the preference,

"§ 1. To those of the female sex, up to 40 years old.

"§ 2. To those who can read and write.

"Art. 3. Two years after the promulgation of this law, the employment of slaves in the following services shall be prohibited at this Court and in the capital and maritime cities of the Empire.

"1. In the driving of public vehicles of whatsoever kind.

"2. In serving as sailors in ships or vessels, either large or small.

"3. In selling at a market stall, or hawking.

"4. As porters, or in other like service.

"5. In tailors', shoemakers', milliners', carpenters', cabinet-makers', blacksmiths', goldsmiths', coppersmiths', coopers', butchers', bakers', and painters' workshops.

"The owners of vehicles, vessels, and workshops who may engage such slave labour shall be punished by a fine of 100 to 500 dollars (10*l.* to 50*l.*)

"§ 2. The tax on slaves in the capital shall increase progressively henceforward, at the rate of 10 per cent. each year. The slave whose name shall not have been registered shall be considered as free.

"Art. 4. The owners may grant freedom with the clause *de retro* to have the effect of nullifying the same in case the slave does not pay the price of his freedom either integrally or by instalments, according to stipulation. In these agreements the slave shall be advised by a guardian of his own choosing.

"§ 1. When, by default of the payment of the price of the freedom, the same is rendered null, the sum which the owner of the slave may hold on account shall constitute a private fund for the slave, and shall run on at 6 per cent. per annum, compound interest, the same being accumulated every six months.

"Art. 5. It is also permitted the slave, with the knowledge of the owner, to form a private fund of his own, in order to obtain his manumission. That fund is inalienable; for, should the slave die, his wife, daughter, mother, sister, father, son, and brother, in the order of designation, and finally, any slave on whom the lot may fall, shall succeed him.

"Art. 6. The right of succession established by our laws shall only be applied, in respect to slaves, when treating of direct heirs. In other cases, slaves left by some individual, *testato* or *ab intestato*, become the property of the State and therefore, free.

"The following cases are excepted :—

"§ 1. In case of the sudden death of the owner when the same is clearly not the result of accident.

"§ 2. The right of creditor who holds a mortgage on the slave, where the property is not sufficient to cancel that mortgage.

"Art. 7. The inheritances or legacies left for the benefit of emancipation, and the purchases in auction for immediate manumission, shall be exempt from all imposts, taxes, and costs.

"Art. 8. The slaves of the State, including those whose usufruct pertains to the Emperor, shall be forthwith free.

"Session Room of the Chamber of Deputies.

(Signed) "IDE ALENCAR.

"*Session Room of the Chamber of Deputies, July 7,* 1870."

No. 11.

Mr. Cobbold to Earl Granville.—(Received September 14.)

My Lord, *Rio de Janeiro, August* 20, 1870.

WITH reference to the late Earl of Clarendon's despatch to Mr. Mathew, of the 23rd May last, I have not failed to state to Count d'Eu how highly Her Majesty's Government appreciate the advice contained in His Royal Highness' letter to the President of Paraguay, urging the Government of that Republic to abolish slavery, and which led to a Decree for the emancipation of the slaves throughout Paraguay.

His Royal Highness expressed himself to me as highly flattered by this acknowledgment on the part of Her Majesty's Government of an action which was dictated to him by feelings of humanity.

I have, &c.
(Signed) T. CLEMENT COBBOLD.

BRAZIL (*Consular*)—*Bahia.*

No. 12.

Consul Morgan to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 3.)

My Lord, *Bahia, June* 30, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith the Half-yearly Return of prices of slaves in this city.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN MORGAN.

Inclosure in No. 12.

RETURN of the Prices of Slaves within the District of the Consulate of Bahia at the respective times undermentioned.

Description.	During the half-year ending December 31, 1869.		During the half-year ending June 30, 1870.	
	Currency.	Sterling.	Currency.	Sterling.
	Reis.	£ s. d.		
African Males	1.500$000	162 10 0	Without alteration.	
„ Females	1,000$000	108 6 8		
Creole Males	1,200$000	130 0 0		
„ Females	800$000	86 13 4		
„ Males, with professions	2,000$000	216 13 4		

British Consulate, Bahia, June 30, 1870.
(Signed) JOHN MORGAN, *Consul.*

BRAZIL. (*Consular*)—*Rio Grande do Sul.*

No. 13.

Consul Callander to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received March* 28.)

My Lord, *Rio Grande do Sul, February* 19, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith Returns showing the prices of slaves in this town and neighbourhood and in the Province of St. Catherine's for the half-year ended the 31st December last.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RANDAL CALLANDER.

Inclosure 1 in No. 13.

RETURN of the Prices of Slaves at Rio Grande do Sul for the Half-year ended the 31st December, 1869.

Description.	Currency.		Sterling.					
	Reis.	Reis.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Agricultural.								
Males..	1,600$000 to	1,800$000	126	13	4 to	142	10	0
Females	1,400 000	1,600 000	110	16	8	126	13	4
Domestic.								
Males..	1,800 000	2,000 000	142	10	0	158	6	8
Females	1,600 000	1,800 000	126	13	4	140	10	0
With Trades.								
Males..	2,000 000	2,800 000	158	6	8	221	13	4
Females	1,600 000	2,000 000	126	13	4	158	6	8

Exchange at 19*d.* to the milreis.

British Consulate, Rio Grande do Sul, December 31, 1869.
(Signed) RANDAL CALLANDER, *Consul.*

Inclosure 2 in No. 13.

RETURN of the Prices of Slaves in the Province of St. Catherine's for the Half-year ended the 31st December, 1869.

	Currency.		Sterling.					
	Reis.	Reis.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
African males, aged 20 to 30	800$000 to	1,000$000	66	13	4 to	83	6	8
„ „ middle aged, healthy and strong ..	600 000	800 000	50	0	0	66	13	4
„ females, aged 20 to 30	500 000	700 000	41	13	4	58	6	8
Creoles and mulattos (both sexes), young and according to ability	800 000	1,200 000	66	13	4	100	0	0
Children, black and mulattos, 5 to 8 years „ „ 8 to 12 „ „ „ 12 to 14 „	500 000	1,800 000	41	13	4	91	13	4

Exchange at 20*d.* per milreis.

(Signed) CHARLES JOHN WATSON, *Vice-Consul.*

PERSIA.

No. 14.

Earl Granville to Mr. Alison.

Sir, *Foreign Office, November* 24, 1870.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith, for your information, two copies of the Report as laid before Parliament, drawn up by the Committee appointed to inquire into the question of the Slave Trade on the East Coast of Africa.

You will perceive that, in the 29th paragraph of the inclosed Report, the Committee recommend that all persons engaged in the Slave Trade should be severely punished, besides losing their vessel and slaves; and I have to instruct you, in communicating to the Persian Government the general tenor of the proposed measures for the suppression of the Slave Trade between the East Coast of Africa and the Arabian Sea, and Persian Gulf, to urge them to assist Her Majesty's Government in carry out these measures by giving public notice of their intention to enforce, to their full extent, the stipulations of the IInd Article of the Convention of August 1851, as regards the punishment of Persian subjects engaged in the Traffic.

You will also invite the general co-operation of the Persian Government in the further efforts which will now be made to put down the Slave Trade on the East Coast; and you will point out that the proposed measures are framed, as much for the protection of the innocent trader, as for the punishment of the guilty; and that the destruction of prizes, previously to adjudication, except under very exceptional circumstances, is henceforward forbidden.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

PORTUGAL.

No. 15.

Sir C. Murray to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received February 4.)

My Lord, *Lisbon, January* 27, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship a copy and translation of a note dated the 19th instant, wherein Senhor Mendez Leal gives the answer of the Portuguese Government to the considerations made by this Legation as to the views of Her Majesty's Government upon the practical inutility of the Decree of the 25th of February, 1869, abolishing the slate of slavery in all the Portuguese Possessions.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CHAS. MURRAY.

Inclosure in No. 15.

Senhor Leal to Sir C. Murray.

Most Illustrious and Excellent Sir, *Lisbon, January* 19, 1870.

IN reply to the note which Mr. W. Doria addressed to me on the 14th August of last year, inclosing an extract from the Report which Her Britannic Majesty's Government had received from Loanda respecting the execution of the Decree of the 25th February of the same year, which definitely abolished the state of slavery in all the Portuguese dominions, it is my duty to lay before your Excellency some considerations which have been suggested by the despatch which I have received from the Minister of Marine.

In the Report to which I have alluded an attempt is made to prove that the condition of liberto does not differ at all from that of slave.

That although the liberto ought to be registered as such in order that he may be declared free at the expiration of a certain period, neither does the negro through want of intelligence know how to enforce his right in due time, nor is it easy to ascertain when the said period expires, on account of the complications caused by the transfer from one master to another.

That for this reason it is that, whereas there ought already to be many thousands of libertos entirely free, the number of these is very small, and only to be found in Loanda, owing to the circumstance that it is the seat of the Government of the Province, and a greater intellectual development is to be found there.

That, finally, the Protecting Board does not make use as it ought of its protective functions, in order to free the slaves or the libertos.

For all these motives Mr. Doria observed in his note above referred to, that if His Majesty's Government wishes, as Her Britannic Majesty's Government are willing to believe, to put an end effectively to the state of slavery, it is necessary that effectual measures should be adopted for an exact compliance with the law, and in order that the negroes should not continue to be slaves all their lives, or in the same manner, as if they really were so.

In the said Report a suggestion is made for the closing of the register, and for the alteration of the 7th Article of the Decree of the 14th December, 1854, in which, after declaring all slaves to be libertos from the date of their entrance into the Portuguese territory, it is laid down that they would be bound to labour for ten years, and that whoever should have a right to such labour would be allowed to transfer the said right for the whole or for part of that period.

At the present day it is, happily for humanity, an established principle that no civilized nation can accept slavery as an institution.

It would be more than useless to treat at present of the origin of the slavery of the blacks, which dates from remote historical times. The guilt of the fact bears an old date, and cannot be imputed to the present generation.

Without tarrying to point out the condition to which masters would be reduced if they were suddenly to be deprived of the men employed in their respective industry, I must not, however, fail to observe that it does not appear easy to imagine what a serious crisis would necessarily be brought about by the fact of the slaves and libertos in existence at present being declared free, and exempted as such from working. It will be sufficient to consider that the individuals who have up to the present day been kept under this subjection, destitute as they are of education, and possessing, in general, very little intelligence, far from endeavouring to procure a subsistence by legal means, would not hesitate to addict themselves to idleness and vice, and some of them would not even hesitate to satisfy their passions by violence.

The confusion would be both great and fatal, and the lot of the former slaves and libertos would be deplorable, and very often they would be deprived of what is essential to life, and without possessing the capacity to pursue some mode of life. The wretched condition of these unhappy men would certainly render miserable the existence of all the other inhabitants.

It was, therefore, an obligation to humanity, and a duty to civilization, and even of religion, to pave the way in such a manner that the transition should take place slowly and gradually, and that the negro race should be prepared for the state of freedom.

Her Majesty's Government, by the Decree of the 14th December 1854, adopted the measures that were most expedient, in order to prevent the entrance and to avoid the perpetuation of slaves within the Portuguese territory, but it did not grant, nor could it grant, liberty to all slaves; because, in addition to the reasons pointed out, it was not in a position to offer compensation immediately to the masters for the value of servile labour.

Being desirous to prevent the misery of many families, it preferred to determine that the right to the labour of those who had been slaves until then should be to them a compensation during a limited period; and the same rule was extended to those who come to the Portuguese frontier as slaves, and are not to quit the same territory except in the condition of "libertos."

In this manner, while it secured on the one hand industrial labour, on the other hand, it provided, as far as possible, for the necessity of guiding, by means of a certain education, the future free man into the new path marked out for him.

By means of other measures in favour of the liberty of slaves and of libertos an attempt was made to perfect the design of this decree.

Any individual whose condition as slave cannot be proved is to be considered free.

The slave obtained the right of emancipation subject to very reasonable terms.

He was granted the privilege of forming a small reserve fund.

A Board specially charged with the duty of watching over the interests of the slaves and libertos was established.

All possible means were taken with a view to freeing as many slaves as circumstances might allow.

A few subsidiary enactments completed those former measures, all of them tending to diminish in part the greatest sufferings caused by slavery. A prohibition was issued for husbands not to be separated from their wives, and for children not to be taken away from their parents.

These enactments of the law were in force for some time, and at last Her Majesty's Government, being convinced that it ought no longer to authorize the state of slavery, declared, by the Decree of the 25th February of last year, this state to be abolished, and ordered all slaves then in existence to be considered as libertos, but subject to forced labour for a certain number of years; the libertos, however, possessing the right of obtaining a full emancipation before the expiration of that period by their industry and merits.

No one can consider the term of ten years required for the forced labour of libertos as excessive.

The British Government, when it freed the slaves, not only paid a pecuniary compensation to the masters, but also granted the right to their labour for six years—a space of time really very great, if we consider that the duration of the life of a negro slave in America was very much inferior to the average proportion of the existence of individuals of the same condition in the African soil.

In the above-mentioned Report it is stated that the lot of the liberto is the same as that of the slave.

There is a clear exaggeration in this statement. Moreover, the lot of any operative forced to incessant labour to earn his means of subsistence is not good in any place whatsoever. Besides, according to the system of legislation now in force, the realization of perfect emancipation is only dependent upon a period of a relatively short duration. The value of the right to the labour will diminish in proportion to the lapse of time, and its remission will, therefore, become easier.

The stupidity of the blacks, and their extreme ignorance, which will not allow them to appreciate the state of transition, and to be aware at what time to claim their liberty, are also alleged against these palpable truths.

This argument fails, as being *contra producentem.* If, as a rule, the intellectual inferiority of the blacks is such as the said reports describe it to be, it follows that liberty will necessarily be for them a fatal present at any time, a perpetual tutorship becomes an indispensable necessity, and they ought never to be allowed to have the free disposal of their actions, inasmuch as this would only serve to render them more unhappy, without any advantage either to themselves or the possessions.

Moreover, the efficacy of the present Legislation is proved by the long lists of libertos published in the "Official Bulletin" of the Provinces of Angola, whose right of freedom has very recently been recognized. Upon this point the Nos. 39 and 44 of 1868, and Nos. 6, 22, 23, and 25 to 30 of 1869 may be consulted.

In the territory of Massangano alone more than 500 individuals under these circumstances are named.

Consequently, the action and efforts of the authorities charged with the duty of watching over the welfare of the slaves and of the libertos is neither insufficient nor fruitless, as it is stated. What has been reported upon this matter to Her Britannic Majesty's Government is void of foundation, and shows very little acquaintance with the special legislation respecting this subject, and still less with the real advantages which have been obtained.

Nevertheless His Majesty's Government does not by this wish to assert that further efforts need not be made. This Government does not cease, and will not cease, to carry on the entire liberty not of the slaves, who longer exist, but of the libertos.

In fine, I will add that His Majesty's Government has already directed the Governors of the African Provinces to send in the necessary information, in order to draw up the regulations for the hiring of free labour, and also to place the libertos in a position to become laborious, useful, and honest at the period of their full liberty, so that the gift of liberty may not be converted into a cause of ruin and misery both to others and to themselves.

I avail, &c.
(Signed) MENDES LEAL.

No. 16.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir C. Murray.

Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 15, 1870.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 27th ultimo, containing the answer of the Portuguese Government to Mr. Doria's representations respecting the working of the Decree of the 25th of February last, abolishing slavery in Portuguese dominions; and I wish you, in reply, to assure the Portuguese Government that it was on trustworthy information that His Majesty's Government thought it right to bring to their notice the alleged treatment of the libertos, which apparently nullified the humane intentions of the Decree; but having now received the official assurance of Senhor Mendes Leal that the claims of the libertos to their liberty at the expiration of their term of service are not overlooked; that the duty of watching over their welfare is efficiently performed by the proper authorities; and that further measures will be adopted to place the libertos in a proper position as free men when they have attained their full liberty, Her Majesty's Government no longer feel the same apprehensions, and are grateful for the explanation that they have received from the Portuguese Government upon a subject in which they take a great interest.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 17.

The Earl of Clarendon to Viscount de Seisal.

M. le Vicomte, *Foreign Office, February* 22, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you the draft of a Convention between Her Majesty and the King of Portugal for making such modifications in the Treaty of 1842 for the suppression of the Slave Trade as will become necessary, in consequence of the discontinuance of the Mixed Commissions established in pursuance of that Treaty.

The draft Convention is framed upon the principle of transferring to the ordinary Courts of each country the jurisdiction and procedure of the Mixed Commissions in the cases of vessels captured on suspicion of being engaged in the Slave Trade, and of applying, *mutatis mutandis*, to those Courts all the provisions of the Treaty of 1842 with regard to the sending or bringing in of captured vessels for adjudication before the Mixed Commissions, and with regard to the adjudication of such vessels by the said Courts and the proceedings consequent on such adjudication, with, however, the same right of appeal as in other cases of maritime prize.

It is proposed that any vessel of one of the two countries detained by a cruizer of the other shall be either sent to the nearest or most accessible colony of her own country, or be handed over to a cruizer of her own nation, and that, in the latter case, an officer in charge, together with the necessary witnesses and proofs, shall accompany the vessel.

As the alterations which these changes will involve in the instructions for cruizers would be too many to be described clearly in the shape of modifications of the Instructions annexed to the Treaty of 1842, it is proposed to annex to the Convention a new form of Instructions to cruizers, adapted to the fresh state of things after the abolition of the Mixed Commissions.

I request that you will have the goodness to communicate the draft Convention to the Government of His Most Imperial Majesty, and to state that, if it be accepted, I shall be furnished with full powers to sign it as the Plenipotentiary of Her Majesty.

I am, &c.

(Signed) CLARENDON.

Inclosure in No. 17.

Draft of Additional Convention with Portugal.

Preamble.

HER Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Majesty the King of Portugal and the Algarves, having come to the conclusion that it is no longer necessary to maintain the Mixed Commissions established in pursuance of the Treaty concluded at Lisbon on the 3rd day of July, 1842, for the Suppression of the Traffic in Slaves, they have resolved to conclude an Additional Convention, for the purpose of making the requisite modifications of the said Treaty, and have named as their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say:—

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, &c.

And His Majesty the King of Portugal and the Algarves, &c.

Who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon and concluded the following Articles:—

ARTICLE I.

Everything contained in the Treaty concluded at Lisbon on the 3rd of July, 1842, between Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, and Her Majesty the Queen of Portugal and the Algarves, for the Suppression of the Traffic in Slaves, and in the Annexes A, B, and C thereto, which relates to the establishment of Mixed Commissions to hear and decide all cases of capture of vessels which may be brought before them, as having been engaged in transporting negroes for the purpose of consigning them to slavery, or as having been fitted out for that purpose, as well as to the composition, jurisdiction, and mode of procedure of such Mixed Commissions, shall cease and determine, as regards the said Mixed Commissions, from and after the exchange of the ratifications of the present Additional Convention, except in so far as regards any act or proceeding done or taken in virtue thereof before this Additional Convention shall be officially communicated

to the said Mixed Commissions, or to the officers in command of British or Portuguese cruizers employed to prevent the Traffic in Slaves, and furnished with the instructions which form Annex A to the Treaty of the 3rd of July, 1842.

ARTICLE II.

The jurisdiction heretofore exercised by the said Mixed Commissions in pursuance of the provisions of the said Treaty, shall, after the exchange of the Ratifications of the present Additional Convention, be exercised by the Courts of the High Contracting Parties according to their respective modes of procedure in cases of slave-trading; and all the provisions of the said Treaty with regard to the sending or bringing in of captured vessels for adjudication before the said Mixed Commissions, and with regard to the adjudication of such vessels by the said Mixed Commissions, and the rules of evidence to be applied, and the proceedings consequent on such adjudication, shall apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Courts of the High Contracting Parties.

It is, however, provided that there may be an appeal from the decision of any Court of the High Contracting Parties, in the same manner as by the law of the country where the Court sits, is allowed in other cases of slave-trading.

ARTICLE III.

It is agreed that, in case of a British vessel visited by a Portuguese cruizer being detained as having been engaged in the Traffic in Slaves, or as having been fitted out for the purposes thereof, she shall be sent for adjudication to the nearest or most accessible British Colony, or shall be handed over to a British cruizer, if one should be available in the neighbourhood of the capture; and that in the corresponding case of a Portuguese vessel visited by a British cruizer being detained as having been engaged in the Traffic in Slaves, or as having been fitted out for the purposes thereof, she shall be sent for adjudication to the nearest or most accessible Portuguese Colony, or shall be handed over to a Portuguese cruizer, if one should be available in the neighbourhood of the capture.

All the witnesses and proofs necessary to establish the guilt of the master, crew, or other persons found on board of any such vessels, shall be sent and handed over with the vessel itself, in order to be produced to the Court before which such vessel or persons may be brought for trial.

All negroes or others (necessary witnesses excepted), who may be on board a British or a Portuguese vessel for the purpose of being consigned to slavery, shall be handed over to the nearest authority of the Government whose cruizer has made the capture. They shall be immediately set at liberty, and shall remain free, the Government to whose authority they may be delivered guaranteeing their liberty.

With regard to such of those negroes or others as may be sent in with the detained vessels as necessary witnesses, the Government to which they have been delivered shall set them at liberty as soon as their testimony shall no longer be required, and shall guarantee their liberty.

Where a detained vessel is handed over to a cruizer of her own nation, an officer in charge, and other necessary witnesses and proofs, shall accompany the vessel.

ARTICLE IV.

It is mutually agreed that the Instructions for the ships of the Royal Navies of the two nations destined to prevent the Traffic in Slaves, which are annexed to this Convention, shall form an integral part thereof, and shall have the same force and effect as if they had been annexed to the Treaty of the 3rd of July, 1842, in lieu of the Instructions forming Annex A to that Treaty.

ARTICLE V.

In all other respects the stipulations of the Treaty of the 3rd July, 1842, shall remain in full force and effect.

ARTICLE VI.

The High Contracting Parties engage to communicate the present Convention to the Mixed Commissions, and to the officers in command of their respective cruizers, and to give them the requisite instructions in pursuance thereof, with the least possible delay.

ARTICLE VII.

The present Additional Convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at as soon as possible.

In Witness whereof, &c.

Annex to the Additional Convention between Great Britain and Portugal, for the Suppression of the Traffic in Slaves, signed at on the day of 1870.

Initructions for the Ships of the British and Portuguese Royal Navies employed to prevent the Traffic in Slaves.

ARTICLE I.

THE Commander of any ship belonging to the Royal British or Portuguese Navy, who shall be furnished with these instructions, shall have a right to visit, search, and detain, except within the limits excepted in Article II of the Treaty of the 3rd of July, 1842, any British or Portuguese vessel which shall be actually engaged, or shall be suspected to be engaged, in transporting negroes or others for the purpose of consigning them to slavery, or to be fitted out with such view, or to have been so employed during the voyage on which she may be met with by such ship of the British or Portuguese Navy; and such Commander shall thereupon bring or send such vessel, as soon as possible, for judgment in the manner provided by Article III of the Additional Convention of this date, that is to say:—

In the case of a British vessel detained as aforesaid by a Portuguese cruizer, she shall be sent to the nearest or most accessible British Colony, or shall be handed over to a British cruizer, if one should be available in the neighbourhood of the capture.

In the case of a Portuguese vessel detained as aforesaid by a British cruizer, she shall be sent to the nearest or most accessible Portuguese Colony, or shall be handed over to a Portuguese cruizer, if one should be available in the neighbourhood of the capture.

Where a detained vessel is handed over to a cruizer of her own nation, an officer in charge, and other necessary witnesses and proofs, shall accompany the vessel.

ARTICLE II.

Whenever a ship of either of the two Royal Navies, duly authorized as aforesaid, shall meet a vessel liable to be visited under the provisions of the Treaty of the 3rd July, 1842, and of this Additional Convention, the search shall be conducted in the mildest manner, and with every attention which ought to be observed between allied and friendly nations; and the search shall, in all cases, be made by an officer holding a rank not lower than that of Lieutenant in the Navies of Great Britain and Portugal respectively, unless the command shall, by reason of death or otherwise, be held by an officer of inferior rank, or unless the officer who makes the search shall at the time be second in command of the ship by which such search is made.

ARTICLE III.

The commander of any ship of the two Royal Navies, duly authorized as aforesaid, who may detain any vessel in pursuance of the tenor of the present Instructions, shall, at the time of detention, draw up in writing an authentic declaration, which shall exhibit the state in which he found the detained vessel; which declaration shall be signed by himself, and shall be given or sent in with the captured vessel, to be produced as evidence in the proper Court. He shall deliver to the Master of the detained vessel a signed certificate of the papers seized on board the same, as well as of the number of negroes or others being slaves, or destined for slavery, found on board at the moment of detention.

In the authenticated declaration which the captor is hereby required to make, as well as in the certificate of the papers seized, he shall insert his own name, the name of the capturing ship, the latitude and longitude of the place where the detention shall have been made, and the number of negroes or others, being slaves or destined for slavery, found on board the vessel at the time of the detention.

When the Commander of the cruizer shall not think proper to take upon himself to carry in and deliver up the detained vessel, he shall not intrust that duty to an officer

below the rank of Lieutenant in the Navy, unless it be to the officer who at the time shall not be lower than third in command of the detaining ship.

The officer in charge of the vessel detained shall, at the time of delivering the vessel's papers and the declaration of the Commander into Court, deliver also a paper, signed by himself, and verified on oath, stating any changes which may have taken place in respect to the vessel, her crew, the negroes, or others being slaves or destined for slavery, if any, and her cargo, between the time of her detention, and the time of giving in such papers.

ARTICLE IV.

No part of the crew, or passengers, or of the cargo, shall be withdrawn from the said vessel until it shall have been delivered over to an authority of her own nation, unless the transfer of the whole or part of the crew or passengers should be considered necessary, either to preserve their lives, or for any other humane consideration, or for the safety of the persons charged with the conduct of the vessel after its seizure; in which case the Commander of the cruizer, or the officer charged with the said seized vessel, shall draw out a certificate, in which he shall declare the reasons of the said transfer; and the commanders, sailors, or passengers thus transferred shall be delivered up with the vessel and its cargo.

ARTICLE V.

All the negroes or others (necessary witnesses excepted) who may be on board either a British or a Portuguese detained vessel for the purpose of being consigned to slavery, shall be handed over by the Commander of the capturing ship to the nearest authority of his own country.

The Undersigned Plenipotentiaries have agreed, in conformity with the IVth Article of the Additional Convention, signed by them on this day, that the present Instructions shall be annexed to the said Convention, and be considered an integral part thereof.

Done, &c.

No. 18.

Sir C. Murray to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received March 19.)

My Lord, *Lisbon, March* 3, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatches dated the 15th and 23rd of February, and to inclose herewith for your Lordship's information copy of the note, which, in accordance with the instructions contained in your Lordship's first-named despatch, I addressed to the Portuguese Government, informing them that Her Majesty's Government were satisfied with their explanation in reply to the representation made by this Legation respecting the working of the Decree of the 25th of February, 1869, for the abolition of Slavery in the Portuguese dominions.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CHAS. MURRAY.

Inclosure in No. 18.

Sir C. Murray to Senhor Leal.

M. le Ministre, *Lisbon, February* 21, 1870.

WITH reference to my note of the 31st ultimo, wherein I informed your Excellency that I had forwarded your Excellency's note of the 19th of that month in answer to the representations made by this Legation respecting the working of the Decree of the 25th of February, 1869, abolishing Slavery in the Portuguese Dominions, I have now the honour to state to your Excellency that I have been instructed by the Earl of Clarendon to assure the Government of His Most Imperial Majesty, in reply, that it was on trustworthy information that Her Majesty's Government thought it right to bring to their notice the alleged treatment of the Libertos, which apparently nullified the humane intentions of the Decree; but having now received the official assurance in the note abovementioned, given by your Excellency, that the claims of the Libertos to their liberty

at the expiration of the term of service are not overlooked, that the duty of watching over their welfare is efficiently performed by the proper authorities, and that further measures will be adopted to place the Libertos in a proper position as free men when they have attained their full liberty, Her Majesty's Government no longer feel the same apprehension, and are grateful for the explanation which they have received from the Portuguese Government upon a subject in which they take a great interest.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHAS. MURRAY.

No. 19.

Sir C. Murray to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received June 10.)

My Lord, *Lisbon, May* 31, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that in accordance with the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch of the 16th instant, I acquainted the Portuguese Government in a note dated the 16th instant that Her Majesty's Commissioners at Loanda and the Cape of Good Hope have been instructed by your Lordship not to entertain any cases arising under the Treaty with this country of 1842 after the 30th of June next, in conformity with the arrangement concurred in by the Portuguese Government for the cessation of the Mixed Commission Courts at that date, independent of the conclusion of the proposed new Convention.

The reply of the Portuguese Government to my above-mentioned note is inclosed herewith.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHAS. MURRAY.

Inclosure in No. 19.

The Duc de Saldanha to Sir C. Murray.

(Translation.) *Foreign Department, Lisbon, May* 27, 1870.

Most Illustrious and Excellent Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note which your Excellency addressed to my predecessor on the 16th instant, informing him, in accordance with instructions received from Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, that the British Commissioners of the Mixed Commission Courts at Loanda and the Cape of Good Hope had been instructed by your Excellency to the effect that, after the 30th of June next, they should abstain from trying any cases having reference to the Treaty of July 3rd, 1842, between Portugal and Great Britain, for the entire suppression of the Slave Trade, even in case the new Convention between the two countries should not have been concluded by that time.

I have taken due notice of the contents of the note in question, which I shall not fail to communicate to the Minister of Marine, and to the Portuguese Commissioners in the said Mixed Commission Courts, and, in the meantime, I avail, &c.

(Signed) DUC DE SALDANHA.

No. 20.

Earl Granville to Sir C. Murray.

Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 1, 1870.

I INCLOSE, for your information, a copy of a note from the Portuguese Minister at this Court, embodying the alterations which he has been instructed by his Government to propose in the draft of the additional Convention, providing for the abolition of the Slave Trade Mixed Commission Courts established by the Treaty of 1842.

I also inclose a copy of my reply to that communication, and I have to request that you will urge the Portuguese Government to give it their early consideration, and to come to a decision as soon as possible regarding the course that should be pursued with respect to slavers captured in the interval that may elapse before the Convention is signed, as the present position of the question is most unsatisfactory.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE

Inclosure 1 in No. 20.

Viscount de Seisal to Earl Granville.

My Lord, *Légation de Portugal, Londres, le* 29 *Août*, 1870.

JE me suis empressé de transmettre dans le temps, au Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Très-Fidèle, et la note que le feu Comte de Clarendon m'a fait l'honneur de m'adresser le 22 Février dernier, et le projet de Convention Additionnelle avec le Portugal, pour procéder à des modifications au Traité de 1842 pour la Suppression de la Traite des Nègres, modifications qui deviendraient nécessaires par suite de l'abolition des Commissions Mixtes établies en vertu du même Traité.

Le Cabinet de Lisbonne ayant examiné avec soin le dit projet de Convention m'a chargé de notifier à votre Excellence qu'il serait prêt à la conclure, pourvu toutefois que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique voulût bien admettre quelques changements à introduire dans l'Article III de la dite Convention, et que votre Excellence trouvera, certes, parfaitement justifiables.

L'Article III dit: "It is agreed that, in case of a British vessel visited by a Portuguese cruiser being detained as having been engaged in the Traffic in Slaves, or as having been fitted out for the purposes thereof, she shall be sent for adjudication to the nearest or most accessible British Colony, or shall be handed over to a British cruiser, if one should be available in the neighbourhood of the capture; and that in the corresponding case of a Portuguese vessel visited by a British cruiser being detained as having been engaged in the Traffic in Slaves, or as having been fitted out for the purposes thereof, she shall be sent for adjudication to the nearest or most accessible Portuguese Colony, or shall be handed over to a Portuguese cruiser, if one should be available in the neighbourhood of the capture."

Les modifications que le Gouvernement Portugais propose à cette partie de l'Article III sont les suivantes:—

Les navires déstinés à la Traite des Nègres, et capturés sous une latitude correspondante à celle des possessions Portugaises, devront être jugés par les Tribunaux Portugais, quelle que soit la nationalité des navires capturés et que la capture ait été faite par des vaisseaux Portugais ou Anglais.

Les mêmes dispositions, *mutatis mutandis*, seront appliquées aux prises faites sous les latitudes correspondantes à celles des possessions Anglaises.

Le droit de juger les prises ne dépend donc pas de la nationalité Portugaise ou Anglaise du navire qui aura fait la capture, mais bien de la latitude sous laquelle cette capture aura été opérée.

Quant au paragraphe du même Article III qui dit: "All negroes or others (necessary witnesses excepted) who may be on board a British or a Portuguese vessel for the purpose of being consigned to slavery, shall be handed over to the nearest authority of the Government whose cruiser has made the capture. They shall be immediately set at liberty, and shall remain free; the Government to whose authority they may be delivered guaranteeing their liberty," le Gouvernement Portugais déclare que cette partie de l'Article ne saurait être admise, car les lois qui répriment le trafic étant faites pour sauvegarder les droits des nègres, la capture d'un navire négrier étant opérée, le devoir des nations qui concourent à empêcher le trafic serait de transporter ceux que le négrier aurait voulu retenir en esclavage sur le territoire d'où on les aurait arrachés, et non de les conserver, contre leur volonté, sur un territoire appartenant à la nation qui aurait fait la capture. L'adoption d'une pareille mesure rendrait la disposition de cet Article plus logique et en même temps plus généreuse.

En soumettant ces changements à l'appréciation de votre Excellence, je saisis, &c.

(Signé) VCTE. DE SEISAL.

Inclosure 2 in No. 20.

Earl Granville to Viscount de Seisal.

M. le Ministre, *Foreign Office, September* 27, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th ultimo, and to inform you that Her Majesty's Government have carefully considered the alterations suggested by your Government in the proposed Additional Convention, providing for the abolition of the Slave Trade Mixed Commission Courts established by the Treaty of 1842.

The first alteration suggested by your Government is that the right of jurisdiction in the case of a captured slaver should depend, not upon her nationality, as proposed by Her Majesty's Government, but upon the locality in which she was captured, and that both British and Portuguese vessels captured by a cruizer of either nation within latitudes corresponding to the Portuguese possessions in Africa should be adjudicated upon by the Portuguese tribunals, the same rule, *mutatis mutandis*, being applied to captures made within the limits of the British possessions.

I must at once inform you, M. le Ministre, that Her Majesty's Government would not feel themselves justified in acceding to this proposition, and for the following reasons:—

It appears to Her Majesty's Government that, apart from questions that might arise as to the limits of Portuguese territorial jurisdiction on the African coast, which would materially affect the right of adjudication upon a captured slaver, serious difficulties would unavoidably be raised in cases of doubt or dispute as to the exact spot where a vessel was captured, and also in determining the mode of dealing with captures made without the limits of either the British or Portuguese possessions; and these questions might not only be inconvenient, but might positively defeat the ends of justice.

Moreover, Her Majesty's Government consider it undesirable that they should undertake to adjudicate upon captured Portuguese vessels, or to apply in such cases the laws of Great Britain against the Slave Trade, which probably differ from those of Portugal; while, on the other hand, they would prefer to keep in their own hands the jurisdiction over their own vessels engaged in the Slave Trade should any be captured, and to apply their own laws in any case that may occur.

The proposal of Her Majesty's Government that each nation should undertake to adjudicate upon her own vessels will prevent any misunderstanding or difficulty, and appears to be simple, and fair for both parties.

The second alteration proposed by your Government is, that the negroes captured on board a slaver should be restored to the territory whence they were taken, instead of being handed over to the nearest authority of the Government, whose cruizer had made the capture for the purpose of obtaining their freedom.

To this proposal also Her Majesty's Government entertain strong objections.

The objects that both Governments must have in view in dealing with the liberated negroes, are their immediate emancipation and release from confinement, and their disposal in such a manner as will procure them employment and the means of livelihood, and, at the same time, protect them from falling again into the hands of the slave-dealers. I would submit that none of these objects would be attained by the course proposed by your Government.

The slaves would have to be detained without means of employment, or confined on board ship, and necessarily subjected to considerable hardships until they could be taken back to the territory whence they were brought, while to land them there would probably be tantamount to leaving them again in the power of the slave-dealers.

Assuming, for instance, that a shipment of slaves, effected in the Congo River, or at any other port on the African coast, under the sovereignty of the independent native Chiefs, is captured, and that the slaves are brought back to that port, what satisfactory guarantee would it be possible to obtain from these Chiefs that the slaves should retain their liberty, or that they would not on the first opportunity be again consigned to slavery?

The long experience which Her Majesty's Government have had in dealing with liberated negroes, has taught them that the course which they have proposed provides the best means of securing the freedom, and promoting the welfare of the slaves, and they trust that the Government of His Most Faithful Majesty, on reconsideration, will see the force of the objections taken by Her Majesty's Government to the second alteration which you have been instructed to propose to them.

I beg leave to request, M. le Ministre, that you will have the goodness to submit these considerations to the earnest attention of your Government, in the hope that they may induce them to assent to the original proposals of Her Majesty's Government as embodied in the Convention; and in the meantime, I trust that your Government will consent to issue directions to their authorities in the sense of those proposals, in order to carry out the provisional arrangement entered into between the two Governments for the abolition of the Mixed Commission Courts, pending the conclusion of the Convention.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 21.

Sir C. Murray to Earl Granville.—(Received November 16.)

Lisbon, November 10, 1870.

My Lord,

IN compliance with the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch of the 1st ultimo, I have not failed to urge the Portuguese Government to give their early consideration to the communication which your Lordship had addressed to the Viscount de Seisal on the subject of the alterations which he had been instructed by his Government to propose in the draft of the Additional Convention providing for the abolition of the Slave Trade Mixed Commission Courts; and I also requested that a decision might be taken as soon as possible regarding the course that should be pursued with respect to slaves captured in the interval that may elapse before the Convention is signed.

I have the honour to inclose translation of a note which I have received from the Marquis d'Avila é Bolama, from which your Lordship will perceive that the Portuguese Government have been induced by the arguments contained in your Lordship's note, and confirmed by the opinion of the Portuguese Minister of Marine, to concur in the form of Convention recommended by Her Majesty's Government, and that instructions in this sense have been transmitted to the Duke of Saldanha in London.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CHAS. MURRAY.

Inclosure in No. 21.

The Marquis d'Avila and Bolama to Sir C. Murray.

(Translation)

Foreign Department, Lisbon, November 7, 1870.

Most Illustrious and Excellent Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note which your Excellency addressed to my predecessor on the 12th of October last, wherein, with reference to the reply given by Lord Granville to the Viscount de Seisal on the 27th of September last, to the effect that Her Britannic Majesty's Government could not agree to the modifications proposed to be made in the IIIrd Article of the Convention for the abolition of the Mixed Commission Courts at Loanda and at the Cape of Good Hope, you request that a prompt decision should be taken with respect to the course to be pursued towards slavers captured in the interval that may elapse before the Convention is concluded.

It is my duty to state to your Excellency, in reply, that His Majesty's Goverment, in view of the arguments adduced by Lord Granville, and of the observations recently made by the Minister of Marine upon this matter is about to transmit to the Naval and Colonial authorities the recommendations suggested by your Government.

His Majesty's Government consents that slavers captured shall be tried by the Courts of Justice of the nation to which such vessels belong, so that Portuguese vessels will be tried before the Courts of Justice of Mozambique, Loanda, and S. Thiago of Cape de Verde, and British ships will be tried before the Courts at the Cape of Good Hope and at Sierra Leone.

With respect to the slaves found on board those vessels the same Government consents that they should be disposed of in the manner proposed by Her Britannic Majesty's Government.

While acquainting you with this decision taken by the Government of His Majesty, which I am going to communicate to His Majesty's Minister in London for the proper purpose, I avail, &c.

(Signed) MARQUIS D'AVILA AND BOLAMA.

SPAIN.

No. 22.

Mr. Layard to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received January 5, 1870.)

Madrid, December 27, 1869.

My Lord,

IN pursuance of the instructions received from your Lordship, I have taken an opportunity of calling the attention of his Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs to the state of the question of negro emancipation in Spanish possessions, and to the memorial of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society on the subject. Señor Martos said that the Government of which he was a member had the firmest determination to deal with the question of slavery, and he called my attention to the statement made some days ago by the Minister of the Colonies, Señor Becerra, on the subject in the Cortes, which I had the honour of forwarding to your Lordship in my despatch of the 11th instant.

But, he continued, the question is surrounded with difficulties, especially on account of the important and influential interests with which they have to contend. The Government had appointed a Commission to consider the best mode of abolishing slavery in Puerto Rico, and even in that Commission questions of great importance as affecting abolition were sometimes only carried by a narrow majority. With the present state of things in the Island of Cuba it was still more difficult to deal with the subject. In the meanwhile, however, the most stringent instructions had been given to the Captain-General to put an end to the importation of slaves, and he had every reason to believe that the measures taken for this object had been effective.

I will not fail to press this matter again upon the Spanish Government if I should see a favourable occasion for doing so.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

No. 23.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Layard.

Foreign Office, January 31, 1870.

Sir,

IN Mr. Dunlop's despatch of the 1st January last, of which a copy has been sent to you, he says that the "Spanish party" in Cuba are determined, if they succeed in suppressing the Revolution, to perpetuate slavery, which must lead to the introduction of more slaves into the Island. I wish you to call the attention of the Spanish Government to this statement, as I have received the same information from other sources.

I am, &c.

(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 24.

Mr. Layard to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received February 12.)

Madrid, February 7, 1870.

(Extract.)

IN pursuance of the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch of January 31, I have called the attention of the President of the Council to the letter addressed to his Excellency by Don Segundo Rigal, the President of the Casino at the Habana, and especially with reference to certain expressions which imply an intention of the Spanish party in Cuba to call upon the Government to restore the institution of slavery to the condition in which it formerly existed in that Island.

I stated to his Excellency that Her Majesty's Government could not view without concern such a declaration, and I pointed out some of the serious consequences to Spain, to which an attempt to restore Slavery in Cuba must inevitably lead.

General Prim begged me to assure your Lordship that neither he nor his colleagues had any sympathy with the sentiments expressed in Don Segundo Regal's letter. They were determined to carry out the programme which they had put forward, and in it was included the abolition of slavery in the possessions of Spain.

The subject was surrounded with difficulties, both on account of the hostility of the great landed proprietors of Cuba, and of the opposition which existed in the Cortes. But the Government were resolved to introduce very shortly the Law for the Abolition of Slavery in Puerto Rico, the first part of the discussion on the constitution for that Island would come on in a day or two, and to extend it afterwards to Cuba. How the measure would be carried out he would not at present say. The question would have to be studied with great care, and it would probably be necessary to proceed gradually in enforcing it. But he emphatically requested me to assure your Lordship that it was the firm intention of the Spanish Government to abide by the declaration which it had publicly made in the Cortes and elsewhere to put an end to the institution of slavery. I have reason to believe that my colleague, the Minister of the United States, has also recently addressed some very urgent representations to the Members of the Spanish Government as to the neeessity of dealing with the question of slavery in Cuba without delay.

No. 25.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Layard.

Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 19, 1870.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 7th instant, I must request you will state to the President of the Council that Her Majesty's Government have received wtih great satisfaction his assurances as to the intentions of the Spanish Government with respect to the abolition of slavery in their West Indian Colonies, and you will offer General Prim the thanks of Her Majesty's Government for his communication to you.

I transmit to you at the same time a copy of a further despatch from Mr. Dunlop,* inclosing a paper published in Cuba containing the views of some of the Colonists upon the question of Slavery, which you will take an opportunity of bringing to the notice of the Spanish Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 26.

Mr. Layard to the Earl of Clarendon,—(Received February 19.)

My Lord, *Madrid, February* 15, 1870.

I BEG to call your Lordship's attention to a discussion on the subject of the Slave Trade Treaties of 1817 and 1835 between England and Spain, which took place in the Cortes on Saturday last, the 12th of this month, and a Memorandum of which I inclose for your Lordship's information.

Your Lordship will perceive that, in replying to Señor Pellon y Rodriguez, the Minister for Foreign Affairs expressed very decidedly the intention of the Spanish Government to abolish the institution of slavery, and stated to the Cortes that, when Spain no longer protected the Slave Trade, he was convinced that there would be no difficulty in obtaining a modification of the Treaties of which Señor Pellon y Rodriguez complained.

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

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* No. 61.

Inclosure in No. 26.

Précis of Interpellation of Señor Pellon y Rodriguez with reference to the Slave Trade Treaties with England, with a Translation of Señor Sagasta's Reply.

SENOR PELLON Y RODIGUEZ commences his discourse by lamenting that since the loss of her fleet at Trafalgar, Spain has not been successful on Diplomatic battle-fields, citing as proofs of this the two Treaties for the suppression of the Slave Traffic signed between England and Spain in 1817 and 1835, at both of which periods Spain was in an embarrassed position.

The first of these Treaties Señor Pellon y Rodriguez contends was comparatively equitable, inasmuch as it provided that merchant-vessels could only be detained "upon slaves being actually found on board;" but by the second (which gives to English cruisers the right of seizing and claiming as "good prize" all vessels found having certain articles, or quantities of water or provisions, which would tend to prove their being occupied in the Slave Trade), Señor Pellon y Rodriguez declares that the whole Spanish commerce on the West African Coast is ruined; and this, he hints, is in many previous opinions, the object which England had in view when she concluded the above-named Treaties.

Señor Pellon y Rodriguez having pointed out the advantages which would accrue to Spain were her West African commerce to revive, winds up by saying that now that there is no fear of a renewal of the Slave Trade, it is to be hoped that England will have no objection to the revocation, or at least the revision, of the obnoxious Treaties.

To this Señor Sagasta replied—

"I will reply very shortly to Señor Pellon y Rodriguez, because in reality I agree with his remarks.

"He has condemned the Treaty of 1835. What have I to say to that? But what is certain is that the Treaty was made by Great Britain promising to pay 400,000*l.* to Spain. The right of search was bought for a handful of gold. It is to be deplored that abuses of this right may have occurred; but these cannot be attributed to the English Government. On many occasions it happens that excess of zeal on the part of its officers, or other motives, cause the commission of hasty acts, for which a Government cannot be held responsible, the less so since communications have been made very flattering to the Spanish Government, navy, and authorities, with respect to the exactitude with which the Treaty of 1835 has been fulfilled.

"If England on her part has fulfilled her promises, the Spanish Government can do nothing without a mutual consent on the part of the two nations.

"The Government is disposed to do all that lies in their power to revise the Treaty, and they believe that England will make no opposition when they recognize the loyalty with which we are acting in this matter.

"But even supposing that the English Government be persuaded of our good faith, it behoves us to do something more with regard to the principal origin of the Treaty.

"From the moment that England is convinced of the desire by which we are animated of introducing wide reforms into our Antilles, not only will she have no objection in revising the Treaty which granted a reciprocal right of search, but also will see no difficulty in committing it. This is the desire of the Government.

"What can I say with reference to the criticisms of Señor Pellon y Rodriguez on these Treaties?

"He has examined them with severity, and I would do so even more did I not think that it is a waste of time to demonstrate a thing of the truth of which all are already aware.

"The truth is that those who took part in those Treaties went on a mistaken road in politics; but now there is nothing to be done but lament the past, and the Spanish Government will seize the opportunity of taking some steps towards repairing these errors."

To these remarks Señor Pellon y Rodriguez replied, that though he might have spoken with some harshness of the Treaty, yet he hoped that he had not been failing in that respect towards the English nation which was her due.

The right of search was indeed reciprocal, but Spain was not in a condition to exercise it on the African coasts, through not having the requisite vessels.

Sierra Leone was badly chosen as the place for the Prize Courts; for, owing to the unhealthiness of the climate, the Court, supposed to be Mixed, was often exclusively composed of Englishmen, who judged Spanish vessels as they pleased.

Although Spain had made in America as many prizes as England on the West

African Coast, she had not produced the same disastrous effects on English commerce in the Antilles as Great Britain had on Spanish commerce on the coast of Africa.

In conclusion, Señor Pellon y Rodriguez begged to be informed whether he had correctly stated the facts, and if not, that he might be corrected.

Señor Sagasta replied—

"Not only has Señor Pellon y Rodriguez erred in his narration of the facts, but it would take an entire sitting to point out his errors.

"For the rest, the establishment of the Tribunal at Sierra Leone has been as prejudicial to the Englishmen there as to the Spaniards, and the scarcity of the latter does not arise from the insalubrity of the climate so much as from the lack of the necessary staff in the Consulate for the discharge of the duties, in which there was sometimes only a Vice-Consul.

"While, however, I am at the head of this Department there shall always be at Sierra Leone such a Staff as is allowed by a Budget which is not really that of the Ministerio de Estado, but one which I have been obliged to accept, as it was already presented to the Cortes."

No. 27.

Mr. Layard to Earl Granville.—(Received March 7.)

(Extract.) *Madrid, March* 4, 1870.

IN pursuance of the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch of the 19th of February last, I have informed the President of the Council of the satisfaction with which Her Majesty's Government have received the assurances which he gave me, with regard to the intentions of the Spanish Government, as to the abolition of Slavery in the West Indian Colonies; and I have conveyed to him the best thanks of Her Majesty's Government for the communication which he made to me on that subject.

I have also, as your Lordship desired, brought to the notice of General Prim the paper published in Cuba, containing the views of some of the Colonists upon the question of Slavery, a précis of which was contained in your Lordship's despatch.

His Excellency stated to me that whoever had circulated that paper had no authority whatever to do so from the Spanish Government, and that I might assure your Lordship that no such scheme for dealing with Slavery had ever been taken into consideration by himself and his colleagues. It was their intention to deal once for all with the abolition of Slavery. The serious question which they had to consider, and which they were considering, was how to do so with a due respect for the rights of property. Spain was not a rich country like England, and could not afford to pay a large sum of money by way of compensation to those who would suffer by the abolition of Slavery, and other means must be found to give some satisfaction to them.

His Excellency confirmed what Señor Rivero, the Minister of the Interior, had already stated to me; that the Government was then occupied in devising some law, by which all children born of Slaves within a certain period should be absolutely free, and that they were determined to proceed at once with the question of Slavery in Puerto Rico, in which Island the number of slaves was very small, compared with that in Cuba, it being, I think his Excellency said, not more than 30,000. I expressed to his Excellency a hope that, in any scheme that might be proposed for the abolition of slavery, nothing like the suggestion in the document to which I had referred, that stations should be established on the African coast for the purpose of collecting and sending to Cuba, or elsewhere, negroes, under the designation of "apprentices," or "free negroes," would be adopted. He replied, "Most certainly not; that such a system would make matters worse than they were before; we cannot adopt half measures; we must deal with the question root and branch."

I had subsequently an opportunity of talking on the subject with the Minister of Marine, who held to me the same language as the President of the Council, and even with more warmth. He added that he had given the most stringent orders to the fleet stationed in the waters of the Spanish Colonies, and that he believed that it was now impossible to introduce slaves into Cuba or elsewhere.

No. 28.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Layard.

Sir, *Foreign Office, March* 12, 1870.

I APPROVE your language to General Prim and Admiral Topete regarding the contemplated measures of the Spanish Government for the abolition of slavery in their West Indian Colonies, as reported in your despatch of the 4th instant; and I have to state to you that Her Majesty's Government have received with great satisfaction these renewed assurances as to the intentions of the Spanish Government with respect to the question of slavery.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 29.

Mr. Layard to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received March 28.)

My Lord, *Madrid, March* 3, 1870.

IT is announced by the "Imparcial" that the Minister of the Colonies has this day presented to the Council of Ministers a Project of Law relating to the emancipation of slaves in the Island of Puerto Rico, and one declaring free all negroes born in the Island f Cuba after the 29th September, 1868.

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

No. 30.

Mr. Layard to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received March 30.)

My Lord, *Madrid, March* 25, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that a Decree, issued by the Minister of the Colonies, appeared in the "Official Gazette" of yesterday, by which all distinctions and disabilities which have hitherto been incurred by all persons of mixed or "tainted" blood, both in the discharge of official duties, and of some professions, are henceforth abolished.

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

No. 31.

Mr. Layard to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received April 9.)

My Lord, *Madrid, April* 6, 1870.

IN the correspondence between the Department of State and the United States' Minister at Madrid relating to the Cuban affairs recently presented to the House of Representatives at Washington, which I have only to-day had an opportunity of perusing, I find a despatch from General Sickles, the United States' Minister in Madrid to Mr. Fish, of December 29th of last year, in which it is stated by the General that "Mr. Layard informed him the night before last that he had been instructed by the Earl of Clarendon to second his suggestions to the Spanish Government in relation to the abolition of slavery in Cuba and Puerto Rico."

General Sickles appears to have misunderstood to some extent my observations to him, which were made unofficially and in course of a private conversation. General Sickles having informed me that he had urgently pressed upon the Spanish Ministers the importance of dealing at the earliest period, and in a complete manner, with the question of slavery in Cuba and Puerto Rico, I stated to him that the instructions which I had received from your Lordship on the subject of slavery appeared to coincide with his own, and that I had already taken an opportunity of expressing the views of the British Government to the Minister of State.

General Sickles proceeds in his despatch to say that he had replied to me that "all

he had said on the subject was unofficial and so understood by the Cabinet." I certainly was not under the impression that General Sickles had thus expressed himself; on the contrary, I understood him to say that he had been instructed to press in the strongest manner upon the Spanish Government the question of the abolition of slavery in the West Indian possessions, but that he thought that the most prudent course was not to recur too often to the subject in his official communications, as any advice or suggestions coming at the present time with regard to Cuba from the United States were looked upon by Spain with distrust and suspicion. As there were no motives for such distrust and suspicion of the English Government, he thought that I could communicate more freely and effectively on the subject with the Spanish Government. It would appear from Mr. Fish's reply to General Sickles dated January 26th, that the impression which I derived from General Sickles' conversation entirely agrees with the instructions which he had received from his Government, and it is confirmed by a subsequent conversation with General Sickles, reported in my despatch to your Lordship of the 28th of last February.

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

No. 32.

Mr. Layard to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received May 26.)

My Lord, *Madrid, May* 22, 1870.

ACCORDING to a statement made yesterday in the Cortes by the Minister of the Colonies, no disembarkation of negro slaves has taken place in Cuba for more than two years.

I may take this opportunity of informing your Lordship that Señor Moret y Prendergast has signified to the Cortes his intention of proceeding with the measures relating to slavery in the Spanish Antilles, which had been prepared by his predecessor, Señor Becerra.

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

No. 33.

Mr. Layard to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received June 2.)

My Lord, *Madrid, May* 30, 1870.

ON Saturday last (the 28th) Señor Moret y Prendergast, the Minister for the Colonies, communicated to the Cortes a project of Law for the abolition of slavery within the Spanish dominions.

I inclose for your Lordship's information a translation of this Law, which consists of nineteen Articles, the most important of which are, that all children of slaves born after the publication of this law shall be free, that all slaves born between the 18th of September 1868 and the publication of the law belong to the State on the payment of 50 escudos (5*l.*) to their owners; that all slaves who shall have served under the Spanish flag, and shall have in any way assisted the Spanish troops during the insurrection shall be free, the State indemnifying their owners only in case they shall have remained faithful to the Spanish cause; that slaves who have attained, and shall hereafter attain, the age of 65 years, shall be free without indemnity to their masters; and that all emancipated slaves belonging to the State shall enter into the full exercise of their civil rights. The Articles of the law describing the manner in which slaves, thus emancipated, are to be treated and cared for, particularly deserve your Lordship's attention. By the last Article the Government reserves the authority to take the necessary measures to effect the emancipation of those who may not be emancipated under the Act; and in his exposition of the law Señor Moret y Prendergast states that the Government has prepared the means for effecting this object.

Señor Moret y Prendergast calls upon the members of the Cortes to pass this Law before the summer closes.

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

Inclosure in No. 33.

Project of Law.

(Translation.)

Article 1. ALL children of mothers in slavery, born subsequent to the publication of this law, are declared free.

Art. 2. All slaves born after the 18th of September, 1868, and up to the publication of this law are taken by the State, who pays to their masters the sum of 50 escudos (5*l.*)

Art. 3. All slaves who have served under the Spanish flag, or in any way lent aid to the troops during the present Rebellion in Cuba, are declared free.

The State will indemnify those masters of the above who have remained loyal to the cause of Spain, but if they belong to insurgents no claim for indemnity shall be entertained.

Art. 4. Those slaves who, on the publication of this law, have attained 65 years of age, are declared free without any indemnity to their masters. The same shall be enjoyed by those who in future attain this age.

Art. 5. All slaves belonging to the State, either as being emancipated, or for any other reason, shall enter directly on the full exercise of their civil rights.

Art. 6. Those who are made free by the provisions of Articles 1 and 2 of this law, shall remain under the patronage of their mothers' master.

Art. 7. This patronage imposes on the patron the obligation of maintenance, clothing, medical assistance, primary instruction, and the education necessary for practising some trade or business.

The patron acquires all the rights of a guardian, and may also make use gratis of the work of the freedman up to the age of 18.

Art. 8. When the freedman arrives at the age of 18 he shall gain half the wages of a freeman. Of these wages one-half shall be given him at once, the other being retained to farm a stock in hand in the manner determined by future dispositions.

Art. 9. On completing 22 years the freedman acquires the full enjoyment of civil rights, and his stock in hand ("peculis") shall be given to him.

Art. 10. This patronage may be transmitted by all the means which are recognized at law. Both legitimate and natural fathers who are free, may retain the patronage of their children on the payment of an indemnification for the expenses incurred on behalf of the freedman. Future regulations will fix the base of this indemnity.

Art. 11. The chief Civil Governor will, within the space of one month after the publication of this law, draw up a list of all the slaves included in Articles 2 and 5.

Art. 12. Those who are freed under the provisions of the foregoing Article remain under State patronage, which is confined to their protection, defence, and the promising them means of living.

Those who prefer returning to Africa shall be taken there.

Art. 13. Those slaves who are mentioned in Article 4, may remain in their masters' houses, who, under these circumstances, acquire the character of patrons.

When they shall choose to remain in the house of their patrons, it shall be in the power of the latter to give them [*] or not, but in either case, as well as in that of a physical impossibility of maintaining themselves, the patron must provide food, clothing, and medical assistance, and he shall also have the right of making use of them for work to which they are adequate.

Art. 14. If the freedman shall voluntarily leave the patronage of his old master, the obligations contained in the preceding Article shall no longer be binding.

Art. 15. The Government shall adjudge the means necessary for the indemnities caused by the application of this law, with the help of an impost on those who shall remain in slavery.

Art. 16. All concealment impeding the benefits of this law shall be punished in accordance with fit. 13 of the Penal Code.

Art. 17. A census of the slaves shall be made. All not inscribed therein shall be declared free.

Art. 18. The Government shall dictate special measures for the fulfilment of this law.

Art. 19. The Government is authorized to take what measures they think necessary for the realization of the emancipation of those who still remain in slavery at the time of the publication of this law, duly reporting to the Cortes.

(Signed) SIGISMUNDO MORET Y PRENDERGAST,
Minister of the Colonies.

Madrid, May 28, 1870.

* Word omitted in original.

No. 34.

Mr. Layard to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received June 3.)

(Extract.) *Madrid, May* 31, 1870.

IN my despatch of yesterday I inclosed for your Lordship's information the project of Law for the abolition of slavery which had been presented to the Cortes by the Minister of the Colonies. I had not time, as the details of the proposed Law had only reached me shortly before the departure of the post, to do more than to call your Lordship's attention to those Articles which make provision for the treatment of slaves who may be declared to have received their liberty under the proposed Act of the Cortes.

These Articles deserve very careful consideration. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the working of laws which have been passed by other countries for the gradual or immediate abolition of slavery, to venture to submit to your Lordship an opinion upon the operation of the clauses to which I desire to draw your Lordship's attention. In some instances these clauses would appear to perpetuate for at least eighteen, if not for twenty-two years, the institution of slavery, and there seems to me to be considerable ambiguity in the definition of the status of those slaves who are to be transferred to the Government from private owners, on payment of compensation.

No. 35.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Layard.

I HAVE received your despatches of the 30th and 31st ultimo, upon the subject of the project of Law for the abolition of slavery in the Spanish West Indies, recently submitted to the Cortes by the Government; and I have to state to you that Her Majesty's Government do not wish at present to express any opinion upon this measure, which falls far short of their hopes and expectations.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 36.

Mr. Layard to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received June 9.)

(Extract.) *Madrid, June* 6, 1870.

I HAD an opportunity yesterday of ascertaining the opinion of my colleague, the Minister of the United States, with regard to the project of Law for the abolition of slavery in the Spanish Antilles, which has been submitted to the Cortes by Señor Moret y Prendergast, the Minister of the Colonies, and a copy of which I forwarded to your Lordship in my despatch of the 30th ultimo. General Sickles informs me that he has limited himself in transmitting to his Government a copy of this project of Law, to calling special attention to the clauses which affect those persons who are supposed to be released from slavery, and which he considers eminently unsatisfactory, as tending to prolong the institution for nearly a quarter of a century, as regards those who are to be ultimately free, and for more than sixty years for those born previous to September 18, 1869, and not included in the proposed Law. He thinks that his Government will consider that this Law falls far short of the promises and pledges repeatedly given to him by the Spanish Ministers.

It appears to be doubtful whether, with the important business before the Cortes, and the approach of the hot weather, when the members of that Assembly leave Madrid, it will be possible to pass the Law this session.

No. 37.

Mr. Layard to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received June 11.)

My Lord, *Madrid, June* 8, 1870.

THE project of Law for the abolition of slavery in the Spanish Antilles presented to the Cortes by the Minister of the Colonies (a copy of which was inclosed in my despatch of the 30th ultimo) having been referred, in the usual form, to a Commission or Committee, has been returned to the Assembly with several important amendments, in

which the Government has concurred. I inclose for your Lordship's information a translation of the Report of the Committee and of the amendments which it has made in the law. Your Lordship will perceive that the age at which slaves, not otherwise included in the law, are to be free, is sixty years, instead of sixty-five as at first proposed; that "emancipados," as well as all slaves belonging to the State, are to be declared free (a very important amendment); that the "patronage" shall cease on slaves attaining the age of twenty-two years, on marriage of females after fourteen years of age, of males after eighteen, in case of abuse of punishment by the patrons, and, as regards females, in case of the patron prostituting them; that the "State protection" shall be reduced to protecting the freemen and providing them the means of gaining their livelihood without infringing on their liberty; that cruelty inflicted on a slave shall entitle him to freedom; and that all those slaves who do not appear in the census made in Puerto Rico in December 31, 1869, or in that which ought to be finished in Cuba in December 31, 1870, are to be considered free.

The Committee further recommend that the Government shall bind itself to present to the Cortes, on the opening of the next session a project of Law for the emancipation of slaves who may not come within the operation of the present Law. This amendment defines the duty of the Government in this respect, regarding which the original project of Law, as prepared by Señor Moret y Prendergast was very vague.

I have had an opportunity of speaking to Admiral Topete, the Chairman of the Committee upon the subject of the amendments, and he assures me that it is the intention both of the Committee and the Government that the question of slavery shall be dealt with in a complete and satisfactory manner, and that the project of Law must be merely considered as a first step towards more liberal and vigorous measures. There can be no doubt that the amendments are material improvements, although they may still leave the law in an unsatisfactory state.

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

Inclosure in No. 37.

Dictamen of the Commission on the Project of Law for the Abolition of Slavery.

(Translation.)

THE Commission approved to report on the project of Law presented by the Minister of the Colonies for the abolition of slavery in the Island of Cuba and Puerto Rico, believes itself to be excused from making any remark concerning the necessity for this measure, of which every one is aware in his conscience.

The manner and form of putting it into execution is what may engage the attention of the nation, for on the one hand the time that the evil is in existence has created a state of things as well as pre-occupations which are not easily set aside, and on the other hand the interests guaranteed by the laws and the condition of the men who lack social habits, cause diverse judgments to be formed, all with the same object of avoiding the difficulties in treating this matter which at each moment present themselves.

The Commission sees in the project of the Government a great step towards the desired object, as it conciliates as far as possible—since the problem cannot be solved without some inconveniences—the interests of society, of private individuals, and of those persons who are to be protected, and free us from an institution which the public sentiment of the day opposes.

The Commission has, in accordance with the Government, introduced some modifications tending to favour this idea, and although they have not accepted the authorization involved in the last article, owing to its being an affair of such grave interest, it imposes on the Government, by its own consent, the duty of presenting shortly a project of law for the emancipation of those who still remain in slavery, as in this manner it will be true that the Government and the nation are really desirous of promptly solving the problem of slavery without causing any kind of confusion.

In consequence thereof the Commissioners propose the following:—

Dictamen of Commission, i.e. Amendments.

Article. 1. Identic.
Art. 2.
Art. 3.
Art. 4. All slaves, who on the publication of this law have attained the age of 60, are

declared free without indemnity to owners. The same benefit to be enjoyed by those arriving hereafter at this age.

Art. 5. All slaves belonging for any reason to the State are declared free, as well as those who under the name of "emancipados" were protected by the State.

Art. 6. Identic.

Art. 7.

Art. 8.

Art. 9. On arriving at the age of 22 the liberto shall enter on the full enjoyment of their rights, the patronage shall cease, and the fund be handed over to them.

Art. 10. The patronage shall cease also:

1st. On the marriage of the libertos; in the case of females after the age of 14, and of males of 18.

2nd. If abuses of punishment are proved against the patron, or a failing in the duties fixed in Article 7.

3rd. If the patron prostitutes, or favours the prostitution of the freeman.

Art. 11. The same as Article 10 in project of law.

Art. 12. As Article 11.

Art. 13. The libertos and freemen referred to in the preceding Article will remain under State protection, which is reduced to protection and providing the means of gaining their subsistence without in any way infringeing on their liberty. Those who prefer returning to Africa shall be taken there.

Art. 14. Same as Article 13 in project of law.

Art. 15. Same as Article 13 in project of law.

Art. 16. Same as Article 15 in project of law.

Art. 17. The crime of cruelty proved and punished by Courts of Justice shall carry with it the freedom of the slave who has suffered the cruelty.

Art. 18. Same as Article 16 in project of law.

Art. 19. All those shall be considered free who do not appear in the census made in Puerto Rico on December 31, 1869, or in that which ought to be finished in Cuba on December 31, 1870.

Art. 20. Same as Article 18 in project of law.

Article 21. The Government on the opening of the next session shall present in the Cortes a project for the gradual emancipation of those who are still in slavery at the time of this law coming into operation.

(Signed) JUAN BAUHDA TOPETIE.

Palace of the Cortes, June 3, 1870.

No. 38.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Layard.

Sir, *Foreign Office, June* 16, 1870.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith a copy of an address presented to me yesterday by a deputation from the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, calling the attention of Her Majesty's Government to the Project of Law for the abolition of slavery in Cuba which is now before the Spanish Cortes.

You will see from this Address that the Project in question is denounced not only as not being a plan of emancipation, but as being an absolute negation of justice; and Her Majesty's Government are requested to demand from the Government of Spain the immediate liberation of all those slaves who have been introduced into Cuba since the year 1820, when Spain entered into Treaty engagements with this country for the entire abolition of the Slave Trade throughout her possessions.

I told the deputation that while it was impossible not to acknowledge that the slaves introduced into Cuba in violation both of the Spanish laws and of the international obligations of Spain towards this country were properly entitled to their freedom, yet that I did not think that the present moment was an opportune one for pressing upon the Spanish Government the adoption of a measure which would have the effect of freeing two-thirds at least of the able-bodied slaves now existing in Cuba. I pointed out that, in the existing state of affairs in Cuba, if the Spanish Government were to attempt to enforce so sweeping a measure as that recommended by the deputation, such a proceeding would probably still further loosen the hold which Spain has over the island, and might defeat the object which Her Majesty's Government, equally with the deputation, had in view and were striving to attain, viz., the eventual abolition of the status of slavery in Cuba.

I added that the present Government and Legislature of Spain had proved that they were acting in good faith in regard to the emancipation of the Cuban slaves by the Project of Law which they had framed for this purpose, and which had been subsequently introduced in Committee in the Project as reported in your despatch of the 8th instant, which despatch I read to the deputation and have since furnished them with a copy.

The result of our interview was that the deputation expressed their confidence that Her Majesty's Government would, at the proper moment, make known to the Government of Spain the deep feeling which exists in this country upon the Cuban Slave question, and would exert their influence to bring about at as early a date as possible a satisfactory solution of this question.

I have accordingly to instruct you to avail yourself of the first favourable opportunity of communicating to the Spanish Government the substance of this despatch, and you will at the same time express the earnest hope of Her Majesty's Government that the question of Cuban slavery will be dealt with, as far as the Spanish Government have the power of doing so, in a complete and satisfactory manner.

I inclose a list of the gentlemen composing the deputation who waited upon me, which you are at liberty to communicate to the Spanish Government, and which will show the increasing interest that is felt in this country on the Cuban Slave question.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

Inclosure in No. 38.

Messrs. Cooper, Sturge, and Alsop to the Earl of Clarendon.

My Lord, 27, *New Broad Street, June* 15, 1870.

ON behalf of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society we beg respectfully to offer a few observations to your Lordship upon the question of the abolition of slavery in Cuba. It appears to us that the Ministerial project of emancipation, now under the consideration of the Spanish Cortes, demands from Her Majesty's Government prompt and decisive action.

Were the question of the abolition of slavery in Cuba simply and strictly a domestic one, the interference of a foreign Power would obviously be intrusive and unjustifiable; but it is a fact that a very large proportion of the negro population now in bondage in that island is so held as the direct result of the most flagrant violation of international faith which modern history presents.

In 1818 Great Britain paid to Spain the large sum of 400,000*l.* to compensate her for losses which she alleged she would sustain by the suppression of the Slave Trade, and which she pledged herself to abolish throughout all her possessions on the 30th May, 1820.

Notwithstanding, however, that she thus solemnly pledged herself by Treaty to abolish the Slave Trade, and subsequently entered into additional conventions for the same object, the importation of fresh negroes into Cuba continued at an enormous rate, amounting at times, according to the statement of Earl Russell, to as many as 30,000 in a single year.

Moreover, the continuance of the Transatlantic African Slave Trade to Cuba necessitated the establishment of a repressive system, which in various ways entailed upon Great Britain alone an annual expenditure estimated by the late Lord Palmerston at nearly 1,000,000*l.* sterling. The outlay for this purpose, though diminished, continues, for notwithstanding that the importations of negroes into Cuba appear temporarily to have ceased, the maintenance of slavery in that island is a direct permanent provocative to their resumption. Hence the alleged necessity for the continuation of the same repressive system by Great Britain, and this at a time when universal public opinion brands the Slave Trade and slavery as the most heinous of crimes.

Since 1820 the importations of negroes into Cuba have, at the lowest estimate, exceeded more than twofold the number of slaves now officially reported as existing in that island, and, as the whole of these have been introduced in violation of the Treaties and Conventions with Great Britain, Her Majesty's Government has an undoubted right to demand their immediate liberation.

As in 1868 the Spanish Government publicly pledged itself to bring forward a plan of emancipation, we refrained from then urging Her Majesty's Government to press for a prompt settlement of the question, notwithstanding the violation of justice and humanity its postponement involved.

The case is, however, altered now that the Legislative Assembly of Spain is in possession of the Ministerial measure, which is not only not a plan of emancipation but is an absolute negation of justice; wherefore, on the grounds set forth, we entreat Her Majesty's Government to demand the immediate liberation of all those slaves entitled to their liberty under the Treaties and Conventions with Great Britain.

We are, &c.

(Signed) JOSEPH COOPER, EDMD. STURGE, ROBT. ALSOP, } *Honorary Secretaries.*

No. 39.

Mr. Layard to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received June 24.)

My Lord, *Madrid, June* 21, 1870.

THE amendment moved by Señor Castelar on the project of law for the abolition of slavery in the Spanish Antilles, namely, that the abolition should be immediate and complete, was rejected yesterday by a majority of 30 in a small Cortes, only 126 Members being present.

Señor Moret y Prendergast in his reply to Señor Castelar, renewed his statement, that the proposed measure was merely introductory, and that the Government would deal with the question in a more complete manner when the Cortes met after the recess. In proof of their intention to do so, he reminded the Assembly, that in the amendment which had been accepted by the Government, binding them to proceed with legislation on this subject, the Ministers themselves had objected to the epithet "gradual" when applied to the abolition of slavery, and that it had accordingly been struck out.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

No. 40.

Mr. Layard to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received June 25.)

My Lord, *Madrid, June* 22, 1870.

THE law relating to slavery in the Spanish Antilles passed the Cortes yesterday with two additional amendments of some importance, which were brought forward by Admiral Topete, the President of the Commission to which the law had been referred, and were accepted by the Government, namely, the prohibition of the punishment of the lash, and of the separation, in case of sale, of children, under the age of 14, from their mothers, and of husbands and wives.

As soon as the law, as amended and passed, is officially published, I will forward to your Lordship a copy and translation of it.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

No. 41.

Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to Mr. Layard.

Sir, *Foreign Office, June* 30, 1870.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 22nd ultimo and to former correspondence, I transmit to you herewith a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Consul-General at the Havana,* inclosing a copy of an edict issued by the local authorities setting free 600 negroes, who are stated to have been landed in Cuba from Brazil, probably in the year 1868. You will perceive that Mr. Dunlop infers, from the facts stated in the inclosed papers, that the reports of slave landings in Cuba which have occasionally reached the Consulate during the last four years may not have been so wholly devoid of foundation as it has been supposed.

I have to request you to take an early opportunity of bringing this matter to the notice of the Spanish Government.

I am, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR OTWAY.

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* No. 66.

No. 42.

Mr. Layard to Earl Granville.—(Received July 11.)

(Extract.) *San Ildefonso, July* 5, 1870.

I HAVE had a long conversation with the Minister of the Colonies on the subject of the Bill for the abolition of slavery, recently passed by the Cortes.

Señor Moret y Prendergast informs me that it was his intention to have introduced a much larger measure, but that there were so many serious difficulties in the way of passing the one which he had prepared before the Cortes adjourned, that the Council of Ministers considered it more prudent to propose and carry a more limited law, which would prove their desire to deal eventually with the question, and would furnish the ground-work for further legislation, leaving the subject to be dealt with in a wider and more comprehensive manner when the Assembly should meet again, and have time to discuss it fully, and until he could come to an understanding with the principal people of Cuba and the Captain-General.

Señor Moret further assures me that the reports which have been current, that the Captain-General of Cuba is personally opposed to the complete abolition of slavery, are entirely unfounded, his Excellency having, on the contrary, most warmly seconded the views of the Government, and having himself given proofs that he is ready to carry out any measure which may have the effect of putting an end to that institution.

Señor Moret tells me that he has already sketched out a measure which he proposes to introduce when the Cortes assembles in the autumn, and which has been referred to the Captain-General for his advice.

Señor Moret complains that justice has not been done to him in England by the press and the public with regard to his attempts to deal with this most difficult question of slavery, upon which no Spanish Minister had previously ventured to legislate, but he expressed himself very grateful to Lord Clarendon for the impartial and encouraging reply which he had given to the deputation of the Anti-slavery Association, and for the communication on the subject which, by his Lordship's instructions, I had made to the Spanish Government.

I feel bound to add that I have confidence in the loyalty of Señor Moret's intentions and in his desire to deal, in a satisfactory manner with this very important question.

No. 43.

Mr. Layard to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.—(Received July 11.)

Sir, *San Ildefonso, July* 7, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a note which, in obedience to the instructions contained in your despatch of 30th ultimo, I have addressed to Señor Sagasta, calling his Excellency's attention to the edict which appeared in the "Habana Gazette" of 24th May, relating to the emancipation of 600 Bozal negroes, who are stated to have been landed in Cuba, probably in the year 1868.

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

Inclosure in No. 43.

Mr. Layard to Señor Segasta.

M. le Ministre, *San Ildefonso, July* 6, 1870.

I AM directed by Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State to bring to your Excellency's notice an Edict which has appeared in the "Habana Gazette" of 24th May, purporting to be an Order of the Chief Alcalde of Jarnco for the publication of a sentence of the Supreme Court, or "Audiencia Pretorial" of Habana, declaring "emancipados" some 600 Bozal negroes, who were landed at the beach of Jibacoa, and whom the said Alcalde was instructed to trace. Neither the date of the landing of these negroes, nor any particulars relating to them, are given in the Edict, but it is believed that they were introduced in Jibacoa some time in the year 1868, and it is therefore remarkable that no traces of them can be found. I am directed to point out to your Excellency that the Order of the

Alcalde was issued on the 25th January, 1869, that the Edict bears date 16th April following, and that the publication of it only appeared on 24th May, 1870. It seems difficult to suppose that, if proper vigilance had been used, or steps taken to prevent the landing, or to effect the seizure of these negroes, so large an expedition should have escaped detention. It is consequently to be feared that the reports of slave landings in Cuba which have occasionally reached Her Majesty's Consulate at the Habana, although positively denied by the local authorities, have not been so wholly devoid of foundation as supposed.

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

No. 44.

Earl Granville to Mr. Layard.

Sir, *Foreign Office, July* 19, 1870.

WITH reference to Lord Clarendon's despatch of the 16th ultimo, I inclose a copy of a letter from the Anti-Slavery Society commenting upon the project of law for the emancipation of slaves in the Spanish colonies, and the amendments thereto which have been submitted to the Cortes, and I have to request that you will take an opportunity of making the Spanish Government acquainted with the views of the Society upon this question.

I also inclose for your information and guidance a copy of the reply that has been returned to the communication from the Society.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 44.

Messrs. Cooper, Sturge, and Alsop to the Earl of Clarendon.

My Lord, *Anti-Slavery Office, New Broad Street, June* 27, 1870.

WE beg on behalf of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society and of the Deputation received by your Lordship on the 15th current, to acknowledge with respectful thanks the copy of Mr. Layard's despatch to you dated from Madrid the 8th of this month, relating to the project of the emancipation then under the consideration of the Cortes, and we venture to take advantage of the present opportunity to submit a few comments which that document and its inclosures suggest.

We regret not to be able to concur in the favourable opinion entertained by Mr. Layard and your Lordship of the amendments proposed by the Commission, for although they are concessions to the public sentiment, they are small, and in reality of little practical value.

The boon of liberty to slaves of sixty instead of sixty-five years of age will affect very few, and these probably worn out by toil, near the end of their days, and therefore of merely nominal value to their owners.

The amendments declaring that over a certain class of libertos the tutelage of the owners shall cease in the event of the marriage of females after the age of fourteen, and of males at eighteen, will be almost nugatory in effect, because the Bill still makes it the interest of the owner to retain the control of the libertos until they reach the age of twenty-two; and experience has demonstrated the utter futility in slave colonies of all arrangements which the master has motives for violating, in addition to which the liberto is left without any power to enforce his rights, or even to make known his grievances.

The same remark applies to the remaining amendments to clause 10, and to the additional Article 17, devised to check cruelty and to punish owners for violation of clause 17. These regulations, though in the direction of justice, will be practically inoperative, seeing that the onus of proof of cruelty and of infringements of these Articles rests with the liberto. They are, therefore, material improvements in appearance more than in fact.

The above appear to be the only "amendments" proposed. The other points upon which Mr. Layard dwells as further modifications are to be found technically in the original Bill as now adopted, and are essentially illusory.

Article 2 constitutes State property all slaves to be emancipated under it, that is, those born within the period from the 18th of September, 1868, to the publication of the

new law. Article 5 sets forth that all slaves who, being either of the class emancipado, or who, for any other cause, belong to the State, shall at once enter into the full exercise of their civil rights. But Article 6 places the slave emancipated under Article 2 at the disposal of their old owners, and these slaves under a new name, are not, according to Article 9, to acquire full civil rights until they have attained the age of twenty-two. We respectfully submit that such legislation is simply a mockery, and merits to be denounced as such, not complacently accepted as a material improvement upon the old state of things.

With regard to the emancipado class of slaves, placed by the new Bill under the protection of the State in 1855, when the latest specific facts on this subject were communicated to Her Majesty's Government, the Cuban authorities professed their utter inability to account for more than a comparatively small number. This statement, probably an honest one, was analysed, and the analysis was embodied in an address from the Anti-Slavery Society to Marshal Espartero, a copy of which we inclose. There can be no doubt that the whole number returned was then far below the real number in existence, but the admitted difficulty of ascertaining the fact had been increased by the shameful connivance of the local authorities in the systematic substitution of living emancipados for dead slaves, as a result of which iniquitous deception the emancipados were gradually absorbed into the mass of the slave population; and it is now extremely doubtful whether any of the former are to be found.

The Article, therefore, which deals with this class is also of a decidedly illusory character.

It seems scarcely worth while to comment upon Article 9 determining the period when the apprenticeship or tutelage shall cease. But to give officially even a qualified approval to a system which worked so viciously in our own colonies that the Colonial Legislatures themselves anticipated the decision of the Imperial Government, and brought the apprenticeship to a close, is assuredly calculated to encourage the Spanish Government in an evil course.

To resume, judging from what is before us, we are not encouraged to look forward with hope that a real plan of emancipation will be presented to the Cortes when they next assemble. The whole scheme of the new Bill is vicious. The very first Article inaugurates a twenty-two years' terms of apprenticeship for those who are declared by it to be be free; it only emancipates wholly a very few old slaves who are probably unable to take care of themselves, and declares free a class either entirely obliterated, or of which it will be next to impossible to establish the identity. The principle of a long apprenticeship being once established does not leave a doubt of its introduction as a basis of any plan of emancipation which may be presented next session, and which will have to deal with the bulk of the slave population. We therefore deem it our duty respectfully but most earnestly to urge Her Majesty's Government to press upon the Spanish Ministry its right to demand, by the immediate liberation of the slaves who have been introduced into Cuba since 1820. the practical fulfilment of the obligations Spain contracted by her Treaties and Conventions with Great Britain, and for which Great Britain paid the sum of 400,000*l.*

It is not to the credit and honour of a great nation like ours that it should allow children who have such claims upon it under British Treaties to be held in a species of slavery for twenty years to come. Will the fitting time never arrive for a faithful remonstrance? Those for whom we plead are poor, but that will not be held by th present Government as a justification of silent acquiescence in the continued oppression and enslavement of those towards whom this country stands to a certain extent in the character of protector.

In conclusion we would venture to remind your Lordship that the national sentiment in Spain is strongly in favour of perfect freedom to the slaves.

The Commission which was appointed on the subject last autumn had more than 1,000 petitions for immediate emancipation referred to it, which had been presented in due course to the Cortes. There is also in Cuba and Porto Rico a very large amount of public opinion in favour of emancipation. Delegates from both islands appointed by the slave-owners themselves met a Government Commission in Madrid in the autumn of 1866. The report of the majority declared emancipation to be an imperative necessity, but differed as to time, whilst the Delegates from Porto Rico, with one exception, demanded immediate emancipation.

Influenced by these facts it was generally believed that Señor Becerra, ex-Minister of Marine, had prepared a plan of abolition in harmony with the expressed views of the colonists. It is therefore the more remarkable and the more deeply to be regretted that the scheme presented by his successor, and now adopted by the Cortes, should be one calculated to insure the continuance of slavery, and not a plan for its abolition.

Looking at all the circumstances of the case, it is our painful conviction that the

present Government in Madrid, influenced by a small fraction of determined adherentsto slavery, is the real obstacle to the abolition of slavery at the present time.

We submit that we are in no wise intermeddling in a matter not already judged by all classes of Spaniards, nor one in which, sustained as we are by the Treaties and Conventions referred to, can it be said that this country has no right to interfere. We feel, therefore, strong in the conviction of being justified in the demand we venture still to urge Her Majesty's Government to make, strong on the grounds of the public sentiment of the Spanish people themselves both at home and in the Antilles, strong on the grounds of international obligations based on special Treaties and Conventions, and strong especially on the broad ground of humanity and justice.

On behalf of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society—

We are, &c.

(Signed) JOSEPH COOPER, EDMD. STURGE, ROBT. ALSOP, } *Honorary Secretaries.*

Inclosure 2 in No. 44.

Mr. Hammond to Mr. Cooper.

Sir, *Foreign Office, July* 19, 1870.

I AM directed by Earl Granville to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 4th instant, inclosing one from the Anti-Slavery Society commenting upon the Project of Law for the emancipation of slaves in the Spanish Colonies, and the amendments thereto, which have been submitted to the Cortes; and I am to request that you will inform the Society that a copy of their paper will be sent to Her Majesty's Minister at Madrid, with instructions to acquaint the Spanish Government with the views of the Society with regard to the proposed measure and its amendments.

But I am to state that Lord Granville concurs in the opinion expressed by Lord Clarendon to the Society at their interview with him, that the present time is inopportune for pressing upon the Spanish Government a demand for the immediate liberation of all slaves introduced into Cuba since 1820; the action of the Spanish Government in this matter, although falling short of the expectations of Her Majesty's Government, has been spontaneous, and such a demand would probably arrest it: it will therefore be better, while keeping the Spanish Government fully acquainted with the views and feelings of Her Majesty's Government and of the public in this country upon the question of slavery in the Spanish Colonies, to watch the measures of emancipation proposed by the Government, and to await the issue of the deliberations of the Spanish Cortes upon this important question, which, it is hoped, may thus eventually be dealt with in a more complete and satisfactory manner.

With reference to the question of the "emancipados" in Cuba, I am to inclose an extract of a despatch from Her Majesty's Consul-General at the Havana, with a translation of an edict recently issued by the Captain-General, declaring the freedom of slaves captured during the years 1849, 1851, and 1852.

I am, &c.

(Signed) E. HAMMOND.

No. 45.

Mr. Layard to Earl Granville.—(Received July 22.)

My Lord, *Madrid, July* 18, 1870.

SENOR MORET Y PRENDERGAST, the Minister for the Colonies, has communicated to me a telegram addressed to his Excellency by the Captain-General of Cuba, in the following terms:—"A meeting of the holders of property in that place has given a completely satisfactory result. Recognizing the necessity of the abolition of slavery, they agreed to promote it without disturbing the country, or neglecting the interests of produce ('conservando la produccion'). A Commission was named, to study privately the project, which will be sent to your Excellency."

Señor Moret, in communicating this telegram to me, says that the complete abolition of slavery is merely a matter of very few months; and expresses a hope that justice will now be done to him in England, where, he complains, his conduct and motives have been unfairly misrepresented by the Abolition Society and the press.

It is a great satisfaction to me to find that I had not been mistaken in the opinion I

had formed of Señor Moret's sincerity with regard to this most important question, and that the just and liberal sentiments expressed by Lord Clarendon in his interview with the deputation of the Abolition Society, and reported to me in his Lordship's despatch of the 16th ultimo, will be justified by the conduct of the Spanish Government. Señor Moret may fairly claim the credit due to himself and his colleagues of having been the first Spanish Ministers who have ventured to deal honestly and thoroughly with this great question.

I need scarcely point out to your Lordship the importance of securing the concurrence and support of the planters in carrying out any measures for the abolition of slavery, so long, of course, as no concessions or sacrifices are made to them which may in any way interfere with the complete freedom of the slave.

I have expressed to Señor Moret my conviction that his assurance that the institution of slavery will be speedily abolished throughout the Spanish dominions will cause the liveliest satisfaction in England; and that if this great work be thoroughly accomplished it will give the Provisional Government an additional claim to the gratitude of Spain and all civilized countries.

It appears to me, that considering the difficulties which surround this question, the measures taken by the Spanish Government for bringing about the abolition of slavery have been no less prudent than skilful. I am informed that as soon as they succeeded in passing through the Cortes the law described in my despatch to Lord Clarendon of the 22nd ultimo, the planters in Cuba looked upon the institution as doomed, and that slave property experienced a great and immediate diminution in value.

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

P.S.—In answer to an inquiry which I addressed to Señor Moret, as to the meaning of the phrase "conservando la produccion," his Excellency states its meaning to be, "endeavouring to effect the change without great detriment to the production of sugars."

No. 46.

Mr. Layard to Earl Granville.—(Received July 25.)

Madrid, July 22, 1870.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith translation of a note which I have received from Señor Sagasta with reference to a landing of negroes in Cuba, which was stated to have taken place in 1868.

Your Lordship will see from this note that his Excellency states that the landing took place not in 1868 but on December 5, 1860, and that consequently the inferences drawn from the edict of the Alcalde of Jaruco are erroneous.

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

Inclosure in No. 46.

Señor Sagasta to Mr. Layard.

(Translation.)

Madrid, July 21, 1870.

Sir,

AS I had the honour to state in my note of the 12th instant, in answer to that of your Excellency of the 6th instant, I hastened to ask my colleague of the Colonies for the necessary data concerning the landing of negroes in Cuba, and respecting the other particulars referred to in the note from your Legation.

In consequence of the information given me by the Minister of the Colonies I can now state to your Excellency that the affirmations contained in the note to which I have the honour to reply are altogether wrong, and are assuredly produced by information and data either erroneous or not sufficiently verified.

The landing of negroes in question took place on the beach of Arrogo Bermejo, in the district of Gibacoa, on December 5, 1860, and was the cause of a notorious criminal suit which was definitively decided by the Audiencia of Habana in July 1863. That which has been done since that time, and is still being done, has for its object the execution of that part of the sentence which declared the said negroes to be emancipated, and the discovery of the unfortunate men, for their abiding-place did not appear from the suit. This is the object of the edicts spoken of in your note, and ordered to be published by the

Chief Alcalde of Jaruco, who is the Judge appointed by the sentencing Court for the execution of the sentence.

The Ministry of the Colonies has always regarded this matter with peculiar interest, and, by order of that Department, the Regente and Fiscal of the Audiencia of Habana send fortnightly information of the state of the steps taken.

There is not, therefore, any reason for saying that the landing at Gibacoa took place in 1868, nor for supposing, basing the supposition on this fact, that the Slave Trade continues in Cuba, and that slaves are landed.

In conclusion, I must state to your Excellency, in just praise of the Cuban authorities, that the activity recently displayed in this matter (which activity has attracted the attention of Her Britannic Majesty's Government) proceeds from the orders issued by the Captain-General of that island for liberating the Bozal negroes landed in Cuba at different times (thus fulfilling that which was stipulated with Great Britain).

I avail, &c.

(Signed) P. M. SAGASTA.

No. 47.

Mr. Layard to Earl Granville.—(Received July 28.)

My Lord, *Madrid, July* 25, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to forward, for your Lordship's information, a translation, by Mr. Hunt, of the law relating to the abolition of slavery, which has recently passed through the Cortes, and which appeared in the "Official Gazette" of the 6th instant, with the Decree of the Regent required for its promulgation.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. H. LAYARD.

Inclosure in No. 47.

Law relating to the Abolition of Slavery.

(Translation.)

DON FRANCISCO SERRANO Y DOMINGUEZ, Regent of the Kingdom by the will of the Sovereign Cortes; to all those to whom these presents may come, Greeting: the Constituent Cortes of the Spanish nation, in the exercise of their sovereignty, decree and sanction the following:—

Article 1. All children of slave mothers, born after the publication of this law, are declared free.

Art. 2. All slaves born between 17th September 1868 and the date of the publication of this law are purchased by the State, their owners receiving the sum of 125 pesetas.

Art. 3. All slaves who have served under the Spanish flag, or have in any way assisted the troops during the present Cuban insurrection, are declared free. All those who may have been declared free by the Supreme Government of Cuba, in the exercise of his attributions shall also have their freedom recognized. Their owners, if they have remained faithful to the Spanish cause, shall be indemnified for their value by the State; if the owners be insurgents there shall be no indemnification.

Art. 4. Slaves who, at the publication of this law, shall have completed 60 years of age are declared free without indemnification to their owners. The same benefit shall be enjoyed by those who reach that age hereafter.

Art. 5. All slaves belonging for any reason to the State are declared free. In like manner those who, as "emancipados," may be under the protection of the State, shall at once enter upon the full exercise of the rights of free men.

Art. 6. Slaves set free by this law, and mentioned in Arts. 1 and 2 shall remain under the patronage of the owners of their mothers,* by payment of indemnification, according to Art. 11.

Art. 7. The patronage mentioned in the previous Article obliges the patron to maintain his clients, to dress them, to assist them in illness, and to give them primary instruction, and to teach them a trade.

* (This Article appears to contradict Article 11; but, on applying to the Ministry of the Colonies, the following explanation was given of the apparent contradiction. In the original project of law presented by Señor Moret y Prendergast to the Cortes, Article 6 terminated at the word "mothers;" but the Cortes introduced an amendment or addition to the following effect: "unless the mother, or some person appointed by her, shall receive the patronage by payment of indemnification, according to Article 11." However, in the copy of law sent to Señor Moret by the Cortes, and purporting to be the law in its difinitive shape, the words between "unless"

The patron acquires all the rights of a guardian, and can, besides, make use of the labour of the freed man without any remuneration up to the age of 18.

Art. 8. When the freed man shall have arrived at the age of 18 he shall earn the half of the wages of a free man, according to his class and trade. Of this remuneration he shall receive at once the half, and the other half shall be kept back, so as to make a stock (peculis) for time, in the manner to be determined by subsequent dispositions.

Art. 9. On reaching the age of 22, the freed man shall acquire the full enjoyment of his rights, the patronage shall cease, and his stock shall be handed over to him.

Art 10. The patronage shall also cease.

1. By the marriage of the freed slave, contracted after the age of fourteen in the case of females, and of eighteen in the case of males.

2. If it be proved that the patron makes use of excessive punishment, or if he neglects to fulfil his duties as marked out in Article 7.

3. If the patron prostitutes or favours the prostitution of the freed slave.

Art. 11. The patronage is transferable by all known legal means, and can be renounced for just reasons.

The legitimate or natural parents, being free, can recover the patronage of their children by paying to the patron an indemnification for the outlay made for the benefit of the freed man.

Subsequent dispositions will settle the basis of this indemnification.

Art. 12. The Superior Civil Governor will furnish, in a month from the publication of this Law, the lists of the slaves included in Articles 3 and 5.

Art. 13. The freed and free men ("libertas y libres") referred to in the previous Article shall remain under the protectiou of the State, which shall simply protect them and provide them with the means of gaining their livelihood, without infringing in any way upon their liberty.

Those who may prefer to return to Africa shall be taken there.

Art. 14. The slaves referred to in Article 4 may remain in the houses of their owners, who in that case shall acquire the character of patrons.

If they choose to remain in the houses of their patrons their remuneration or non-remuneration by the latter shall be optional; but in any case, and especially if there be a physical impossibility of the slaves maintaining themselves, the patrons shall be obliged to feed and dress them, and to assist them in illness, and shall also have the right to occupy them in work adapted to their condition.

Should the freed man refuse to fulfil his obligation to work, or should he produce disturbance in the house of his patron the authorities shall decide, after having heard the freed man.

Art. 15. If the freed man of his own will retire from the patronage of his old master, the latter shall be released from the obligations contained in the previous Article.

Art. 16. The Government shall procure the money necessary for the indemnifications to which this law shall give rise, by means of a tax on those who, remaining still in servitude, may come between the ages of 11 and 60 years.

Art. 17. The offence of cruelty ("revicia"), where proved and punished by the Courts of Justice, shall carry along with it the liberty of the slave suffering the same.

Art. 18. Any concealment which may impede the application of the benefits of this law, shall be punished according to Direction 13 of the Penal Code.

Art. 19. All those not inscribed in the census formed in Puerto Rico on 31st December, 1869, and in that which will be finished in Cuba on 31st December of this year 1870, shall be considered free.

Art. 20. The Government will issue Special Regulations for the fulfilment of this Law.

Art. 21. The Government will present to the Cortes, when the Cuban Deputies shall have been admitted to the same, the project of law for emancipation (with indemnification) of those who may remain in servitude after this Law comes into operation.

Until that emancipation takes place the punishment of flogging, authorized by cap. 13 of the Regulations of Puerto Rico, and its equivalent in Cuba, is abolished.

Neither can children under 14 years of age be sold without their mothers, nor can married slaves be sold separately.

By order of the Constituent Cortes this is communicated to the Regent, &c.

Palace of the Cortes, June 23, 1870.

(Here follow the signatures of the President and Secretaries of the Cortes.)

and "patronage" were, by an error in copying, omitted; the said error remained unobserved, and consequently crept into the printed and promulgated law, but it will be corrected by the Permanent Commission of the Cortes now sitting."—W. G. L. H.)

CLASS C.

Therefore:

I order all the tribunals, &c.

San Ildefonso, July 4, 1870.

(Signed) F. SERRANO
The Minister of the Colonies
(Signed) S. MORET Y PRENDERGAST.

No. 48.

Earl Granville to Mr. Layard.

Sir *Foreign Office, August* 5, 1870.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 18th ultimo, reporting a conversation which you had held with the Spanish Minister for the Colonies, touching the prospect of the speedy and total abolition of slavery throughout the Spanish dominions; and I have to instruct you to express to the Spanish Government the sincere satisfaction felt by that of Her Majesty on learning the views and intentions of the Spanish Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 49.

Mr. Layard to Earl Granville.—(Received August 25.)

My Lord, *Madrid, August* 22, 1870.

THE Minister of the Colonies has communicated to me a telegram from the Captain-General of Cuba, dated yesterday, in which General Caballero de Rodas states that he has freed 1,000 emancipados.

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

No. 50.

Earl Granville to Mr. Layard.

Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 17, 1870.

WITH reference to your despatches of the 30th May and 8th and 21st June, respecting the Project of Law for the emancipation of slaves in the Spanish West Indies, I inclose, for your information, a copy of a Report from Her Majesty's Consul at Porto Rico containing his observations upon the effects of the measure,* so far as that Island is concerned; and I wish you to communicate the substance of Mr. Cowper's despatch to the Spanish Government, and at the same time to call their particular attention to the fact that the Decree promulgating the law has not been published in Porto Rico, and that its object is thus in a great measure defeated.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 51.

Mr. Layard to Earl Granville.—(Received September 20.)

My Lord, *Madrid, August* 27, 1870.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch of the 16th of June last, I have the honour to inclose, for your Lordship's information, a translation, by Mr. Hunt, of a note and its inclosure which I have received from the Minister of State in answer to the statements made by the Members of the Abolition Society in their letter of June 19th last.

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

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* No. 77.

Inclosure 1 in No. 51.

Señor Sagasta to Mr. Layard.

(Translation.)

Sir, *Madrid, August* 20, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Excellency copy of a note and its inclosure addressed to me by the Minister of the Colonies, concerning the exposition presented by the Anti-Slavery Society, in order that you may be good enough to place it before your Government in its entirety.

I avail, &c.

(Signed) S. P. M. SAGASTA.

Inclosure 2 in No. 51.

The Minister of the Colonies to Señor Sagasta.

(Translation.) *Madrid, August* 12, 1870.

THE Spanish Government feels itself called upon to express its gratitude to Her Britannic Majesty's Government for the worthy and friendly manner in which the illustrious Lord Clarendon—on the occasion of the presentation of the exposition which the English Abolitionist Society placed in the hands of his Excellency—defended the conduct and motives of Spain in the Slavery question. The Government of His Highness the Regent, in so doing, and as the proper means of corresponding to such a mark of esteem, have had the honour to place before Her Britannic Majesty's Government a confidential document, which plainly shows the intention and resolution of the present Government to put an end to the Slavery question. These proofs are certainly not required by Her Britannic Majesty's Government, but, as persons whom the Government qualifies as worthy of respect have doubted, on two separate occasions with more zeal than justice, the intentions of the Government and of the Spanish Assembly, it will be necessary and highly proper that Her Britannic Majesty's Government should be able to support the favourable opinion they have pronounced.

The Spanish Government is sorry to say that the manner in which the Society permits itself to judge the law voted by the Constituent Cortes is not only unjust but completely misplaced in persons who must be supposed to know this question, and who should be animated with the best intentions with regard to the Governments and Assemblies which contribute to the disappearance of slavery.

And the best proof that can be given of this ignorance ("desconocimiento") of facts is contained in the forgetfulness of a very important circumstance. The Government of England has worked for many years to obtain the abolition of the Slave Trade, and, in its relations with Spain, it had succeeded in getting African negroes who might be landed in Cuba declared free, and sent back to their country. But these resolutions had not been fulfilled, and, in spite of the constant complaints of the English Government, the African negroes landed in Cuba were in a situation worse than that of the slaves themselves—viz., in the situation known as that of "emancipados." The promise alone of putting an end to that situation produced for the Spanish Government a few years ago great praise and proofs of sympathy from the English Government; and it therefore seems natural that when, by means of a law and in a definitive manner, justice is done to the old international conventions and to the complaints of England, that act should be esteemed at least in a manner proportionate to the importance given to it by England. The Spanish Government thinks, therefore, that the persons who have written the words qualifying the law as unjust have not, however worthy of respect they may be, studied this question with the fulness required by the step they have taken *vis-à-vis* Her Britannic Majesty's Minister.

On the other hand, a law of much less importance—for it only gave liberty to those born—gave Bolivar the good repute and consideration of all the civilized world, and as it resulted in the extinction of slavery in several of the South American Republics, it has shown that such a disposition is one of the most energetic Abolitionist measures. Therefore the most simple logic demanded that the project of law presented by the Spanish Government should have been judged in the same manner, and that it should not have been denied that it must produce the same results but in a quicker way than the law of Bolivar.

But, apart from these considerations, which being grave and important, the Government was bound to present first, it is very certain, as the illustrious Lord Clarendon stated to the Committee, that the true merit of the conduct of the Spanish Government

consisted in having entered upon Abolition in the midst of a struggle, and when the interests opposed thereto might bring forward very powerful reasons for putting off the solution.

Besides, it cannot be denied that Abolitionist opinion in Cuba is very weak; and, in proof thereof, it must be remembered that the insurgents themselves, who have proclaimed it as an indispensable means of obtaining sympathy, do not carry it out; of this there are conclusive proofs in the documents by the Abolitionist Society itself, and those written by the Spanish Goverument in the Havana. Even supposing there were no respectable interests on the side of the maintenance of slavery, it is undoubted that the transformation about to be suffered by production in Cuba, demands sacrifices which make the attitude of the Peninsular party in that island truly patriotic, and give a right to the conduct of the Government to be regarded with sympathy. In spite of this, the Government has not entered upon that question; but, having given the law, has demanded the co-operation of the proprietors in total and complete abolition. This co-operation has been granted; and at this moment the Government, made strong by public opinion, is preparing the means of presenting complete abolition to the next Assembly.

Mr. Layard, the worthy Representative of Her Britannic Majesty's Government, can, in his turn, communicate data which have been afforded to him by the Ministry of the Colonies, and which prove the sincerity of the conduct of the Government, and the energy of its intentions.

Certainly it did not appear probable to the Government of His Highness that, on deciding themselves to solve so grave a question under such difficult circumstances (which conduct has procured for them the sympathy of all Governments, and especially of Her Britannic Majesty's Government), they could not only be accused of injustice, but also have their good faith put in doubt; but such an accusation, devoid of all proof and all foundation, shows that *amour propre* mixes itself up even in the largest questions, which ought apparently to be the furthest removed from narrow motives, and helps to distort the great object of the work of humanity, removing help and support from those who propose to carry it out. The illustrious Lord Clarendon has already brought this consideration forward, and added this last proof of affection towards Spain to the many he had already given.

The Government of His Highness hope that Her Britannic Majesty's Government will continue to afford them the same sympathy; and that as they know all the antecedents of this matter, they will sustain the opinions expressed by the illustrious Minister of Her Britannic Majesty, lately deceased.

(Signed) S. MORET.

No. 52.

Mr. Layard to Earl Granville—(*Received September* 27.)

My Lord, *Madrid, September* 19, 1870.

SENOR MORET Y PRENDERGAST, the Minister of the Colonies, informs me, that according to a telegram received yesterday from the Havana, the Captain-General has recently given their freedom to 2,300 more emancipados.

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

No. 53.

Earl Granville to Mr. Layard.

Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 17, 1870.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 27th August I inclose, for your information, a copy of the reply from the Anti-Slavery Society to Señor Moret's comments on their letters respecting the measures lately proposed by the Spanish Government for the emancipation of slaves.

You will use your discretion as to communicating this paper to Señor Moret or the Spanish Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Inclosure in No. 53.

Messrs. Cooper, Sturge, and Alsop to Earl Granville.

My Lord, *No. 27, New Broad Street, London, October 6,* 1870.

THE Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society beg to thank Earl Granville for his courtesy in forwarding to them a copy of the letter of Señor Moret, the Spanish Minister for the Colonies, and ask to be allowed to make a few remarks upon his Excellency's statements.

It is perfectly true that the late lamented Earl of Clarendon, on the occasion alluded to, spoke in very high terms of the present Government of Spain, and expressed his confident anticipation that it would abolish slavery throughout the Spanish dominions.

But whilst thus expressing his regard for the Spanish Government, and his great satisfaction that it had entered upon the work of emancipation, his Lordship spoke of the proposed measure which has since been passed into a law as "insufficient," and even with the amendments as still "unsatisfactory."

Señor Moret is mistaken in supposing that the Anti-Slavery Committee is ignorant of the fact that the British Government has laboured many years with Spain to obtain the fulfilment of the Treaties for the abolition of tha Slave Trade, and for the purpose also of obtaining justice for the emancipado class, which, they observe, the Minister himself now says have been in a situation worse than that of the slaves themselves.

The remark of the Committee on the clause of the Act which deals with this class was not that it was unjust, but that it was "of a decided illusory character;" and they stated the facts on which this judgment was founded.

The emancipado class, if it were possible to distinguish all the individuals comprising it, is very large; but by the systematic substitution of living emancipados for dead slaves they have to a very large extent been absorbed into the slave population. So far, therefore, as this is the case the clause will be inoperative, and therefore, as the Committee stated, "essentially illusory."

This class, as well as the great bulk of the slaves now in Cuba, introduced in violation of the Slave Trade Treaties with Great Britain, can only receive justice by a measure of complete emancipation.

The allusion by the Minister to General Bolivar's measure appears to us peculiarly inappropriate.

It is nearly fifty years since that great man engaged in the work. At that distant period the evils of slavery were comparatively little known, and the public agitation for the abolition of slavery had not even commenced in England, much less in any of the European States.

Any statesman dealing with the question of slavery at this day has an immeasurable advantage over Bolivar, whose Act was passed in the year 1821.

The utter failure of apprenticeship in the British West Indies on the one hand, and the perfect success of immediate emancipation by France and by Holland on the others are events fraught with the most important instruction. But Bolivar had no such example, to guide or assist him.

We are not sure that we comprehend Señor Moret's meaning when he states that his own measure "must produce the same results, but in a quicker way than the law of Bolivar." Bolivar's Act, passed the 21st July, 1821, declared that all slaves born after that date should be born absolutely free, and that the children then in existence should be free also on attaining the age of 14.

But Señor Moret's Act, in dealing with the latter class, holds the children, except in case of marriage, to forced servitude till the age of 22. Under these circumstances, the Committee are unable to see on what grounds the opinion is founded by Señor Moret that his measure will be a "quicker way" of giving freedom to this class.

But General Bolivar did much more than merely pass the measure alluded to. One of his first acts was to give liberty to his own slaves, numbering 800, and to persuade his countrymen to do the same. Other Acts were passed, and on one memorable occasion he concluded an address in these words: "Finally, I beseech my brethren never to allow any distinction in colour to make any political difference between them." A detailed account of the beneficial results of Bolivar's Acts was sent home in a despatch by H. G. Ward, the British Envoy, dated from Mexico, 13th March, 1826, which concludes with these words:—

"The most remarkable circumstance, however, is the total abolition of slavery in a district where such a mass of colonial fruits is produced, and the success with which the introduction of free labour has been attended. It is this which has induced me to lay these observations before His Majesty's Government."

The Spanish Colonial Minister estimates Abolitionist opinion in Cuba to be very weak, and sees a proof of this in the fact that the insurrectionists have not been able to carry out their Proclamation. But it does not seem surprising to us that they have been unable to carry it out, seeing that they have been at war for almost two years with the Pro-Slavery party, aided by all the power of the Government of Spain.

Lastly, the Minister alludes to the position of peculiar difficulty in which the Government of Spain is placed in its present relations with Cuba.

The Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society is deeply sensible that their position has now become one of extreme difficulty; but they venture to believe that this difficulty might have been entirely avoided.

When the Revolution occurred in 1868 the Anti-Slavery Society ventured most respectfully to suggest to the Provisional Government the necessity and wisdom of immediate emancipation, so wisely and successfully adopted by the Provisional Government of France in 1848.

The Act of Immediate Emancipation by France, and at a later period that of Holland, were attended with the most perfect success.

Still more recently has the soundness of this course been proved on the grandest scale. Emancipation, sudden and complete, was effected in the United States amidst all the disorders of a tremendous civil war; yet the production of cotton and sugar in the former Slave States of the Union during the year 1869-70 has been one of the largest ever known.

The people in all parts of Spain urged a similar course on their Provisional Government in 1868.

There was at that time a general impression in Cuba that slavery could no longer be maintained.

Had the Provisional Government then responded to the voice of the people of Spain, and proclaimed perfect freedom and equal rights to all parties in Cuba and Porto Rico, they might have averted those frightful atrocities and the fearful carnage which have devastated Cuba ever since their accession to power.

All past experience has shown that half measures only aggravate the evils of slavery. While they interfere with the power which extracts labour from the slave, they fail to supply the motives which create the more effective labour of freemen.

We rejoice in Señor Moret's assurance that the Spanish Government desires at length to fulfil its Treaty engagements with Great Britain; and as a large proportion of those now in slavery in Cuba are entitled under these engagements to freedom, we trust that Señor Moret will see that their fulfilment is only now possible through a measure of complete emancipation.

Without such a measure it is still not unlikely that attempts may again be made to revive the Slave Trade to Cuba.

Among the papers recently laid before Parliament is a despatch from Commissary-Judge Crawford, dated from Cuba in August 1869, the concluding words of which claim the serious attention of both the British and Spanish Governments:—

"There is a suspicion that a revival of the horrible Traffic in African negroes is not unlikely, and there is no doubt that the Ultra-Spanish party in Cuba are all slave-traders at heart, and that they will renew it with all its horrors should the present struggle for liberty, which is now going on in the Island, be successfully repressed."

It is a very painful consideration that this is the party for whose predominance in Cuba Spain is impoverishing her finances and sacrificing the blood of her sons.

Although Señor Moret seems to differ so much from the Committee, it does not appear to us that he has invalidated a single fact or opinion they have advanced.

We are glad, however, to be able to congratulate Señor Moret on the abolition of the lash. We honour him and the Cortes for this measure of humanity.

We have not seen the confidential document to which his Excellency alludes in the opening paragraph of his communication to Her Majesty's Government; but we should rejoice to be enabled to congratulate Señor Moret on the accomplishment (to use the words of the late Lord Clarendon) of "the complete abolition of slavery throughout the Spanish dominions." On such a course we believe the Divine blessing would abundantly rest.

On behalf of the Committee, we are, &c.

(Signed) JOSEPH COOPER, EDMD. STURGE, ROBT. ALSOP, } *Honorary Secretaries.*

No. 54.

Mr. Layard to Earl Granville.—(Received October 21.)

(Extract.) *Madrid, October* 17, 1870.

WITH reference to Mr. Consul Cowper's despatch of the 22nd of August last, inclosed in your Lordship's despatch of the 17th of September, I beg to state that the principal Republican papers of this capital strongly censure Señor Moret y Prendergast, the Minister of the Colonies, for not having published in Cuba and Porto Rico the Law passed by the Cortes in June last relative to slavery, and for having confined himself to communicating it privately to the Planters. The explanation which his Excellency has given to me on the subject is, that owing to the urgent representations of the local authorities and of the Planters, that time should be afforded to them before the slaves were made acquainted with the new Law, founded principally, as stated by Mr. Cowper, upon the fact that corporal punishment was abolished by the Law, and none other substituted, he had agreed to postpone its general promulgation until the 1st of of January next.

I have communicated to Señor Moret, according to your Lordship's instructions, the substance of Mr. Cowper's despatch; his Excellency expressed his entire concurrence in most of that gentleman's remarks, and was inclined to place the number of slaves employed in the cultivation of the soil at even a lower number than 20,000. His Excellency further stated to me that he had determined, if he remained a member of the Government, to submit to the Cortes, immediately after it had assembled, a law for the complete abolition of slavery in Porto Rico, and that he was encouraged to do so by the manner in which he had been met by the Planters of that Island.

A public meeting in favour of the entire and immediate abolition of slavery is announced to be held here in a few days.

No. 55.

Mr. Layard to Earl Granville.—(Received October 22.)

My Lord, *Madrid, October* 18, 1870.

WITH reference to my despatch of yesterday, I have the honour to state that Señor Moret y Prendergast has informed me to-day that, according to a telegram received from Cuba, the Law relating to the abolition of slavery has been published in that Island, and that he has reason to believe that it has been, or will shortly be, also published in Porto Rico.

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

No. 56.

Mr. Layard to Earl Granville.—(Received October 28.)

My Lord, *Madrid, October* 24, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 17th, inclosing, for my information, a copy of the reply from the Anti-Slavery Society to Señor Moret's comments on their letter respecting the measures lately proposed by the Spanish Government for the emancipation of slaves.

As your Lordship has left it to my discretion to communicate this paper to Señor Moret or the Spanish Government, I have thought it desirable not to do so. The reply of the Anti-Slavery Society would only lead to ill-feeling on the part of the Spanish Government, and to the prolongation of the controversy, without any useful result.

There is no doubt that there is truth in some of the statements of the Anti-Slavery Society; but much which they justly condemn is to be attributed to former Governments, and cannot fairly be laid to the charge of those who have been at the head of affairs since the Revolution of 1868.

Señor Moret and his colleagues are, as far as I am able to judge, sincerely desirous of dealing with the question of slavery in a liberal and comprehensive manner, and of going as far as even the Anti-Slavery Society could desire. On the other hand, they are pledged to the Spanish nation to maintain the Spanish dominion in Cuba, and they are convinced that if, by any radical measure for the immediate abolition of slavery, they were to alienate the slaveholders, their power to quell the insurrection would be at an end. I am not prepared to say that they are right, nor to contest the opinion of the Anti-Slavery Society

that the immediate and complete abolition of slavery would increase, instead of dimini the prosperity of Cuba and the influence of the Spanish Government; but in the present state of that Island, and of public feeling in Spain with regard to it, it may be difficult to persuade the Spanish Government to run what they consider a very great risk.

As the Anti-Slavery Society appear to institute a comparison between the conduct of the Spanish Government and the insurgent Chiefs of Cuba on the subject of slavery, much to the disadvantage of the former, I would call your Lordship's attention to Mr. Acting Commissary Judge Crawford's despatch of January 14, 1869, in the Slave Trade papers, Class A, laid before Parliament this year; Mr. Crawford declares the Decree of the Insurgent Cuban Government, purporting to abolish slavery, to be "a most miserable farce." Mr. Commissary Judge Dunlop,, in a despatch of 31st March, published amongst the same papers, observes that the edict abolishing Slavery, published by the Cuban Revolutionary Assembly at Camaguey, "does not proceed from any truly philanthropic conviction, but rather from motives of expediency, as a means of captivating the sympathy of foreign nations in favour of Cuban independence, and of gratifying the desire to ruin the Island rather than see it remain, as it is, under Spanish rule."

These facts will tend to show the feeling of Spaniards, and those connected with Cuba, with regard to this question.

Every Spanish politician of importance, with whom I have spoken on the subject of slavery, is convinced that the measures already taken by the Government, insufficient and unsatisfactory as they may be, must, sooner or latter, and probably earlier than is anticipated, lead to its complete abolition in the territories of Spain. Such is, I believe, the opinion of my American colleague, who by no means approves of these measures, and I confess that I concur in that opinion. The institution has been denounced by the great majority of the Spanish people and by the Cortes. Its end would probably have been now very near had it not been for the insurrection in Cuba.

The Government have promised to present further measures for the abolition of slavery to the Cortes, as soon as that Assembly meets, and it may be well to wait to see what those measures are. Your Lordship may rest assured that I lose no occasion of pressing this important subject upon those members of the Government and leading men with whom I have an opportunity of conversing.

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

No. 57.

Earl Granville to Mr. Layard.

Sir, *Foreign Office, December* 3, 1870.

WITH reference to previous correspondence I transmit to you herewith a despatch from Her Majesty's Consul at Porto Rico,* reporting the publication there of the Law passed by the Cortes on the 23rd of June last, emancipating slaves in the Spanish colonies.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 58.

Earl Granville to Mr. Layard.

Sir, *Foreign Office, December* 9, 1870.

I INCLOSE, for your information, a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Slave Trade Commissioner in Cuba,† reporting the official publication in the island of the Law of the 23rd June last, providing for the emancipation of certain classes of slaves; and I have to instruct you to call the attention of the Spanish Government to Mr. Dunlop's remarks upon the probable evasion of the prohibition of corporal punishment, and upon the contracts concluded under the supervision of Government with the "emancipados," by which they will continue to be treated practically as slaves.

I also inclose a copy of another despatch from Mr. Dunlop,‡ inclosing copies of three Decrees issued by the Captain-General, calling in 6,803 "emancipados" of expeditions captured between the years 1854 and 1860, for the purpose of granting them free papers.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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* No. 82. † No. 76. ‡ No. 75.

No. 59.

Mr. Layard to Earl Granville.—(Received December 13.)

My Lord, *Madrid, December* 5, 1870.

I HAD an opportunity yesterday of calling to Señor Moret y Prendergast's attention to Mr. Consul-General Dunlop's despatch of the 18th October last, inclosed in your Lordship's of the 29th November. Señor Moret expressed his great surprise at the statement made by Mr. Dunlop as to the rumours of the recent landing of slaves in Cuba. His Excellency declares that such an event is utterly impossible. However, he has requested me to give him a Memorandum of the circumstances mentioned in Mr. Dunlop's despatch, and has promised me that he will immediately direct the fullest enquiries to be made on the subject.

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

SPAIN. *(Consular)—Havana.*

No. 60.

Consul-General Dunlop to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received January 21.)

(Extract.) *Havana, January* 1, 1870.

DON SEGUNDO RIGAL, the President of the Casino Español, and a leading member of the Spanish party, has recently addressed a long letter to General Prim at Madrid. The document is very lengthy, and is published *in extenso* in the daily journals. The subject of negro slavery is touched on, and the paper clearly indicates the determination of this party in Cuba to do their best (should they be victorious and should no intervention in the matter occur from America) to perpetuate slavery.

As this can only be successfully accomplished by introducing, in some way or other, more negroes, the policy of those at present calling themselves the "Spanish" party in Cuba is thus now distinctly evinced and acknowledged. This fact confirms what I had the honour to state to your Lordship in my despatch of 15th July last, and also what Mr. Crawford wrote in his Report dated 30th September last, respecting the views and intentions of numerous persons of influence in Cuba regarding the future of the negro population.

No. 61.

Consul-General Dunlop to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received February 9.)

My Lord, *Havana, January* 17, 1870.

A PRINTED paper has been recently circulated here by some of the influential supporters of the Spanish Government in this Island on the subject of negro slavery, as a sort of reply to the manifesto of the Insurgents, which published the unconditional freedom of the negro.

This paper is not printed in the newspapers, but has been permitted to be distributed by the authorities in an unofficial form. I have the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship a copy of it, accompanied by a precis-extract in translation.

Referring your Lordship to these documents, which speak for themselves, I have to remark, that although the scheme propounded includes a kind of conditional freedom for the slave, the "negro importation" proposed might easily degenerate into a resuscitation of the Slave Trade unless very carefully organised and very closely watched, because the difficulties attending the "ransoming," as the Spaniards call it, but which means in as

many words "purchasing" slaves in Africa (and attending also their "enlistment," or registration and apportionment after purchase), would only be met by extensive "arrangements for sale" on the coasts of Africa, by negro Chiefs in the interior. Negroes are better labourers on sugar-estates than are Chinese or Coolies; they are stronger, and more work can be got out of them by the Planter, and therefore negro labour is preferred and is sought for.

It is my intention to include in the next Slave Trade Report from this Consulate some general remarks and statistics on the condition and prospect o the negro population as at present existing throughout this region of the tropics, but I think it right not to delay placing the contents of the inclosed paper before your Lordship.

I do not give entire credit to the loudly professed philanthropic intentions of the Spanish Planters towards the negro, by Christianizing, educating, and civilizing him. They are thinking of themselves and their sugar first, and of the negro afterwards, but it is only fair to them to notice that in one sense this paper contains, in some degree, and perhaps unwillingly on the part of its authors, the germs of what eventually may fructuate as the proper mode of dealing with the African negro, viz., to improve him, as far as his limited intelligence allows, and at the same time to make proper and humane use of him, under strict laws, and out of his native district of Africa, where no improvement can ever take place on a large scale at any distance from the coasts.

The slavery party on this side of the Atlantic have hitherto only thought of "using" the negro, whilst their opponents have only professed to think of "improving" him, as they call it. This Spanish proposal indicates the notion of an endeavour to combine the two desiderata, and something beneficial may in after years possibly come of the matter being thoroughly ventilated.

Inclosure in No. 61.

Proposition respecting Negro Slavery in Cuba.

(Translation.)
(Extract.)

THE question of slavery is one of life or death for the Island of Cuba;—of life, if well solved, of death, if the reverse.

It will be well solved if the project of Don José Esparrago y Cuellar be put in practice, because it will destroy slavery immediately in this island, progressively and slowly throughout Africa; because it will consolidate and protect among us property, agriculture, industry, and commerce, and will convey to African savages Christianity, civilisation, our language, our laws and customs, notwithstanding the obstinate resistance which this high object may meet with from egotism and individual interest, hesitation and routine, prejudice and want of confidence.

All of us, therefore, who sign this document agree with the doctrines which M. Esparrago has published in his two pamphlets, entitled "Project for an Agricultural Industrial College," and "Solution of the Problem of Slavery in Cuba," because in them our great social question is very well solved, to the advantage of Spain, Cuba, the slave, the master, and the whole world; and we propose to the Constituent Cortes of the Nation that they should decree the immediate and simultaneous emancipation, without indemnity of any kind, of all the slaves in Cuba and Porto Rico (under the express condition, however, that the emancipated slaves shall remain under the patronage of those who were their masters, in the character of colonists, being educated for the space of ten years), that they shall permit us to bring from Africa as many negro savages as may be able to receive education, and as may be necessary to satisfy the requirements of agriculture, industry, and commerce; and that, lastly, they shall authorize us to create a bank, all under the bases, rules, and conditions set forth in the four following chapters:—

Abolition of Slavery.

Article 1. The Government of the nation will decree the immediate and simultaneous abolition of slavery in the Islands of Cuba and Porto Rico.

Art. 2. The nation will not in any way indemnify the proprietors of the slaves, because their masters give them their liberty gratuitously, freely, and spontaneously.

Art. 3. The slaves of from 10 to 60 years of age will remain for the space of ten years as colonists, being educated under the patronage of their former masters.

Art. 4. These last bind themselves to give them the same that they gave them when they were slaves; and in addition, 1 dollar a-month to those of from 10 to 20 years of age;

2 dollars to those of from 21 to 40 years of age; and 3 dollars to those of 41 to 60 years of age. They will also instruct and educate them during the term of this "patronage," in such a manner that at the termination of the specified time they may be able to live and maintain themselves by their own exertions, being useful to themselves, to their families, and to society.

Art. 5. The freed slaves under education who do not conform to what is expressed in Articles 3 and 4 shall be expelled from the island.

Art. 6. Children under 10 shall remain under the patronage of their former masters until of age.

Art. 7. Those between 61 and 70 years of age may choose between remaining in the condition of apprentices, gaining 1½ dollar a-month, or becoming completely free, and entering the category of coloured freedmen.

Art. 8. Those 71 years old may remain in the houses of their former masters, because these bind themselves thenceforth to take care of them, feed and clothe them, as long as they live, as they used to do while they were slaves; but if their children, grandchildren, &c., at the conclusion of the ten years of education, wish to take them away, they may do so.

Art. 9. With the aim of exalting labour in the eyes of the negro, his instructors will endeavour to keep in their plantations Chinese and Europeans, who will join them in agricultural labours. In this way alone those who were slaves will be convinced that slavery and labour are not the same thing.

On the Introduction of Negro Apprentices into the Island.

Article 1. At the same time that the emancipation of slaves is decreed the formation of a "Junta," composed of the 200 principal landholders and merchants who sign this document, will be decreed. This Junta will be called "The Spanish Society for Christianizing the free African negroes in the Island of Cuba;" and for twenty-five years will have the exclusive right of bringing them from Africa, of handing them over to their instructors, of taking them back to their country after the ten years of apprenticeship and instruction are concluded; and, finally, will have the right, in conjunction with some Government delegates, to watch over the instruction and the treatment which they receive.

Art. 2. Free competition in such a delicate matter might cause serious evils. The savage negroes will be brought to Cuba with the charitable and elevated object of educating them, and converting them into really rational beings. And as, by the proceeds of physical education, the intellectual, moral, and religious education which is given them, the food which they consume, the clothes which they wear, &c., can be amply repaid, this corporal work will fully satisfy all the requirements of agriculture, industry, and commerce, being at once the moral as well as the material and necessary consequence in the West Indies of a truth, which, applied on a large scale, might contribute immensely to the civilization of the whole world.

Art. 3. The introduction of the Africans into the island will be made through the Port of Havana alone; and in the same way their departure for Africa.

Art. 4. The "Spanish Society" will construct, buy, or hire, good buildings, which may serve as suitable dwellings for the Africans who arrive in good health, and as hospitals for those who arrive sick; particular care being taken that all these buildings be in the most healthy condition.

Art. 5. Suitable steamers and sailing-ships will be bought to convey the free apprentices, all these vessels being subjected to what is prescribed in Articles 4, 11, and 12 of the Rules for the Chinese in 1860, and to whatever else is prescribed in the Rules for the African apprentices.

Art. 6. The Spanish nation, on its side, will establish, on the most convenient points of the African coast, numerous strong colonies, which will be called "Spanish colonies, for the purpose of Christianizing and ransoming the African savages."

Art. 7. These colonies will serve to civilize Africans in Africa itself, to extend the Spanish dominion in that part of the world, to receive those negroes who shall be sent back from Cuba, already educated and Christianized, and also to shelter the wild negroes persecuted by their tyrannical Chiefs.

The remaining Articles (nineteen in number) refer to the appointment of Commissioners at the places where the Slave Trade was chiefly carried on, as on the Coasts of Angola, Congo, Bengala, Loanda, for the purpose of ransoming and enlisting as many negroes as possible, of embarking them on the Society's ships, and of conveying them to Cuba. If African women with children present themselves, they may be ransomed.

Should intelligent negroes present themselves, contracts will be made with them.

The employés named for the ransoming of the African savages will have the same privileges and attributes as those named by the Government for the same purpose.

These last will lend their services to the Society without remuneration of any kind. The Society will give to the Bank 68 escudos for each negro apprentice who is disembarked, but will pay nothing for those who have made themselves completely unfit for work during the passage, or for children under ten years of age.

As regards negroes sick or unfit for work, they will be relieved by the Society all the time that their illness lasts; and, if pronounced incurable, the Society and the Government engage to take every care of them during their lifetime, and under no pretext to abandon them.

In the buildings destined for their use, the apprentices will be divided into bands of five, ten, and fifteen persons, and every endeavour will be made not to separate children from their mothers. As the women have to lose much time from their work in attending to their children, they will only receive 2 dollars a month. The apprentices (with the exception of children under twelve) will receive 2½ dollars a month, not as wages, nor as a reward, but as a means of stimulating them to further exertions.

The bands will be handed over to their instructors in the same order in which they were asked for. Any exception to the general rule will only take place in the case of a considerable reduction in the population of a plantation by an epidemic, or any other well-proved cause. The instructors will receive the bands of negroes for ten years, and will pay to the Society for each apprentice whom they receive from 8 to 10 ounces (26*l.* to 32*l.*), as it is calculated that the expenses of their enlistment, ransoming, food, passage, clothes, &c., will amount to 6 or 8 ounces each. And each instructor, on taking charge of a band of African apprentices, will bind himself to give in to the Bank, on the last day of each month, three-fourths of the monthly allowance of each woman, and four-fifths of the monthly allowance of each man, handing over the remainder to those concerned.

As the Africans, from the moment they leave their country until they return to it, have no need to spend anything, they will have more than enough with half-a-dollar a month for small expenses.

The Bank will open a running account with each of the apprentices, and their small capital will begin to yield some profit at the conclusion of the first six months of instruction.

At the end of the second half-year the return will be capitalized, and so on until the ten years are concluded.

At the end of this time each negro will have a capital of from 200 dollars to 300 dollars, and on deducting from it the just price of his return to Africa, he will still have enough to enable him to establish himself in one of the afore-mentioned colonies.

In case of any of the present slaves refusing to work when they enter the category of free apprentices—it being lawful for them to be expelled from the Island, as there are laws for expelling vagrants (Chinese, who, after concluding a contract, refuse to work in field labour or domestic service) and emancipated slaves who do not conform with the rules laid down for them—the Society's ships, by virtue of a previous contract with Government, will be ready to convey them to Africa.

In consideration of the honourable enterprise which the "Spanish Society" is ready to undertake, the Government is expected to render its efficacious and continuous assistance, by exempting its ships from tonnage duties, despatching its business with promptitude and justice, paying the half of the expenses which the Africans may incur by being ill or unfit for work, &c. The priests will bestow Church privileges and burial, as they do to the Asiatics; the railways and coasting-vessels will convey the Africans from Havana to other parts of the Island at a reduced rate, and so forth.

The subscribers desire that Señor Esparrago may be named President of the Society when constituted, and of the Commission employed in compiling the rules for the Bank and for the African apprentices; and conclude by observing that the moral and religious education of the Africans will be the same, with very slight alterations, as that indicated in the 4th Statute of the Synod of Havana (held in June, 1680, and approved by the Royal Schedules of 1682 and 1789), and in the Government Proclamation of 14th November, 1842.

The Rules for African apprentices which are about to be published will treat of everything concerning their apprenticeship to trades and agricultural labour, their hours of instruction, and the most suitable means for their speedily acquiring Spanish; arrangements will be made for their enlistment, ransoms, and contracts while in Africa, and the passports which they will be obliged to carry; the food and clothes which must be given them, and which must be the same as those indicated in the Proclamation of 1842; and lastly, whatever relates to marriages, the authority of the instructors, amusements, dwelling-places, &c., &c., will be decided upon, keeping in view the rules for

European and Asiatic colonists, and the Reports presented at Madrid in 1867 by the Cuban Commissioners on the education which ought to be given to the slaves.

On the Bank destined to contribute by its Funds to the Civilization of the Africans.

Article 1. The "Spanish Society" will be authorized to establish a bank, with the exclusive object of collecting funds for the purpose of Christianizing and civilizing the African savages.

II. The capital of the Bank will be formed :—

1. By 2 ounces (6*s.* 8*d.*), which the Society will pay for each negro introduced into the Island.

2. By three-fourths of the monthly quota which is assigned to each woman, and by four-fifths of the quota assigned to each man.

3. By the proceeds which the transfer of the apprentices from one instructor to another will yield.

4. By the fines which the members of the Society, the Government delegates, the religious and elementary instructors, and the masters of trades and agricultural labours, will pay if they fail in their duty.

5. By the funds left in the Bank by the apprentices who die unmarried.

6. By the profits which certain safe investments of short dates will yield; and

7. By the donations, legacies, &c., from individuals anxious to assist the just and holy cause of Christianizing of the African savages.

III. The rules to which the operations of the Bank will be subjected shall be compiled by a Commission composed of land-owners and merchants belonging to the "Spanish Society," which, when approved by the Government, will begin to act from the moment of the arrival of the first expedition of negro apprentices.

The signatures follow.

These bases are approved by the Supreme Authorities for circulation among the proprietors and merchants of the Island, but are not to be published in the local papers.

No. 62.

Consul-General Dunlop to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received March* 24.

My Lord, *Havana, February* 28, 1870.

AN official telegram from Madrid, published here on the 17th instant, states that in the Cortes, on the 15th instant, the Government were questioned regarding a proposed revision of the Slave Trade Treaty with England, on the ground that its action in respect of right of search is injurious to the "rich commerce" (*sic*) which Spain carries on with the African Coast, and that Señor Silvéla replied that the Madrid Government had the intention of inviting Her Majesty's Government to revise the said Treaty, and that "Spain was now firmly determined not to permit any longer the introduction or importation of negroes into her colonies."

This rather clearly implies and acknowledges that, in some way or other, the Spanish Government have, at no distant date, permitted such importation ; and their new views of the matter, and determination respecting it, cannot now be found fault with.

But I venture, on this head, to remark to your Lordship that Spain has never had any commerce of value or importance with the African Coast except the "Slave Trade," and that, during the last four years, scarcely a single cargo of Spanish exports left either Barcelona or Cadiz "for the African Coast," and that no importation of African produce (except in trifling quantities) takes place in Spain.

Were the right of search done away with, a renewal of the Slave Trade by the Spaniards would be rendered easy; and there can be no doubt of the fact that many influential public men in Spain, and here also, would encourage the local Governments in Cuba and Puerto Rico to tolerate an importation of African negroes were facilities for such a traffic created.

I have the honour on this subject to solicit most respectfully your Lordship's reference to my Consular despatch (with its inclosure), dated 8th January ultimo, and also to my last Slave Trade despatch, dated 17th January, which contained the *précis* of a printed

document privately circulated here affording reasons for the views I have presumed to lay before your Lordship.

If the present insurrection of the Spanish Creoles ("Cubans") be subdued, the so-called "Spanish (Volunteer) party" in the island will be even more dictatorial and more powerful than now, and they would certainly object to obey any legislation at Madrid regarding negroes in Cuba which might contravene their personal interests.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. GRAHAM DUNLOP.

No. 63.

Mr. Otway to Consul-General Dunlop.

(Extract.) *Foreign Office, April* 5, 1870.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 20th of July of last year, I am directed by the Earl of Clarendon to transmit to you herewith a copy of a Report addressed to the Lords of the Admiralty by Commodore Dowell, from which it appears that the rumour of a landing of slaves in Cuba from the West Coast of Africa, alluded to in your despatch above mentioned, is without foundation.

I am, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR OTWAY.

No. 64.

Consul-General Dunlop to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received May* 30.)

(Extract.) *Havana, May* 14, 1870.

I THINK it right to solicit your Lordship's attention for a moment to a very good paper, which appeared in a leading New York journal, in March last, on the subject of the Negro "emancipados" (so called) in Cuba, which article I have the honour herewith to inclose to your Lordship. This document somewhat bears on the contents of Mr. Layard's two despatches to your Lordship of 7th February and 4th March last, copies of which despatches your Lordship was kind enough to forward to me here.

It does not appear to me that the Government at Madrid sufficiently appreciate the wishes and intentions, as regards negro slavery, of the strong party in Cuba, who now very much dictate here to the Captain-General in all matters which they consider important, as affecting their personal interests. This party, of course, becomes daily more powerful, in proportion to any diminution of the area and strength of the "Cuban-Creole Insurrection."

Inclosure in No. 64.

Extract from the "New York Herald" of March 1870.

To the Editor of the "Herald," *Havana, March* 25, 1870.

AN Associated Press telegram which appears in your issue of the 25th uitimo, and which, originally placed in the "Eagle's" mails, has just arrived here, is calculated to create a wrong impression, and gives colour of truth to the charge of General Webb that the press agent in this city is engaged in a systematic attempt to deceive the American people. The telegram reads as follows:—"The Captain-General has issued an important decree; it grants liberty to over 2,000 negroes, prisoners of war, who had been hired out to labour by the Government, with the understanding that they were to become slaves after a certain date." This statement argues great ignorance on the part of the author or a wilful perversion of facts. The Decree of the Captain-General, as it appeared in the "Gazette," is as follows:—

Superior Political Government of the Province of Cuba.

"Decree.—By virtue of the faculties with which I am invested, and in keeping with the Royal Decree of the 27th October, 1865, I think fit to extend my Decree ('resolucion') of the 21st of September ultimo, declaring exempt from dependency on the Government the Expeditions entitled Puerto Escondido, Cabanas 10, Cabanas 85, Cabanas San Diego de Nunez, and Trinidad.

"In consequence thereof the employers ("los padrones") who have in their service emancipated ("emancipados") of the referred-to Expeditions will present them in the Secretary's office of this superior Government within the period of one month, in order that, after the usual formalities, they may receive their letters of exemption.

"At the same time the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors will publish this direction in the periodicals of their respective jurisdictions, so that it may come to the notice of the holders of these emancipados, and they cannot allege ignorance of it."

(Signed) CABALLERO DE RODAS.

Havana, February 24, 1870.

As can be seen from the tenor of the Decree itself it is no new thing. It is "in keeping with the Royal Decree of the 27th of October, 1865," made by Queen Isabella, and it is to be carried out with the "usual formalities." In order to a proper appreciation of it and to show that it is in no sense "an imitatory step toward the emancipation of the coloured people," a few facts are cited in reference to these "emancipados." The character is a peculiarity of the law of this island. The term is applied to those Africans taken from captured slave ships, and which, in contravention of the spirit of those treaties for the suppression of the Slave Trade entered into by Spain with the civilized nations of Christendom, have been practically enslaved here. Owing to the great want of labour on the island these unfortunates, on their arrival here, have been hired out by the Government to the planters for four dollars per month. This once done the negro was in a much worse condition than the slave himself; for while the latter was privileged to buy himself at any time, when he was able, to change his master for such price as might be fixed upon by arbiters appointed by law, with other guarantees for his protection, the poor emancipado became practically a slave for life, and the formalities thrown around his release were such as to render an attempt at it hopeless; and only when the "First Authority" saw fit to use his faculties in "keeping with the decree of the 27th October, 1865," was he restored to that liberty which was his inherent right, and of which he had been most unjustly deprived by the representatives of Christian Spain. It will be seen that in no sense was he a "prisoner of war," and certainly there was no understanding that he "was to become a slave after a certain date." The case of a certain emancipado is well known here and often referred to. He drew 12,500 dollars in the lottery. His employer, a respectable and humane man, immediately set about obtaining his release or discharge, but such were the difficulties which he encountered at the start that he was obliged to give over the effort, though the money drawn from the lottery was at his disposition in accomplishing the object and, for all that is known, the man is still serving, unless, happily, he belongs to one of the Expeditions mentioned in the above decree.

As with every affair of this island, fraud and corruption from the start entered into the hiring of emancipados. Under the card they were to be let to those planters who had not sufficient capital to buy slaves; but this soon became a dead letter, and the capture of an Expedition was regarded as a godsend to the officials having in charge the disposal of the negroes. It is known that one lieutenant-governor in the central part of the island made 60,000 dollars out of one Expedition by receiving from the planters a *douceur* of from 20 to 30 ounces for each negro. The buying and selling of these was as openly carried on and as well understood by the people and Government as that of the slaves. A remarkable fact may also be mentioned here. Upon estates where emancipados were employed no slaves were ever reported dead. If perchance one died he was given the name of an emancipedo, who immediately assumed his; a consideration was given to the cellado, or such official as had cognizance of the death, and the poor victim became a slave in reality, only he had been compelled to assume a personality not his own. In this way a large proportion of the emancipados have been reported dead who are living and slaves.

Herein I have but glanced at this system of emancipados. It would require columns of your valuable paper to give a full knowledge of its frauds and enormities. My only object has been to show that the Captain-General has freed no slaves, has taken no initiatory steps toward emancipation, though doubtless for moral effect in the United States he would be happy to create such an impression through his agents here and elsewhere.

In reference to the number released by the decree, it is grossly exaggerated. If my memory serves me the Expeditions referred to are all old, and it is very probable that comparatively few of the negroes brought by them remain alive on the reports. After consulting with those familiar with such matters I am satisfied 200 would be a high estimate. As to the measure being warmly applauded by the liberal and progressive party, there remains the important fact that there is no such party now, either in fact or name. The truth is, no one thought the decree of the slightest importance, save to the few unfortunates affected by it. It indicates nothing.

No. 65.

Consul-General Dunlop to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received June* 20.)

My Lord, *Havana, May* 24, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship, the copy—translation of a Decree, which was recently issued, at Puerto Principe, in the centre of this island, by General Caballero de Rodas, who is still absent from Havana.

The edict regards, among other negroes, the slaves belonging to the "Cuban insurgents." It is presumed by some to be the result of an unexpected order from Madrid, which the Captain-General considered it necessary to comply with, in whole, or part, so as not to be behind the "insurgents," who have already themselves publicly declared, last year, all their slaves "free."

It is certainly a step in the right direction; and if the provisions of the Decree are carried out by the local employés, it will probably give freedom to many thousand slaves.

But the reactionary party in Havana regard it with no favour. It has been issued without consulting them, and without their consent; and though it will not have the immediate effect of injuring their personal property, and may render General Caballero's name popular with the anti-slavery in Spain, at no expense to his friends here, or there, yet the leaders of the "volunteers" suspect it as the "thin edge of the wedge," as regards Cuban negro slavery; and thus they do not like it. One effect of the Decree may be to induce negroes (now under arms with the "insurgents") to desert and join the Spanish troops in the towns, where their hardships would be lessened.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. GRAHAM DUNLOP.

Inclosure in No. 65.

Extract from the Cuba "Gazette" of May 19, 1870.

(Translation.)

IN accordance with the Report of the Council of Administration, and in the exercise of the extrordinary powers with which I am invested, I decree as follows:—

Decree.

Only Article.—All slaves belonging to persons who are in the insurrection, or are abroad working in its favour; and which slaves may have taken up arms to accompany our columns, as well as those who may have served as guides, or have rendered any other important warlike service, which may be included or may be perfectly analogous with what is defined in Law III, section 22, paragraph 4, case 4, shall be delared free.

In order to carry out the preceding Decree the Commanders of columns, or the Lieutenant-Governors, will institute the proceedings requisite to prove the services rendered by each slave, and to whom said slave belongs, and will transmit these proceedings to this superior Government for final decision.

Puerto Principe, May 14, 1870.

(Signed) CABALLERO DE RODAS.

No. 66.

Consul-General Dunlop to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received June* 28.)

My Lord, *Havana, June* 11, 1870.

I HAVE the honour of transmitting herewith to your Lordship a translation of an Edict which appeared in an obscure corner of the "Havana Gazette" of the 24th ultimo, purporting to be an order of the Chief Alcalde of Jarnco for the publication of a sentence of the Supreme Court, or Audiencia Pretorial, at this place, declaring "emancipados" some 600 Bozal negroes who were landed at the beach of Jibacoa, and whose whereabouts the said Alcalde was commissioned to ascertain.

Neither the date of the landing of these negroes nor any particulars are given, but the fact is plainly established that 600 Africans were introduced at Jibacoa, probably some time in 1868, and that no trace of them can be found.

The Alcalde's order is issued the 25th January, 1869; the Edict bears date the 16th

April following, and the publication of it appears on the 24th May, 1870. This needs no comment. Had there been any vigilance at all, or any desire to prevent the landing, or to seize these negroes, it seems too improbable to suppose that such a large Expedition should have so easily escaped detection; but it only serves to show with what facility such matters are "arranged" here, and how the slave-traders can baffle the inquiries of the higher authorities. It also shows what dependence is to be placed on the assurances of these authorities, and gives strong reason for supposing that the reports of the importation of Africans which have reached us occasionally during the last four years have been founded on fact.

I have not been able to ascertain when the importation now alluded to took place, nor is it of much consequence at this lapse of time; but the public acknowledgment that 600 Africans were landed with impunity at Jibacoa is worth noticing, as it completely nullifies the denials so constantly given to our denouncements, and virtually brings into question all former protestations of the Spanish Government and its employés in this island.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. GRAHAM DUNLOP.

Inclosure in No. 66.

Edict published in the Havana "Gazette" of May 24, 1870, *relative to the Landing of a Cargo of* 600 *Slaves.*

THE Chief Alcalde of this city and its judicial district, by order of the 25th January last, issued in the incident of the proceedings relating to a landing of Bozal negroes at the beach of Jibacoa, instituted for the purpose of carrying out the sentence which was pronounced in the same, and of which he is charged by a Commission from the First Hall of Justice of the Audiencia Pretorial (Supreme Court), has been pleased to order that in thirty numbers of the Havana "Official Gazette" may be made publicly known the quality (condition) of emancipados which the said sentence concedes to the 600 negroes whose whereabouts is being inquired into, in order that it (the emancipation) may become known to them and that they may present themselves to claim their liberty by any other means, and in order that any person or persons who may retain in their possession negroes belonging to that cargo shall present them to this Commission, being warned that if they persist in retaining them they will be tried for the crime of man-stealing.

Jarnco, April 16, 1869.

(Signed) JOSE R. CADORNA.

No. 67.

Mr. Otway to Consul-General Dunlop.

Foreign Office, June 30, 1870.

Sir,

I AM directed by the Secretary of State to transmit to you for your information copies of despatches and their inclosures from Her Majesty's minister at Madrid upon the subject of the Project of Law for the abolition of Slavery in the Spanish dominions recently presented to the Cortes by the Spanish Government.

The Secretary of State will be glad to receive any observations that you may wish to make upon this measure and the proposed amendments.

I am, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR OTWAY.

No. 68.

Consul-General Dunlop to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received July 10.)

Havana, June 14, 1870.

(Extract.)

I HAVE the honour of inclosing herewith to your Lordship a copy and translation of an Edict, dated at Puerto Principe the 1st instant, by which the Captain-General, Caballero de Rodas, calls upon the holders of the negroes captured between the years 1849 to 1853, at Santa Clara, Càrdenas, and Granadilla, to present them at the Government Secretary's Office here, in order that they may receive their free papers.

The number of captured negroes, or "emancipados," which is published as belonging to these Expeditions is 600, and is probably that of the present survivors, according to the list kept by the Government; but it is to be feared that the actual number of these unfortunate beings who will be really forthcoming will fall very far short of what it should be considering the injustice to which the so-called "emancipados" have been subjected.

On the 21st of August last the Captain-General decreed the freedom of all the negroes belonging to slave-trading adventurers, captured between the years 1824, to 1842. By his present Decree, we may suppose that all those remaining up to 1853 are included; and also that his Excellency will gradually continue his work of justice, by granting from time to time free papers to this ill-used class (in such manner as not to create alarm), until every remaining "emancipado" is really and truly emancipated.

To have apprenticed these negroes under proper inspection for four or five years after their capture was fair enough; but to have kept them in the worst kind of slavery for such a term of years, as is shown by the Government edicts, (not to mention the iniquities which have been practised upon the "emancipados," by substituting the living for the dead, &c.,) is a dark page in the history of this Island.

The moment is opportune for the freedom of all "emancipados" in Cuba; but such a measure of justice can scarcely be hoped for, in face of the opposition of the reactionary party in the Island, and in Spain.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. GRAHAM DUNLOP.

Inclosure in No. 68.

General Caballero de Rodas' Edict granting Freedom to 600 *Emancipados.*

(Translation.)

IN the exercise of the powers with which I am invested, and in consonance with the provisions of the Royal Decree of 27th October, 1865, I have thought fit to declare exempt from dependence on the Government the Expeditions of Negroes captured in the years 1849 to 1853, which are specified as follows:—

Name of Expedition.	Year.	Number of Negroes.
Santa Clara..	1849	172
Cardenas	1851	402
Granadilla	1852	26
Total ..	..	600

Therefore, the masters who hold emancipados of these Expeditions will present them at the Secretary's Office of this Superior Government within a month from the date of the publication of this Decree, in order that, after the usual formalities, the negroes may personally receive their free papers, it being understood that their present masters may afterwards, if they choose, contract them as free labourers.

The Governors and Lieutenant-Governors will publish this Decree in the newspapers of their respective districts, and will instruct the rural officers of police to circulate it by notices, so that the holders of emancipados may not allege ignorance of it.

Puerto Principe, June 1, 1870.

(Signed) CABALLERO DE RODAS.

No. 69.

Consul-General Dunlop to Earl Granville.—(Received July 28.)

My Lord,

Havana, June 28, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of 31st ultimo, inclosing a copy of Mr. Layard's despatch of 22nd May, reporting statements recently made in the Cortes, by the Colonial Minister at Madrid, respecting Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Spanish Antilles.

It is truly satisfactory that a Spanish Minister declares in the Cortes that it is a matter of congratulation that no disembarkation of negro slaves has taken place in Cuba for more

than two years; but, waiving any question as to the precise correctness of this statement, it would certainly have been more satisfactory had such a declaration been "possible" many years ago; for, had the Treaty of 1835 for the suppression of the Slave Trade been faithfully observed, slavery would by this time have practically ceased in Cuba, or, at least, its immediate and complete abolition now would be attended with as little inconvenience or risk as in Puerto Rico.

Because we must not forget that, since 1835, the slave population of Cuba has been (as nearly as we can calculate), almost twice renewed by the utterly illegal means, during these thirty-five years, of fresh importations from Africa. I mean that (with few exceptions of aged negroes), almost every slave working to-day in Cuba has either been brought from Africa in a "slaver" since the passing of the Treaty, or is the child of those so brought.

As regards the measures relating to slavery which had been prepared by Señor Becerro at Madrid, the telegraph has apprised us of the sanction of the Cortes to a Decree granting freedom to the "Emancipados," to all negro slave children born since 18th September, 1868, and to all negroes over 60 years of age, &c.

This Decree will not affect the main body of the able-bodied working slaves in Cuba—viz., those between the ages of 15 and 55, who will (under its provisions) remain as they are.

Notwithstanding this, the "Reactionary" party here are understood to regard with little favour the new measure, as it leaves the question of the time and date for "total abolition" open; and at any moment a Ministry at Madrid may again unsettle the matter by insisting on immediate or speedy abolition. Thus the leaders of the "Casino Español" find themselves in a difficulty; and as they ostensibly profess a willingness to submit to a distant and settled date for "abolition," they find fault with the "possibility" (or rather probability) of their being obliged to see the question reopened at Madrid, against their will, the moment it suits any Progressist Minister to do so.

As the "Reactionary" party in Cuba have at present 50,000 or 60,000 well-armed men (the "Volunteers"), at their back, they think their views should have been more consulted and respected.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. GRAHAM DUNLOP.

No. 70.

Mr. Otway to Consul-General Dunlop.

Sir, *Foreign Office, August* 5, 1870.

I AM directed by Earl Granville to transmit to you herewith a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Minister at Madrid,* reporting a conversation which he had held with the Spanish Minister for the Colonies, on the subject of a telegram recently received by the Spanish Government from the Captain-General of Cuba. You will perceive that Señor Moret y Prendergast looks forward with confidence to the speedy and complete cessation of slavery throughout the Spanish dominions.

I am, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR OTWAY.

No. 71.

Earl Granville to Consul-General Dunlop.

Sir, *Foreign Office, August* 5, 1870.

I REFERRED to Her Majesty's Minister at Madrid your despatch of the 11th of June last, inclosing a Decree, published in the "Havana Gazette," liberating from slavery 600 Royal negroes, who, you state, were probably landed in Cuba some time in 1868. You will gather, from the inclosed copy of a note addressed to Her Majesty's Minister on the subject by Señor Sagasta, that the landing referred to by you took place, not in 1868, but in December, 1860, and that the inferences drawn by you from the issue of the Decree above referred to are consequently founded in error.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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* No. 45.

No. 72.

Consul-General Dunlop to Earl Granville.—(*Received September* 19.)

My Lord, *Havana, August* 29, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship translation of an Edict, dated the 19th instant, issued by the Captain-General of Cuba, decreeing the manumission of certain slaves, captured in the years 1853-54.

The numbers of the "Emancipados" designated in the Edict, amount on paper, to 1,004; but it is not likely that the half of them are still alive; and it is questionable if more than a fourth of 1,004 negro "emancipados" will really benefit by the present Decree.

It is, however, always satisfactory to report that anything is being done here, however trifling, in favour of slave emancipation.—in face of the attitude now taken by the "Spanish" party in Cuba regarding the negroes in the island.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. GRAHAM DUNLOP.

Inclosure in No. 72.

Edict published in the "Havana Gazette" of August 19, 1870.

(Translation.)

IN the exercise of the power confided to me, and in consonance with the Royal Order of 27th October, 1865, I have thought fit to declare exempted from dependence upon Government the Expeditions of negroes captured in the years 1853 and 1854, which are specified as follows:—

Names of the Expeditions.	Years.	Number of Negroes.
Remedios	1853	52
Sagua la Grande	..	16
Bermeja	..	159
Cardenas and Matanzas	..	275
Rosario Inlet	1854	15
Giünes	..	161
Ortigosa	..	216
All those employed building the Aqueduct of Vento		110
Total	..	1004

Therefore, the masters who hold "Emancipados" of said Expeditions are to deliver them up to the Secretary of this Superior Government within a month from the date of the publication of this Decree, in order that these negroes may, after the usual formalities, receive their free papers.

Governors and Lieutenant-Governors will publish this order in the newspapers of their respective jurisdictions, and will instruct the police to circulate it by public notice, so that the holders of "emancipados" may not allege ignorance, it being understood that if these holders do not present the negroes within the prescribed time they will incur a fine of 100 dollars to 500 dollars, according to the 24th Article of the Regulations on this subject.

(Signed) CABALLERO DE RODAS.

Havana, August 18, 1870.

No. 73.

Earl Granville to Consul-General Dunlop.

Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 28, 1870.

I HAVE to request that you will keep me fully informed of the views of the planters and the proceedings of the authorities in Cuba with respect to the measures recently passed in the Spanish Cortes for the emancipation of the slaves in the Spanish Colonies.

I learn from Mr. Cowper that in Porto Rico the provisions of the Law of the 23rd of

June have been evaded, and that the Law itself has not been published, and I should be glad to know what course has been pursued by the authorities in Cuba to give effect to the recent measures of the Government, and whether the prohibition of the corporal punishment and the other measures for the protection of the slaves have been made public.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 74.

Consul-General Dunlop to Earl Granville.—(Received November 29.)

My Lord, *Havana, October* 18, 1870.

I WAS casually informed some weeks ago that it was believed that a cargo of negro slaves had recently been landed in this island from the Keys, along the south side, but attaching little importance to the rumour I did not give it credit. The authorities here of course knew nothing of it, and scouted the idea of such an occurrence.

On alluding to the report in conversation with a German merchant long resident on the South Coast of Cuba, he said—

"Like you, I can scarcely think this report true; but it is, under present circumstances, by no means impossible that it be so. The 'Casinos Español' and slavery party are now dominant throughout the island; they do exactly what they like everywhere. They are professedly opposed to the immediate abolition of slavery: they hope to retain slave labour for at least a term of some years; they greatly want able-bodied slaves in the meantime, and they might not hesitate at taking means of obtaining them. Slaves could easily be landed under pretence of their being negro insurgents, or belong to insurgents, and could be marched without difficulty into the interior; and, by the aid of a few bribes, be distributed, either under the name of 'insurrectos' awaiting trial, or 'emancipados,' going for registration. Once in the list of the latter, their names are, as you know, often changed for those of dead negroes, and they then remain slaves."

The report seemed to me, notwithstanding this, so vague and little credible, that I did not think it worth while laying before your Lordship. I knew also that the Spanish naval forces here, who are rather independent of the "slavery party," would have denounced any landing of negroes which came under their notice.

On the 18th instant, however, I received a private note from our Vice-Consul at Matanzas, mentioning the report, which had reached him alsot hrough other channels, and had obtained credit with some persons in his district.

I therefore merely mention the existence of the rumour to your Lordship without giving any further opinion as to its authenticity or otherwise. I shall write to Cienfuegos by first opportunity, making inquiries concerning it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) A. GRAHAM DUNLOP.

No. 75.

Consul-General Dunlop to Earl Granville.—(Received December 7.)

My Lord, *Havana, November* 8, 1870.

I HAVE the honour of transmitting herewith to your Lordship the copies and translations of three Decrees recently published here, calling in 6,803 emancipados of Expeditions captured in the years 1854 to 1860, for the purpose of granting them free p pers.

This, with the number of those previously published, makes a total of 8,407, but how many of these emancipados are now alive, or are forthcoming, I have no means whatever of ascertaining.

According to the records of this Commission Court there are still 7,933 emancipados to be accounted for, who are acknowledged by the Spanish authorities to have been captured in Cuba from the year 1861 to 1866, but I suppose that these negroes, being declared free, will receive their free papers by virtue of the law of the 23rd June, which was promulgated here on the 28th September last, although it appears strange that after the publication of that law here, the Captain-General should have issued the Decrees of the 7th and 27th ultimo, granting, as it were, the liberty of only a portion of the emancipados.

The wording of these Decrees cannot fail to attract attention, as it refers to contracts which may be made under Government supervision for the future services of these ill-used and unfortunate wretches; and I shall not fail to report to your Lordship the nature of

these contracts as soon as I able to do so. I fear, however, that they will only prove a subterfuge for the continuance in slavery of the friendless and abused class most equivocally styled "emancipados," who by right should have all been free long ago.

I have, &c.

(Signed) A. GRAHAM DUNLOP.

Inclosure 1 in No. 75.

Decree of September 13, 1870.

IN the exercise of the powers confided to me, and in conformity with the Royal Decree of the 27th October, 1865, I have thought fit to declare exempted from dependance upon Government the Expeditions of negroes captured in the year 1854, which are specified as follows :—

Names of the Expeditions.	Years.	Number of Negroes.
Brujas Luisa	1854	589
Mariel Quiebra Hacka	..	70
Isla de Pinos.	..	242
Manimani	..	103
Matanzas	..	113
Pinar del Rio.	..	190
Cayo Levisa..	..	261
Sancti Spiritus y Trinidad	..	743
Total	..	2311

Therefore, patrons who hold emancipados of said Expeditions are to deliver them up to the Secretary of this Superior Government within a month from the date of the publication of this Decree, in order that (these negroes) they may, after the usual formalities, receive, *in propriâ persona*, their free papers.

Governors and Lieutenant-Governors will publish this order in the newspapers of their respective jurisdictions, and will instruct the police to circulate it by public notice, so that the holders of emancipados may not allege ignorance, it being well understood that if these holders do not present the negroes within the prescribed time, they will incur a fine of from 100 to 500 dollars, which establishes the ordinance on this subject.

(Signed) CABALLERO DE RODAS.

Havana, September 13, 1870.

Inclosure 2 in No. 75.

Decree of October 7, 1870.

(Translation.)

IN the exercise of the powers confided to me, and in conformity with the Royal Decree of 27th October, 1865, I have thought fit to declare exempted from dependence upon the Government the Expeditions of negroes captured in the years from 1855 to 1858, which are specified as follows :—

Name of Expedition.	Year.	Number of Negroes.
Nuevas Grandes	1855	25
Guanajay	.	84
Santa Cruz	..	141
Nuevitas	..	74
Bahia Honda.	1856	49
Sta. Susana Bacunayagua	1857	29
Primer Neptuno	..	534
Morro	..	81
Paez..	..	355
Lexington	..	497
Almendares..	..	21
Jaruco	..	91
Sancti Spiritus	..	52
Total	..	2033

Therefore, the holders of emancipados of said Expeditions will deliver them up to the Secretary of this Superior Government within a month from the date of the publication of

this Decree, in order that these negroes may, after the usual formalities, personally receive their free papers, under the understanding that the masters can afterwards contract them as free labourers, if both parties are willing, the local authority supervising the contract in the cases in which it is solicited, owing to the difficulty of coming to Havana.

Governors and Lieutenant-Governors will publish this Order in the newspapers of their respective jurisdictions, and will instruct the Police to circulate it by Public Notice, so that the holders of emancipados may not allege ignorance, under the understanding that if these holders do not present the negroes within the prescribed time, they will incur a penalty of from 100 to 500 dollars, according to the Regulations on this subject.

(Signed) CABALLERO.

Havana, October 7, 1870.

Inclosure 3 in No. 75.

Decree of October 27, 1870.

(Translation.)

CONFORMABLY with what is enacted by the 5th Article of the Law of 23rd June last, I have determined that the patrons (masters) of emancipados of the Expeditions mentioned below, are to present them at the Secretary's office of this Superior Government within a month from the date of this Decree, in order that these emancipados may, after the usual formalities, personally receive their free papers, under the understanding that said masters can afterwards engage them as free labourers, if both parties are agreeable, the Governors or Lieutenant-Governors of the local jurisdiction supervising the agreements in those cases in which it is solicited, owing to the difficulty of coming to Havana.

Name of Expedition.	Year.	Number of Negroes.
Punta de Guano	185	13
Lanzanillo	.. 8	179
Jagua Pelada	..	3
Venadito	..	615
Consolacion del Sur..	..	1
Guantanamo..	..9	361
Blasco Garay.	,85	438
Luisa	,860	287
Cayo Cadiz	..	562
Total	..	2459

Governors and Lieutenant-Governors will publish this Order in the newspapers of their respective jurisdictions, and will instruct the Police to circulate it by Public Notice, so that the holders of emancipados may not allege ignorance, with the understanding that should these holders not present (deliver up), the negroes within the prescribed time, they will incur the responsibility indicated by Article 18 of said Law, which is punished according to the 13th clause of the Penal Code.

(Signed) CABALLERO DE RODAS.

Havana, October 27, 1870.

No. 76.

Consul-General Dunlop to Earl Granville.—(Received December 7.)

Havana, November 19, 1870.

(Extract.)

WHEREVER negro slavery exists, the question of emancipation must be one of paramount importance, requiring careful consideration.

The most remarkable event during the past twelvemonth, as regards this question in Cuba, is the Law passed by the Spanish Cortes on the 23rd of June last, which provides for the conditional freedom of a portion of the slaves in this island, and paves the way for a gradual and complete emancipation of the remainder.

This Law, of which a translation accompanies this Report, was published here on the 28th September last, without any preamble, and has not been alluded to, or commented upon, by the press of Cuba.

There are many good points in this Decree; but no one who reads it attentively can fail to perceive that it has been framed with the view of making the changes proposed in it as little inconvenient, and as little unpalatable to the slave-holders as possible.

Total abolition of slavery in Cuba is seen to be slowly approaching. The slavery party, who are rich and all-powerful, both here and at Madrid, have had influence enough to throw many obstacles in its way by this Decree; for although the Decree itself may present a fair appearance to the uninitiated in Cuban affairs, it virtually prolongs slavery for twenty years; and, as the execution of it depends upon special regulations which have not been made public, it is quite possible that these regulations may lead to mis-interpretation and consequent abuse.

In the absence of these special regulations, I can only offer a few remarks upon the Decree itself, and endeavour to point out its advantages and disadvantages.

Considering the natural tendencies of the negro in Cuba, nothing would be perhaps more fatal to his own interest and that of the island, than immediate and uncontrolled liberty. Whilst the Decree, therefore, wisely provides for the maintenance and bringing up of the newly-born emancipated slave, it contains some objectionable conditions. By the 7th, 8th, and 9th Articles he is virtually condemned to slavery up to the age of 18, when he may emancipate himself by marriage; otherwise he must drag on another four years, during which he is to be on half wages only. Of this miserable pittance one-half is reserved to be paid to him on his attaining his 22nd year.

The boon, therefore, which the Decree confers upon him from his birth, is that he shall certainly remain a slave for at least eighteen, and probably twenty-two years; for to all intents and purposes he will be treated precisely as a slave,—a fact which is clearly anticipated if we attentively read Articles 10 and 17, which speak of possible prostitution, cruelty, and ill-treatment.

The abolition of the use of the lash by Article 21, will be, it is to be feared, greatly unheeded; for whatever complaint the negro may be enabled to make will be easily drowned by a timely douceur to the nearest local authority. Indeed, if we judge from past experience of how matters are managed in Cuba, there is every reason to fear that the Decree we treat of is framed in such wise as to admit of great evasion, and evasion implies abuse.

Already we hear of a shameful traffic in emancipados. This unfortunate class, which has been kept in the most abject kind of slavery for so many years, is declared entirely free by Article 5; but by Article 13 they are to remain under the control of the State, as far as protecting them and furnishing them with the means of gaining their livelihood.

This has been taken advantage of and interpreted as best suits the plans of the slavery party here.

The emancipados are being dealt out to the planters and their former masters under contracts for eight years, during which they are to receive 8 dollars a-month wages, and are in all other respects to be treated as slaves, the contracts being made to appear as the voluntary act of the emancipado!

These contracts are made under the supervision of the Government and cost from 5 to 10 doubloons for each emancipado.

What may become of the wretched victim, after this sale, may be easily inferred. The emancipado may be worked till he die, or may be made to fill the place of a defunct slave, and the same iniquitous system which has been so often exposed will continue.

As with the unfortunate emancipados so with the other classes, for the Decree uses the words "free," "freedmen," "emancipado," and "ingenuous," or those who have never known a master, and these words ("libre," "liberto," "emancipado," and "ingenuo") which, when translated, appear to have one common signification, are especially distinct and bear, unfortunately, a separate meaning.

To our ideas of emancipation, the Decree should have but one tendency, viz., that of putting an end to slavery.

The question comprises so many conflicting interests, all of which demand consideration, that the Cortes has gone, in this Decree, as far perhaps as prudence dictates under the present circumstances of Cuba, and its action is, therefore, to be highly applauded; but in the vitiated circle in which this Decree is to be carried out, every possible impediment may be raised, and its execution will be thwarted by all the chicanery and cunning for which the slave-traders and their too willing associates in the island are remarkable.

There are other points in the Decree which might be assailed, such as the disposition regarding slaves over 60 years of age, whose long services seem to demand a more decided and specific obligation on the part of their master to maintain them under any circumstances; and the provision under Article 16, by which the indemnity mentioned in Article 2 is to be met by a tax on those negroes remaining in slavery,—as if the unpaid services of the liberated children up to the age of 18 were not sufficient to outweigh that pecuniary obligation!—but a due regard for the difficulties with which the framers of this law have had to contend, and the consideration that it is the first great step which the

Government of Spain has really taken towards the grand work of emancipation, lead me to draw a curtain over the possible unavoidable defects of this remarkable Decree.

It evinces a most laudable desire at Madrid, among many of the leading politicians there to act with justice and to inaugurate a new system, and full credit must be accorded to their excellent and honourable intentions, but the question for the onlooker here is simply, Will this law be properly carried out, or will it not?

There are Spaniards here who express fears that it will not, but they may be wrong, and when the provisions of the Decree are commenced to be obeyed, we shall be better able to pronounce an opinion.

There are many Spanish officials in Cuba who sincerely wish to see slavery abolished, and they deserve credit and honour, for they are certainly in a minority; but, regarding the matter merely from the point of view from which it is the bounden duty of the English Slave Trade Commissioner in Cuba to regard it, I foresee many difficulties which will arise whenever the authorities begin seriously to carry out the provisions of this new Decree to their full extent.

The wealth of Cuba, that is to say, the continuance of large sums of money arriving and circulating in the island, depends at present solely on the sugar culture and export, and that depends just now entirely upon slave labour, and on nothing else. Can it be wondered at, therefore, that opposition to abolition, and open or covert evasion of rules tending thereto, should be prevalent among those whose whole income is derived from slave property, especially when no equivalent compensation is to be accorded to them?

Inclosure in No. 76.

Decree of September 28, 1870, *embodying the Law of June* 23, 1870.

HIS Excellency the Regent of the Kingdom communicates to me under date 4th July last the following Law, decreed and sanctioned by the Cortes.

Don Francisco Serrano y Dominguez, Regent of the Kingdom by the will of the Sovereign Cortes, to all who may see and understand these presents, greeting: The Constituent Cortes of the Spanish nation, in the exercise of its sovereignty, decrees and sanctions the following:—

Article 1. All children of slave mothers, who may be born after the publication of this Decree, are declared free.

Art. 2. All slaves born since the 17th September, 1868, up to the publication of this Law are acquired by the State, in consideration of the payment of 125 pesetors (25 dollars) to their owners.

Art. 3. All slaves who may have served under the Spanish flag, or who may have in any way assisted the troops during the present insurrection in Cuba, are declared free. Remain likewise recognized as such all those who may have been declared free by the Superior Government of Cuba, in the exercise of its powers. The State will indemnify the owners the value of these slaves if they have remained faithful to the Spanish cause; if they should belong to insurgents, there will be no room for indemnity.

Art. 4. Slaves who on the publication of this Law may have completed their 60th year are declared free, without indemnity to their owners. The same boon will be enjoyed by those who in future reach that age.

Art. 5. All slaves who for any reason belong to the State are declared free. Those, likewise, who under the designation of "Emancipados," may be under the protection of the State, shall immediately enter into the full exercise of their rights as free men.

Art. 6. The liberated by agency of the Law, who are spoken of in Articles 1 and 2, shall remain under the patronage of the mother's owners previous to the indemnity prescribed in Article 11.

Art. 7. The patronage referred to in the preceding Article imposes on the patron the obligation of maintaining his wards, of clothing them, of assisting them when sick, and of giving them primary instruction and the education necessary for following an art or trade. The patron acquires all the rights of a tutor, besides availing himself of the labour of the free man, without any retribution up to the age of 18 years.

Art. 8. Upon the freed man reaching the age of 18 he shall earn the half of the wages of a free man, according to his class and trade. Of these wages, one-half shall be thereupon paid to him, the other half being reserved to create a fund for him in the form which posterior resolutions determine.

Art. 9. Upon completing 22 years the freed man shall acquire the full enjoyment of his rights, the patronage ceasing, and his fund shall be delivered to him.

Art. 10. The patronage shall also cease:—

CLASS C.

1. By marriage of the freed man; when in the case of women it takes place after the age of 14; and in the case of men, after the age of 18.

2. By proved abuse of the patron in punishments, or by neglect of the duties imposed upon him in Article 7.

3. When the patron prostitutes or may favour the prostitution of the freed one.

Art. 11. The patronage is transferable by all means recognized by law, and renunciable through just reasons. Legitimate or natural fathers who are free may recover the patronage of their children by paying to the patron an indemnity for the expenses he has incurred on behalf of the freed man.

Posterior Regulations will fix the basis of this indemnity.

Art. 12. The Superior Civil Governor will furnish, in the term of one month after the publication of this Law, the lists of the slaves who may be comprised in Articles 3 and 5.

Art. 13. The freed men and free referred to in the preceding Article shall remain under the protection of the State, merely to protect them and to provide them with the means of gaining their livelihood, without in any way restricting their liberty.

Those who prefer returning to Africa will be taken there.

Art. 14. The slaves referred to in Article 4 can remain with their masters, who will in such case acquire the character of patrons. When they may have chosen to continue with their patrons, it shall be optional for their patrons to recompense them or not; but in every case, and especially in that of physical impossibility of maintaining themselves, the patron shall be under the obligation of feeding, clothing them, and assisting them in sickness, and he shall likewise have the right of employing them in labour proportionate to their condition.

Should the freed man refuse to meet his obligation of working, or should he create confusion (disturbance) in the patron's house, the authorities will decide what is to be done after hearing the freed man.

Art. 15. Should the freed man voluntarily leave the patronage of his former master, the latter's obligations contained in the preceding Article will cease.

Art. 16. The Government will provide the means required for the indemnities which the present Law will originate by a tax upon those who, remaining still in service (slavery), may be comprised between the ages of 11 and 60.

Art. 17. The crime of cruelty, proven and chastised by the Courts of Justice, will bring about, as a consequence, the liberty of the slave who may have been the sufferer.

Art. 18. All concealment which hinders the application of the benefits of this Law will be punished according to Part XIII of the Penal Code.

Art. 19. Shall be considered free all those who may not appear inscribed in the census taken in the Island of Porto Rico on the 31st December, 1869, and in that which ought to be concluded in the Island of Cuba on the 31st December, 1870.

Art. 20. The Government will dictate a special Regulation for the carrying out of this Law.

Art. 21. The Government will present to the Cortes, when the Deputies from Cuba may have been admitted in them, the project of the Law of indemnified emancipation of those who remain in service (slavery) after the planting of this Law. In the meantime, until this emancipation is carried out, the punishment of flogging, authorized by Cap. 13 of the Regulations of Porto Rico and its equivalent in Cuba, is suppressed.

Neither may be sold separately from their mothers children under 14 years of age, nor slaves who are united in matrimony.

By resolution of the Constituent Cortes it is communicated to the Regent of the Kingdom for its promulgation as Law.

Palace of the Cortes, June 23, 1870.

(Signed) MANUEL RUIZ ZORILLA, *President.*
MANUEL DE LLANOS Y PERSI, *Deputy Secretary.*
JULIAN SANCHEZ RUANO, *Ditto.*
FRANCISCO JAVIER CARATALA, *Ditto.*
MARIANO RUIZ, *Ditto.*

Therefore, I command all Courts, Justices, Commanding Officers, Governors, and other authorities, both civil and military and ecclesiastical, of every class and degree, to keep and make keep, fulfil and execute it in all its parts.

San Ildefonso, July 4, 1870.

(Signed) FRANCISCO SERRANO.
SIGISMUNDO MORET Y PRENDERGAST,
The Colonial Minister.

And having opportunely omitted its publication for the want of the Regulation spoken of in Article 20, and having now received the bases upon which said Regulation will be drawn up, I have ordered the fulfilment of the said Law, for which purpose it is inserted in the "Official Gazette" (that it may be duly carried out).*

(Signed) CABALLERO DE RODAS.

Havana, September 28, 1870.

SPAIN. (*Consular*)—*Porto Rico.*

No. 77.

Consul Cowper to Earl Granville.—(*Received September* 13.)

(Extract.) *Puerto Rico, August* 22, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Otway's despatch of the 30th June, together with its several inclosures, respecting the projected law for the emancipation of the slaves in this island and in Cuba; and I avail myself of the desire expressed in that despatch to offer the following observations.

Subsequent to the date of Mr. Layard's despatches the project has, with some alterations, become law, having passed the Cortes on the 23rd June; the most important of these alterations are, first, the suppression of the lash; and, secondly, the prohibition to sell separately mothers and children, or husbands and wives, which is of course unexceptionally just.

It is this first alteration which has determined the Colonial Government to abstain from publishing the law, but, instead, to privately address a Circular to the chief landed proprietors, inviting them voluntarily to execute the provisions of the law, as if it were an act of grace on their parts; and I am happy to inform your Lordship that all the principal planters have already done so, and no refusal has been received by the Government from any one.

It cannot, however, be the intention of the Regent's Government that those who are chiefly interested in the law should be kept in ignorance of its existence, but the Government of this island has, ever since my connection with it, been haunted by one baseless fear or another; the late Captain-General was always anticipating insurrection or assassination, and the Frankenstein of the present Government is an outbreak of the slaves, or at least their refusal to work; both fears are utterly visionary, and, moreover, the attempt to conceal the law is not only at variance with every principle of justice, but the voluntary execution of its provisions by the planters affords no guarantee to the slaves that their freedom will be respected; besides which the attempt will prove a total failure, as copies of the law have been sent here by abolitionists in Spain, and are already widely distributed.

I shall do myself the honour of entering more fully upon the general question when I make my report upon the state of the industrial classes, and it will suffice here to point out the reasons why emancipation in this island is not only an easier task than in any other country where it has been effected, but is, in fact, one that requires neither sacrifice nor anxiety on the part of the Government.

The labour resources of Puerto Rico are so great, and the vagrant laws (the laws of the Libreta) so stringent, that notwithstanding the very small number of slaves,—35,000 in a population of 800,000,—it is the most productive and most prosperous of all the Antilles; so little is any increase of labour required, that no scheme of immigration has ever been proposed by the planters, the external Slave Trade has been unknown for years, and no importation of coolies or Chinese has ever been attempted; in spite of bad government, extravagance, and corruption, in spite of impediments to commerce and discouragement of all enterprise, the island progresses, slowly, it is true, but it does progress in wealth and

* "Para los fines que en su dia procedan" means literally, For the ends which may result *when the time comes.* (*Anglice,* Greek kalends.)

importance; consequently even the immediate and unconditional emancipation (and I should not advocate so sweeping a measure in the interest of the slaves themselves) of 35,000 slaves could produce no perceptible derangement of the industry of the island, or ruin the planters in whose possession they are; but that which renders this, or any less extensive scheme of emancipation difficult, is that the Spanish Government appears to make one question of emancipation in Cuba and Puerto Rico, and this is very much to be regretted, for the two islands are the very antipodes of each other in this as in many other respects; the one densely populated, the other thinly; the one with a large white population and few slaves, the other with a small white population and many slaves; the one almost entirely cultivated, the other with only a fractional part under cultivation; the one, the easiest in the world for emancipation, the other, the most difficult.

I think that it would be a judicious act of policy for the Government to emancipate the slaves here first, where the measure is sure of success, as it would give confidence to the Cuban planters when the time came for its extension to that island; they, the Cubans, have lately sent a project of what they call emancipation to Madrid, which can never be entertained by the Government, as it is slavery in masquerade; and the planters of this island have a meeting here on the 30th instant to draw up a project of their own, which I have no doubt will be of a much more liberal character, and which I shall have the honour of communicating to your Lordship by the earliest opportunity.

It would scarcely be credited that, in an island producing 100,000 tons of sugar, besides coffee, tobacco, cotton, &c., probably not more than 20,000 slaves are employed in their production, the remaining 15,000 slaves being engaged in household and other services; and if from these 20,000 the old and the young now freed by the law of the 23rd June be deducted, your Lordship will understand why I consider that the emancipation of the whole would produce so little derangement of the labour of the island, or call for any great sacrifice on the part of the Government to compensate the masters; the amount of free labour existing in the island is ample for its wants, and in many places there is a superabundance of it.

To the Libreta system I attribute the past, present, and future prosperity of the island. Mr. Cardwell, when Secretary of State for the Colonies, was particularly struck with my observations upon it, and requested the Earl of Clarendon to permit me to continue them, but a change of Ministry prevented me from carrying out his wishes; and as the Reports, as far as they went, are at the Foreign Office, I abstain from repeating them here, although it is my intention, as I before observed, to embody them in my Report upon the industrial classes.

In conclusion, I consider the preliminary law of the 23rd June unimpeachable, as far as it goes, but it certainly ought to be published, and I think that if your Lordship were to represent to the Government at Madrid that it had not been, orders would be sent to the Colonial Government to do so immediately. The principal and most important part of the law is yet to be enacted in the emancipation of the effective slaves between the ages of twenty-two and sixty; and I repeat my belief that, as far as this island is concerned, there is no danger in making the measure unlimited in its action.

No. 78.

Consul Cowper to Earl Granville.—(*Received September* 26.)

My Lord, *Puerto Rico, September* 11, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Otway's despatch of the 5th August, inclosing copy of one which your Lordship has received from Her Majesty's Minister in Madrid, who, from a conversation which he has had with Señor Moret y Prendergast, anticipates the speedy abolition of slavery in the Spanish dominions. I sincerely trust that these anticipations will be verified, although I regret to say that I cannot join in them; and in rectifying an error in my despatch of the 22nd August your Lordship will understand the reason why.

In that despatch I stated that the Cuban planters had forwarded a project of emancipation to Madrid which I felt sure would never be accepted by the Government, as it was slavery in masquerade, but I was mistaken; the project was not sent to Madrid but here, for the previous approval of the planters, but it was so unsatisfactory that it was summarily rejected by them. I am informed that it consisted of a sliding-scale of emancipation which would nominally free all the slaves in twenty years, and then an apprenticeship or serfdom for ten more, that is, the freedman was to remain attached to the soil or to his master for that period.

The meeting of the planters here to consider the same subject, which I had the

honour to inform your Lordship was fixed for the 30th ultimo, is put off *sine die*, and your Lordship must not be surprised, for the question of emancipation is one of extreme difficulty rendered doubly so since the insurrection; the facts are, that there are no abolitionists in these islands; if any Spaniards whatever are so they exist in Spain; that all the planters are pro-slavery, are fighting for it in Cuba, and making vast pecuniary sacrifices to sustain it; and, as all this is done in the name of loyalty to Spain, how can the Spanish Government force an effective measure of emancipation upon them, or how can they who conscientiously believe that their own prosperity, that of their children, and the wealth of the country depend upon the maintenance of the system, be expected voluntarily to give it its death-blow?

I have seen a great deal of slavery in these islands and Brazil, but I should be trespassing upon duties of my colleagues in Cuba were I to extend these observations, but I think they afford a common-sense view of the difficulties with which the question is encumbered, and which it will astonish me if the Spanish Government is able to overcome in a satisfactory manner.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. AUGUSTUS COWPER.

No. 79.

Consul Cowper to Earl Granville.—(Received October 13.)

(Extract.) *Puerto Rico, September* 26, 1870.

THE meeting of planters, which I had the honour to announce to your Lordship in my despatch of the 11th instant was to have been held on the 30th August, actually took place at the Palace on the evening of the 20th instant; and the result was by no means satisfactory: indeed I am convinced that the course adopted by the Provincial Government in this question of emancipation is erroneous and dangerous.

In the first place the law of the 23rd June last, emancipating children under 2 years of age and old men over 60, still continues unpublished, consequently these people are now illegally held in slavery, and illegally punished by the continued infliction of the lash; and secondly, the Press is forbidden to discuss the question of emancipation, and the Government seeks its information from the planters, who are naturally opposed to this measure; I find too, that very few indeed of these gentlemen have adopted the suggestion of the Government, that the partial emancipation of the 23rd June should be effected by them as an act of grace; the law may therefore be considered as a dead letter, and in its effects much worse than a dead letter, for it cannot be kept secret, and already bands of negroes have seized horses, and, riding madly over the country, have proclaimed that all slaves are free; whilst others have peaceably collected, and going in a body to the Alcaldes, have demanded the promulgation of the law, which they believe is much more sweeing in its character than it really is. I hear that the Government intends suppressing these demonstrations with the utmost rigour, but the whole blame rests in the timidity and mystery of its own acts.

I had the honour to announce to your Lordship that the Cuban planters had sent a project of emancipation for the consideration of the planters of this island. By that scheme slavery was to cease in about thirty years. It was rejected here, and at the meeting of the 20th this term was reduced to twelve years; but as the meeting was by no means unanimous, the delegates, persons not holding more than 25 slaves, were dismissed to reconsider the matter, and another meeting will then be called by the Government. I see with regret that the questions of Cuban and Peurto Rico emancipation are not to be separated, a resolution which cost the Government incalculable advantages.

There are only three modes of abolition, and they all appear to be impracticable, or at least very unsatisfactory:—

1. There is immediate abolition, with its necessary consequence of immediate compensation, after the manner of the English; but the Spanish Government has neither money or credit to carry this into effect.

2. There is general confiscation, after the manner of the Americans; but the position of the Spanish Government as regards the proprietors, and that of the American Government after the Civil War, are exactly the reverse of each other; the slaveholders of Cuba are the very men who, as volunteers, have preserved the Island to Spain, whilst the American slaveholders were the rebels; the Government, therefore, dares not adopt this course.

3. There is gradual emancipation, and this would certainly lead to a revolt of the slaves.

I consider that the last is the course most likely to be adopted, as the one most in accordance with the wishes of the planters, who no doubt see that, emancipation being inevitable, they have but a choice of evils: but however the Spanish Government may decide, if it has the fixed determination to emancipate the slaves, it has the power; and as it cannot avoid such a measure being coercive, it had better decide the whole question itself, and have it executed without discussion or delay upon its arrival here. Perhaps such is the determination, and may account for the reported despatch of 14,000 troops to Cuba, when the rebellion is said to be concluded.

No. 80.

Earl Granville to Consul Cowper.

Sir, *Foreign Office, October* 28, 1870.

I APPROVE the interesting Reports which you have sent to me upon the state of feeling in Puerto Rico, and the conduct of the authorities with respect to the measures for the emancipation of the slaves recently passed in the Spanish Cortes, and I have to instruct you to continue to keep me fully informed upon this subject, as your reports may be of great assistance to Her Majesty's Minister at Madrid in discussing the question with the Spanish Government.

I inclose a copy of a despatch,* recently received from Her Majesty's Minister at Madrid, explaining why the Spanish Government have delayed the publication of their measures.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 81.

Consul Cowper to Earl Granville.—(Received November 14.)

(Extract.) *Puerto Rico, October* 27, 1870.

I REGRET to be obliged to repeat to your Lordship that the preliminary Law of Emancipation, passed by the Cortes on the 23rd June last, has not yet been published here, nor do I see any prospect of its being so.

As I stated in my former despatch, the Colonial Government deemed it imprudent to give further effect to the Law than privately to invite the proprietors of slaves to do, as an act of grace, that which was enjoined by law; but, finding that the invitation was only very partially adopted, and naturally produced more harm than good, in rendering the concealment of the Law quite impossible, it ordered that each Department of the Island should appoint deputies, chosen from slave proprietors, possessing not less than twenty-five slaves, to consult with the Government upon the best method of general emancipation, the public and the press being absolutely prohibited from discussing the question.

This method resulted, after various delays, in a meeting at the capital, at which strenuous efforts were of course made to put off the evil day as long as possible, and a proposition that final emancipation should take place in twelve years being considered too precipitate, the members were dismissed to their respective districts for further meditation, and were ordered to re-assemble on the 30th ultimo. When that time arrived, however, they were informed that they need not trouble themselves to return, as the President of their body had not yet satisfied himself on various points, so that the Spanish principle of "mañana" is being applied to this vital question.

The actual position, therefore, is this, that the Law of the Cortes of the 23rd June is disregarded, all the slaves emancipated by it are illegally held in slavery, and the punishment of the lash, abolished by it, continues to be illegally inflicted.

No. 82.

Consul Cowper to Earl Granville.—(Received November 29.)

My Lord, *Puerto Rico, November* 10, 1870.

I HAVE the satisfaction of inclosing to your Lordship a number of the "Representacion National" of the 6th instant, publishing the preliminary Law of Emancipation, passed

* No. 54.

by the Cortes on the 23rd June last, and I shall be careful to keep your Lordship informed of the consequences of its operation.

The reason assigned in the last paragraph for the delay in its publication does not appear to me to be satisfactory.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. AUGUSTUS COWPER.

No. 83.

Consul Cowper to Earl Granville.—(*Received December* 13.)

My Lord, *Puerto Rico, November* 23, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 25th October, inclosing one from Her Majesty's Minister at Madrid, dated the 17th of that month, and I feel assured that it will be a satisfaction to your Lordship to find that your representations have caused the Preliminary Law of Emancipation to be promulgated here three months before it was intended, although even so, three months after it should have been.

The Commission of Planters of which I have spoken in my last despatches is still sitting here, the question which they were summoned to discuss, the general emancipation of the effective slaves, has, I am informed, never been mooted, and nothing but that of the "Libreta," or some other more stringent substitute for slavery, has been under consideration; even upon that subject the disagreement has been so great, and the delay so protracted, that many planters have returned to their estates.

The Government at Madrid, if really desirous for the freedom of the labouring classes, must take care that the "Libreta" system, admirable as it is, is not made by the stringent additions, the instrument for perpetuating slavery under a new name or form.

The planters assert that it is the intention of the Government to compensate them for the loss of their slaves, by a tax upon themselves; and they fear that, unjust as this may be in principle, it will be a thousand times more so in execution, as it will be absorbed for other purposes, and they never receive a farthing—thus losing both, their slaves and their money: it is to be hoped that the Government will act in *bonâ fide*, and not contaminate a just act, by permitting the perpetration of a dishonest one.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. AUGUSTUS COWPER.

No. 84.

Consul Cowper to Earl Granville.—(*Received December* 30.)

(Extract.) *Puerto Rico, December* 14, 1870.

IN a former despatch I informed your Lordship of the publication here of the Preliminary Law of Emancipation, which has been attended by neither agitation or excitement; and the Commission of Planters, of which I have before spoken, is again sitting here, and it is to be hoped will be able to arrive at some reasonable compromise upon the subject of general emancipation. I shall not fail to give your Lordship early notice of any conclusion to which they may arrive.

AUSTRIA.

No. 85.

Lord Bloomfield to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received February 7.)

My Lord, *Vienna, February* 1, 1870.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch of the 14th September last, inclosing an extract from a despatch from Her Majesty's Consul at Smyrna, relative to the reported presence on board the Austrian Lloyd's Company's steamer "Oreste" of sixty slaves bound for Constantinople, I have the honour to forward herewith copy and translation by Mr. Seymour of a note which I have only now received from Count Beust, in reply to the one in which I called his Excellency's attention to the matter, copy of which was transmitted in my despatch to your Lordship of the 21st of September last.

As your Lordship will perceive, the inquiries which, in consequence of my representations, were made on the part of the Austrian Naval and Consular authorities, have not tended to corroborate the allegations of Mr. Consul Cumberbatch, and while pointing out the difficulty of establishing the precise character of persons composing an Oriental "suite," Count Beust emphatically regrets, until they are proved, the accusations brought against the Austrian Lloyd's Company of lending itself to a traffic in slaves.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

Inclosure in No. 85.

Count Beust to Lord Bloomfield.

(Translation.) *Vienna, January* 22, 1870.

I WAS informed by his Excellency Lord Bloomfield in his note of the 20th September last, that on the 30th of July the Lloyd's steamer "Oreste" put into the harbour of Smyrna with a cargo of sixty slaves destined for Constantinople, and that these only escaped observation by being concealed in the ship's hold.

I immediately caused a most searching inquiry to be made into the circumstances of these allegations through the Imperial and Royal Naval authorities, and if it is only to-day that I am able to reply, I trust that his Excellency will see sufficient reason in the long delay in the fact that those who had to be examined are continually on the move.

The result of the inquiries above stated all goes to prove the alibi of the steamer "Oreste," which at the time in question was not performing the passage from Smyrna to Constantinople, but was exclusively on the Trieste-Ancona-Corfu-Syra-Smyrna station, and while on this station left Trieste on the 27th of July last, not reaching Smyrna till the 5th of August.

But in view of the similarity in the names of "Oreste" and "Vesta," the Naval authorities did not rest satisfied with this result, and extended their inquiries to the Lloyd's steamer bearing the latter name, which according to these inquiries was certainly in the harbour of Smyrna on the 30th of July last, coming from Alexandria, and sailed for Constantinople on the 31st of July, touching at the harbours of Mitylene, Tenedos, the Dardanelles, and Gallipoli. But the information which was obtained does not confirm the statement in question, for not only did Captain J. F. Berrick, who is universally known to be a man of honour, answer the questions which were put to him in a manner which excluded every doubt as to the veracity of his statements, but, as the Imperial and Royal Consular officers in Constantinople and Smyrna report, there exists no ground for the suspicion of any forced transport of slaves, of which the Lloyd's steamers stand accused. Indeed, the large quantity of goods and cargo of the Lloyd's steamers invariably takes up all

the available space in the ships; the confinement of people there, considering the large traffic of passengers, could not have escaped the notice of the latter, who, in such case, could certainly have had no motive in concealing the fact, but would have immediately brought it to the notice of the Imperial and Royal authorities.

But should, as is always possible, one or other of the Orientals on board have had with him, under the designation "servants" or "members of his family," slaves who, as is more particularly the case with Circassians and Nubians, consider such an employment in a palace at Constantinople as a desirable object, and not as a state of slavery, their transport must in every instance have been effected without the exercise of any pressure, and an inquiry into the character of such a suite would have been impracticable, neither the Lloyd's Company nor its officials could be made responsible.

In consideration of this, the Imperial and Royal Government must continue resolutely to question the statement made by the British Consul in Smyrna and reported in his Excellency's note of the 25th of December last, that a trade in slaves was carried on by means of the Austro-Hungarian ships, and that until the case of a forced transport of slaves under the Austro-Hungarian flag shall have been proved beyond doubt by him it will be an unfounded and undeserved denunciation of the Austrian Lloyd's.

I seize, &c.
(Signed) BEUST.

No. 86.

The Earl of Clarendon to Lord Bloomfield.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, March* 23, 1870.

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatch of the 1st ultimo, reporting the result of Count Beust's inquiry into the alleged conveyance of slaves between Alexandria and Smyrna on board the steamers of the Austrian Lloyd's Company, I inclose for your information a copy of my despatch to Her Majesty's Consul at Smyrna, together with a copy of his reply,* stating the grounds upon which the report was founded, to which Count Beust took exception.

I wish your Excellency to communicate the substance of Mr. Cumberbatch's despatch to the Austrian Government, in the hope that as the increasing traffic in slaves between Alexandria and Smyrna and Constantinople shows that the facilities for transporting domestic servants are often abused for Slave Trade purposes, the agents of the Austrian Lloyd's Company may be warned to be very careful as to permitting slaves under any disguise to be embarked on board their vessels.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 87.

Lord Bloomfield to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received April 4.)

My Lord, *Vienna, March* 31, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 23rd instant, inclosing copies of correspondence with Her Majesty's Consul at Smyrna, respecting intelligence which he had obtained, and forwarded to your Lordship, as to facilities afforded by the Austrian Lloyd's Company in carrying on the Traffic in Slaves.

I have read to Count Beust your Lordship's despatches to me and to Mr. Cumberbatch, and his despatch of the 28th ultimo.

His Excellency maintains that the Austrian steamers do not carry on a Traffic in Slaves, of which they are accused; but he admits that it is extremely difficult to exercise a complete control over the character of every individual who may seek a passage in the vessels of the Austrian Lloyd's. He promised, however, that the subject to which I had been instructed to call his attention should not be lost sight of; but he is most unwilling to allow that Her Majesty's Government have any just cause of complaint in this matter.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

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* Nos. 119 and 121.

No. 88.

The Earl of Clarendon to Lord Bloomfield.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, April* 6, 1870.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 31st ultimo I have to instruct your Excellency to thank Count Buest for his promise not to lose sight of the question of the conveyance of slaves on board the Austrian Lloyd's steamers.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 89.

Lord Bloomfield to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received April 11.)

My Lord, *Vienna, April* 5, 1870.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 31st ultimo I have the honour to inclose the copy of a Memorandum which I have delivered to Count Beust, containing the substance of Mr. Cumberbatch's last despatches respecting the facilities which he considers are afforded by the Austrian Lloyd's Company in conveying slaves to Constantinople.

I have thought it advisable to give his Excellency this Memorandum as a record of the verbal communication I made to him last week; and on my delivering it into his hands he assured me that the subject was not neglected, and that he had already drawn the attention of the proper authorities to my original communication.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

Inclosure in No. 89.

Memorandum relating to Charges brought against Austrian Lloyd's Company of Conveying Slaves from Alexandria to Smyrna.

IN support of the charges brought against the vessels of the Austrian Lloyd Steam Company of conveying slaves from Alexandria to Smyrna, Mr. Cumberbatch, British Consul at Smyrna, states that a lady passenger on baard the "Oreste," confirmed, in the most positive manner, what was reported by him in a previous despatch, and would be willing to give her personal evidence, if required to do so.

With regard to Count Beust's remark, that slaves may have been conveyed to Constantinople by one or other of the Orientals on board, under the designation of "servants," or "members of their family," to obtain the desirable object of employment in a palace, Mr. Cumberbatch avers that this system has been carried on to a considerable extent by the slave-dealers themselves as passengers.

Mr. Cumberbatch further declares, that he saw 4 African slave children on board the Austrian Lloyd's steamer "Apollo," on the 25th of September last; and he apprehends that the agents of the Austrian Lloyd's Company at Alexandria do not exercise sufficient supervision over the character of the passengers shipped for Constantinople; but at the same time he is anxious to disavow any intention of accusing the officers of the Austrian Lloyd's Company of having used coercive measures in the conveyance of slaves, and only desired to report the fact that slaves had been conveyed by a vessel reported to be the "Oreste;" and that from being concealed in the ship's hold, they had escaped observation.

Mr. Cumberbatch expresses his difficulty in believing that African children, in the white-flowing Nubian dress, with metal bracelets and anklets, and accompanied by slave-dealers, can be taken for anything but what they are, viz., slaves, and not domestic servants, or members of the passengers' family,—a plea recently set up by the Azizieh Company's agents. He adds, that at his instigation 8 slaves were lately liberated by the Governor of Smyrna; and that during the last nine months his Excellency had, in like manner, liberated many others from on board the Azizieh's Company's steamers.

No. 90.

The Earl of Clarendon to Lord Bloomfield.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, June* 20, 1870.

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatch of the 14th of April last, and to former correspondence, I transmit to you herewith a copy of a further despatch from Her Majesty's Consul at Smyrna,* stating the circumstances under which 3 slave boys had arrived at that port, on board the Austrian Lloyd's steamer "Mars," from Alexandria, and had been released, owing to his interference; and I have to request your Excellency to bring to the notice of the Austro-Hungarian Government this instance of Slave Trade secretly carried on on board a vessel sailing under the Austrian flag.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 91.

Lord Bloomfield to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received August 10.)

My Lord, *Vienna, August* 2, 1870.

WITH reference to the late Earl of Clarendon's despatch of the 20th of June, inclosing the copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Consul at Symrna on the subject of the arrival at that port of three slaves on board the Austrian Lloyd's steamer "Mars," I have the honour to transmit herewith translation of a note which I have received from the Imperial and Royal Government in reply to one from me of the 23rd ultimo.

It appears from the reports called for that both the Austrian Consul-General at Smyrna and the captain of the steamer "Mars" admit, in its essential points, the allegation of Mr. Cumberbatch, but, in view of the peculiar and equivocal character in which Orientals stand with regard to one another, it is apprehended that an attempt to exercise effectual control over those passengers would in some cases be attended with difficulty, if not with risk.

The captains of the Lloyd's steamers, however, have been instructed to enforce vigilance with regard to slaves, and when such are discovered on board the Company's steamers that they shall, on arrival at the port of destination, be handed over to the Austrian Consular authorities.

I have, &c.
(Signed) BLOOMFIELD.

Inclosure in No. 91.

Count Beust to Lord Bloomfield.

(Translation.) *July* 26, 1870.

BY a note of the 23rd ultimo his Excellency Lord Bloomfield brought to my notice, as instructed by the Government of Her Britannic Majesty, a positive case of slave transport in the Lloyd's steamer "Mars."

I did not fail to procure the necessary information on the subject, and, in consequence of details which have just reached me from the central authorities at Trieste, the Imperial and Royal Consul-General at Smyrna, and the Director of the Lloyd's Steamer Company, I am now enabled to communicate the following to your Excellency.

Immediately upon the receipt of instructions the central authorities directed that the captain of the "Mars," whose good faith I am told can be relied on, should draw up a Report, which I found to agree with that which I received from the Consul-General in Smyrna.

Neither did the captain nor the ship's doctor, whose duty it is, on sanitary grounds, carefully to notice the passengers, observe any trace of coercion; and even after these were all shipped in the quietest manner, and provided with tickets, and the vessel was on her course to Smyrna, did nothing occur which would have justified suspicion on the part of the captain, much less his official interference.

Immediately on his arrival at Smyrna the captain was questioned by a functionary of the British Consulate, who could only speak Turkish, as to the presence of slaves on

* No. 124.

board, and, on being answered in the negative, this functionary requested to be allowed to search the vessel, upon which Captain Drüskowich, as in duty bound, and with due regard to the maintenance of the rights and honour of our flag, declared that he was unable to comply, and could only take orders from the Imperial and Royal Consul-General.

Soon after this there came on board an interpreter from the Imperial and Royal Consulate-General, with a written order from Baron Baum, and accompanied by an English Consular functionary and two cavasses, of which the one belonged to the Imperial and Royal and the other to the British Consulate, and examined several of the numerous passengers (of which there were more than 600).

As to the examination which here ensued no account can be given by the captain, who, at the suggestion of the Imperial and Royal Consular Interpreter, retired to his own cabin, which he did not leave till these functionaries had quitted the vessel.

According to a report of the 12th instant from the Imperial and Royal Consul-General at Smyrna, it certainly appears that there was a slave on board the "Mars," of about eighteen years of age, who was bought in Egypt by the servant of a Pasha at Constantinople, under instructions from the latter. The slave was furnished with a passport issued to him by the police authorities at Alexandria, in which he was distinctly designated as slave (kul).

Further, there was an Ethiopian youth, about sixteen years of age, unaccompanied by any one, and returning as a second-class passenger from Egypt, whither he had a few months previously been sent for the recovery of his health by his master at Constantinople.

Lastly there was a negro boy and a negro girl, from eight to ten years of age, in the service of a Greek merchant from Lemnos, who was formerly domiciled in Egypt.

These, when it was suggested by the English agent, could only have been led away with great difficulty, and amidst loud cries of lamentation, had their adopted father not determined to accompany them to the British Consulate. As Baron Baum discovered, these two children were later restored to the Greek merchant by Mr. Cumberbatch.

The captain having allowed the greatest latitude to the visiting functionaries, and, in the absence of the slightest cause for suspecting him of having willingly lent himself to the transport of slaves, it is impossible for the Imperial and Royal Government to press the matter further, or to insist upon the punishment of the innocent and honourable captain of the "Mars."

The Central authorities, however, have availed themselves of the opportunity to impress upon the Lloyd's Company the necessity of precautionary measures against the repetition of such cases.

It was, moreover, enjoined upon the captains of the Lloyd's Company, in all cases of the presence of slaves on board the Company's steamers, that they should not fail to take them under their protection, and deliver them over to the Imperial and Royal Consular authorities upon arriving at Constantinople, or any other Turkish port. But it is impossible for the Lloyd's Company to exercise any greater control in this respect.

The exigencies of Eastern traffic are such that a steam-ship company engaged in transporting passengers must inevitably sometimes receive slaves on board without either the captain or the agent being aware of it.

It is very difficult with Turkish passengers to determine in what relation they stand one with another. The declaration made by the holder of the ticket must be accepted as true, till contradicted by those whom it concerns. When male or female slaves are in the suite of a Turk on the voyage, they are naturally designated as servants or travelling companions, and the captain must needs consider them as such until they assert to the contrary. It would often, in those waters, be a matter of great imprudence, and in some cases followed with sad and serious consequences for the captain to make investigations with respect to relations, which are frequently of a very delicate character.

In requesting the British Ambassador to bring this statement to the knowledge of his Government, I avail, &c.

(Signed) OREZY,
(For the Minister for Foreign Affairs.)

No. 92.

Earl Granville to Lord Bloomfield.

Foreign Office, August 12, 1870.

My Lord,

WITH reference to your Excellency's despatch of the 2nd instant I have to request that you will convey to the Austro-Hungarian Government the thanks of Her Majesty's Government for the inquiries they made regarding the conveyance of slaves on board the Austrian Lloyd's steamer "Mars," and for the orders which have, in consequence, been issued to the commanders of the steamers.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 93.

Earl Granville to Lord Bloomfield.

Foreign Office, October 10, 1870.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch of the 12th of August last, on the subject of the conveyance of slaves on board Austrian vessels, I transmit to your Excellency a copy of a further despatch from Her Majesty's Consul at Smyrna,* reporting that two Africans, under the charge of a Persian subject, had been offered for sale off Constantinople, on board the Austrian steamer "Jupiter."

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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* No. 133.

TURKEY.

No. 94.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Barron.

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 18, 1870.

HER Majesty's Consul-General at Tripoli has forwarded to me a copy of the despatch which he addressed to Her Majesty's Embassy on the 16th ultimo, touching the unsatisfactory nature of the explanation contained in the Memorandum drawn up by the Porte, and inclosed in your despatch of the 26th November, 1869, of the circumstances connected with the shipment of certain slaves from Tripoli to Constantinople in August last on board the Turkish ship of war which conveyed the Governor-General of Tripoli to Constantinople.

Mr. Hay's view as to the unsatisfactory nature of the explanation in question seems so well founded that I do not doubt that you will ere this have called the serious attention of the Porte to the matter, as well as to the statement of Mr. Hay that slave-trading is now openly avowed by the Governor-General, and I should be glad to learn at your early convenience what reply you have received from the Ottoman Government on the subject.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 95.

Mr. Barron to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received January 29.)

(Extract.) *Constantinople, January* 18, 1870.

I BEG to advert to Mr. Consul-General Drummond-Hay's despatch of the 16th December, and to my despatch of 22nd December last.

Your Lordship is aware of the necessity of great prudence in tampering with slavery in Mohammedan countries. This is made very apparent by the able despatch of the 26th November, 1869, from Her Majesty's Consul-General at Bagdad, to which I have the honour to call your Lordship's attention, as also exposing the mildness and mitigated form of the institution in Turkey.

By a similar anomaly domestic servitude, though legally abolished, still exists throughout all Turkey. Abruptly to enforce the law would be dangerous, or rather impossible. The institution is wound up with the habits and religion of Mohammedans, and is accepted implicitly by all. The Government may well therefore shrink from a violent Abolitionist policy, which would certainly endanger the public peace. The main charge against the authorities now is, not that they assist the masters to coerce their slaves, but that they abstain from assisting and liberating the latter.

Inclosure in No. 95.

Mr. Barron to Mr. Drummond-Hay.

(Extract.) *Constantinople, January* 11, 1870.

I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of your of the 16th ultimo, and I have brought the principal facts conveyed therein to the knowledge of the Grand Vizier, Minister for Foreign Affairs, requesting him to enjoin on the Vali stricter measures against slave-dealers, and especially the continuance of previous facilities granted at Tripoli for the transmission of slaves.

This Government has by law abolished slavery within its dominions, but cannot safely carry out an active Abolitionist policy. Even if the above law gave us an official right to interefere, some allowance must be made for the prejudices of the people and the difficulties of the Government. It has been in another recent case laid down by Lord Clarendon and by Sir H. Elliot, that much caution is to be observed in interfering to obtain the liberation of slaves, so as not to allow the impression to gain ground that Her Majesty's Consulates are to become asylums for runaway slaves; that the Consul should confine himself, except in extreme cases, to notifying to the local authorities any fresh importations or instances of slave-dealing which may come to his knowledge, but should avoid being mixed up in complaints brought by slaves against their masters, either for improper detention or for ill-usage.

No. 96.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Barron.

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 31, 1870.

I APPROVE your despatch to Mr. Drummond-Hay, enjoining caution in his representations to the authorities at Tripoli regarding slavery and the Slave Trade, a copy of which is inclosed in your despatch of the 18th instant.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 97.

Mr. Barron to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received February 10.)

(Extract.) *Constantinople, February* 1, 1870.

YOUR despatch dated the 15th of December last, in transmitting to me Colonel Stanton's and Mr. Consul Stanley's despatches on the Slave Trade between Constantinople and Bagdad, alleged to be organized at Alexandria, instructs me to bring this matter to the notice of the Porte, and more especially to recommend the plan suggested by the Alexandria Prefect of Police, namely, that in the event of slaves being discovered, on board any vessel on her arrival in port, they should be at once sent back to the port whence they embarked. In compliance with this instruction I immediately addressed a note to the Porte, a copy of which is inclosed herewith.

I have also the honour to transmit a copy of the answer addressed to me, which evades the main proposal advanced in my note, substituting for it another, to the effect that the Khedive himself should order the Azizieh Company, which depends on him, no longer to give passage to slaves.

I have pointed out to Aali Pasha that whatever the value of this suggestion might be, I could not accept it as an answer to my formal proposal submitted to him by your Lordship's authority, and that this answer would not apply to Austrian vessels in which some slaves have been conveyed, especially those notified in Mr. Cumberbatch's telegram of 25th September, which gave rise to this correspondence.

His Highness repeated to me his assurance of the steadfast adherence of the Porte to the Firman of 1854, and to the policy of abolishing this infamous traffic.

On my pressing for an explicit answer, His Highness informed me that the orders lately issued by the Porte were, that all black slaves arriving by any of the Azizieh steamers (the only vessels which, according to him, still carried on the traffic) in a Turkish port should be immediately liberated and furnished with letters of manumission; that this measure, being still more humane and radical than that suggested, had already considerably checked the traffic, and had consequently rendered the measure proposed in my note superfluous.

Mr. Consul Cumberbatch notified to me by telegraph on the 16th ultimo the approaching arrival of 40 slaves by the Egyptian steamer "Demenhour." Due measures were taken here in consequence of my immediate representations, resulting in the discovery of from 12 to 15 slaves on this steamer. The Minister of Police believes that these passengers are possibly landed on the coast from the Azizieh steamers, but I doubt the accuracy of this conjecture.

Inclosure 1 in No. 97.

Mr. Barron to Aali Pasha.

Sir, *Constantinople, January* 6, 1870.

THE Imperial Firman of 1st October, 1854, proclaims that persons "who should have the audacity to deal in slaves should forthwith be severely punished." The Sublime Porte has issued frequent orders in accordance with the above Firman, and has shown a laudable desire to carry out the principles therein laid down.

It has, however, come to the knowledge of this Embassy that a considerable Traffic in Slaves is carried on between Alexandria on one side and Smyrna and Constantinople on the other. On the matter being represented to the Egyptian authorities they have promised to take measures to repress this evil, and have suggested one which depends for its execution on the orders of the Sublime Porte.

This measure consists in sending back at once to the port of embarkation the slaves found on board any vessel arriving in an Ottoman port.

Her Majesty's Government have instructed me to bring this matter to the notice of the Sublime Porte, and especially to recommend to its favourable consideration the adoption of the above plan suggested by the Egyptian authorities.

I have therefore the honour to request that your Highness will issue orders to the authorities here, at Smyrna, and at other ports, in accordance with the above suggestion, and will take other effectual measures for preventing the landing and sale of slaves brought from Egypt.

I avail, &c.
(Signed) H. BARRON.

Inclosure 2 in No. 97.

Aali Pasha to Mr. Barron.

M. le Chargé d'Affaires, *Sublime Porte, le* 26 *Janvier,* 1870.

J'AI reçu la note que vous avez bien voulu m'écrire le 6 Janvier pour m'entretenir d'une mesure proposée par l'Administration Egyptienne dans le but d'empêcher la Traite des Esclaves qui, d'après les informations parvenues à l'Ambassade de Sa Majesté Britannique, se pratiquerait entre le port d'Alexandrie et ceux de Smyrne et de Constantinople. Cette mesure consisterait à renvoyer à leurs échelles d'embarquement les esclaves que l'on essaierait de débarquer dans les ports de l'empire.

Le Gouvernement Impérial, fidèle aux principes proclamés par le Firman de 1854, n'a pas cessé de vouer ses efforts à empêcher la Traite des Esclaves dans l'empire, et il est prêt à prendre toutes les mesures qui lui paraîtrait propres à atteindre ce but. Seulement pour ce qui concerne la mesure proposée par l'Administration Egyptienne, il me paraît plus naturel, et dans tous les cas plus simple, que Son Altesse le Khédive lui-même donne à la Companie Azizié, qui relève directement de son Administration, et qui fait le service intermédiaire entre ces échelles, l'ordre de ne plus accorder passage à des convois de cette espèce.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) AALI.

No. 98.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Barron.

Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 15, 1870.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 1st instant respecting the measures proposed to be taken for checking the Slave Traffic between Alexandria and Constantinople carried on in the vessels of the Azizieh Company, I have to acquaint you that I have desired Colonel Stanton to urge the Khedive to forbid the Company from giving passages to these slaves on board their vessels.

I wish at the same time to inform you that the Austrian Government, after making strict inquiries into the charges brought against the Austrian Lloyd's Company of assisting in this Traffic, have stated their conviction that the charge is without foundation, except as regards the conveyance of slaves attached to the personal suite of an officer, with whom the Company have no right to interfere.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 99.

Sir H. Elliot to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received May 26.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, May* 12, 1870.

HER Majesty's Agent and Consul-General in Egypt, in his despatch to your Lordship of the 18th of April, reports that the Khedive intended to write to the Grand Vizier to suggest that the Ottoman authorities at the Porte should take measures against the Captains of any of the Azizieh vessels that had slaves for sale on board.

I learn upon inquiry from the Grand Vizier that no communication whatever of this nature has been received from the Viceroy.

What His Highness remarked to Colonel Stanton of the difficulty of preventing the transport of slaves, who profess to be the domestic servants of some passenger, is unquestionably correct; but there is, I believe, no ground for His Highness's insinuation that slaves are conveyed in the Austrian and French steamers, or at all events as regards the latter, in the same way as they have been in the ships of his own Company.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 100.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Foreign Office, May* 31, 1870.

I HAVE received from Sir R. Dalyell a despatch, dated the 2nd instant, of which he states he has sent a copy to your Excellency, reporting upon the state of slavery and the Slave Trade within his Consular district; and with reference to his suggestions, contained in the inclosed extract, as to freeing the slaves and indemnifying their owners, and procuring the official communication to the Governors-General of the Vilayet of the various Firmans and Vizirial letters upon the subject of the Slave Trade, I wish your Excellency to take such steps as you may think likely to be useful in support of Sir R. Dalyell's proposals.

I am, &c.

(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 101.

The Earl of Clarendon to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Foreign Office, June* 20, 1870.

YOUR Excellency will probably, ere this, have called the attention of the Porte to the circumstances set forth in a despatch addressed to me on the 4th instant by Her Majesty's Consul at Smyrna, of which he informs me that he transmitted a copy to Her Majesty's Embassy, and in which he reports the conduct of the local authorities with reference to various representations which he had at different times addressed to them on the subject of the maltreatment or sale of slaves within his Consular district. I have, however, to request your Excellency, in case you should not already have spoken in this sense, to take an early opportunity to press upon the attention of the Ottoman Government the gravity of the charges preferred against the authorities by Mr. Cumberbatch—more especially in the cases marked Nos. 2, 5, 6, and 7—in which the ends of justice were frustrated openly, and with perfect impunity, owing to the connivance or apathy of the authorities most immediately concerned. And, whilst doing full justice to the humane spirit which appears to animate the Governor-General with reference to the Slave Trade, you will not fail to make a serious representation to the Turkish Government on the subject—first, of the orders issued to him by the Porte in connection with the matter—orders which, according to his own showing, are wholly inadequate to enable him efficiently to deal with the evil complained of; and, secondly, regarding the statement made by the Governor that his endeavours to suppress the traffic do not meet with the support of his subordinates.

I am, &c.

(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 102.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Foreign Office, July* 26, 1870.

HER Majesty's Consul at Smyrna has informed me that he forwarded to your Excellency a copy of his despatch of the 1st instant, relative to the case of the slave, Elmas Abdullah, shipped on board the Austrian steamer "Venus" at Alexandria, and consigned to some person at Constantinople; as well as to the practice, not unfrequently resorted to by Egyptian dealers, of thus forwarding slaves to that capital as well as to Smyrna, to private individuals on consignment.

Your Excellency will have the goodness to urge the Porte to issue such instructions as will effectually prevent the evasion of the regulations now in force against the slave traffic between Egypt and Turkey.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 103.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received July 28.)

(Extract.) *Therapia, July* 17, 1870.

THE various cases of slave-dealing which have lately been reported by Her Majesty's Consul at Smyrna have been brought before the Turkish Government as they were made known to me, and I have generally had every reason to be satisfied with the way in which these communications were received.

The representations, however, which I made in reference to the cases alluded to in your Lordship's despatch of the 20th ultimo, have called forth an explanation from the Governor-General of Smyrna which I have the honour to inclose.

Although an impression that the continuance of slavery is undesirable is beginning to arise in certain quarters, the institution is in itself neither repugnant to the general sentiments of the public, nor contrary to the law, which has left its regularization in a very vague and uncertain state.

In submitting, therefore, to Mr. Cumberbatch the Governor-General's letter to the Porte, in order that he may give such explanations as he sees fit, I have thought it right to recall to his attention the instructions sent to him last October by the Earl of Clarendon's orders, prescribing caution, and directing him to confine himself to pointing out to the local authorities such cases of slave-dealing as might come to his knowledge.

It has to be borne in mind that it is only the traffic and the public sale of negroes that is prohibited by the Firman and Vizirial letters of 1857, while those of 1854 forbid the exportation of Georgians and Circassians from the Province of Batoum.

The transfer of either class from one master to another is not held to be illegal.

Inclosure in No. 103.

Veli Pasha's Report respecting certain Black Slaves at Smyrna.

(Traduction.) 28 *Rebiul-evel,* 1270.

L'ORDRE de votre Altesse en date de 25 Moharem, 1287, expédié en réponse à mon humble missive concernant les empiètements du Consul de Sa Majesté Britannique dans la question des esclaves, avait été dûment communiqué au susdit Consul. Cependant ce dernier n'a pas moins fait arrêter, la semaine dernière, par ses hommes trois de ces esclaves qui se trouvaient à bord du bateau Autrichien et qui arrivaient d'Alexandrie, et cela sans qu'il y ait aucune plainte de la part de qui que ce soit. Deux de ces esclaves se rendaient avec leurs maîtres à Constantinople, et le troisième devait être remis à Mustafa Nouri Effendi de Smyrne. Ils se nommaient respectivement Beshir, Mirouk, et Abdulah, et l'un en était majeur et les deux mineurs. Les maîtres de ces esclaves en ayant porté plainte, l'affaire fut référée au Mutésariflik de Smyrne en conformité des ordres supérieurs qui régissent cette matière.

Suivant les informations reçues en réponse du susdit Mutésariflik, les maîtres respectifs de Beshir et de Mirouk, les nommés Hadgi, Ibrahim, et Abdulah du district de Tikissen, déclarèrent qu'ils avaient affranchi leurs esclaves et qu'ils les conduisaient chez

eux en qualité d'enfants adoptifs, en ajoutant que si cela était contraire à la volonté supérieure, comme ils se rendaient à Constantinople, où se trouvait l'Ambassadeur de la susdite Puissance, l'affaire pouvait y être examinée, et s'il venait à être prouvé que leurs procédés étaient contraires à la volonté Impériale ils acceptaient à être traités comme ils le méritaient.

Quant à Mustafa Nouri Effendi, il a dit que son beau-frère Emin Agha lui avait envoyé le susdit Abdulah pour en faire un enfant adoptif et non pas pour trafic; que si après cela il serait arrivé à être surpris dans la tentative inconvenante de le vendre, il se soumettrait à être puni et à payer une amende; de plus il donna à cet effet un engagement par écrit à l'autorité locale.

Subséquemment le Consul Anglais s'étant rendu auprès de moi pour affaire, je saisis l'occasion pour lui déclarer que je ne pouvais tolérer qu'il se mêlât à l'encontre des ordres supérieurs dans des affaires d'esclaves pour lesquels il n'y avait pas de plaignants, et dont on ne connaissait pas s'ils étaient affranchis ou non, non plus que d'empêcher leurs maîtres de leur voyage; que son Gouvernement avait des Consuls dans toutes les parties de l'Empire qui pouvaient tout aussi bien l'informer s'il se passait quelque chose à l'encontre des capitulations et conventions existantes; et qu'enfin il était nécessaire que les susdits Beshir et Mirouk fussent envoyés à Constantinople pour que leur affaire soit examinée là bas et que le nommé Abdulah fut remis à Nouri Effendi sur l'engagement écrit qu'il se propose de donner à l'autorité. C'est avec beaucoup de peine que je l'ai persuadé à y acquiescer. Conséquemment, Beshir et Mirouk furent envoyés avec une lettre au Ministre de la Police qui s'entendra avec la Porte pour les mesures à prendre à leur égard. En même temps ordre fut donné au Mutésariflik de Smyrne de remettre à Nouri Effendi le nommé Abdulah, et de faire enregistrer et garder dans les archives du Mehkémé l'engagement ci-dessus mentionné, pour pouvoir être consulté en cas de nécessité. Ainsi fut réglée cette affaire. Cependant, comme j'ai eu déjà l'honneur de l'exposer à votre Altesse, le susdit Consul ne cesse pas d'intervenir sans cause dans de pareils cas et de molester une foule de personnes. Ainsi tout dernièrement à propos de deux Circassiens et d'un autre esclave laissés en héritage à ses enfants par un des primats de Smyrne nommé Mahir Effendi, et par sa femme décédée, le susdit Consul insistait auprès de l'autorité pour que ces esclaves fussent affranchis. Il est inutile de relever ici les conséquences fâcheuses qui peuvent résulter pour toutes les villes de l'Empire.

Par conséquent il revient à votre Altesse d'ordonner ce qui est nécessaire à cet égard et d'en faire part à votre très humble serviteur.

No. 104.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received August 4.)

Therapia, July 25, 1870.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose the copy of a Memorandum which I have addressed to the Porte upon receiving from Mr. Consul Cumberbatch a copy of his despatch to your Lordship of the 20th instant.

I have drawn attention to the encouragement which will be given to the traffic if slave-dealers are allowed to retain their slaves, upon taking a worthless engagement not to sell them; but, at the same time, the Governor-General's opinion of the right of persons to sell slaves privately is certainly in conformity with that of the highest authorities here; and his Excellency would not be entitled to insist upon the liberation of any slave whose master's character, as a slave-dealer, was not established.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 104.

Memorandum.

THE Sublime Porte, by the Note of Ethem Pasha, of the 29th of January, 1857, informed Lord Stratford de Redcliffe that "the definitive resolution had been adopted of abolishing the negro Slave Trade altogether, and of severely punishing those acting contrary to this interdiction."

During the course of the last twelvemonth Her Majesty's Consul at Smyrna has pointed out to the authorities of that place, and I have myself made known here, various

cases of flagrant and undoubted slave-dealing; but I regret to say that I have failed in discovering that in any one instance the slave-trader has been punished, as had been promised in the note to Lord Stratford.

It is true that in most cases the slaves were taken away from the dealers and liberated; but even this, although recognized in the note above quoted, is a punishment inadequate to the offence, and it has not always been done.

Her Majesty's Consul at Smyrna has just informed me of a case in which he had notified to the Governor-General the arrival of a slave-dealer with three African slaves; his Excellency not only did not cause the man to be punished, but allowed him to keep the slaves upon his undertaking that they should not be sold.

It would be absurd to pretend to believe that this promise will be observed, and, as the line adopted by the Governor-General would tend to show that the trade may be carried on without risk, it would be so little in harmony with the engagement taken by the Port in 1857 that I trust orders may be sent to his Excellency to act with greater energy towards those who venture upon a revolting and illegal traffic.

An extract of Mr. Cumberbatch's despatch, giving details of the case, is herewith inclosed.

Therapia, July 25, 1870.

No. 105.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Foreign Office, August* 5, 1870.

HER Majesty's Consul at Trebizonde informs me that he has communicated to your Excellency a copy of the despatch which he addressed to me on the 6th instant, on the subject of the sale by persons within his Consular district of certain Circassian girls to purchasers of the highest rank at Constantinople.

Your Excellency will be best able to judge whether, in view of the state of the law and of the regulations in force in the Ottoman dominions, the cases adverted to by Mr. Palgrave are of a nature to admit of your addressing a Remonstrance to the Porte on the subject; but, while I quite concur in the opinion expressed in your Excellency's despatch of the 17th ultimo, that prudence and caution are necessary on the part of Her Majesty's Consuls in their interference in these matters, I also think that it is hopeless to attempt to put an end to the traffic in slaves so long as they are bought and sold by persons of high rank and by Turkish officials.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 106.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received August 27.)

My Lord, *Therapia, August* 14, 1870.

IN accordance with the instructions conveyed to me by your Lordship's despatch of the 26th ultimo, I have not failed to urge the Porte to take efficient measures for stopping the system, resorted to by Egyptian slave-dealers, of forwarding slaves to Constantinople and Smyrna, for consignment to private individuals, as reported by Mr. Consul Cumberbatch.

I at once obtained a promise that instructions should be issued in the proper quarters which, it is hoped, may put an end to the practice complained of.

Mr. Cumberbatch has forwarded to your Lordship a copy of his despatch to me of the 29th ultimo, in answer to mine, communicating to him the complaint of the the Governor-General of Smyrna, respecting his proceedings in connection with slave-trading cases.

Mr. Cumberbatch states that the term "search" would not be properly applied to the measures he had taken respecting the foreign steamers in the Port of Smyrna, and I have no doubt that it may convey an exaggerated impression of them; but, at the same time, I may observe that it was the term by which he himself described them in a private letter upon the subject.

I have already intimated to your Lordship that Mr. Cumberbatch seemed to be acting upon an erroneous impression of the state of the Turkish law as regards slavery, and his

present despatch removes all doubt upon this point, for he asserts that "the law strictly prohibits slavery, except in the case of prisoners-of-war, and these are to be liberated after six years' servitude."

This statement of the law is given with such confidence that, however contrary it might be to the opinion I had previously expressed to Her Majesty's Government, after going with care into the question, I deemed it expedient to submit it to the appreciation of the Judge of Her Majesty's Supreme Consular Court by the letter of which I inclose a copy.

I requested his opinion upon the two totally distinct questions—first, as regards the legality or illegality of slavery, and, secondly, as to that of the Slave Trade.

I have the honour now to inclose Sir Philip Francis' reply, in which, after going very fully into the matter, he states—firstly, that slavery is still a legal institution in Turkey, in spite of vague professions of a desire to abolish it; secondly, that the negro Slave Trade is illegal, though tolerated; thirdly, that slaves may be sold by private contract, but not by auction or publicly; and, fourthly, that the white Slave Trade has never been prohibited.

I have forwarded this opinion of Sir Philip Francis to Mr. Cumberbatch in the despatch, of which a copy is herewith inclosed, as a guide for his future conduct; for, as Sir Philip Francis has pointed out, the wish of the Turks to obtain credit for having gone further than they really have gone towards the abolition of slavery, has induced them at times to hold language calculated to mislead those who have only superficially looked into the state of the law.

The engagement to punish slave-dealers was, as I have already pointed out in a previous despatch, distinctly taken to Her Majesty's Government, and it will be my duty to keep these facts before the Porte.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure 1 in No. 106.

Sir H. Elliot to Sir P. Francis.

Sir, *Therapia, August* 8, 1870.

IN the inclosed despatch from Mr. Consul Cumberbatch, giving some explanations which I had called for in reference to certain cases of slave-trading, he states that the law strictly prohibits slavery, except in the cases of prisoners of war.

I am desirous of having your opinion whether this is a correct exposition of the law as it at present exists in the Turkish dominions, and I have therefore to request you to inform me what you hold the law to be as regards the two questions of slave-trading and of possessing slaves.

I am, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure 2 in No. 106.

Sir P. Francis to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Constantinople, August* 12, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 8th instant. Your Excellency desires my opinion as to the present state of the law in the Ottoman dominions in respect of the Slave Trade in this country and of slavery.

In the first place, however, I will refer to the statement made by Mr. Consul Cumberbatch to the effect that the law strictly prohibits slavery except in the case of prisoners of war.

This statement is, in my opinion, not correct. Slavery is an admitted institution in the Ottoman Dominions, sanctioned by the Moslem religion and laws.

Slaves may be acquired not only in war, but the children of slaves are slaves. Slaves may also be acquired by purchase. Inasmuch as the law allows a master to sell slaves, it follows that their purchase is legal. The erroneous idea that slavery is illegal here has arisen partly, I think, from the language held on various occasions by high Ottoman functionaries. Thus, on 5th February, 1868, Fuad Pasha, in replying to an address of the Anti-Slavery Society, is reported to have said that the Government of the Sultan adhered "with its whole heart" to the Anti-Slavery principle announced by the Society, and

added, "Slavery is an institution which has disappeared little by little from the great portion of the civilized world." "It was also abolished in Turkey from the day that the first beams of civilization penetrated into that country, and it tends more and more to disappear from our customs.

"The principle of the Mahometan religion constitutes their liberation an act of justice, and cannot but facilitate the effects of the idea of civilization."

If Fuad Pasha is here correctly reported, he evidently made a statement calculated alike to please and mislead the philanthropic public. But it is nevertheless obvious, if the whole of his address is considered, that, notwithstanding the plausible language he used, slavery is not, according to his showing, abolished in Turkey, nor has it been abolished since. Again, on the 20th June, 1867, the Viceroy of Egypt said, in answer to an address through Nubar Pasha, "Slavery is a horrible institution," and he desired to see it extinguished, but it could not be done in a day. . . . . "The civilization and progress in Egypt depend upon its abolition," &c. Such language is calculated to affect the popular mind so as to induce the belief that slavery is obnoxious to the Government in this country, or at least barely tolerated, whereas it seems to me that the anti-slavery views existing in this country are only simulated by the Turks, and their expressions of liberal opinions are only repetitions of the sentiments of others, and foreign to their own ideas. They are the expressions of the few who, mixing with Europeans, echo, though but not honestly, the civilized views of others on this subject.

The fact, however, that such language is held (though, I fear, chiefly in deference to the Christian elements surrounding Turks), affords some evidence that the present is a transition state, which, nevertheless, is a very different thing from a total conversion to anti-slavery principles.

Again, persons may be excused to some extent in supposing that slavery is opposed to the laws of the country from the fact that certainly in Egypt, and, I believe, in Turkey too, if a slave escapes to a foreign Consulate, the Consul can send to the local authorities a demand for the paper of freedom for the slave, who is accordingly made a free man.

I never could discover that there was any legal authority for this privilege so accorded to Consulates; but of the fact that large numbers of slaves are so liberated there can be no doubt. This circumstance may be interpreted by the sanguine and charitable as a proof that *vis-à-vis* Christian Governments the Ottoman authorities are desirous of proclaiming their disapprobation of the institution. But, at any rate, it affords conclusive evidence that there exists now no such institution as slavery and a certain admitted process of giving slaves freedom.

Again, Ethem Pasha, in his letter to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, on January 29th, 1857 (Hertslet, X. 1014, Resolutions relative to the Abolition and Prevention of the Slave Trade), after commenting on the cruelty of the Slave Trade in negroes, says:—"The Sublime Porte is desirous of giving effect as soon as possible to a praiseworthy desire" (the total suppression of the trade) "so much in harmony with the dictates of humanity;" indeed, as a preliminary to the acceptance of the principle of the abolition of negro slavery, the Sublime Porte has issued suitable instructions," &c. Here we find an undertaking, if the translation is correct, that the Ottoman Porte was about to accept the principle "of the abolition of slavery." But I am not aware that during the last thirteen years any steps have been taken in this direction. The same paper, however, positively forbids the negro Slave Trade. The Pasha says:—"The definite resolution has been adopted of abolishing the negro Slave Trade altogether," &c. The Slave Trade here mentioned (looking at the context), I think, must mean only the importation of slaves into the country, not the sale by one private owner to another.

Then follows the resolution of the "suitable punishment" of slave-traders. In January, 1857, the Firman to the Pasha of Egypt and all other pashaliks south of Constantinople, was issued forbidding the Slave Trade from Egypt, &c. (Hertslet X, 1057.) Further, at page 1078, sales of slaves by auction and the public slave market are prohibited, but no sales by private contract. I do not know of any prohibition against the trade in white slaves, Circassians and Georgians; and seeing that the Sultan and Pashas recruit their harems from these sources, one would hardly expect that hypocrisy would go so far as for them to engage to abolish that traffic which their wives also carry on for profit.

I think, on the two questions before me, therefore, that the proper inference is—1. That slavery is still a legal institution in Turkey, in spite of vague professions of a desire to abolish it; 2. That the negro Slave Trade is illegal, though tolerated; 3. That slaves may be sold by private contract, but not by auction or publicly; and 4. That the white Slave Trade has never been prohibited.

I made a long report last year to Her Majesty's Government as to how the laws on

slavery were observed, and I therefore have confined myself here to answering your Excellency's questions as to my view of the law.

I have, &c.
(Signed) P. FRANCIS.

Inclosure 3 in No. 106.

Sir H. Elliot to Consul Cumberbatch.

Therapia, August 14, 1870.

Sir,

I HAVE received your despatch of the 29th ultimo, respecting the complaint of the Governor-General of Smyrna in reference to certain proceedings of yours respecting slave-trading, and I shall communicate your explanations to the Porte.

I submitted to the Judge of Her Majesty's Consular Court your statement, that the law strictly prohibits slavery, except in the case of prisoners of war, and requested his opinion as to the state of the law upon the two separate questions of slave-trading and of possessing slaves.

I inclose an extract of Sir P. Francis' opinion, from which you will perceive that you have been proceeding under misapprehension of the state of the Turkish law in this matter; that slavery is a legal institution in Turkey; and that although the negro Slave Trade is illegal, and slaves may not be sold publicly by auction, their sale by private contract is not illegal; and finally, that the white Slave Trade has never been prohibited.

This explanation will relieve you of all uncertainty in regard to the law; and you will carefully guide yourself by it on any future occasion which may arise.

I am, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 107.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received August 27.)

Therapia, August 16, 1870.

(Extract.)

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 5th instant, relating to a despatch from Mr. Consul Palgrave, in which he comments upon the purchase of Circassian girls by persons of the highest rank at Constantinople.

I can assure your Lordship, that upon receiving from Mr. Palgrave a copy of that despatch, I considered carefully whether it would be possible for me to take any action upon it; and I arrived at the conviction that I could not with propriety bring the matter forward.

Sir Philip Francis' statement of the Ottoman law in respect to slavery, forwarded in another despatch, sufficiently shows that I should not have been justified in representing the act as illegal; and the practice which has been sanctioned by immemorial usage having nothing in it revolting to Turkish feeling, no remonstrance could have been made against it, unless by taking up a ground which would have been regarded as in the highest degree offensive.

I regret to be obliged to share your Lordship's opinion that it is hopeless to attempt to put an end to the Traffic in Slaves so long as they are bought and sold by officials and persons of high rank.

Till there is a complete revolution in the social organization of the country and in public opinion, and while the Sovereign of the country, and most of the principal personages in it, possess slaves, who must be recruited from some quarter or other, it will be, as your Lordship says, vain to think of seeing the trade in them extinguished.

Its most revolting features, and the demoralizing publicity of sale, may be said to have nearly ceased already; and the vigilance of Her Majesty's Consuls may well be exercised in seeing that they do not revive; but for anything more, we must, I believe, wait for the development of the higher tone of moral feeling which the daily increasing contact of the Turks with other nations will gradually bring about.

Till that time shall have arrived, notwithstanding the declarations which may occasionally have been made of the intention to put an end to slavery altogether, it would be utterly futile to propose to the Porte to render the possession of slaves illegal; for even if the Government was willing to attempt it (which it certainly would not be), it would find itself powerless to carry out such a reform, contrary to the general feeling of the country.

Any one who now proposed such a thing would have about as much chance of being listened to as if he had suggested it to the Southern States of America previous to the late war.

No. 108.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September 8.)

My Lord, *Therapia, August* 27, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to inclose the copy of a Report from Mr. Pisani of his execution of my instructions in conveying to the Porte the substance of Mr. Cumberbatch's despatch of the 4th instant.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 108.

Mr. Pisani to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Therapia, August* 25, 1870.

I GAVE to Server Effendi a fresh version of Mr. Consul Cumberbatch's despatch of the 4th instant, and told his Excellency that now that the state of things at Smyrna respecting slavery are pointed out to the Porte your Excellency entertains no doubt that orders will at once be given to the Vali to take measures calculated to put a stop to them at once.

I further stated that nothing, however, can be regarded as a serious attempt at checking them that does not include the punishment of those who are seen to be publicly and notoriously conducting an abominable and illegal Traffic, and till that is done every declaration upon the subject must be considered of little value.

Server Effendi, after carefully perusing Mr. Cumberbatch's despatch, said that your Excellency may rest assured that the Porte will lose no time in writing to the Vali of Smyrna in stringent and peremptory terms to devise all the means he may think conducive to bring about a complete cessation of the Traffic in human beings.

I have, &c.
(Signed) E. PISANI.

No. 109.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 15, 1870.

I APPROVE the communication which your Excellency made to the Porte through Mr. Pisani regarding the Slave Trade at Smyrna, as reported in your despatch of the 27th ultimo.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 110.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September 17.)

My Lord, *Therapia, September* 1, 1870.

I HAVE received from Sir P. Francis the accompanying despatch modifying the statement contained in his despatch of the 12th instant relative to the trade in Georgian and Circassian slaves.

A reference to my despatch will show that the Firman and instructions to which Sir P. Francis now alludes had not escaped my attention, but they appear only to have been addressed to the Commander-in-chief at Batoum, and to apply solely to that province.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure in No. 110.

Sir P. Francis to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Constantinople, August* 30, 1870.

WITH reference to my despatch of 12th August touching the Slave Trade, I ought to have alluded to the Firmans (1 and 2) of October 1854 (Hertslet, pages 614 and 616). There are certainly passages in these Firmans which apply to slavery and Slave Trade of Circassians and Georgians.

The first Firman says, "Il y a des gens qui prennent de la Georgie des enfants et des femmes, et les vendent en disant que ce sont des esclaves," &c.

Instructions then follow against the embarking of slaves to Turkey.

The instructions of the Porte (*vide* pages 616 and 617) are also very strong.

The statement I made in my despatch that Slave Trade of whites has not been prohibited is therefore not accurate, and I desire, with your permission, to correct it.

I have, &c.

(Signed) P. FRANCIS.

No. 111.

Sir H. Elliot to Earl Granville.—(Received September 17.)

My Lord, *Therapia, September* 2, 1870.

LAST week Sir P. Francis and myself received telegrams from Tripoli in Africa from an unknown informant, announcing that a cargo of slaves had been shipped six days before in a steamer for Constantinople.

I at once made a very strong representation on the subject to the Porte, Sir P. Francis having in the meantime called upon the Minister of Police to take the necessary steps in the matter, and I found that the steamer in question had arrived the previous day, but that the Government having likewise received similar information, had been on the look-out, and had at once taken charge of the slaves, who will receive their manumission.

I am promised that the captain of the steamer shall be severely punished.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

No. 112.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 20, 1870.

I APPROVE the steps taken by your Excellency upon receiving information of the shipment of a cargo of slaves from Tripoli to Constantinople, as reported in your despatch of the 6th instant.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 113.

Earl Granville to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Foreign Office, November* 29, 1870.

HER MAJESTY'S Consul at Smyrna has informed me that he apprized your Excellency of the fact that, during the month of September last two African slave boys, who had been conveyed from Egypt to Constantinople, on board the Austrian steamer "Jupiter," were exposed for sale in that capital. I have to inform you that I communicated to Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General in Egypt, the substance of Mr. Cumberbatch's despatch, and I now transmit to you a copy of the reply which I have received from Colonel Stanton on the subject.*

I have to add that instructions have been sent to Mr. Cumberbatch, enjoining him, in

* No 150.

the event of his tracing any further instances of slave-traffic of this nature, to forward to Her Majesty's Embassy such indications concerning the guilty persons as may tend to insure their arrest and punishment on their arrival at Constantinople.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

TURKEY IN EUROPE. (*Consular*)—*Rustchuk.*

No. 114.

Sir R. Dalyell to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received May* 26.)

My Lord, *Rustchuk, May* 2, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to submit such information as I have been able to collect on the subject of Mr. Spring Rice's Circular despatch of August 31, 1869, inquiring whether any Slave Traffic is carried on within my Consular jurisdiction, or whether the Firmans of the Sultan for the suppression of this traffic are carried out in good faith."

A despatch from myself to Mr. Barron, and Mr. Barron's reply (copies inclosed), will explain the necessity I have been under to apply to the Embassy for the Firmans.

I have now before me—

1. Firman of 1857 as to black slaves.*
2. Vizirial letter of same year as to black slaves.

3 and 4. Firmans issued in 1854, prohibiting the importation of Georgians and C rcassians (white slaves).

The Governor-General has informed me (it is, perhaps, proper that I should state that, as instructed by Mr. Barron's despatch, I have not gone beyond unofficial representations) that "the archives of the vilayet do not contain, and that, consequently, he has no official knowledge of the Firman of 1857, and the Vizirial letter of the same year," but that in respect to Circassians two Vizirial letters prohibiting the sale by Circassian immigrants of members of their families. The latest, and, his Excellency states to me, the most important, bearing date the 28 Zilcadé, 1281 of the Hegira (A.D. 1865) exist in his archives, adding that "although miscopying and obliteration of words render this latter Vizirial letter almost unintelligible he endeavours to act up to its purport."

The state of things in this part of Turkey seems to be as follows:—

In the vilayet of the Danube black slaves are not numerous, Mussulmans permanently resident in the vilayet generally employing in their houses servants hired from year to year, frequently Bulgarian women. Mussulman employés arriving from Constantinople have, however, frequently in their houses black and sometimes white slaves.

The authorities do not interfere in the case of Circassian slaves brought with them by some of the richer immigrants so long as they remain in the original master's family, but profess to prevent the sale of such white slaves to third parties.

According to the Firman of 1857 no persons, except such as were slaves prior to its date, seem to be legally in a servile status; and from its tenor, though there is no express stipulation therein on the point, a child born since 1857 of slave parents would appear to be legally free, nevertheless.

No distinction appears to be here made in practice as to whether a slave has been reduced into slavery since 1857 or before that date; and

The children born of slaves since 1857 seem to be still considered to have a servile, not a free status.

I am informed that if a slave has a child by a Mussulman master the child, if a male, is considered free and the mother is invariably emancipated; but that if the child is a female the child and the mother both continue of servile status.

I am informed that in the event of a slave, black or white, escaping or applying to be set free, which latter case, in the event of ill-treatment by the master, now not unfrequently

* Translation in Slave Trade Papers, presented to Parliament 1858, Class B.

occurs, the authorities generally endeavour to arrange the matter; the masters in such cases put forward that, slavery being admitted by the Koran and the Sheriat (religious law) being obligatory on Turkish officials, the master has a right to claim that the slave be restored, and failing this that the Government should indemnify the master for the slave's value. One instance, at least, has occurred lately, since the Governor-General has been aware that the attention of Her Majesty's Government is directed to the matter, where a Circassian family has been set free, the master having received indemnity from a fund which exists here for establishing and otherwise dealing with Circassian immigrants. There is, however, as yet no clearly established principle on the matter, and the masters, as a rule, generally have means for procuring the restitution of the slave. The authorities, however, deny that they afford active assistance.

The Firman of 1857 is rarely, if ever, here transgressed by exposure of slaves to sale by auction; a case, however, reported (Inclosure 3) at least very nearly approached the line; in this special case the slave appeared, however, to be to a certain degree of weak intellect, and it may be questionable whether it would have been for his own benefit to leave him without some sort of control.

Families appear to be not unfrequently separated when sold, which may be contended to be in contradiction of the clause in the Firman providing that where the alienation of a slave is permitted the transaction is to be managed "in any way consonant with generosity."

To put the extreme case of ill-treatment—the case of murder of a slave by the master—the master would under the sheriat (religious law), which prescribed only a pecuniary indemnity to relations for blood, escape punishment, on the ground that he, not the relations, had property in the slave, and that, consequently, the relations sustained no pecuniary damage; and, although under the existing Criminal Code the master would now be punishable, a master generally manages to evade punishment.

For further and corroborative details, I have the honour to draw attention to replies received from the Vice-Consuls to some queries I addressed to them (Inclosure 4).

A very intelligent Mutessarif, Governor of one of the seven districts which depend on the Governor-General, with whom I have conversed on this subject, has informed me that the slaves here now give their masters so much trouble by applications to the authorities, that the Mussulmans in this vilayet would be very glad to see the system of slavery cease. My informant added that, considering that the slaves here are not numerous, he should propose indemnifying the masters for their slaves on moderate terms from the Circassian Fund, and declaring the slaves free, and that the revenue of the fund, which is very large, could easily meet the expense. I may perhaps be allowed to submit that, in respect to this vilayet, the Porte be moved to address all the Firmans and Vizirial letters, especially the Firman of 1857 to the Governor-General; that the authorities be stringently warned as to their duty and responsibility under such Firmans and Vizirial letters; and that the possibility of enfranchising such slaves as still exist in this vilayet, black and white, from its Circassian Immigrant Fund be pressed on the Porte.

The great rise in the price of slaves, both black and white, at Constantinople and elsewhere shows, I presume, a very great and progressive diminution in the number of slaves in Turkey, in comparison to what existed even a few years ago, and were Turkish officials punished, instead of being, as is more usually the case, promoted, when they in this as in many other cases treat with contempt the commands of the Sultan, progress in this, as in other matters affecting the well-being of the Empire, would take a very different shape in this province.

I have, &c.
(Signed R. A. O. DALYELL.

Inclosure 1 in No. 114.

Sir R. Dalyell to Mr. Barron.

Rustchuk, February 4, 1870.

Sir,

SOME time since I received a despatch (Circular) from the Foreign Office, desiring information as to whether any Slave Traffic is carried on within this Consular jurisdiction, or whether the Firmans of the Sultan for the suppression of Slave Traffic are carried out in good faith.

The archives of the Governor-General have since, at my request, been searched for fifteen years back, and no copy of such Firmans can be found; moreover, the Ottoman

authorities inform me, perhaps truly, that they are not precisely aware of the specific dispositions of these Firmans.

Domestic slaves are bought and sold in this vilayet, as I believe throughout Turkey; but such slaves are in Turkey very much, as to treatment, on the footing of domestic servants in Christian Europe; are continually manumitted; and slave descent, not involving in Mussulman countries any social degradation, often rise to high positions.

As I cannot afford the information required by Her Majesty's Government without having the Firmans before me, I would request you to be so good as to obtain for me copies of the same.

Official versions no doubt exist in the archives of the Embassy, or might be obtained on application to the Porte.

As all Turkish official documents are, from the nature of the language, of the most elastic description, it would be well that they should be accompanied by the translations, which were no doubt, at the time of their issue, furnished to Her Majesty's Embassy.

I have, &c.

(Signed) R. A. O. DALYELL.

Inclosure 2 in No. 114.

Mr. Barron to Sir R. Dalyell.

(Extract.)

WITH reference to your despatch of the 4th ultimo, requesting copies of the Firmans bearing on the suppression of Slave Trade, I beg to inclose herewith a copy of the only one that exists bearing on the negro Slave Trade. This Firman was accompanied by a Vizirial Circular on the same subject, also inclosed. Both were at the time addressed to a certain number of Valis and Mutessarifs, but not, it appears, to those of Rustchuk, Varna, &c. From passages in both, it appears, however, that they were intended to signify a universal prohibition, and therefore to be in force in your Vilayet, as well as everywhere else, excepting in the Hedjaz.

I inclose herewith also a translation of the first of these documents, taken from the Slave Trade papers presented to Parliament in 1858: Class B. The Vizirial Circular is somewhat analogous to the firman, and therefore, to save time, a translation of it is not sent herewith. I must request you to return to me the two Turkish documents which belong to our archives.

It seems to me that the most important point to be elicited is to know whether or not the authorities protect the masters in their rights of property over their slaves. Here we are told that they do not. Without such protection it seems, however, to be hardly conceivable that slavery in the proper sense of the word should exist at all.

The law, no doubt, is vague and elastic in its working, and very dissimilar in its application in different provinces. But in all the institution certainly exists. If and how that can be without the active support of the police is a problem worthy of elucidation.

The firman would seem to prohibit only the movement and sale of slaves, allowing those who were previously slaves to remain in that condition. The Vizirial Circular says expressly:—"This rule of emancipation is only to effect such slaves as may in future be imported by slave-dealers." From this and the general context it may be inferred that the status of servitude still attaches legally to those slaves who have been in the same hands since 1857; but that persons born, purchased or imported subsequently to that date are legally free.

As the Vali denies all cognizance of these laws, it is desirable that you should bring them to his knowledge, and unofficially demand their application. I have at the same time pressed the Porte to address them officially to his Excellency. The reason, eminently unsatisfactory and according to your despatch untrue, given by the Porte for not having sent, and for now refusing to send thither the Firman and Circular of 1857, is that the Slave Trade does not exist there at all.

(Signed) H. BARRON.

Inclosure 3 in No. 114.

M. Gregoire Abrahamea to Sir R. Dalyell.

M. le Consul, *Rustchuk, le* 21 *Mars,* 1870.

CONFORMEMENT à vos instructions je résume les informations que j'ai pu prendre sur le nommé Wahid, jeune nègre qui s'est dernièrement presenté au Consulat en priant votre intervention dans sa faveur auprès des autorités locales.

Wahid se dit être Souhali, né à un endroit Sultan-Seid, dans le pays de l'Emir de Muscat; il dit que après avoir été enlevé avec plusieurs autres par des marchands d'esclaves, il a été transporté par l'Asie Mineure, et été finalement vendu à Constantinople; il ajoute que plusieurs de ses compagnons avait été libérés par l'intervention des Anglais, mais ne savait préciser où cela leur est arrivé.

Le Douanier de Rustchuk, Kerim Effendi, l'avait acheté comme esclave pour 20 livres Turques d'un autre Effendi. Wahid insistait qu'il est libre ("hurri") et qu'il ne peut pas être vendu; il s'est donc enfuit de chez Kérim Effendi et se promenait à Rustchuk ça et là et ne voulait absolument aller chez Kérim Effendi.

Kérim Effendi ne voulait aussi garder cet esclave, mais il voulait d'abord avoir ses 20 livres Turques.

Un certain Arab, Hadji Mehmed Aga, crieur publique à Rustchuk, m'a raconté que ce même Wahid a alors été mis à l'enchère publique dans le Medjliss de Rustchuk, et que lui-même le susdit Hadji Mehmed l'a acheté à 16 livres Turques pour le vendre plus avantageusement; que les 16 livres ont été données à Kerim Effendi et le nommé Wahid au susdit téllal Hadji Mehmed; que sous peu le susdit Wahid s'enfuit de chez le susdit Hadji Mehmed et se sauve à Schumla, où il s'est fait inscrire soldat et retourne à Rustchuk avec la troupe; que lui Hadji Mehmed, qui était à sa poursuite tous les jours pour l'attraper, retrouve son esclaves, et par la voie de l'autorité locale retire Wahid de la troupe et l'amène chez lui; que lui, le susdit Hadji Mehmed, s'était déjà repenti de l'avoir acheté, car il l'avait bien habillé et le nourrissait bien, chose qui le coutait d'argent, voulait se débarrasser mais ne savait comment; que par hasard quelques jours après un nommé Yonouz Aga, marchand de tabac à Rustchuk, lui propose s'il veut lui vendre Wahid, à condition qu'il lui donnera par argent 750 piastres, 4 sacs pour cheval ("héïbé"), et autres effets; que lui, le susdit Hadji Mehmed, a consenti et l'échange a été fait; que Yonouz Aga après avoir pris en sa possession Wahid est parti pour Pilevné, dans l'intérieur du Vilayet, pour pouvoir le vendre avec un bon profit.

J'ai, &c.

(Signé) GREGOIRE ABRAHAMEA,
Drogman au Consulat de Sa Majesté Britannique.

Inclosure 4 in No. 114.

Queries.

1. WHEN slaves, black or white, leave or escape from their masters, do the local authorities and police afford the masters assistance to retake and recover the slaves?
2. Are slaves, black or white, sold?
3. If so, are they sold by public auction or privately?
4. If slaves are sold are families separated, or is the whole family sold by one transaction?
5. Are the slaves as a rule well treated, or the contrary, by their masters?
6. In the event of a slave being ill-treated by the master, do the local authorities interfere to protect the slave and punish the master?

If you are aware of any sales of slaves by public auction which have occurred in your Vice-Consular district, you will be so good as to instance them, giving any well-authenticated particulars as to names, localities, dates, &c., you may be able to obtain.

Replies from Kustendji.

1. When slaves escape from their masters the local authorities do not afford assistance to recover the slaves.
2. Slaves are still sold.
3. Slaves are sold privately, and never exposed, as formerly, for sale by auction.
4. Families are separated or sold together, as the case may be, generally individually.
5. Slaves, as a rule, are well treated.
6. For cases of ill-treatment the local authorities protect the slave; they do not punish the master, but cannot force the slave to return.

I have heard of no sales of slaves by public auction since I have been in the country, and do not believe any to have taken place.

(Signed) F. F. SANKEY.

Replies from Soulina and Tultcha.

1. Should a slave, black or white, attempt to escape from a master, the local authorities do, to a certain extent, always afford secret assistance in order to recover or retake the slave.

2. Both black and white slaves are sold.

3. The sale of slaves is now carried on in secret.

4. Sometimes a whole family may be sold into slavery by one transaction, or a single slave is sold, and families separated.

5. The master maltreats them by inflicting various punishments.

6. In the event of a slave being ill-treated by the master, the local authorities never interfere to protect the slave, and should the latter lodge any complaint against the former, he not only gets no assistance but is ordered and compelled to return to the house without redress.

The late Director of Customs at this port, Mehmed Effendi, now in Tultcha, purchased in 1868 at Constantinople, with the assistance of Azy Effendi, a member of the Medjliss of Sulina, a female white slave for the sum of 2,000 piastres (about 19*l.*)

Mahmud, his predecessor, also in same year bought a white female slave of Medjib Bey, late Director of the Quarantine Establishment here.

Hassan Aga, Secretary in the Sanitary Office, bought at Babadagh, through Aziz Effendi, a white female slave now in his service for 1,800 piastres.

Ahmed Bey, the Captain of the port, has two white slaves in his house; and Apti Effendi, the Commander of the gun-boat, possesses a black slave girl; while Ahmed Mazif Effendi, the Cadi, owns a black and a white boy brought from Constantinople.

I am informed there are upwards of 200 slaves in the Tultcha, mostly Circassians from the villages near Babadagh,—Circassian parents being always ready to offer their children for sale.

I am also informed Havous Effendi, the Governor of Isaktcha, and Aziz Effendi, the Member of the Medjliss, traffic with the Circassian villages in slaves, the latter realizing from 300 to 500 piastres profit on each slave.

(Signed) J. HUTTON DUPUIS.

Replies from Varna.

1. Officiellement l'autorité locale ne semble pas se prêter à la recherche d'esclaves échappés; des affaires pareilles se traitant plutôt par l'entremise officieuse du Kadi, qui maintient le droit à l'esclavage.

2. Ouvertement non clandestinement de temps à autre, et principalement en esclaves femelles, oui.

3. Ces affaires se traitent toujours en cachette, mais il n'est pas trop difficile à connaître les entremetteurs.

4. Généralement il ne se fait presque plus de transactions en esclaves parmi la population Musulmane de ce district, et cet usage allait peut-être tomber en désuétude, jusqu'à la dernière immigration de Circassiens, chez lesquels cet usage est encore en pleine vigueur, et tant par habitude qu'aussi poussé par la misère les chefs de famille ont souvent offerts, et vendus isolement surtout des filles et des enfants à de très bas prix.

5. Généralement les esclaves sont bien traités et considérés comme faisant partie de sa famille; mais le maître a aussi, d'après la coutume orientale, un pouvoir absolu dans sa maison, et difficilement on apprend au juste dans le public ce qui se passe dans l'intérieur des maisons.

6. Comme dit ci-haut il faut que le mauvais traitement d'un esclave soit devenu insupportable pour que celui-ci ait le courage et surtout la possibilité de s'en plaindre au dehors; mais en ce dernier cas l'autorité locale est toujours prête à intervenir en faveur de l'esclave et d'insister auprès du maître pour empêcher des actes de violence brutale.

Pourtant je n'ai pas entendu encore qu'on ait retiré un esclave des mains d'un maître barbare.

Tout récemment il y a eu un cas de vente de toute une famille, esclave d'un chef Circassien a quelques lieues de Varna dans le Caza de Pazardjik; c'est du reste le cas le plus saillant qui s'est présenté depuis plusieurs années.

(Signé) E. REISER, *Acting Vice-Consul.*

TURKEY IN ASIA. (*Consular*)—*Bagdad.*

No. 115.

Acting Consul-General Herbert to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received March* 28.)

Sir, *Bagdad, February* 16, 1870.

IN reply to your despatch, dated 23rd December last, I have the honour to report that I can learn nothing of any particularly organized system which is stated to be in force at Alexandria for furthering the Slave Trade, carried on between Constantinople and this place.

I have, &c.
(Signed) C. HERBERT.

TURKEY IN ASIA. (*Consular*)—*Jeddah.*

No. 116.

Consul Raby to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received January* 8, 1870.)

My Lord, *Jeddah, December* 10, 1869.

WITH reference to the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch of the 31st of August last, I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship the inclosed Report on the Slave Trade existing in this district.

The information therein contained has necessarily been obtained entirely from private sources, but I have reason to believe that it is substantially correct.

I beg leave to state that the very great difficulty in collecting trustworthy information on this subject has been the cause of the delay which has arisen in the transmission of this Report, a copy of which will, in compliance with the orders contained in your Lordship's despatch before-mentioned, be forwarded by this mail to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR RABY.

Inclosure in No. 116.

Report on the Slave Trade existing in the Consular District of Jeddah.

NOTWITHSTANDING the prohibition of the Slave Trade contained in the Sultan's Firmans, a considerable traffic in slaves is carried on in this Consular district, most decidedly with the connivance of the Ottoman authorities, who, whilst professing not to allow this commerce, permit it to exist without making any real attempt to suppress it.

The same may be said of the Egyptian authorities at the ports of Massowah and Souakin, who make not the slightest effort to hinder the exportation of slaves from those places.

If not all, certainly a large majority, of both Ottoman and Egyptian authorities, own slaves, besides which any attempt made by them to oppose this traffic would have the effect of rendering them most unpopular, and of creating many enemies in the country.

Another motive operates also strongly against any active interference in this traffic

on the part of the local authorities—namely, the fact that, by their tacit permission, a considerable source of indirect revenue is frequently opened to many of them.

But even were the Ottoman authorities ever so well disposed to act vigorously for the suppression of the Slave Trade in this district, it would be excessively difficult for them to carry out their good intentions. The whole population is so decidedly in favour of slavery, which, if not absolutely ordered, is sanctioned by the Koran, that any endeavour to interfere with the existing state of things would, in all probability, meet with an opposition which would be most serious for the Ottoman authorities in this province, who are so hated by the Arabs, and whose power may be said to be scarcely more than nominal.

As an instance of this it is sufficient to state that a few months since the Governor-General of this Province, having received a communication from the Government at Constantinople, stating that complaints had reached that place with respect to the open carrying on of the Slave Trade in the provinces intrusted to his rule, and reproaching him for want of attention to the existing Firmans, and a report having, in consequence, been spread at Mecca that the said traffic was about to be abolished, very great ill-feeling was displayed by the native population; so much so, indeed, that a rising was dreaded.

No steps, however, were taken by the Ottoman authorities, and the ill-feeling caused by the rumour gradually died away.

On the said occasion the Kaimakam of this place acted apparently with greater vigour, as, upon learning from the Governor-General the sense of the communication received from Constantinople, he caused one of the principal slave-dealers here to be imprisoned and threatened with exile from Jeddah. He was, however, shortly afterwards released, but a warning was given to him, and to others engaged in the said traffic, that, in case of their persistance, severe measures would be adopted.

It can hardly be supposed, however, that these threats were made in good faith, or with the intention of being carrried out. More probably this activity was shown by the Kamiakam with a view of gaining credit by an extra display of energy.

It is impossible to give precisely the number of slaves brought here, but from 2,000 to 2,500 are supposed to be landed annually in the immediate neighbourhood of Jeddah. Of these from 500 to 600 are brought from Massowah and Souakin, and the remainder from Hodeidah.

Those from Massowah and Souakin are brought to those ports from the interior, and shipped there sometimes in small numbers on board the steamers of the Egyptian Azizieh Company, but more frequently by native sailing craft. At present, the steamers having ceased to ply between this port and the opposite coast, the traffic is carried on entirely by native sailing-boats.

The slaves imported from Hodeidah are brought there from Zeyla, almost opposite Aden.

The Sheik of Zeyla, Aboubekr Shahim, who pays an annual tribute to the Ottoman Government, through the Pasha of Yemen, is said to have been long engaged in this traffic. From his territory it is said that about from 3,500 to 4,000 slaves are exported annually to Hodeidah. Of these upwards of 2,000 remain at that place or are sent into the interior of the Yemen, whilst the remainder are sent on to this port. These are almost invariably brought here by native sailing craft, as the Egyptian Azizieh steamers do not run between this port and Hodeidah.

The importation of slaves being prohibited, they do not arrive openly in the harbour of Jeddah. The plan usually followed with respect to those brought by native sailing craft from Hodeidah, Massowah, and Souakin is for boats belonging to this port to meet them at sea at some distance from this place; the slaves are then transhipped from one boat to the other, and are landed on the coast at night; they are then brought into the town in small parties, as if coming from the interior. They are never, or very rarely, brought in through the Custom-house gate, by which all arrivals by sea ought to pass. Of the whole number brought to Jeddah about 500 or 600 are sent on to Egypt, some by the steamers of the Egyptian Azizieh Company and some by native sailing boats. The remainder are either disposed of here or sent into the interior for sale.

A slave market exists here, where slaves are constantly on view, but the sale is often concluded privately, especially for the more valuable ones.

Some of the persons engaged in this traffic, after having conveyed the slaves into the town, keep them in their houses until a favourable opportunity for selling them privately offers. The current price for a male slave is from 45 to 60 dollars, for a female from 80 to 120 dollars.

The duty formerly levied on slaves imported was, of course, taken off when the importation was forbidden some years ago.

The Slave Trade appears to have decreased greatly within the last few years, as it is stated that at one time as many as from 12,000 to 15,000 were imported annually. This decrease is attributed principally to the demand from Egypt having fallen off.

The steamers of the Egyptian Azizieh Company bring, as before stated, but very few slaves at a time, these, when intended for Egypt, generally remain on board the steamer during her stay in this port, or are transferred to another steamer of the same Company, should there be one leaving for Suez earlier.

In cases of these slaves being landed here, means are found of introducing two or three at a time into the town, as from the steamers they cannot be discharged into boats outside the harbour, as is the case with native sailing craft.

A plan, not unfrequently practised, is for the owners of the slaves to grant papers of manumission to them, so that, in the event of any inquiry being made, it is met by the reply that they are liberated slaves going to Egypt to seek employment. The papers of manumission, however, remain in the hands of the owners or their agents, and are never really given to the slaves, who are of course sold when the market is reached.

The commanders of the steamers must necessarily be aware of the exact nature of the traffic thus carried on.

It is said that, on arrival at Suez, the slaves, instead of being brought to the usual landing-place for passengers close to the town, are disembarked on the coast near the roadstead, and are thence conveyed by land to the town. To do this there must evidently be connivance on the part of the Egyptian Authorities.

In conclusion, I beg leave to observe that any measures taken suddenly or abruptly for the abolition of slavery in this district would, there is but little or no doubt, be followed by most deplorable events, as on a former occasion, when, on the reading of the Sultan's firman abolishing slavery, the native population at Mecca rose and massacred the Cadi who had read the said Firman, as well as many other Ottoman officials—the town of Mecca remaining in a state of revolt for many months.

The situation of the few Christians established here would also be rendered most precarious, owing to the idea, so generally entertained, that all steps for the abolition of slavery are taken at the suggestion of the Christian Powers; and, unfortunately, they could hope for no real protection from the impotent Local Government.

If the Egyptian Authorities, acting in good faith, were to take proper measures to prevent the exportation of slaves from Massowah and Souakin, and if steps were taken for putting a stop to the exportation from Zeyla, it is probable that, the supply of slaves being cut off, slavery, when limited to those already in the country, would gradually disappear.

(Signed) ARTHUR RABY, *Consul.*

British Consulate, Jeddah, December 10, 1869.

TURKEY IN ASIA. (*Consular*)—*Smyrna.*

No. 117.

Consul Cumberbatch to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received January* 20.)

My Lord, *Smyrna, January* 8, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint your Lordship, with reference to my despatch of the 8th December last, that since the 27th November, up to this date I have not been able to discover that any slaves have been conveyed on board the weekly steamers of the Azizieh Company.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ROBT. WM. CUMBERBATCH.

No. 118.

Consul Cumberbatch to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received January* 26.)

My Lord, *Smyrna, January* 17, 1870.

WITH reference to my despatch dated the 8th instant, I have now the honour to acquaint your Lordship that, on the 16th instant I acquainted Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires that there were forty African children, varying from 8 to 15 years of age, on board the Azizieh Company's steamer "Demenhour;" these Africans belonged to the officers in command of the troops which were on board, and had embarked at Alexandria on their return from Yemen. Some of the officers attempted to sell these children on board to the slave-dealers at Smyrna, but the latter refused to purchase them, as his Excellency the Governor-General had given orders for the apprehension of any persons concerned in the traffic of slaves.

These 40 slaves form a portion of 200, which had been prepared for embarcation in this vessel at Alexandria, but it appears from what my guard learnt on board that the owners of these slaves were informed of the prohibition to export slaves and were afraid to take all the number this voyage, and hoped to pass the smaller number on shore with the troops under their command. The remaining 160 slaves are likely to be forwarded by the next steamers.

I have acquainted Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires, Consul-General Stanton, and the Governor-General of Aidin of these particulars.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ROBT. WM. CUMBERBATCH.

No. 119.

Mr. Otway to Consul Cumberbatch.

Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 12, 1870.

IN your despatch of the 21st of August last, you reported that 60 slaves had been shipped for Constantinople on board the Austrian Lloyd's Company's steamer "Oreste," and Lord Clarendon thereupon instructed Her Majesty's Ambassador at Vienna to call the attention of the Austrian Government to this report.

I am now to transmit to you a translation of the reply of the Austrian Government, stating that the strict inquiries which they have made have not corroborated the truth of this report, which they believe to be unfounded, and Lord Clarendon therefore desires to know upon what information you made this grave charge.

I am, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR OTWAY.

No. 120.

Consul Cumberbatch to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received March* 9.)

My Lord, *Smyrna, February* 25, 1870.

WITH reference to my despatch dated 17th January last I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship that on the 18th February the Azizieh Egyptian Company's steamer "Shabin" arrived at this port with three African slaves on board. I immediately acquainted his Excellency the Governor-General of the fact, who took measures to liberate the above-mentioned individuals, named Mahmoud, Abdullah, and Seroud.

I have the satisfaction of acquainting your Lordship that I have not discovered any slaves on board the weekly steamers of the Azizieh Company for the four previous voyages.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ROBT. WM. CUMBERBATCH.

P.S.—I open my despatch to add that there were five young African slaves on board the Azizieh steamer "Mansouri" just arrived, all of whom have been secured at my investigation by his Excellency the Governor-General.

R. W. C.

No. 121.

Consul Cumberbatch to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received March* 14.)

My Lord, *Smyrna, February* 28, 1870.

IN acknowledging the receipt of Mr. Otway's despatch of February 12 I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship that I received the information I communicated in my despatch of the 21st August last from a lady passenger on board the Austrian Lloyd's steamer, stated to be the "Oreste," who confirmed in the most positive manner what was reported by me to your Lordship. I have no doubt whatever that she stated the truth.

The lady in question is the Directress of the Deaconnesses' Establishment at Jerusalem, who will I am sure be ready to give her personal evidence to the facts when required.

Count Beust admits that slaves may have been transported to Constantinople by one or other of the Orientals on board, under the designation of servants or members of their families, to obtain the desirable object of employment in a palace at Constantinople, but I can assure your Lordship that this system has been carried on to a considerable extent by the slave-dealers themselves as passengers, if I am correctly informed, and also I can testify in the strongest possible terms that the position of a slave in Turkey is not always the blissful state depicted by his Excellency. Out of the thousands that have been transported, say only during the last ten years by different flags, not more than ten in a hundred could have attained the position of a Hosreff, or Halil Pasha, or even that of a Hyster Agha, the remainder are subjected to the hardest work and frequently to brutal treatment.

In the same manner that Count Beust has been deceived about the actual state of slaves in Turkey as to their desire to be transmitted to Constantinople, I can readily believe that he has been deceived as to the slaves that were conveyed in the steamer, whatever be her name, in which Sister Charlotte Pitz arrived at Smyrna in July last.

As I accidentally saw four African slave children on board the Austrian Lloyd's steamer "Apollo," on the 25th September last, which I reported in despatch of 28th September, 1869, I can have no doubt about the statement of the larger number on board the other steamer.

I can only conclude that if the supercargo on board the Austrian Lloyd's steamer, or at least the agents at Alexandria, cannot perceive that they have frequently carried slaves on board their vessels, that their eyesight must be remarkly obscure, and I shall take the first favourable opportunity of enlightning them upon the subject.

I beg to observe, my Lord, that I never accused the officers of the Austrian Lloyd's of having used any pressure in the conveyance of slaves, or that they assisted in the forced transport of slaves, I merely stated that slaves had been conveyed by the vessel reported to be the "Oreste," and that they escaped observation by being concealed in the ship's hold.

If the Austrian Consular officers at Constantinople and Smyrna call African children dressed in the white flowing Nubian dress, with metal bracelets and anklets, accompanied by slave-dealers, servants, or members of Oriental families, they cannot declare them to be free agents; therefore they are slaves in my estimation, and as such I reported the case.

The same plausible statement was lately made by the Azizieh Company's agents, and yet in the last two steamers eight slaves have been liberated from on board their vessels, at my instigation, by his Excellency the Governor-General of Smyrna, and a considerable number of Africans have been liberated during the last nine months, all conveyed by the Azizieh steamers.

I feel convinced that this correspondence with the Austrian authorities will lead to the very desirable object of making the Austrian Lloyd's agent at Alexandria more particular in not allowing this Traffic on board their vessels under any denomination.

I have the pleasure of reporting that two of the Egyptians who have till lately been engaged in slave-dealing have now abandoned the Traffic for a more legitimate commerce.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ROBT. WM. CUMBERBATCH.

No. 122.

Consul Cumberbatch to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received April* 26.)

My Lord, *Smyrna, April* 18, 1870.

I HAVE the extreme pleasure of acquainting your Lordship that I have not discovered any slaves on board the steamers belonging to the Austrian Lloyd's or the Azizieh Egyptian steamers during the last seven weeks.

I have been informed by passengers that the Viceroy's agents visit all the steamers before their departure from Alexandria, with the view to prevent the traffic in slaves being carried on.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ROBT. WM. CUMBERBATCH.

No. 123.

Consul Cumberbatch to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received May* 2.)

My Lord, *Smyrna, April* 23, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith copy of a despatch I have addressed to Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople upon the subject of the suppression of slave-dealing.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ROBT. WM. CUMBERBATCH.

Inclosure in No. 123.

Consul Cumberbatch to Mr. Barron.

Sir, *Smyrna, April* 23, 1870.

AS there appears to be some misunderstanding regarding the orders given by the Sublime Porte relative to the prohibition of the traffic in slaves, I have the honour to request that your Excellency would be pleased to urge the Sublime Porte to give clear and unequivocal orders to the different Governor-Generals to the effect that the prohibition extends to the sale of human beings whether Africans, Georgians, or Circassians, as some official persons state that it is only prohibited to deal in white slaves; others that the prohibition only extends to black slaves.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ROBT. WM. CUMBERBATCH.

No. 124.

Consul Cumberbatch to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received June* 13.)

My Lord, *Smyrna, June* 4, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint your Lordship that on the 3rd instant I discovered that there were African slaves on board the Austrian Lloyd's steamer "Mars," from Alexandria. I immediately proceeded to the Austrian Consul-General, who gave the necessary orders and sent an officer of the Consulate to make the stictest search in the steamer, and the result was, that two boys of about 10 years old, and one of 18 years old, were found, all of whom were evidently intended for the Smyrna or Constantinople market, as the Smyrna slave-dealer was on board and arranging for their landing.

I have taken charge of these unfortunate children, and shall not fail to send a trustworthy person with them to the Medjliss, where they must proceed to substantiate their right to freedom: after having done this, I can easily obtain employment for them. I am informed by them that upwards of 100 children arrived at Medina at the same time with themselves, and were passed on into Egypt. They originally came from Habesch, having been captured after a battle.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ROBT. WM. CUMBERBATCH.

No. 125.

Consul Cumberbatch to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received June* 13.)

My Lord, *Smyrna, June* 4, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship the following cases of slaves, on which I urged the local authorities to interest themselves, and the result of my exertions, viz. :—

1870.—(No. 1.)

Names of Slaves.	Name of Owner.	Complaint.
Bahir and Ferieh (both females) ..	Tahir Effendi	Bad treatment.

Result of Proceedings.—Both women were emancipated.

(No. 2.)

Names of Slaves.	Name of Owner.	Complaint.
Seroud . .. . Abdullah .. .. .. Mahmoud	Mehmet Tellal and Mehmet Tevery (both slave-dealers)	Taken in the act of selling them.

Result of Proceedings.—These men were given back with five others (being the same as reported by me in despatch of the 25th February last), by order of the Medjliss, in the absence of the Governor-General. The Medjliss, however, took sureties that the slave-dealers should not sell these men. The eight men were sold, and the Governor-General arrested the sureties, finding that the slave-dealers had quitted Smyrna.

This breach of good faith was committed by the Naib named Ahmet Shukri.

(No. 3.)

Names of Slaves.	Name of Owner.	Complaint.
Yacoul and Mehmet (Circassians) ..	Ahmet of Turbali	Endeavouring to sell them.

Result of Proceedings.—Emancipated.

(No. 4.)

Name of Slave.	Name of Owner.	Complaint.
Ferieh (female)	Nazifel Effendi	Bad treatment.

Result of Proceedings.—Emancipated.

(No. 5.)

Name of Slave.	Name of Owner.	Complaint.
Reha	Hadji Sali	Endeavouring to sell him.

Result of Proceedings.—Emancipated nominally. His reputed master enticed him to return to his house; he recaptured him, and sold him on the 27th May to a person at Smyrna. He was retaken by Her Majesty's Consul on the railway platform, and his emancipation will be obtained.

(No. 6.)

Name of Slave.	Name of Owner.	Complaint.
Rechid..	Henefeh (slave-dealer) .. .. Hadji Hafiz (purchaser)	Endeavouring to sell him.

Result of Proceedings.—The Medjliss will not determine the case of Rechid, as his master has friends in the Medjliss.

(No. 7.)

Names of Slaves	Name of Owner.	Complaint.
Engigieh, Safigul, Musserlaid (Female Circassians) .. Mehmet (Circassian)	Heirs of the wife of Mahir Effendi ..	Exposed for sale by the heirs.

Result of Proceedings.—I cannot convince the Medjliss that the prohibition in the Traffic of slaves embraces Circassians as well as Africans.

I have the honour to bring the case No. 2 particularly before your Lordship's notice, as these three Africans, with the five others, have been sold into slavery whilst under the charge of the Local authorities; and I consider some very marked notice ought to be taken of the conduct of the Naib.

The Governor-General has done all in his power to rectify the matter, but without success.

The other case of a denial of justice is that of No. 6, Rechid, a Circassian. It appears that his master has sufficient influence to persuade the Medjliss that he did not intend to sell the man, although he has been endeavouring to sell him for some time.

The No. 7 case is also a very flagrant denial of justice. In this case it is not the owner who wishes to sell these four Circassians, but the heirs to their owner's estate; and the sale must, I believe, take place with the consent and knowledge of the Local authorities.

I have also the honour to transmit copies of the letters I wrote to his Excellency the Governor-General respecting cases Nos. 2, 5, 6, and 7.

If the orders are not more plainly given to the Governor-General (he states that they are not explicit and clear) it will be impossible to put a stop to this detestable Traffic which takes place, I may say, almost publicly. It is also particularly necessary that the Firman of His Majesty should be strictly carried out, and that the perpetrators of the crime should be imprisoned and fined.

I beg to mention that his Excellency the Governor-General is a member of the Anti-Slavery Commission. He declares that he is willing to do all he can to suppress slavery, but that his endeavours are not supported by his employés.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ROBT. WM. CUMBERBATCH.

Inclosure 1 in No. 125.

Consul Cumberbatch to Vely Pasha.

M. le Gouverneur-Général, *Smyrne, le* 30 *Mai,* 1870.

JE suis informé que les personnes qui se sont rendus garants pour les marchands d'esclaves, Mehemet Tellal et Mohamet Teverry, se trouvent en liberté.

Pendant l'absence de votre Excellence à Aidin, les 8 negres qui le 28 Février ont été pris de leur maître conformément aux ordres donnés par votre Excellence sur ma demande, ont été restitués à leurs maîtres brutales par le Naib de Smyrne, Achmet Sukri, les dits marchands donnant des garants que les nègres ne seraient pas mis en vente.

Cependant, ces 8 nègres ont été vendus, 1 à Magnesie, 3 à Bengazi, et 4 à Alexandrie.

Les marchands d'esclaves sont parties de Smyrne depuis quelque temps, et leurs garants se trouvent en liberté.

Cette vente, faite en direct contravention des derniers ordres de Sa Majesté Impériale, est selon moi un cas de plus hardi qui s'est jamais présenté, encouragé comme elle l'était par le Naib, lequel je rends responsable dans cette affaire, que je dois referer au Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique.

Agréez, &c.

(Signé) ROBT. WM. CUMBERBATCH.

Inclosure 2 in No. 125.

Consul Cumberbatch to Vely Pasha.

M. le Gouverneur-Général, *Smyrne, le* 30 *Mai*, 1870.

J'AI l'honneur d'exposer de nouveau à votre Excellence l'affaire de Réha, l'Abyssinien qui arriva à Smyrne l'année dernière en pleine liberté, mais qui à peine arrivé a été saisi illégalement et d'une manière brutale par le nommé Hadji Sali, et vendu par celui-ci comme esclave.

Dans le mois de Mars, Réha a présenté à votre Excellence une pétition exposant que son prétendu maître Hadji Sali lui avait enlevé la somme de 21 livres Turques qu'il avait économisé de ses gages pendant qu'il était en service à Alexandrie; n'ayant pas reçu de réponse favorable à sa pétition, Réha, qui avait été entretenu pendant quelques semaines à mes frais, est parti de ce Consulat en disant que Hadji Sali lui avait promis de le mettre en boutique et de lui restituer ses 21 livres. Aujourd'hui, d'après les paroles de Réha, il parait que dès qu'il est retourné chez Hadji Sali, celui-ci le mit en prison, où il l'a gardé jusqu'à Samedi dernier. Que ce jour il a été visité par un certain Ismaïl Agha (ami de Hadji Sali), qui l'a conduite à la gare du chemin de fer d'Aidin; Hadji Sali l'ayant préalablement menacé de le tuer s'il refusait d'y aller. Réha a été vendu à un individu de Thyra pour la somme de 55 livres. Je suis heureux de pouvoir informer votre Excellence que dès cette vente d'un être humain a été portée à ma connaissance je suis parvenu, avec l'aide de la police locale, de lui rendre sa liberté.

Je prie votre Excellence de faire punir sévèrement le dit Hadji Sali pour avoir ouvertement violé le Firman de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan, et ordonner que le Medjliss accorde à Réha un certificat déclarant qu'il est homme libre, et qu'il ne saurait être de nouveau vendu. Réha se trouve actuellement dans ce Consulat.

Il est de mon devoir de porter cette affaire à la connaissance du Gouvernement Britannique.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) ROBT. WM. CUMBERBATCH.

Inclosure 3 in No. 125.

Consul Cumberbatch to Vely Pasha.

M. le Gouverneur-Général, *Smyrne, le* 30 *Mai*, 1870.

J'AI l'honneur de rappeler au souvenir de votre Excellence une pétition qui vous a été adressée vers la fin du mois dernier par un Circassien nommé Réchid.

Cet homme a été illégalement et d'une manière brutale vendu dernièrement par le marchand d'esclaves Henefel à une personne nommé Hadji Hafiz, et il paraîtrait que le Medjliss ayant donné à dessein une fausse interprétation aux ordres récents de Sa Majesté Impériale, Réchid n'a pas encore été emancipé et son prétendu maître a dernièrement à deux différentes reprises essayés de le saisir pour le vendre.

D'après les renseignements qui m'ont été donnés il est évident que le Medjliss est disposé à dérober Henefel et Hadji Hafiz à la justice en disant que les ordres récents n'ont rapport qu'aux esclaves noirs.

Veuillez me permettre, Excellence, d'observer que le Firman de Sa Majesté Impériale, en date d'Octobre 1854, et dont j'ai eu l'honneur de soumettre à votre Excellence copie fait mention spéciale des Circassiens et Georgiens; or, j'espère que Henefel et Hadji Hafiz seront punis d'après la loi et que le dit Rechid sera immédiatement émancipé.

Il est de mon devoir de porter cette affaire à la connaissance du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) ROBT. WM. CUMBERBATCH.

Inclosure 4 in No. 125.

Consul Cumberbatch to Vely Pasha.

M. le Gouverneur-Général, *Smyrne, le* 30 *Mai*, 1870.

J'AI l'honneur de porter au souvenir de votre Excellence la pétition de trois Circassiennes nommées Engigieh, Safigul, et Misserlaid, ainsi que celle du Circassien Mehmet, qui

exposent que les héritiers de la femme de Mahir Effendi désirent les vendre comme ils en ont fait des biens de la dite décédée. J'ai déjà informé votre Excellence de cette violation flagrant du Firman de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan d'Octobre 1854, et je demande de votre Excellence l'affranchissement immédiate de ces êtres humains et en même temps de faire punir les personnes qui ont cherché à les vendre.

Je suis assuré d'une manière positive qu'une de ces Circassiennes a été confieé à Hanifé, le marchand d'esclaves, pour être vendue, et que les autres trois se trouvent rigoureusement renfermées.

Je suis aussi informé que Mahir Effendi, employé du Conak, est intéressé dans la vente de ces quatre personnes.

Il paraîtrait dans cette affaire encore que le Medjliss donne à dessein une interprétation erronée aux ordres philanthropiques de Sa Majesté Impériale.

Il est de mon devoir de porter cette affaire à la connaissance du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Britannique.

Agréez, &c.
(Signed) ROBT. WM. CUMBERBATCH.

No. 126.

Consul Cumberbatch to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.—(Received July 18.)

My Lord, *Smyrna, July* 1, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint your Lordship that I transmitted to Her Majesty's Ambassador the following telegram, viz.—

"I am informed that there is a young slave named Elmas Abdullah on board Austrian steamer 'Venus,' consigned to some person in Constantinople."

I have the honour to state that the slave-dealers in Alexandria have now adopted the plan of forwarding slaves to Constantinople and Smyrna to private individuals on consignment, and I believe the before-mentioned case of Elmas Abdullah, is clearly one of this nature.

The instructions given to his Excellency the Governor-General by the Sublime Porte, are to take possession of all slaves found in the hands of slave-dealers on board ship only, so that slave-dealing can be carried on with as much impunity as before, under the present regulations,

The Governor-General himself assured me that there was no prohibition against his purchasing a slave or selling one of his own whenever he thought proper. I differed with him upon this point, and assured him that I should report every case of private slave-dealing that came to my knowledge.

With regard to the three Circassian women reported in despatch of the 4th ultimo, under case No. 7, I have the honour to state that the husband of the woman, their reputed owner, declared to me that his intention is to make these three women his concubines, and he will be allowed to do it by the local authorities, in spite of the protests of these unfortunate females. In fact, slavery can be carried on in all its degrading and repulsive forms as before, only under a different denomination.

The Imperial Firman is so clearly expressed as well as all the others emanating therefrom, that I assured His Excellency that the traffic in slaves, whether Circassian or African, carried on by private individuals or notorious slave-dealers, was included in the prohibition, and that purchasers as well as venders were equally liable to punishment by the law.

I have the honour to suggest that Her Majesty's Ambassador should take steps at the Sublime Porte to obtain more stringent orders to be issued to the Governors-General of the different Vilayets.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ROBT. WM. CUMBERBATCH.

No. 127.

Consul Cumberbatch to Earl Granville.—(Received August 3.)

My Lord, *Smyrna, July* 20, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint your Lordship that on the 15th July the Egyptian steamer named "Negileh," arrived at this port from Constantinople with a slave-dealer,

named Mahdjoub, having in his possession three African slaves for the Smyrna market. I acquainted the local authorities of the fact, when the slave-dealer was arrested and the three Africans were secured.

Their case has been brought before his Excellency the Governor-General, who has decided that these unfortunate individuals should be returned to their owner upon the condition that he does not sell them. I will engage, however, that he does sell them immediately.

The Governor-General says that his instructions are only to interfere when slaves are exposed for sale in the public market, and that any person may sell slaves privately.

It appears to me, my Lord, that these recent orders are in direct opposition to the spirit of the Firmans of the late Sultan, and, if permitted, that slavery will be only encouraged in lieu of checked.

In this instance the slave-dealer took the precaution of going to Constantinople to avoid being discovered on landing here direct from Alexandria, thinking, no doubt, that the local authorities, with myself, would not suspect his arrival from Constantinople.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ROBT. WM. CUMBERBATCH.

No. 128.

Consul Cumberbatch to Earl Granville.—(*Received August* 10.)

My Lord, *Smyrna, July* 29, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith copy of a telegram and despatch which I transmitted to Her Majesty's Ambassador on the 23rd instant:—

"There is a young African slave, name Ferah, in Austrian steamer 'Diana,' arriving Constantinople, Monday."

From what I was informed, this boy had been forwarded by the Persian Consul of Damascus for sale at Constantinople.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ROBT. WM. CUMBERBATCH.

No. 129.

Consul Cumberbatch to Earl Granville.—(*Received August* 10.)

My Lord, *Smyrna, July* 30, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to transmit copy of a correspondence with this Consulate and Her Majesty's Embassy relative to a complaint of the Governor-General, Vely Pasha, of the Vilayet of Aidin, against me for my proceedings respecting the liberation of certain slaves found on board of the Austrian steamer "Mars," and which I reported to your Lordship in despatch dated 4th June, 1870.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ROBT. WM. CUMBERBATCH.

Inclosure 1 in No. 129.

Consul Cumberbatch to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Smyrna, July* 20, 1870.

IN reply to your Excellency's despatch dated 17th instant, containing a complaint of the Governor-General of the Vilayet of Aidin against me for certain proceedings adopted by me in reference to cases of suspected slave-dealing, I have the honour, in the first place, to express my extreme surprise at his Excellency's statements, and to transmit a copy of a letter just received from his Excellency respecting the above service, together with my reply thereto, without further comment.

As regards the three slaves which I reported in despatch of the 4th June last, I can only state that the local police and a person sent by me went on board the Austrian steamer "Mars" and discovered some very young African children on board, evidently slaves. The case was reported to me; I proceeded to the Austrian Consul-General and stated what I had heard; he, without the slightest hesitation, gave a written order to his

Vice-Consul to proceed on board, and requested that I would send an officer also, which I did, to ascertain the facts. They went on board, in company with the local police, and the local police took the three boys in question out of the vessel, as the police could discover no owners on board. Two of the slaves were consigned by a person at Alexandria to a slave-dealer in Smyrna. By nine o'clock in the morning the boys were at the Konak. His Excellency did not come to the Konak, on account of ill-health. The Mutesserif of Smyrna, Refaat Effendi, inquired into the case, and afterwards some misunderstanding appears to have arisen between the Governor-General and the Mutesserif of Smyrna thereon.

As to my causing other foreign steamers to be searched, as reported to your Excellency, I have to state that, with the exception of the "Mars," no search has been made at my suggestion even. In every case of slaves found on board the Austrian or Egyptian steamers I have received information either from passengers or individuals sent by myself merely to report to me what they saw on deck, and have even seen slaves myself when accidentally on board. In every instance the local police has also been on board, sent there by order of his Excellency Vely Pasha.

I do not consider that the term "search" is rightly applied, as far as I am concerned, as the fact of slaves being on board was too patent to require it.

I have reported every case to Her Majesty's Government, and what I have done in similar cases, and I have received the approval of the late Earl of Clarendon respecting my proceedings. I am fully aware of the equivocal state of the Turkish law respecting slavery, or rather the interpretation placed upon those laws. The law strictly prohibits slavery, except in the case of prisoners of war, and these are to be liberated after six years' servitude. And I beg to assure you that I have always acted with the utmost circumspection on every occasion, and with a due regard to the very delicate position of the Governor-General. And in every instance up to the case of the "Mars" I candidly confess that his Excellency treated each case in the most liberal manner. I cannot state why his action has changed, although I may have my surmise.

His Excellency states that I went to the Konak for other business. I can positively state that my visit was solely on account of these three slaves. He also states that he had much trouble to persuade me to acquiesce in his proposal. I can positively state, also, that I made the proposal myself, and that I was determined to see the matter carried out as far as I could, and subsequently addressed your Excellency on the 11th June upon the subject.

As to the new terms of "enfant adoptif," "compagnon de voyage," I can affirm that these terms have lately come into usage, and are only a cover for slavery.

When his Excellency on this occasion gave me his views upon the interpretation of the Grand Vizier's orders, I was much surprised. They were very different from those now sent to me by him and what he commenced with.

His Excellency states that "le susdit Consul ne cesse pas d'intervenir sans cause dans des pareils cas et de molester une foule de personnes," and quotes one case only, which I referred to him, as the sale was about to take place; and I consider publicly in this case these poor Circassian females complained in writing to his Excellency, but he turned a deaf ear to their complaint. They have now become the unwilling concubines of the husband of their late owner.

I reported this case to your Excellency on the 1st July. I think Vely Pasha will not find another case between this one and the case of the three African boys to the date of his complaint.

The Governor-General and myself were perfectly understood from the first that I should send him all complaints. He told me he had received orders to inquire into complaints of slaves against their masters. I have done nothing beyond what he agreed to from the first, and in conformity with the views he proposes in his inclosed letter.

I can only come to the conclusion that he wrote hastily to the Sublime Porte after his misunderstanding with the Mutesserif of Smyrna.

I have, &c

(Signed) ROBT. WM. CUMBERBATCH.

Inclosure 2 in No. 129.

Vely Pasha to Consul Cumberbatch.

M. le Consul, *Smyrna, le* $\frac{11}{23}$ *Juillet*, 1870.

VOUS vous êtes trouvé dans le cas de m'adresser diverses notes au sujet du commerce des esclaves. En effet, ce commerce inhumain est sévèrement défendu dans l'Empire

Ottoman. Cependant, les propriétaires d'esclaves, en tant que ceux-là n'y renoncent pas volontairement, garderont leurs esclaves, à moins toutefois qu'il ne surgisse entre eux et leurs maîtres quelque conflit ou que quelque plainte sérieuse ne se manifeste. Il demeure bien entendu que ceux qui venaient d'Égypte essayent de faire le commerce illicite des esclaves en faisant passer ceux-ci pours leurs parents, contreviennent aux dispositions de la loi, et par conséquent cette fraude ne saurait être tolérée. Mais encore une fois, du moment qu'il n'y aura pas me plainte ou un conflit entre esclaves et maîtres, comme pour les esclaves qui se trouvent au service des familles venant dehors, on ne saurait évidemment arracher violemment ces esclaves à leurs maîtres, car ce serait agir contrairement à la teneur du Firman Impérial, dont l'exécution stricte constitue un de mes plus impérieux devoirs.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) VELY.

Inclosure 3 in No. 129.

Consul Cumberbatch to Vely Pasha.

M. le Gouverneur-Général, *Smyrne, le* 26 *Juillet*, 1870.

J'AI l'honneur d'accuser réception de la lettre que votre Excellence a bien voulu m'adresser le 23 de ce mois relativement au commerce d'esclaves.

Je ne puis que me féliciter de l'interprétation que votre Excellence donne aujourd'hui au Firman de Sa Majesté Impériale, et aux ordres Viziriels au sujet du commerce illicite—interprétation qui me semble être au fond, le même que j'ai toujours eu l'honneur de soutenir auprès de votre Excellence.

Veuillez donc me permettre de représenter à votre Excellence que les trois esclaves Ahmed, Massaon, et Djafé, pris du marchand d'esclaves Mahdjoub, le 15 de ce mois, à bord du bateau-à-vapeur Egyptien "Negileh," sont évidemment de la catégorie dont fait mention votre Excellence; or, j'aime à espérer qu'il leur sera permis d'en profiter et que les personnes coupables de contrevention aux dispositions de ces lois seront sévèrement puni.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) ROBT. WM. CUMBERBATCH.

No. 130.

Consul Cumberbatch to Earl Granville.—(*Received August* 16.)

My Lord, *Smyrna, August* 8, 1870.

WITH reference to my despatches of the 20th and 30th ultimo, I have the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship a further correspondence upon the above subject with Her Majesty's Embassy, the Governor-General of Smyrna, and this Consulate.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ROBT. WM. CUMBERBATCH.

Inclosure 1 in No. 130.

Sir H. Elliot to Consul Cumberbatch.

Sir, *Therapia, July* 25, 1870.

IN your despatch to Her Majesty's Secretary of State of the 20th, you report the arrival of a slave-dealer with three African slaves for the Smyrna "market."

I have to request you to inform me whether there is at Smyrna anything of the nature of a slave-market, in the ordinary acceptation of the term, as might be implied from the expression you make use of.

I have drawn the attention of the Porte to the encouragement that would be given to slave-trading if the dealers are allowed to retain the slaves, as seems to have been permitted in the case you report; but the Governor-General's view of the right of persons to sell slaves privately is in conformity with the opinion of the highest authorities here, who hold that there is nothing in this contrary to Ottoman law.

A private person who disposes of a slave is, however, not to be confounded with a slave-dealer or a person making a trade of buying and selling slaves, whose traffic is illegal and exposes him to punishment and the loss of the slaves; but before this can be called

for, it is necessary to establish that he belongs rather to the latter than the former category.

I am, &c.
(Signed) HENRY ELLIOT.

Inclosure 2 in No. 130.

Consul Cumberbatch to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Smyrna, August* 4, 1870.

IN reply to your Excellency's despatch dated 25th July last, I have the honour to state that I cannot say that there is a public slave-market held at Smyrna, as formerly, but I can state that there are certain khans and houses which I could point out frequented by slave-dealers, also known to me, who keep at these khans any of the unfortunate individuals they may have for sale.

These khans and slave-dealers are well known to the Turkish population and to the local authorities, and the sale of human beings is continually carried on in these places as the sale of merchandize. I conceive that this may be called a "market;" and it was for this reason I stated that the three slaves, from on board the "Negileh," were destined for the Smyrna market.

The Governor-General's intention was to liberate the three slaves, to which I alluded in my despatch of the 23rd July, nominally, but to leave them in the hands of their masters, of course to be sold in a few hours afterwards to the first favourable customer.

The distinction the authorities at Constantinople may be pleased to place between the guiltiness of the seller and the non-guiltiness of the purchaser, would not, I imagine, be tolerated in any other country than Turkey; as the aider and abettor are considered equally guilty with the perpetrator of the crime in other countries.

For the future, if this subterfuge is permitted, all slave-dealers will send their slaves under the care of private individuals, to be sold in these khans and houses, and all that will have been obtained is the suppression of the open public slave-markets to the increase of the private commerce in human beings.

I inclose a copy of the Governor-General's despatch received after the transmission of my despatch to your Excellency.

The Governor-General now states in writing what he has declared verbally, that the slaves in both categories must make their complaint to him. I should wish him to inform me how a poor slave arriving for the Smyrna market is to make his petition to his Excellency.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ROBT. WM. CUMBERBATCH.

Inclosure 3 in No. 130.

Vely Pasha to Consul Cumberbatch.

M. le Consul, *Smyrne, le* $\frac{15}{27}$ *Juillet*, 1870.

J'AI eu l'honneur de recevoir votre note sous date d'hier au sujet du commerce des esclaves.

L'interprétation donnée au Firman Impérial relatif à cette question a été toujours la même. Quant aux esclaves qui se trouveraient dans les catégories spécifiées, leurs plaintes seront toujours prises en consideration dans les limites de la légalité et de la justice toutes les fois qu'ils s'adresseront aux autorités locales.

Agréez, &c.
(Signé) VELY.

No. 131.

Consul Cumberbatch to Earl Granville.—(Received September 21.)

My Lord, *Smyrna, September* 9, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint your Lordship that on the 26th August I succeeded in obtaining, through the local authorities, the emancipation of the African named

Mehemet, aged 19, found on board the Egyptian steamer "Shabin," on her voyage from Alexandria.

This was such an evident case of slave-traffic, that the local authorities did not hesitate to sanction the man's liberation; the owner of this slave has not yet been found, but I believe this slave was placed on board by some of the dealers at Alexandria and intended for sale at Smyrna.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ROBT. WM. CUMBERBATCH.

No. 132.

Earl Granville to Consul Cumberbatch.

Sir, *Foreign Office, September* 23, 1870.

I APPROVE of your having obtained the liberation of the African slave Mehemet, found on board the Egyptian steamer "Shabin," as reported in your despatch of the 9th instant.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 133.

Consul Cumberbatch to Earl Granville.—(Received October 5.)

My Lord, *Smyrna, September* 23, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint your Lordship that on the 18th instant I acquainted Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople that there were two young African boys for sale at Constantinople, on board the Austrian steamer "Jupiter," under the charge of a Persian.

From information I received I feel convinced that the owner of these slaves purchased them in Egypt, with the intention of selling them at Constantinople.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ROBT. WM. CUMBERBATCH.

No. 134.

Consul Cumberbatch to Earl Granville.—(Received December 13.)

My Lord, *Smyrna, December* 2, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to annex herewith copy of a telegram which I transmitted to his Excellency, Her Majesty's Ambassador, on the 29th November last:—

"There are five African children, apparently slaves, on board the Egyptian steamer 'Giafirieh.'"

From information I received there can be no doubt that these children had been very recently purchased in Egypt.

It was stated to me that these slaves were apparently under the charge of passengers on board, but whether for sale or for their own private use I was unable to ascertain during the short time the vessel remained in port.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ROBT. WM. CUMBERBATCH.

No. 135.

Consul Cumberbatch to Earl Granville.—(Received December 13.)

My Lord, *Smyrna, December* 3, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to acquaint your Lordship that the Austrian steamer "Apollo" arrived here on the 21st October last with two female slaves on board, destined for Smyrna.

As I felt convinced that these slaves were intended for sale at Smyrna I acquainted the local authorities, who caused these slaves to be secured.

The case has been referred to the Medjliss, and the result has been that both have been emancipated.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ROBT. WM. CUMBERBATCH.

No. 136.

Consul Cumberbatch to Earl Granville.—(*Received December* 19.)

My Lord, *Smyrna, December* 8, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to annex herewith copy of a telegram which I had the honour to transmit to his Excellency Her Majesty's Ambassador on the 3rd December, 1870:—

"Four young African slaves on Austrian steamer 'Carlotta,' owner Adjern Abdullah, arriving Constantinople Monday."

From the dress worn by these children no one could doubt their being recently purchased in Egypt.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ROBT. WM. CUMBERBATCH

No. 137.

Mr. Otway to Consul Cumberbatch.

Sir, *Foreign Office, November* 29, 1870.

EARL GRANVILLE transmitted a copy of your despatch of the 23rd September last, relative to the Slave Traffic carried on between Egypt and Constantinople on board Austrian vessels, to Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General in Egypt.

I am now directed by his Lordship to transmit to you a copy of the reply which has been received from Colonel Stanton on the subject,* and to instruct you, in the event of your tracing any further instances of Slave Traffic of this nature, to forward to Her Majesty's Embassy at Constantinople such indications concerning the guilty persons as may tend to insure their arrest and punishment on their arrival there.

I am, &c.
(Signed) ARTHUR OTWAY.

TURKEY IN ASIA. (*Consular*)—*Trebizond.*

No. 138.

Consul Palgrave to the Earl of Clarendon.—(*Received July* 22.)

My Lord, *Trebizond, July* 6, 1870.

THE continued existence of Slave Traffic within the Turkish Empire being a topic regarding which I have been honoured with occasional inquiry on the part of Her Majesty's Government, it seems my duty to communicate to your Lordship the following facts, which have lately come within the range of my observation, though beyond that of official investigation or hindrance.

A Circassian girl, about 14 years old, and purchased on this coast, was a few weeks

* No. 150.

since sold by a Turkish official of Trebizond to the Sultan's household at Constantinople, for the sum of 400*l.* Turkish. The money was duly paid by order, in the Sultan's name.

Again, two other young Circassian girls, purchased here during the great immigration of 1864, were quite lately sent for sale to Constantinople, where they fetched a good price; though I have been unable as yet, in this instance, to learn the name of the purchaser, and the precise sum, the vendor was a Turkish official of importance in this town.

It would be, perhaps, superfluous to add that so long as the demand for a given article continues in high quarters, the prohibition of its sale must be to a considerable extent nugatory; also, that a law is easily evaded when its guardians find their interest or pleasure in its infringement.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. GIFFORD PALGRAVE.

EGYPT.

No. 139.

The Earl of Clarendon to Colonel Stanton.

Sir, *Foreign Office, January* 31, 1870.

I HAVE received a despatch from Her Majesty's Consul at Smyrna, reporting the arrival there on board the Azizieh Company's steamer "Demenhour" of forty African slave children from Alexandria, being a portion of a batch of 200 slaves who had been prepared for embarkation, but in consequence of the measures adopted against slave dealers, would now only be exported in driblets on board the steamer.

Mr. Cumberbatch states that he has already acquainted you with the particulars of the case, and if you have not done so already, I wish you to call the serious attention of the Egyptian Government to this renewed instance of slave-trading at Alexandria, facilitated by the vessels of the Azizieh Company.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 140.

Colonel Stanton to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received February 14.)

My Lord, *Cairo, February* 3, 1870.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch of the 23rd December, I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of a despatch I have just received from Her Majesty's Consul at Alexandria, to whom I had communicated the information forwarded by Mr. Consul Cumberbatch, reporting the steps he had taken to bring the matter to the knowledge of the local authorities, and the promises made by the Governor of Alexandria, with the view of putting an end to the system so justly complained of.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD STANTON.

Inclosure in No. 140.

Consul Stanley to Colonel Stanton.

Sir, *Alexandria, February* 1, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to report that on receipt of your despatch of the 5th January, with inclosure from Mr. Cumberbatch, herewith returned, I wrote to the Governor of Alexandria, calling his attention to the fact that, notwithstanding the general prohibition against the embarking of slaves on Egyptian vessels, and the promise made by His Highness the Viceroy to Her Majesty's Government through their Representatives here, that the vessels of the Azizieh Company should no longer carry them, these vessels did carry them to a considerable extent.

His Excellency returned me what I consider an unsatisfactory answer—strong doubts on the accuracy of my statement.

I therefore called on him yesterday, my statements being strengthened by the letter from Mr. Consul Cumberbatch, inclosed in your despatch (and herewith returned) to me of 27th January.

He then stated that doubtless a few were carried, and that it was exceedingly difficult

to prevent it as they could not tell who were slaves; that every native was obliged to have a pass; that it was impossible to ask every person if he was a slave; that those who said they were slaves were not allowed to go.

I told him I saw no difficulty in the matter, that it was absurd to suppose an Egyptian official could not at a glance tell who was a slave, and that were the captain made liable to a fine for every slave so carried the traffic would be immediately stopped. I told him that English vessels trading between here, Smyrna, and Constantinople, and also between Jeddah and Suez, were frequently solicited to carry slaves, but that I had never heard of a case where they had complied, or of the captain having been deceived into carrying them.

The real difficulty in the absence of a positive Viceregal order is that every Egyptian of condition always travels accompanied by a quantity of slaves, and also that, although slavery is prohibited, there is no punishment attached to the purchase of slaves.

To sell them, the Governor assured me, was punishable, but not to buy them. With regard to the particular case mentioned by Mr. Cumberbatch, the Governor informed me that these people had not come under his cognizance, or that of the passport authorities, as the troops had embarked at Mex, and had not passed through the custom-house. He promised that on the next arrival of troops from the Hedjaz an officer should be sent to Mex to bring any slaves who might be with the troops, and that they should be liberated. He also promised that no person having the appearance of a slave should be allowed to embark unless provided with a paper of freedom, and that, moreover, an official should board each vessel before her departure, and take away any slave who, notwithstanding these precautions, might be on board. To make it a punishable offence for the captain to carry them would, he said, require a Ministerial order. Should these promises be fulfilled, hardly a slave for sale could be embarked.

I have before offered the suggestion, and think it one that might be carried out, that slave-dealers be sent back from Smyrna and Constantinople with the slaves, the latter to be liberated, the former punished. With respect to slaves generally, the Governor told me that he had given orders that the slave-merchants here be sought out and brought before him, when he will tell them that henceforth such traffic is peremptorily forbidden, and that they will be punished should they continue it. He also said that he had removed many of the difficulties to a slave becoming freed, and this, from my experience of the short time he has been in office, I know to be the fact.

I have, &c.
(Signed) G. E. STANLEY.

No. 141.

The Earl of Clarendon to Colonel Stanton.

Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 15, 1870.

IN accordance with my instructions Mr. Barron recommended to the Porte the proposal suggested by the Prefect of Police at Alexandria, and communicated in your despatch of the 25th of November, 1869, namely—that in the event of slaves being discovered on board any vessel on her arrival in a Turkish port they should be at once sent back to the port of their embarkation.

Aali Pasha has informed Mr. Barron in reply, that the Porte has lately issued orders that all black slaves arriving by any of the Azizieh steamers (which he states are the only vessels engaged in the traffic) shall immediately on their arrival in a Turkish port be liberated and furnished with letters of manumission; and His Highness considers that this measure, which has already considerably checked the traffic, is more humane and efficient than that suggested at Alexandria.

Aali Pasha has, however, proposed that the Khedive should be urged to forbid the Azizieh Company, which is entirely dependent upon him, to give passages to the slaves, and I have to instruct you to request the Khedive to issue the necessary orders in this sense.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 142.

The Earl of Clarendon to Colonel Stanton.

Sir, *Foreign Office, February* 21, 1870.

IN reply to your despatch of the 3rd instant I have to inform you that I approve the steps taken by Mr. Consul Stanley, as stated in the Report therein inclosed, with reference to the Slave Traffic carried on on board the Azizieh Company's steamers. I have now to request that you will lose no time in endeavouring to give effect to the instructions contained in my despatch of the 15th instant by urging the Viceroy to issue a Ministerial order, making it a punishable offence for the captain of a ship belonging to this Company to convey slaves that are for sale on board his vessel.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 143.

Colonel Stanton to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received March 14.)

My Lord, *Cairo, February* 24, 1870.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch dated January 31, I have the honour to report that, on the receipt of Mr. Cumberbatch's despatch, containing the information referred to, I requested Mr. Consul Stanley to inquire into the matter and report to me the result of his inquiries. Mr. Stanley accordingly waited on the Governor of Alexandria, who informed him that these people had not come under his cognizance or that of the passport authorities, as the troops had embarked at Mex and had not passed through the Custom-house. His Excellency promised that, on the next arrival of troops from the Hedjaz, an officer should be sent to Mex to bring any slaves who might be with the troops and that they should be liberated. He also promised that no person having the appearance of a slave should be allowed to embark unless provided with a paper of freedom, and that, moreover, an official should board each vessel before her departure and take away any slaves who, notwithstanding these precautions, might be on board.

The Governor further informed Mr. Stanley that he had given orders that the slave merchants in Alexandria should be sought out and brought before him, when he would warn them that such traffic was peremptorily forbidden, and that they would be punished should they continue it, and Mr. Stanley adds that during the short period the Governor has been in office his Excellency has removed many of the difficulties that were formerly in the way of a slave obtaining his freedom.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. STANTON.

No. 144.

The Earl of Clarendon to Colonel Stanton.

Sir, *Foreign Office, March* 15, 1870.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 21st ultimo, instructing you to endeavour to procure a Ministerial order from the Viceroy, stringently forbidding the conveyance of slaves on board the Azizieh Company's steamers, I now transmit to you a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Consul at Smyrna,* from which you will perceive that the conveyance of slaves has not wholly been put a stop to on board those vessels.

You will not fail to call the attention of the Egyptian Government to the cases on board the steamers "Shabin" and "Mansouri," of which the inclosed despatch treats.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

* No. 120.

No. 145.

The Earl of Clarendon to Colonel Stanton.

Sir, *Foreign Office, March* 18, 1870.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 24th ultimo, and I have learnt, with satisfaction, the measures recently taken by the Governor of Alexandria to put a stop to the transport of slaves for sale on board the steamers of the Azizieh Company.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 146.

Consul Stanton to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received March 28.)

My Lord, *Cairo, March* 17, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatches of the 15th and 21st ultimo, and to inform your Lordship that, in compliance with the instructions therein contained, I have lost no time in waiting on the Khedive, and have requested His Highness to issue a Ministerial order making it a punishable offence for a captain of a ship belonging to the Azizieh Company to convey slaves that are for sale on board the vessel.

His Highness assured me he had given the most stringent orders on this subject, and that the captain of any Egyptian ship supposed to be implicated in this Traffic would be brought before a court-martial; but His Highness remarked there was great difficulty in obtaining evidence in these cases, as the slaves themselves, when asked, almost invariably declared they were free and had their manumission papers. His Highness also added that the Azizieh Company would be liquidated in the course of a few weeks, which would at any rate put an end to the conveyance of slaves by these vessels.

His Highness further promised me he would direct Chérif Pasha to furnish me with a copy of the orders above referred to. This copy has not as yet reached me, but shall be communicated to your Lordship immediately after reception.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. STANTON.

No. 147.

The Earl of Clarendon to Colonel Stanton.

Sir, *Foreign Office, April* 5, 1870.

I HAVE read with great satisfaction your despatch of the 17th ultimo reporting the assurances given to you by the Khedive regarding the measures he has taken to prevent the conveyance of slaves for sale on board the ships of the Azizieh Company, and I have to instruct you to take an opportunity of conveying to His Highness the thanks of Her Majesty's Government for his conduct in this matter.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 148.

Colonel Stanton to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received April 22.

My Lord, *Alexandria, April* 8, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of March 15, transmitting a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Consul at Smyrna, on the subject of the continued conveyance of slaves on board the Azizieh Company's steamers; and in compliance with your Lordship's instructions I called the attention of His Highness the Khedive to the fact that, notwithstanding the orders that had been given on the subject, the conveyance of slaves had not wholly been put a stop to on board these steamers, and mentioned the cases referred to by Mr. Consul Cumberbatch as having occurred on board the "Shabin" and "Mansurah."

His Highness appeared much annoyed at the communication, and remarked that unless he prohibited the conveyance of all negroes he did not see what further steps he could take to stop this traffic. His officers had the most positive orders not to allow any slaves not actually accompanying their masters as domestic servants to embark, and it was almost impossible to prevent a few exceptional cases, such as those referred to, as the slaves themselves, when questioned, invariably replied that they belonged to the family of their masters.

His Highness, moreover, remarked that he should write to the Grand Vizier, suggesting that as the Azizieh ships sailed under the Turkish flag, the Ottoman authorities at the port of arrival should take proceedings against the captains of such vessels as had slaves for sale on board, and added he had every reason to believe that if the same supervision was extended to the French, Austrian, and Russian steamers that was bestowed on the Azizieh Company, similar cases of conveyance of slaves would be discovered on board those steamers.

I requested the Khedive to direct an inquiry to be made into the cases specified on board the "Shabin" and the "Mansurah," which His Highness said should be done.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. STANTON.

No. 149.

Colonel Stanton to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received May 14.)

My Lord, *Alexandria, April* 28, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to report that, in compliance with the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch of the 5th instant, I have conveyed to the Khedive the thanks of Her Majesty's Government for the measures taken by His Highness to prevent the conveyance of slaves for sale on board the ships of the Azizieh Company.

His Highness, in reply, requested me to convey to your Lordship his acknowledgements for this communication, and to express the satisfaction he felt in meeting the wishes of Her Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. STANTON.

No. 150.

Colonel Stanton to Earl Granville.—(Received November 21.)

My Lord, *Cairo, November* 2, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to report, with reference to your Lordship's despatch of the 11th October, transmitting me a copy of a further despatch from Her Majesty's Consul at Smyrna relative to the Slave Trade between Egypt and Constantinople, that I have informed both the Egyptian Government and the Austrian Agent and Consul-General in this country of the fact specified by Mr. Consul Cumberbatch, in the hope that measures may be taken by the latter to prevent the Austrian flag being employed to cover this Traffic, which appears to have nearly ceased so far as the Egyptian vessels are concerned, in consequence of the rigorous orders issued by the Government of the Khedive.

I would also venture to submit to your Lordship that in the event of Mr. Cumberbatch discovering any future cases of Traffic in Slaves carried on in the manner reported by him, it might tend to discourage such a Traffic if such indications could be forwarded to Constantinople as would insure the arrest of the offender at his destination.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. STANTON.

No. 151.

Earl Granville to Colonel Stanton.

Foreign Office, December 21, 1870.

Sir,

I INCLOSE, for your information, copies of despatches from Her Majesty's Consul at Smyrna,* reporting the discovery of four African children, apparently slaves, on board the Egyptian steamer "Giafirieh," and of four more on board the Austrian steamer "Carlotta."

I have to request that you will inform the Egyptian Government of these cases.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.

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* Nos. 134 and 136.

TRIPOLI.

No. 152.

Consul-General Drummond-Hay to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received January 5.)

My Lord, *Barbary, December* 17, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a copy of a despatch, with its inclosures, which I have addressed to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, reporting the refusal of the Governor-General any longer to manumit slaves, and the little inclination he shows to put a stop to the Traffic in Slaves.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. R. DRUMMOND HAY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 152.

Consul-General Drummond-Hay to Sir H. Elliot.

Sir, *Barbary, December* 16, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Excellency the refusal of the Governor-General, since his return from his recent visit to Constantinople, to manumit any more slaves, as for many years past had been the practice whenever the Consulate-General interceded for them. From the date of the receipt by me in July last of the translation of the Vizirial Order of the 3rd of June, up to Ali Riza Pasha's return from Constantinople, I obtained the manumission of upwards of 400 slaves, but since his Excellency's return the manumission of upwards of 100 has been refused.

Mr. Barron's despatch of the 5th ultimo, transmitting, for my information, a copy of the Memorandum of the Porte, giving the Governor-General's version of the shipment of slaves by the ship of war "Tairi Bahia," reached me yesterday. The very superficial manner in which the whole transaction is treated in that document,—the Governor-General's explanations being accepted as satisfactory—will, I believe, satisfy your Excellency that the information I gave was accurate, and that the Porte did not consider it a case that would bear much scrutiny.

The Governor-General speaks openly of the success with which he was extricated from the dilemma in which that proceeding had placed him, not, however, giving the version of the affair which he appears to have given his Government, for the real nature of the transaction is too well known here to bear such a misrepresentation, but stating that His Highness Ali Pasha had told him that the accusation against him of having embarked slaves could not be well founded, as the Porte did not recognize the existence of slavery, and therefore the blacks he had taken with him to Constantinople were free people and not slaves.

The volunteering of blacks for the Imperial army is a thing of which there has never been an instance in this country.

The Governor-General has indirectly given me to understand that he has secret instructions from his Government which are unfavourable to more than a show of abolishing the Slave Trade, and, acting in this spirit, he now contents himelf with simply stating that slavery no longer exists.

I have the honour to transmit herewith copies of a correspondence with the Governor-General, in which I have represented several well-authenticated cases, proving, notwithstanding his Excellency's assertions to the contrary, that slaves are not allowed to assert their freedom.

His Excellency declines replying to my letter of the 8th instant (Inclosure No. 4)

representing the attempted kidnapping of a slave, as he finds it no doubt more convenient to give his own version of the affair to his Government than to attempt to refute the accuracy of what I have represented, knowing, moreover, that every day that passes helps to obliterate the traces of the affair. The mayor of the town, who is the Pasha's confidential adviser in most matters, has admitted to me on more than one occasion that the case was a very awkward one, and that the Pasha had acted unwisely in supporting and protecting those implicated in it.

Your Excellency's representations to the Porte on the subject of the Slave Traffic have had an excellent and very marked effect in making the local authorities more cautious in slave matters, but the Governor-General evinces a marked anxiety to put a stop to my interference in these matters, and has given me clearly to understand that he wishes me to limit myself to giving him notice of any attempted embarcation or importation of slaves in time to enable him to prevent its being effected, knowing full well that, with upwards of 1,000 miles of coast and a still greater extent of frontier, I should, with my limited means of obtaining prompt information, be able to give him little trouble in that way.

I would beg to suggest that, if the Porte be really sincere in its desire to abolish the Slave Trade in this, its almost last stronghold, the only effectual mode of doing so is by stopping the demand for slaves rather than by attempting to cut off the supply.

The Vizirial letters addressed to the Governors-General of Tripoli in January 1867 and 17th of November, 1858, ordering that from those dates all slaves imported were to be immediately manumitted, and that the punishment of the slave-dealers was to be progressively increased, have never been enforced, so that the domestic slavery at that time existing, and which ought to have died out, has been fed by constant subsequent supplies, and will continue to be so unless the trade is rendered unremunerative by the manumission of all those slaves who may claim their freedom.

Not in a single instance have the local authorities ever been known to have spontaneously made a seizure of newly-imported slaves, nor to have punished the slave-dealers.

Slaves are now intimidated and prevented from seeking the protection of this Consulate, or otherwise attempting to obtain their freedom, by threats of being shipped off as volunteers for the Imperial army or navy, or by being imprisoned on the charge of robbing their master's property, the artifice constantly resorted to by slave-masters and connived at by the authorities.

The Governor-General having shown great irritation at the interest I have taken in the suppression of the Traffic in Slaves, I shall refrain from further agitating the question until I receive fresh instructions on the subject. Trusting I may receive such further support as may enable me before very long to report the suppression of the Slave Trade, I have, &c.

(Signed) F. R. DRUMMOND-HAY.

Inclosure 2 in No. 152.

Consul-General Drummond-Hay to Ali Riza Pasha.

Sir, *Tripoli, November* 30, 1869.

CONSTANT applications continuing to be made to me by slaves seeking protection from the oppression of their masters, to endeavour to obtain their freedom, and your Excellency having, since your return from Constantinople, refused the manumission of slaves for whom I had interceded, I shall be glad if your Excellency will be so good as to state to me, for the information of Her Majesty's Government, what are your views on the question of slavery in this province, and in what manner your Excellency proposes to give effect to the orders conveyed in the Vizirial letter of 22nd Sefer, 1286 (3rd June, 1869).

I avail, &c.
(Signed) F. R. DRUMMOND-HAY.

Inclosure 3 in No. 152.

Ali Riza Pasha to Consul-General Drummond-Hay.

M. le Consul-Général, *Tripoli, le* 2 *Décembre,* 1869.

J'AI reçu la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'adresser en date du 30 Novembre dernier.

Je ne doute pas que vous n'ayez en votre possession la copie ou une traduction de la lettre Vizirielle que vous me désigner, et qui m'ordonne de défendre le Commerce des Esclaves.

Conformément à la teneur de la lettre susdite j'ai fait publier et annoncer à plusieurs reprises la défense rigoureuse de ce trafic, menaçant de punir sévèrement tous ceux qui se rendraient coupables. Je m'en tiens d'autant plus strictement à l'application sévère de cette défense, que les intentions de la Sublime Porte sont d'enrayer et faire complètement cesser un trafic que nous condamnons tous. J'ai la satisfaction, pour ce qui me concerne dans cette question, d'avoir porté quelques coups terribles aux commerçants négriers, et suis même en état d'en fournir les preuves à mon Gouvernement.

Je crois vous avoir déjà précédemment fait connaître dans ce sens ma manière d'agir relativement à la lettre Vizirielle du 22 Sefir, 1286, et je répéterai encore aujourd'hui que toutes les fois que vous saurez qu'il se prépare une vente ou un Commerce d'Esclaves je vous prierai de me le dénoncer.

Quant à ce que vous me dites au sujet d'esclaves en faveur de qui vous intercédiez, je dois vous prévenir que le Commerce des Esclaves étant défendu, l'autorité locale ne considère les nègres ou les blancs qui sont en service que comme des domestiques ou serviteurs, tous, administres du Gouvernement Impérial, et comme tels se recommandant également à sa sollicitude. Il n'est par conséquent que naturel et de raison qu'ils portent leurs plaintes, quand il y a lieu, par devant l'autorité locale.

Veuillez, &c.
(Signé) ALI RIZA.

Inclosure 4 in No. 152.

Consul-General Drummond-Hay to Ali Riza Pasha.

Sir, *Tripoli, December* 6, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter of the 2nd instant, conveying the most gratifying assurances of your Excellency's intentions of vigorously carrying out the orders of the Porte to put an effectual stop to the slave traffic in this province, and further informing me that all slaves who may still be in the possession of their masters are to be no longer considered and treated as slaves but simply as servants, on the same footing as white people, and are to be, as free men, equally entitled to the protection and solicitude of the local authorities.

I shall lose no time in reporting this most gratifying assurance to Her Majesty's Government, to whom it cannot fail to give the greatest satisfaction.

I regret that I have no information whatever respecting the severe blows which your Excellency states you have dealt the slave merchants, and should be glad if you could give me some information on a subject in which Her Majesty's Government takes so deep an interest.

I would beg to suggest whether it would not be advisable to give publicity to your Excellency's humane decision as to the manner in which black people are to be treated by their masters, for I can assure you that it is altogether ignored by the population, who continue to regard the blacks in their possession as their slaves, and to treat them accordingly.

I must here bring under your Excellency's notice several instances in which the authorities on the coast have shown little inclination to discourage slavery.

The British Vice-Consul at Mesurata reports to me that he has lately had occasion to represent to the Kaimakam of Mesurata several cases of cruelty to slaves, but that his representations have been totally unheeded. Whilst the Mutesserif of Khoms, who, I learn, has now been appointed to Fezzan, refused even to reply to a letter inquiring whether he had received your Excellency's instructions with reference to the traffic in slaves. At about the same time that this occurred a shipment of slaves was effected on the coast, in the district of Khoms, by an Ottoman ship, which subsequently touched at Bengazi, where one of the female slaves, having effected her escape from on board, took refuge in the British Vice-Consulate. Her Majesty's Acting Vice-Consul immediately reported the circumstance to the Mutesserif, but, although the latter obtained further proof of the slaving transaction, he neglected to punish the captain of the ship.

Many slaves who had been lately manumitted by the Bengazi authorities at the request of Her Majesty's Vice-Consul have been kidnapped by their former masters and sold to others; and notwithstanding that the Vice-Consul had, in several instances, pointed out the culprits in these cases, the Mutesserif neglected to arrest them on the charge, and

allowed them to escape from Bengazi. In consequence of this demeanour of the authorities, slaves seeking to obtain their freedom had so little confidence in the local authorities that they were ready to undergo any amount of suffering rather than trust to their protection, and, when I last heard from Bengazi, they continued to crowd together in the "skeefa" of the Vice-Consulate in such numbers that two actually died in one day fron want of proper nourishment and accommodation.

I shall shortly receive detailed reports of these cases, when I shall be able, if it be necessary, to furnish your Excellency with further particulars.

I avail, &c.

(Signed) F. R. DRUMMOND-HAY.

Inclosure 5 in No. 152.

Consul-General Drummond Hay to Ali Riza Pasha.

Sir, *Tripoli, December* 8, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to represent to your Excellency an attempt to forcibly recover possession of a female slave, who was for the time being under the protection of this Consulate-General.

The case is aggravated by the circumstance of her being the slave of Salih Effendi, an officer of the Government, by whose orders, it is naturally to be inferred, the attempt was made.

About three weeks ago two female slaves, belonging to Salih Effendi, sought the protection of this Consulate-General, with the object of obtaining their freedom.

Whilst awaiting your Excellency's reply to my communication of the 30th ultimo, I directed Mr. Warrington, the interpreter of the Consulate, to place them under the care of some liberated slaves, who have been allowed, for better protection, to build their huts on a piece of land belonging to him, and immediately adjoining his house. About six days after this an old black man, named Mohamed, who lives at these huts, was directed by a certain Ben Koora, a person often employed at the Castle, to request Mr. Warrington to give up the slaves to their master, Salih Effendi, the latter engaging that they should be well treated. Mr. Warrington naturally refused. On Saturday, the 4th instant, Khair el Taweel, the "Engladeem," or Chief of the blacks in the village of Shara el Shect, went to the huts, and succeeded in persuading one of the women to go with him, by the promise of giving her some food. When she had proceeded about two miles in the direction of his house he was joined by a certain Mustafa, a clerk of Salih Effendi, and a zaptieh, when they all three suddenly seized her, and tried to carry her off on a donkey. She screamed for help, upon which they compressed her throat and covered her mouth to stifle her cries, which were, however, fortunately heard by some people, and amongst them by an Arab in Mr. Warrington's employment, who remonstrated with her three assailants, and succeeded in taking her back to Mr. Warrington's house, followed by Salih Effendi's clerk and the zaptieh, who all denied having beaten or used any violence towards the woman, but only inquired from her what she had done with a necklace, worth 10,000 piastres, which she had stolen—the notorious and invariable subterfuge resorted to by slave masters to endeavour to obtain the assistance of the authorities in keeping their slaves in thraldom. On the same day that this occurred the black man, who had been the bearer of the message to Mr. Warrington, was, I am informed, imprisoned by orders of Salih Effendi, for having failed to recover the slaves, and remains in prison at this moment.

After what your Excellency wrote to me on the 2nd instant, I cannot doubt you will make a severe example of all those who may be in any way implicated in this flagrant case, and that you will cause the old black man, who has been so unjustly imprisoned, to be set at liberty.

I avail, &c.

(Signed) F. R. DRUMMOND HAY.

Inclosure 6 in No. 152.

Ali Riza Pasha to Pertaf Pasha.

Tripoli, le 6 *Décembre*, 1869.

VEUILLEZ me télégraphier et me renseigner exactement et avec détails sur la nouvelle qui circule, que quelques négres reçus au Consulat Anglais y sont morts de faim.

Faites en moi connaître la cause.

(Signé) ALI RIZA.

Inclosure 7 in No. 152.

Pertef Pasha to Ali Riza Pasha.

Bengasi, le 7 Décembre, 1869.

INDIGENES et étrangers savent bien qu'ici personne n'est mort de faim. Il est mort un nègre dans l'écurie du Consulat Anglais, mais d'une mort naturelle.

Ainsi donc si on a dit que ce nègre est mort de faim il est connu d'ou provient ce manque, et que cette nouvelle est entièrement mensongère.

(Signé) PERTAF.

Inclosure 8 in No. 152

Ali Riza Pasha to Consul-General Drummond-Hay.

M. le Consul-Général, *Tripoli, le* 10 *Décembre,* 1869.

J'AI reçu la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'adresser en date du 6 de ce mois.

Je regrette de n'avoir pas su à temps pour l'empêcher, l'embarquement d'esclaves qui s'est effectué dans le district de Koms. Vous me dites que lors du passage de ce bâtiment à Bengazi le Moutasarrif, quoique ayant acquis des preuves de cette transaction n'a pas pris les mesures nécessaires pour arrêter le capitaine. J'en communiquerais à ce sujet avec le Moutasarrif.

Quant au refus de réponse opposé par le Moutasarrif de Koms, Halim Pacha, à la lettre lui demandant s'il avait reçu la copie de l'Emir Namé du 22 Safer, 1286, j'ai tout lieu de supposer que le Moutasarrif n'aura pas voulu s'écarter des réglements en répondant à un Consul qui n'est pas accrédité auprès de lui.

J'ai l'honneur de vous remettre ci-jointe les copies de mon télégramme au Moutasarrif de Bengazi et de sa réponse au sujet des deux nègres morts de faim dans le vestibule du Vice-Consulat Britannique à Bengazi.

D'autres parties de votre susdite lettre du 6, ainsi que celle du 8 courant, dont j'ai l'honneur d'accuser réception, s'écartant des limites de l'Emir Namé du 22 Safer, 1286, et entamant des sujets qui touchent à notre administration, je ne puis faire autrement pour vous répondre longuement et avec détails, comme ces sujets le comportent, que de consulter au préalable mon Gouvernement.

Agréez, &c.

(Signé) ALI RIZA.

Inclosure 9 in No. 152.

Ali Riza Pasha to Consul-General Drummond-Hay.

M. le Consul-Général, *Tripoli, le* 12 *Décembre,* 1869.

J'AI l'honneur de vous remettre ci-jointe la copie de la réponse du Moutasarrif de Bengazi à la demande d'explications que je lui avais adressé relativement à l'embarquement d'esclaves opéré par un batiment Ottoman sur la côte du district de Koms, au passage ultérieur de ce bâtiment par Bengazi, et sur la négligence de punir le capitaine comme vous me le signalez par votre lettre du 6 courant. Je vous remets en même temps la copie de mon télégramme.

Agréez, &c.

(Signé) ALI RIZA.

Inclosure 10 in No. 152.

Ali Riza Pasha to Pertef Pasha.

Télégraphique.) *Tripoli, le* 11 *Décembre,* 1869.

CONSUL Anglais me rapport l'embarquement d'esclaves opéré par un bâtiment Ottoman sur la côte du district de Koms; son passage ultérieur à Bengazi, ou une négresse parvient s'échapper du bord pour le réfugier au Consulat Britannique; et me fait savoir que malgré les dénonciations que vous en furent faites par le Vice-Consul et

les preuves que vous avez acquis de la transaction vous avez negligé le punir de capitaine. Veuillez me télégraphier ce qu'il en est de cette affaire, et pourquoi vous n'avez pas appliqué dans ce cas les mesures ordonnées.

(Signé) ALI RIZA.

Inclosure 11 in No. 152.

Pertef Pasha to Ali Riza Pasha.

Bengasi, le 12 *Décembre*, 1869.

CHAQUE an plusieurs nègres des deux sexes se rendent ici pour vivre du travail du labourage.

Conséquemment Capitaine Hadji Zerika arriva à Bengasi 26 Elloul, ayant à son bord 155 personnes Arabes embarquées à Musurata. Un nègre se plaignit d'être esclave au Vice-Consulat, qui nous en fit part. Ayant questionné ce nègre il répondit qu'il y avait une esclave aussi. Nous fîmes immédiatementcomparaître Capitaine au Medgliss et l'interrogeâmes. Repondit que négresse en s'embarquant lui avait dit être mariée et avait montré son mari se trouvant aussi à bord. Fîmes comparaître négresse, qui confirme verbalement paroles capitaine, auquel nous avons pu rien dire cause innocence.

Alors délivrâmes certificats manumission et avons reconnu que négresse était point nouvelle esclave parlant bien Arabe.

(Signé) PERTEF.

No. 153.

Consul-General Drummond-Hay to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received January 31.)

My Lord, *Tripoli, Barbary, January* 10, 1870.

IN acknowledging the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 16th ultimo, transmitting a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople, inclosing a Memorandum from the Sublime Porte with reference to the shipment of slaves by the Turkish ship-of-war on the 26th of August last, I have the honour to make the following observations with reference to the explanation of the transaction given in the Memorandum of the Porte. It does not, in the first place, agree with the statement made by the Governor-General on his return from Constantinople, when he informed Mr. Casalana, the Cancellier of this Consulate, that His Highness, Ali Pasha, had disposed of the charge I had brought against him, by simply stating that as the Porte did not recognize the existence of slavery, the blacks brought in the ship-of-war were free people, and not slaves.

It is remarkable that the Porte should, as stated in its Memorandum, have been satisfied with the explanation given by the Governor-General, when the slightest inquiry, instituted with a desire to arrive at the truth, would have declared the real nature of the transaction.

The statement that a portion of the blacks shipped were volunteers for the Imperial army has not even the merit of probability. Black people never volunteer for the Imperial army. They invariably prefer to remain in a state of slavery rather than enter the Imperial service. Many instances of this have come under my immediate notice. In this case, however, the great majority of the slaves taken to Constantinople were young females, who were neither likely to be volunteers for the army nor to be the old freed slaves stated in the Memorandum to have been anxious to take advantage of the opportunity of obtaining a passage to Constantinople gratis. Had the transaction been of the nature pretended by the Governor-General, it was strange that the night-time should have been chosen for the embarkation, when in this port no traffic ever takes place after sundown, except smuggling and the embarkation of slaves. Were there any truth in the Governor-General's explanation, I should, before this, have been able to ascertain the fact; whereas, everything that I have since learnt tends to confirm me in the conviction that it was a *bonâ fide* slaving transaction, in which there was not only connivance on the part of the Governor-General but in which he was the chief party interested.

His Excellency's return from Constantinople to his port here, as also the return of the "Tairi Bahri," with the same captain who commanded her on her last voyage, has had the effect of confirming the feeling amongst the population that the Porte is not sincere in its desire to suppress the Traffic. The slave-merchants have, for some time past,

complained that the Slave Trade has been thrown into the hands of the local authorities, who thus monopolize this most lucrative Traffic.

I have the honour to inclose herewith a Memorandum containing information which I have thought it preferable to transmit in that form, and which confirms that given in my despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassador, copy of which formed an inclosure in my despatch to your Lordship of 30th of August last.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. R. DRUMMOND-HAY.

P.S. *January 11th.*—Since writing this despatch I have accidentally received further evidence of the shipment of slaves by the "Tairi Bahri," on the 26th of August last, which I have the honour to transmit herewith, inclosed, in an additional Memorandum, and which I believe requires no comment from me.

F. R. D. H.

Inclosure 1 in No. 153.

Memorandum.

ON the 28th of August the Kadi (Chief Justice) of Tripoli, sent to inform me of the shipment of slaves by the "Tairi Bahri," giving me details of the hour and manner in which it had been effected. The information I subsequently obtained from other quarters all agreed with that given me by the Kadi.

Towards the end of September, when it began to be suspected that I had reported the embarcation of slaves by the "Tairi Bahri" to Her Majesty's Embassy, the chief Custom-house officer endeavoured to elicit information from Mr. Casalaina, the Cancellier of this Consulate, as to whether I had telegraphed on the subject to Her Majesty's Embassy. Mr. Casalaina having reported to me the anxiety of the chief Custom-house officer to obtain information from him on the subject, I directed him to say that I had telegraphed to Constantinople, and that I trusted the slaves would all be seized and liberated on their arrival there. Upon hearing this the Custom-house officer expressed his regret that he had sent twelve slaves by the "Tairi Bahri," as he feared he would lose the value of them. But, he added, "the Governor-General will be a heavier loser, having taken many more."

Since the Governor-General's return from Constantinople he has on two occasions remonstrated with me in a deprecatory tone, through officers in the Turkish service, whom he employs in verbal communications with Consuls, for having reported the shipment of slaves by the "Tairi Bahri," without, however, attempting to deny the real facts, but rather intimating that the friendship existing between us ought to have induced me to overlook such a slight irregularity.

(Signed) F. R. DRUMMOND-HAY.

Consulate-General, Tripoli, January 10, 1870.

Inclosure 2 in No. 153.

Memorandum.

FERHAT AGHA, a black man, first engineer of the Turkish ship-of-war "Tairi Bahri," at present stationed here, presented himself this day, the 11th January, at the Consulate, for the purpose of requesting me to countersign the manumission paper for a female slave whom he had bought some time ago, and had since married and freed.

On my putting some questions to him he freely gave me the following information :—"I am the first engineer of the 'Tairi Bahri.' I held the same office on the 26th of August last, the date on which the 'Tairi Bahri' left Tripoli, for the purpose of conveying the Governor-General to Constantinople. On that occasion we had from 35 to 40 female, and 6 or 7 male slaves on board. 25 of the female slaves belonged to the Governor-General, and 2 to the captain, the rest to other people. I had one, the same I have since married, and whom I bought at Bengasi in June last, when the Governor-General visited that port in the 'Tairi Bahri.' It was there also that the Governor-General procured some of the slaves he took with him to Constantinople, the rest he got at Tripoli.

"All those taken to Constantinople were young slaves, newly imported from the

interior. On the arrival of the 'Tairi Bahri' at Constantinople, no search was made for slaves on board, they were all quietly landed."

N.B.—The fact of the Governor-General having brought slaves with him from Bengasi, on board the "Tairi Bahri," in June last, was reported to me at the time by Acting Vice-Consul Chapman, who happened to be a passenger by her on that occasion, and the circumstance was alluded to by me in the last paragraph of my despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassador, of 30th of August, copy of which formed an inclosure in my despatch to the Secretary of State, of 30th of August, 1869.

(Signed) F. R. DRUMMOND-HAY.

Consulate-General, Tripoli, Barbary, January 11, 1870.

UNITED STATES.

No. 154.

Mr. Thornton to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received April 25.)

My Lord, *Washington, April* 11, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a note which I have received from the Secretary of State of the United States, forwarding a list of United States' vessels-of-war, to whose Commanders warrants have been issued to act in the suppression of Slave Trade, in accordance with the Treaty between Great Britain and the United States, of 7th April, 1862.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. THORNTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 154.

Mr. Fish to Mr. Thornton.

Sir, *Department of State, Washington, April* 7, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to transmit, for the information of Her Majesty's Government, a list of vessels of the United States' navy provided with special warrants for the suppression of the Slave Trade, in accordance with the Treaty between the United States and Great Britain, of 7th April, 1862.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HAMILTON FISH.

Inclosure 2 in No. 154.

LIST of Vessels of the United States' Navy furnished with Special Warrants under the Treaty of April 7, 1862, between the United States of America and Great Britain, for the Suppression of the African Slave Trade.

Vessel.	Guns.*	Tons.	Commanding Officer.	Station.
Franklin	39	3,173	Captain C. R. P. Rodgers	European and African Stations jointly.
Richmond	18	1,335	Captain J. R. M. Mullany	
Plymouth	12	1,122	Captain W. H. Macomb	
Juniata	8	828	Commander S. B. Luce	
Lancaster	22	2,120	Captain S. D. Trenchard	South Atlantic or Brazil and African Stations jointly.
Quinnebang	7	523	Commander E. Barret	
Wasp	1	365	Commander W. A. Kirkland ..	
Portsmouth†	15	846	Commander A. A. Semmes	
Severn	15	2,000	Commander R. B. Lowry	North Atlantic or West India Station.
Tuscarora	6	726	Commodore W. W. Queen	
Congress	16	2,000	Captain N. B. Harrison	
Nantasket	7	523	Lieutenant-Commander E. M. Bunce..	
Swatara	7	536	Lieutenant-Commander W. N. Allen ..	
Yantic	3	410	Commodore John Irwin	

* Exclusive of howitzers. † Sailing-vessel.

No. 155.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Thornton.

Sir, *Foreign Office, June* 11, 1870.

I INCLOSE, for your information, a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Minister at Madrid,* reporting the views of his colleague the United States' Minister with regard to the Project of Law for the abolition of slavery in the Spanish West Indies, which has been recently submitted to the Cortes by the Minister of the Colonies, and I should be glad to learn the opinion of the United States' Government upon this measure, which has disappointed the hopes and expectations of Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 156.

Mr. Thornton to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received June 20.)

My Lord, *Washington, June* 6, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that on the 3rd instant Mr. Fish and I signed the inclosed additional Convention to the Treaty for the suppression of the African Slave Trade signed at Washington on the 7th of April, 1862.†

Mr. Fish tells me that the Convention will be at once submitted to the Senate, whose sanction he hopes it will receive before the adjournment of that Body.

In accordance with Mr. Fish's desire the ratifications are to be exchanged at London.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. THORNTON.

No. 157.

Mr. Thornton to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.—(Received July 10.)

Sir, *Washington, June* 27, 1870.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that on the 23rd instant, I communicated to Mr. Fish the substance of the despatch from Her Majesty's Minister at Madrid, copy of which was inclosed in the Earl of Clarendon's despatch of the 11th instant. In reply, Mr. Fish stated that his Government would have had no objection that in the proposed law for the abolition of slavery in the Spanish West Indies the interests of the slave proprietors should have been kept in view to a certain extent, provided that this was not done at the price of the maintenance of the institution of slavery.

He thought, however, that the proposed law could not be considered as intended to abolish slavery; he declared that its provisions did not at all come up to the promises which had been made by the Spanish Government to General Sickles, and that the Government of the United States were consequently bitterly disappointed at the contents of the proposed law.

General Sickles, Mr. Fish added, would be instructed to convey to the Spanish Government the feelings of that of the United States upon the subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWD. THORNTON.

No. 158.

Mr. Thornton to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.—(Received July 24.)

Sir, *Washington, July* 11, 1870.

WITH reference to my despatch to the Earl of Clarendon of the 6th ultimo. I have the honour to inform you that the additional Convention to the Treaty for

* No. 36. † Laid before Parliament.

the suppression of the African Slave Trade of April 7th, 1862, which Mr. Fish and I signed on the 3rd ultimo, was submitted to the Senate in Secret Session on the 8th instant, immediately after the approval of the Convention relative to Naturalization. The Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations reported in favour of it, and stated its contents; whereupon, without its being read, it was unanimously sanctioned.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. THORNTON.

No. 159.

Earl Granville to Sir E. Thornton.

Sir, *Foreign Office, August* 10, 1870.

I HAVE to acquaint you that I have this day exchanged with Mr. Motley the Ratifications of the Additional Convention to the Treaty of April 7th, 1862, for the suppression of the African Slave Trade.

Previous to the exchange it was discovered that in the last line of Article IV of the Additional Convention the Instructions annexed to the Treaty of April 7th, 1862, were described as Annex B instead of Annex A. No alteration was made in the respective ratifications, but the error will be corrected here in publishing the Additional Convention, and you will suggest to Mr. Fish that it should also be corrected on his side.

I am, &c.

(Signed) GRANVILLE.
