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MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE

THE DUKE DE BROGLIE

AND

THE RT. HON. STEPHEN LUSHINGTON, D.C.L.

March 31, April 1, 2, 3, and 4, 1845.

Presented to the House of Commons by Command of Her Majesty.
1847.

LONDON:
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MINUTES OF EVIDENCE

TAKEN BEFORE

THE DUKE DE BROGLIE

AND

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE STEPHEN LUSHINGTON, D.C.L.

Monday, March 31, 1845.

Captain Henry Dundas Trotter, R.N., examined.

Q. You are a captain in Her Majesty's service ?

A. I am—a captain in the Royal Navy.

Q. Have you been upon the coast of Africa ?

A. I have.

Q. In what years ?

A. In the years 1833 and 1834, but not during the whole of those years—for about a year and a quarter in those years.

Q. You commanded the expedition to the River Niger ?

A. Yes, I did—in the year 1841.

Q. During the time that you were first upon the coast, you were engaged in the suppression of the slave trade ?

A. I was.

Q. On the West Coast ?

A. On the West Coast only.

Q. Do you know how many English vessels of war were occupied in that service at that time ?

A. To the best of my recollection, about nine or ten ; I am not quite certain.

Q. Were you successful in making captures of slave-vessels ?

A. During that time, I captured one vessel under Spanish colours, having slaves on board. I captured another Spanish vessel (the "Panda") which had committed a piracy ; and a third, under Portuguese colours (the "Esperanza"), which had aided the pirates in their escape. These latter vessels engaged my attention for about six months ; though they had no slaves on board at the time of seizure, they were both fitted up for the slave trade.

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Dundas Trotter.

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Q. In the case of the "Panda" you found it necessary to occupy a great space of time in seizing and detecting the crew?

A. Yes.

Q. Were they partly pirates and partly engaged in the slave trade?

A. I have reason to think that they left the Havana mainly with the intention of going upon a slave cruize.

Q. And they then became pirates?

A. They seized an American vessel on the way across, secured the crew below, by battening the hatches, and after plundering her set fire to her.

Q. Under what colours was that vessel?

A. She had three or four sets of colours, but she had Spanish papers.

Q. Do you believe that during the time you were on the coast many vessels escaped and carried away cargoes of slaves from the neighbourhood of where you were stationed?

A. A great number, owing to the very small number of cruisers at that time employed upon the coast.

Q. In fact, the force was insufficient to enable you to put a stop to the traffic?

A. Perfectly so. I may mention that I was the senior officer upon the coast, the Admiral remaining at the Cape of Good Hope, and I had charge of the vessels cruising on the coast.

Q. During that time, did you search every suspected vessel, whatever colours she might have?

A. I did, as far as my own vessel was concerned. I searched every vessel that I had the least suspicion of.

Q. Can you recollect what were the colours under which those vessels you searched sailed?

A. Almost exclusively Spanish, Portuguese, and Brazilian—not one French vessel.

Q. Any American colours?

A. I met with one or two American trading-vessels, but I did not board them, from knowing that they had nothing to do with the slave trade. I found them lying in a Portuguese harbour at the Island of Princes.

Q. Had you occasion to search any American vessels under Portuguese colours?

A. Not any.

Q. Was it the fact that the vessels you searched often had several sets of colours on board?

A. I never recollect any instance but in the case of the "Panda;" but I may mention that we were not at that time authorized to seize vessels even if equipped for the slave trade, unless they had actually slaves on board; so that finding no slaves on board the vessel we visited, we had no object in searching for extra colours.

Q. Had you instructions under the French Treaties?

A. I had not; I had been for between two and three years on a distant part of the station, which then extended to the Isle of France; and when I sailed from England in August 1830, I do not think the Treaty with France was then concluded.

Q. Will you have the goodness to state on what part of the West Coast you were particularly stationed.

A. From Cape Coast Castle to Cape Lopez, a little to the south of the Line, was the ground I chiefly occupied. The part of the coast which I more particularly watched extended from the mouth of the Nun to the Bonny,—these are branches of the Niger. The pirate, when I seized, her was lying near Cape Lopez.

Q. From what parts of the west coast of Africa, to the best of your knowledge, was the slave trade chiefly carried on at that time?

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A. It was very generally carried on throughout the whole extent of the West Coast. I have seen thirteen slave-vessels at one time at Whydah, in the Bight of Benin, but without the power of seizing them, there being no slaves on board. We had not cruizers enough at that time to send any to the south of the Line, although it was known that the slave trade was carried on there on a very large scale, in fact to an immense extent.

Q. When did you leave the coast ?

A. I left it about the month of March 1834.

Q. When did you return to the Niger ?

A. I returned in the year 1841, but I had not then the power of taking slavers. I had no slave-papers when I returned on this occasion.

Q. Was the slave trade carried on from the mouth of the Niger which you entered at that time ?

A. Owing to the strict blockade of that part of the coast previously to the arrival of the Niger Expedition, it had almost, if not entirely, ceased at this point.

Q. Have you turned your attention very much to the question of the best means of suppressing the slave trade ?

A. I did very much at one time ; for the last two years I have been on the Continent, and out of the way of giving that attention to the subject which I should have done otherwise.

Q. But to the general question of suppressing the slave trade, you have paid great attention ?

A. I have taken great interest in it.

Q. And considered it very carefully ?

A. I have to a certain extent ; but I do not think my experience is equal to that of other officers in attendance.

Q. But you have given it great attention ?

A. I have considered it with great interest and attention.

Q. Have any means ever occurred to you whereby the trade could be more effectually put down ?

A. An important step towards it would be the establishment of any greater check than at present exists to the exportation of slaves ; but I have always considered that the only effectual means of doing away with the slave trade would be by introducing and encouraging civilization ; for so long as the country remains uncivilized, so long, in my opinion, will the slave trade be continued.

Q. But civilization is a very slow process ?

A. A very slow process indeed ; but while civilization is essentially necessary to eradicate the slave trade from Africa, much, as I have remarked, may be done towards lessening it, by checking the exportation of slaves across the Atlantic, by the employment of external force ; but this, if done at all, ought to be done effectually, so as to destroy the transatlantic traffic altogether.

Q. Is not the trade in slaves carried on almost exclusively for the supply of the Brazils and Cuba ?

A. I have every reason to believe that that is the case ; that is to say, for the supply of Porto Rico, Cuba, and the Brazils.

Q. Have you any knowledge of any importations having taken place into any other places ?

A. Not within the time that I have turned my attention to the subject. I might perhaps mention, that when I was on the Mauritius station, in the years 1831 and 1832, I always understood that neither at the Isle of France, nor at Bourbon, was there a possibility of a slave being introduced. It was always understood that the French authorities were equally anxious with ourselves to prevent any introduction of slaves.

Q. In the years 1831 and 1832, you think that no slaves were introduced into the French colonies ?

A. That is my belief ; at least, into the one that I had occasion to visit. I speak only of Bourbon.

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Q. And you have no knowledge that they were introduced into any other French colony

A. No.

Q. Are you at all aware of any trade in slaves having been carried on to Texas?

A. Not from my own knowledge.

Q. You have said, that in order to put an end to the slave trade, two things are requisite, namely, the employment of external force and the civilization of Africa. By "the employment of external force," you mean so large a number of ships engaged in the suppression of the slave trade as to render the carrying on of that trade exceedingly difficult, if not impossible?

A. That is exactly what I mean.

Q. Are you of opinion that any good would arise from a blockade of the Island of Cuba?

A. I have had very little experience of the Island of Cuba; I was there only for a short time, as a young officer.

Q. Do you know the Brazil coast?

A. No, I do not.

Q. It would require a very considerable force to blockade the whole of the west coast of Africa.

A. It certainly would require a very considerable force.

Q. But you are of opinion that it might be possible?

A. I think it quite possible, if a sufficient number of vessels were employed.

Q. In the case of attempting to suppress the slave trade by blockade, it would be necessary to intercept every vessel that you had reasonable ground for supposing was engaged in that trade?

A. Decidedly.

Q. Under all colours whatever?

A. I think so; that is my opinion.

Q. Do you think that the slave trade has increased or diminished since the time you have known the coast of Africa?

A. It had very much decreased during the interval between my first and second visit to the coast. I mean, that during this interval, from 1834 to 1841, the number of slaves exported had diminished to a comparatively small amount. Indeed, in the year 1841, when I went to the Niger, the number had become very small indeed, and it was still lower in 1842, when I believe it had reached its minimum, owing no doubt to the destruction of the barracoons by Captain Denman in the year before, and the approval by the Government of that proceeding. It has since then again increased.

Q. To what do you attribute the increase since the year 1841?

A. I attribute the decrease in the interval I have alluded to, very much to the blockade system, and its subsequent increase, to that system having been at times less rigidly maintained.

Q. Was it not in consequence of the war in China, and a great number of our blockading vessels being withdrawn in 1841, that the slave trade increased?

A. Probably it was, but I do not know that of my own knowledge; it has varied very much from one year to another. The Parliamentary Reports will show the actual number of captures in each year.

Q. You have no knowledge of any traffic in slaves having existed in the years 1831 and 1832 with the French colonies?

A. I have no personal knowledge on the subject beyond what I have stated in respect to Bourbon?

Q. Have you any knowledge of slaves being sent to America?

A. None.

Q. Nor to the Dutch colonies?

A. No.

Q. Consequently the slave trade is confined to Brazil and Cuba?

A. So far as I know, and to Porto Rico.

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Q. Before the abolition of slavery in the British colonies in 1834, are you aware that any slave trade was carried on between the African coast and the British colonies?

A. Certainly not in my time. I feel confident that there was no such thing.

Q. Since what period have treaties relating to the slave trade existed between England and Spain, and between England and Portugal?

A. That will appear from the volume of Treaties on the table.

Q. You have said that you have never met with a French vessel that was carrying on the slave trade?

A. Never.

Q. When you were on the coast of Africa you had no instructions in consequence of the Treaty of 1831?

A. I had not. I left England in 1830, before that Treaty was entered into; and as my period of service had nearly expired when I went to the West Coast, and my continued stay there was accidental, no papers were sent to me from England, though no doubt they would have been forwarded to me had it been intended to keep me on the coast.

Q. Did you often meet with vessels under the American flag carrying on the slave trade?

A. No, never; the only American vessels that I saw were engaged in lawful trade.

Q. Do you think that, in order to put down the slave trade, it would be very desirable to make treaties with the native Powers?

A. Yes, I think that is a very essential thing.

Q. Do you believe that such treaties may be made with facility, provided small presents be given?

A. Yes, I have every reason to think so, because we have already made treaties with several of the native chiefs.

Q. Would you place much confidence in the Native Powers executing those treaties?

A. Not unless impelled to do so by fear of naval guns, in the event of their breaking them.

Q. Would it not be necessary, in order to carry those treaties into effect, that powers should be given either to France or to England to suppress the slave trade by force upon the territory, if they did not keep the Treaties?

A. I think so, and I believe that that is the understanding with several of those chiefs with whom we have made treaties. I believe that this will appear by reference to the regulations and instructions issued by the Admiralty for the guidance of the naval officers on the coast.

Q. Do not you think that a great deal might be done if power was acquired from the native chiefs to land upon the coast, for the purpose of preventing this trade?

A. Yes; I think that is very desirable.

Q. To this effect, that permission should be given to every French cruizer and every English cruizer upon the coast, upon reasonable ground of suspicion that the trade was carrying on in the dominions of any native Prince, to land there to put a stop to it?

A. I think so, first referring to the senior naval officer, if possible, for his sanction. I think it very desirable to have such a power in any treaties which are made with the native chiefs.

Q. Have you sufficient knowledge of the coast of Africa to be able to say whether, if this trade were suppressed, there are means for carrying on and extending legitimate commerce?

A. I decidedly think so, particularly if settlements are made on the coast by civilized Powers.

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Q. Africa produces various articles, such as palm-oil, bees-wax, and other articles of that description, which are desirable both for France and England?

A. Yes. I think from the accounts of all travellers, we have reason to believe that Africa produces many valuable articles of commerce; and, from my own knowledge, I am convinced that the palm-oil trade could be increased to a very great extent.

Q. Do you believe that if the slave trade could be put a stop to, for a certain given number of years—say five, legitimate trade might then take root?

A. It has already taken root; and I think it would very much increase in that time; but I should doubt very much whether five years would be enough to prevent the recurrence of the slave trade, if there remained the same demand as now for slaves in the Brazils and Cuba. But, in the meantime, I have no doubt genuine trade would increase very considerably.

Q. Even with a very powerful blockade?

A. This would form but a trifling impediment to carrying on a lawful trade; but I think that even supposing a very strong blockade were able to put a stop to the slave trade entirely during five years, at the end of that time there would not be very much gained towards the amelioration of the internal condition of Africa, if nothing else can be done. I think that in five years one cannot contemplate any very great improvement—the time is too short.

Q. You think that a cessation of the trade for five years in consequence of the blockade force, would not extinguish the trade without other means?

A. I think not, if the same inducement of a foreign demand for slaves continued at the end of that period.

Q. The native chiefs are indebted to the slave trade very much for the means of procuring those articles of luxury which they indulge in?

A. Very much indeed.

Q. For instance, rum, and the sort of clothes they buy?

A. Yes, very much indeed. The making of palm-oil does not require much labour; but they are so very indolent that they prefer the slave trade even to using that small degree of exertion. Thus, constitutional indolence is one great difficulty in the way of their civilization.

Q. Do you believe that if the slave trade was prevented, there would be a great inducement to the native chiefs to bring down the product of the country in order to trade and acquire their accustomed articles of indulgence?

A. There is no doubt it would tend very much to that; but, as I have said before, I think five years is too short a time to make any great change in their habits.

(The witness withdrew.)

Captain Edward Harris Butterfield, R.N., examined.

Q. You are a captain in Her Majesty's navy ?

A. Yes.

Q. You have been engaged on the coast of Africa ?

A. Yes.

Q. Upon which coast ?

A. Upon the west and south coast.

Q. During what years were you there ?

A. I went out first in the beginning of 1825, and then I returned again in August 1826, and then from June 1827, to January 1831, and then from 1839 to May 1842.

Q. When did you finally quit the coast of Africa ?

A. In May 1842.

Q. Have the goodness to point out upon the map the parts of the coast where you were ?

A. I was about three years* from Cape Three Points to St. Thomas's, all round here (*pointing it out upon the map*). my first cruize, from Sierra Leone†, along the coast to Princes Island and St. Thomas's.

Q. Where were you afterwards ?

A. I was from Mayumba 3 degrees south to Cape Negro ; that was the extent of my cruising ground‡.

Q. At what point do you think the slave trade is carried on most ?

A. They carry it on all the way from Senegal till you come down to our settlement at the Gambia.

Q. Along the whole line of coast between Senegal and our settlements ?

A. Yes, in the several rivers there where it is carried on. The Rio Nunez, the Rio Pongos, and the Bissao. There are several intermediate places where they can trade in slaves ; but I have not had much experience in that part of the coast up by the Senegal.

Q. Your principal experience was in the district you have pointed out, to the southward ?

A. Yes ; but I have been up the River Nunez, and have taken slavers in the River Nunez.

Q. Will you state the two points between which you principally cruized ?

A. Between Cape St. Paul's and Cape Formosa. That is where I cruized from 1827 to 1830 ; and my last cruize was from 3 degrees south to 20 degrees south.

Q. What vessels did you command upon that coast ?

A. I commanded the "Brisk" brig of three guns, as a lieutenant, and the "Phantom" of sixteen guns, as a commander. I was promoted at the birth of the Prince of Wales from the "Phantom," and I left her there.

Q. During the latter time you were upon the coast since 1830, was the slave trade carried on to a considerable extent from the coast where you were stationed ?

A. Yes ; to a considerable extent.

Q. Were you enabled to make many captures ?

A. The squadron under my command took forty-one vessels, and twenty to thirty boats.

Q. Of how many vessels did the squadron consist ?

A. Of three vessels ; but this number was not constantly present ; that was from June 1840, to April 1842. The vessels captured had on board 5,364 slaves.

* From 1827 to 1830.

† 1825—1826.

‡ From 1840 to 1842.

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Q. Have you reason to believe that many slave-vessels escaped during that period?

A. Yes; I should say at least as many again, if not more, from the information which the Portuguese officers of the "Corvette," a man-of-war, gave me; they told me that they thought we took half. It was also the opinion on shore, among the merchants, that we took half. The masters of the American vessels stated three out of five.

Q. Was the slave trade carried on from any part of the coast of Africa belonging to Portugal?

A. Yes; chiefly from the Portuguese ports, or close to them.

Q. Was it in the Portuguese possessions themselves, or in the environs of the Portuguese possessions, that the slave trade was principally carried on?

A. I do not mean that it was exactly in the town itself.

Q. Did the territory belong to the Portuguese Government?

A. Yes; the whole of that territory belongs to the Portuguese Government, from 8 degrees south to 15 degrees south. Some of the vessels were actually taken before the anchor was up to the bows. Captain Sprigg took one vessel where the anchor was just out of the ground, and they were making sail to come out. That was in the port of Benguela.

Q. To the best of your knowledge and belief, did the Portuguese authorities offer any impediment to carrying on the slave trade from their territories?

A. I do not think they ever did. There was a kind of mock impediment, perhaps. We used to get information from the boats, that the Governor had left his house to go to his country-seat. We then immediately ran close into the port, and during his absence we generally took something coming out; but it was evident that he went away in order to be out of the way. Whenever we heard of the Governor going to his country-seat, we always laid out for it, and we never failed.

Q. Had the Portuguese Government the power of stopping the trade if they had been heartily disposed so to do?

A. Yes, certainly.

Q. Without any difficulty?

A. Without any difficulty. On one occasion we saw a vessel come out of Loando; she stood out for the night, and we stood after her, and at daylight we saw her standing in again. She was going to take her slaves in just to the southward, but we chased her within three miles of the port of Loanda, running for that port, and took her equipped for the slave trade. She came out under Brazilian colours.

Q. Whereabouts do you think those vessels are constructed for the slave trade?

A. In every nation almost; chiefly Americans. The one I took was an old American whaler that was condemned in Rio Janeiro as unfit for sea.

Q. Belonging to North America?

A. Yes. She was found so rotten, that they condemned her, and they fitted her up for a slaver.

Q. What was the general size of the slave-vessels you took;—how many tons?

A. From 18 tons to 250. One vessel of 18 tons I took, with 105 slaves in. It was a mere little boat, decked over. They were all children. The captain had one about eighteen—a fine young woman, but the others were about seven years of age. We measured the deck where they were stowed, and it was about eighteen inches.

Q. Under what colours was that vessel?

A. She had Portuguese papers. She had a captain and five men as the crew.

Q. During the time you were so employed, had you instructions to search under all the Treaties?

A. Not all the time.

Q. During part of the time ?

A. Yes.

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Q. You had instructions under the Brazilian Treaty, the French Treaty, and others ?

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A. Latterly. I had not the French Treaty when I first went out, because when you get a ship it is sent to Paris to be signed.

Q. Did you search vessels, under all flags, that you suspected to be engaged in the trade ?

A. Yes.

Q. What flags did you find on board those vessels ?

A. Generally French, Spanish, and Portuguese; sometimes an English one.

Q. Sometimes an American ?

A. Yes.

Q. In short, the flags of all nations ?

A. I hardly ever found more than two or three in one vessel, but I have in different vessels found flags of all nations.

Q. Do you conceive that any measures could be resorted to which would be effectual for putting down the slave trade ?

A. The most effectual would be to declare it piracy by all nations.

Q. Have you reason to believe that the trade was principally or exclusively carried on by the Spaniards, Brazilians, and Portuguese ?

A. Yes.

Q. For the purpose of supplying the Brazils and the Spanish islands ?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you known slaves at any time to be destined for any other place ?

A. No. They do not all go to Cuba. There are several Spanish islands that they go to.

Q. Have you known any instances of any vessels laden with slaves being destined for Texas ?

A. No.

Q. Or for any French or English colony ?

A. Not the last three years.

Q. Have you since 1830 ?

A. No.

Q. Have you the means of giving any evidence to the Commissioners as to who have been the principal owners of the property embarked in this trade.

A. Generally Portuguese and Spaniards. There was one agreement which we found between a Spanish house in the Havana and a Frenchman living at Cabenda, near the Congo; but he was employed as an agent, and it was mentioned in the agreement that he might have so many thousand dollars, venture in the vessel.

Q. Have you ever known any British subject engaged directly or indirectly in the slave trade ?

A. No.

Q. Did you ever meet with a vessel which was British, or had been British, engaged in that trade ?

A. No, I do not recollect any one,

Q. But you have taken a vessel which had British colours on board ?

A. Yes, with others.

Q. Have you ever met with a French vessel, since 1830, engaged in that trade ?

A. I cannot positively say engaged in the trade, because I met with a vessel as to which for half an hour I was very doubtful whether I would detain her or not, because she had a great quantity of water-casks; but there was nothing but the water-casks; and the French captain positively assured me that it was on account of his not wishing to drink the African water.

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Q. You have never detained any vessel *bond fide* found with French colours for being engaged in the slave trade ?

A. Not since 1830.

Q. Have you ever known any instances where the slavers have without any right or cause used the French flag ?

A. Not since 1830.

Q. Then in fact the flags under which they sail are Brazilian and Portuguese ?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you known the American flag so used ?

A. I have not known it myself. I have never seen one except this, that I have seen an American vessel leave with her casks, and everything, full of water, but not having a Treaty I could not stop her. But I sent a letter by the master of this American vessel to the commander of the "Persian," another English man-of-war, with this information: "This vessel is equipped for the slave trade, and I have information of their delivering the vessel up to the Spaniards at Cabenda, where you are, and she is to leave with 500 slaves." The captain of this man-of-war cruised three days for this vessel. At the end of the third day he went into Cabenda, and she then had a dinner for 500 slaves all ready cooked, with a bill of sale for the vessel between the Americans and the Spanish agent of a slave factory at Cabenda, and he took her and condemned her as a Spaniard.

Q. During the time that you were upon the coast after 1830, was the slave trade diminished, or did it increase ?

A. It diminished while we were there ; I mean from 1840 to 1842, as I was absent from the coast from 1831 to 1839, and therefore cannot give any information.

Q. Did it increase afterwards, to your knowledge ?

A. It increased very much after I left.

Q. For what reason ?

A. There were fewer men-of-war there at that time.

Q. There was a large diminution of the force in consequence of the war in China ?

A. Yes ; the diminution was kept up by increasing the China squadron ; there were so many vessels went at first, and they were gradually withdrawing one from each station, to send there.

Q. Do you believe that it would be possible completely to blockade the whole of the coast ?

A. It would require a great deal of consideration before I could answer that properly.

Q. Do you believe that by the application of any extent of naval force you would so blockade the coast as to prevent the slave trade being carried on ?

A. I think so.

Q. Would other measures be necessary besides the blockading ?

A. I hardly see what other measures you could use.

Q. Would it be necessary, or would it be advantageous, in order to suppress the slave trade, to have the right of landing ?

A. Yes.

Q. To make treaties with the native Powers, giving us free access to the coast for the purpose of suppressing the slave trade ?

A. If we make treaties we must have the power, in case of the natives breaking those treaties, to suppress it by force ; because when you are once out of sight I do not think the natives would stick to it.

Q. Supposing you had the power to enforce the treaty, in case of their failing to do so, you think that would be of great advantage ?

A. That would be of great advantage.

Q. For instance, for the purpose of destroying the barracoons ?

A. Yes.

Q. And for the purpose of preventing the slaves being got together in numbers for embarking?

A. Yes; because we can go on shore and often walk through the barracons, and see perhaps a thousand slaves in them. The Spaniards think nothing of showing us them, and letting us walk through them. They keep those who are natives of the place itself in irons, but those who come from the interior, 200 or 300 miles, are free to walk about. But then they cannot get outside the town from the other natives knowing them; they cannot escape. Those that live in the town itself are generally criminals, prisoners condemned and then sold into slavery.

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Q. Do you think it would be easy to make treaties with the chiefs upon the coast?

A. Very easy; but the difficulty would be to make them carry it out. While you give them money, or whatever presents you give them to form the treaties, they will sign anything; but if they get a large bribe directly after you have left, the chances are that they will not observe the treaty.

Q. No reliance is to be placed upon their good faith?

A. I think not.

Q. You must have the power of compelling the execution of the treaty by force?

A. Yes.

Q. Was there much legitimate trade carried on upon this part of the coast of Africa?

A. There was a small legitimate trade with Portugal and Brazil, and I think with England;—about three vessels, generally, a-year, from the latter country.

Q. At what part?

A. They used to come to Ambriz and leave little factories at different parts of the coast;—they would leave one mate at Port Loango with goods and allow him so much time to sell them, and they would buy ivory and other things, often visiting their factories, taking on board what was purchased, and replenishing their stores on shore.

Q. Is there any palm-oil in that district, for exportation?

A. None upon that coast. There is bees-wax, and gum for copal varnish; that has only been discovered two or three years. The Americans take a great deal of copal varnish.

Q. Do the Americans carry on a trade upon that part of the coast?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you ever been at the Island of Cuba?

A. Never.

Q. Or on the coast of Brazil?

A. Never.

Q. If a blockade force was to be established, would it be necessary, in your opinion, to search every vessel that there was any suspicion of?

A. Yes.

Q. You could not be secure that any flag whatever would not cover the slave trade?

A. No.

Q. Do you think that if the coast were strongly blockaded it would be necessary to have at various stations English and French vessels of war?

A. They need not be together, but they should be in communication, so as to know where to find each other, because they can embark slaves at any part of the coast, so that if you are in the blockading port they can, twenty miles further off, be embarking.

Q. Do you think that if the English and French navy were to communicate together from one station to another, that would more effectually prevent the slave trade being carried on?

A. I think so.

Capt. E. H. Butter-
field.

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Q. While you were upon the coast from the year 1834 to 1840, did you ever visit any French vessels ?

A. One vessel.

Q. Did you find anything suspicious ?

A. It was the number of water-casks that I suspected ; but after maturely looking at them, and seeing that they were all neatly painted casks, and that they were only in one part of her, and that there was room for cargo beyond, I did not stop her, although her intention of leaving the port of Benguela increased my doubts, that port being to the southward of our right of search ; indeed I had no officer to send in, if I had.

Q. Supposing the right of search were given up as relates to any nation, would not the flag of that nation be immediately had recourse to to cover the slave trade ?

A. I think so, judging from the effects of the French Treaty, since which the French flag is seldom, if ever, used, whereas in former years it was of frequent occurrence.

Q. Would it not be necessary to have the power of examining every vessel, in order to ascertain whether she was actually a slaver or not ?

A. I think so.

Q. Are there any means of preventing these slave-vessels hoisting any colours they please ?

A. None.

Q. Have they not frequently several sets of papers on board ?

A. They have them, but they generally manage to throw them overboard before you can get them. When I was there the last time, the false papers were found in the buoy of the anchor : it was made like a cask inside, in which we found the papers, and they have been found in the head of the mast, and in bags of rice, sometimes.

Q. When you board one of those vessels, is it easy to ascertain to what nation the vessel belongs ?

A. Generally speaking ; I think an experienced man very seldom mistakes the nation.

Q. You would be able, by examination on board the vessel, to discover whether it was Brazilian, or Portuguese, or American, or French, or English ?

A. I think with a very strict examination I could, generally speaking. There might be some that you could not discover. The Portuguese and the French vessels might be more alike than the English and the Portuguese ; but between an English vessel and a French you would tell in a moment.

Q. But between Brazilian and Portuguese could you easily distinguish ?

A. They are generally nearly the same.

Q. Supposing that there is a French and an English station upon the African coast, and that a vessel comes out upon the coast suspected of being engaged in the slave trade, and was discovered by the British cruizer, would it be possible for the British cruizer to compel her, without going on board of her, to go to the French station, there to be examined ?

A. No ; because supposing the slaver had French colours, or whatever colours she had, her object would be to get away from the land as fast as she could, and to run away from the French station there, unless we could place an officer with a crew on board to take her to the French station. Her object would be to get as far away from it as she could. We could not force her to go back again.

Q. In point of fact, is it possible for you to compel suspected vessels to go in any particular direction in ordinary cases, except by boarding and taking possession ?

A. No, certainly not ; this vessel, if she was not a *bond fide* French vessel, would run on shore because now they prefer running on shore, and saving themselves, to our taking them.

(The witness withdrew.)

Captain George Sprigg, R.N., examined.

Capt. G. Sprigg.

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Q. You are a Commander in the British Navy?

A. I am.

Q. You have been upon the coast of Africa?

A. I have.

Q. During what time?

A. From the year 1839 to 1842 inclusive, in command.

Q. On what part of the coast?

A. On all parts, but more particularly the southern coast, from the Line to 13° south from Annobon to the River Guborro. There has a settlement been formed there by the Portuguese, called Messambris; it is to the southward of Benguela, about 150 miles.

Q. Speaking of the western and southern coast of Africa, in which part is the slave trade chiefly carried on?

A. The Spaniards receive slaves from the River Congo, up to Mayumba, which is about 3° south. The Portuguese and Brazilians also get slaves from Cabenda, near the Congo; but the Spaniards do not go to the southward of that. Their passage from there is about two months to Cuba. I should say that half the slaves exported from Cabenda are taken to Cuba.

Q. Where else do the Spaniards get their slaves from?

A. To the northward of that up to the Gallinas.

Q. You have been principally between Mayumba and the River Congo?

A. And to the southward of that to 13° south to the River Guborro.

Q. Is there any trade carried on to the south of the River Guborro?

A. None; there is no fresh water between that and the colony of the Cape of Good Hope.

Q. Where do the Portuguese and Brazilians carry on their trade from?

A. The main supply there is from the city of Loanda. When that fails, the slave trade will fail.

Q. The Portuguese carry on a great trade in slaves from Loanda?

A. All the branches of the barracoons are supplied from that. The principal part of the cargoes all come into Loanda; and then they are disseminated into smaller quantities along the shore to carry on the trade, and the slaves are openly bought and kept there in the city.

Q. And it is a trade carried on with the consent and knowledge of the Portuguese authorities there?

A. When I was there, undoubtedly it was; especially at Benguela. I was the means of the Governor being brought to a Court of Inquiry, and dismissed from his government, for assisting it and knowing it, in January 1840.

Q. But the Brazilians and Portuguese carry on the trade further to the northward?

A. They do; but in a very small proportion to the southward of the Line.

Q. Is there any slave trade carried on from the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone?

A. I do not think there is any. There have been many slaves taken from the neighbourhood of it.

Q. But no vessel going there has been supplied?

A. No.

Q. What do say as to the neighbourhood of the Gambia. Are there any slaves taken from there?

A. I cannot say that positively; I have not been there much.

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Q. Do many slaves come from the neighbourhood of Senegal ?

A. I cannot say as to that.

Q. Are the Commissioners to understand that the principal trade in slaves is confined between the points you have mentioned, namely, Mayumba and the River Guborro ?

A. For the Brazils, I should say that seven-eighths of the slaves supplied to the Brazils are from within those limits.

Q. Can you state what the distance is from Mayumba to the River Guborro ?

A. It is comprised within 12° latitude. I should say about 750 miles.

Q. Is that the district which supplies the Spaniards, the Brazilians, and the Portuguese, for the most part with slaves ?

A. I should not say the Spaniards; they obtain from the northward the most part. I say that seven-eighths of the slaves that go to the Brazils from the Western Coast, go from that part of the coast.

Q. With regard to the Spaniards, where do they take theirs from ?

A. Principally from the northward of the Line; and I have known none to the south of Cabenda.

Q. Is there any slave trade carried on now near the Grain Coast ?

A. No; not to my knowledge. I have only sailed there once.

Q. Do you know anything as to the Gold Coast ?

A. I do not.

Q. Do you know Dahomey and the port of Badagry ?

A. Not sufficiently to give an opinion as to that.

Q. During the three years that you were there, were you successful in capturing vessels ?

A. I should say yes.

Q. How many did you take ?

A. Sixteen was the number of vessels that I took, or joint captured.

Q. According to the best of your knowledge or belief, how many made their escape ?

A. I should say more than half. At the first period of 1839 it was very stagnant. They were unsuccessful, owing to the new Act of Parliament; it communicated such fear, that the enterprise was very limited.

Q. The trade was very considerably diminished in 1839 ?

A. Yes; there was very little inclination to attempt it.

Q. Did it revive a little in 1840 ?

A. In January 1840, there was a revival of it; they then began to see where they could run. They found they could run to the coast with certain cargoes, which they did not believe at first they could do.

Q. During the year 1840 was there a great trade going on ?

A. In the beginning of the year 1840 I was stationed at Benguela, which was then the southernmost colony of Portugal. At that time there was a corvette of 18 or 20 guns there belonging to the Queen of Portugal. I had been in to examine vessels there at the close of 1839, and then there was no vessel that I suspected of slave-trading. There had been one or two there; but they had cleared everything out. After the arrival of the Portuguese corvette, I was confined to watching the place. I no longer examined them then.

Q. Why did you no longer examine them ?

A. She being in the roadstead, and it being a roadstead of the Crown of Portugal, I thought that they would not practise those things under her eyes. I think it was on the 16th or 17th of January, 1840, the boats of the "Brisk" pulled in towards the roadstead of Benguela, where the corvette was lying (having heard she was going to sea) with about five other vessels, and as she neared the boats, distinctly heard them heaving the anchors up, which made them more vigilant to find out what

it was, and shortly they found themselves close to a vessel letting fall her sail. I recollect it was a Sunday evening, and immediately that the boat had dropped close to the vessel, they boarded her and found her to have 440 slaves on board.

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Q. What distance was the slave vessels from the Portuguese corvette ?

A. She could not have been much further than from here to the clock at the Horse Guards, about a quarter of a mile.

Q. So that those on board the corvette must have known that that vessel was laden with slaves ?

A. I should say it was impossible but that they must have known of her equipment.

Q. Did the Portuguese corvette offer any resistance ?

A. She proceeded to sea, and went to the southward the following day leaving three vessels fully equipped in the roadstead. She did not molest them in the least.

Q. You say the trade began to revive in 1840, were you then able to suppress the trade solely during the year 1840 ?

A. There were then three vessels equipped ready to take in their slaves. I got this information on the day of the capture of the vessel I have mentioned. I proceeded with the captured crew to Loanda, leaving the boats of the "Brisk" off Benguela, without communicating to the shore that I had already taken this slaver. I took the captured crew to the head city, Loanda, which was about 200 miles to the northward. I then communicated to the Governor that I had captured this vessel, the "Louisa" on Sunday night, in Benguela roadstead; that she took her slaves from the beach before the sun went down; and that it must be known to the Governor and also to the corvette, which had been laying there during her equipment; and I also begged to assure him that three other vessels, the names of which I mentioned to him, were also equipped in the same state as the "Louisa" was, ready to take in their slaves immediately, and I said that my boats were up there, if they could intercept them.

Q. Were any means taken by the Portuguese Governor to stop them ?

A. The Governor expressed his disbelief and his astonishment that such things could be practised at Benguela. I sailed again for Benguela. On my return I found that the "Dos Irmaos," which was one of the vessels, had got clear the very same night with 500, and the "Jupiter" had got clear with 450. The boats succeeded in taking another with 450.

Q. Were you able generally to suppress the slave trade, or were there many vessels escaped, despite of you, in the year 1840 ?

A. There were many vessels escaped. Owing to the trade being stagnant in the early part of the year, our force was not proportionate, and when it began to revive, it then went on very successfully indeed.

Q. In the year 1842, what was the case then ?

A. It was much less than in the latter end of the year 1840. When it suddenly revived in 1840 it exceeded even 1841 and 1842.

Q. Did the trade continue about the same in 1841 and 1842, or did it diminish or did it increase ?

A. It diminished in 1841 and 1842, because our force much increased after 1840.

Q. Your force was not much diminished then in 1841 and 1842 ?

A. No it was increased over 1840.

Q. The trade decreased during the years 1841 and 1842 ?

A. Yes.

Q. And then you came home ?

A. Yes.

Q. You have stated that the principal slave trade is carried on along those 700 miles which you have mentioned, speaking of the west and south coast ?

A. Speaking to the south of the line altogether.

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Q. Can you tell us whether the slave trade is carried on at this moment in any other places than those you have mentioned? Can you say, looking at the chart, where the slave trade begins and where it ends?

A. I should say it begins to the southward of Sierra Leone, and it ends at Benguela or Messambris.

Q. Along the whole of the coast?

A. Yes. I do not mean to say at all parts of it.

Q. Is there any slave trade to the eastward of Sierra Leone, among the Senegambians and those people?

A. I should believe there was.

Q. Where is the furthest point at which the slave trade commences?

A. I should say from 16 degrees north to 15 degrees 30 minutes south; I think there is none to the north of Cape Verd.

Q. Then this slave trade is carried on between Cape Verd and the River Guborro?

A. Yes.

Q. Can you state what is about the extent of that coast?

A. About 2,300 miles.

Q. There are parts of the coast in which there is no slave trade?

A. There are parts of the coast where it is perfectly impracticable.

Q. What proportion does the impracticable part bear to the part from which slaves are or can be exported?

A. I should say that the practicable part is not a fourteenth in some parts of it.

Q. Out of these 2,300 miles of coast, how many miles would you say there are where the slave trade cannot from natural causes be carried on?

A. I should say that the parts of the coast where the trade can be carried on might be all comprised in 300 miles.

Q. Do you believe it would be possible to blockade the whole of that 2,300 miles of coast, along which the trade extends, so as perfectly to prevent the slave trade?

A. No doubt it is possible with force enough.

Q. With a sufficient quantity of ships of war and steamers?

A. Undoubtedly.

Q. Did you ever know slaves carried to any part of the United States?

A. No; I never did.

Q. To Texas?

A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. To any British colonies?

A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. To any French colonies?

A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. Then, as far as you believe, the slaves are sent exclusively to the Brazils and to the Spanish colonies.

A. Yes; and those latter are comprehended in Cuba and Porto Rico.

Q. None to Texas?

A. I do not believe there are any.

Q. You have been of course on board many slavers?

A. I have, many.

Q. Whose property had you reason to believe were the ships and the cargo on board?

A. With the Spaniards, I think there have been generally two or three proprietors—Spanish houses. With the Brazilians, I have generally understood that it is more subdivided.

Q. But all belonging to Brazilians ?

A. Belonging to Brazilians or residing in Brazil.

Q. And belonging to Portugal ?

A. It is generally a distinct trade. It is one property on the side of Africa, and then when the merchant in Africa ships the slaves, he is clear of them.

Q. In as far as you know and believe, are those ships and cargoes the property of Brazilians, Spaniards, and Portuguese ?

A. Yes ; all that I have met with.

Q. Have you met with them under the flag or being the property of other nations ?

A. No. I have often found them to assume other flags.

Q. What flags of other nations have you known them to assume ?

A. The Monte-Videan flag for one.

Q. American ?

A. Frequently the American flag has covered the property of Brazilians.

Q. Did you ever know the British flag cover property engaged in the slave trade ?

A. Never.

Q. Did you ever know the French flag cover property engaged in the slave trade ?

A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. Did you land much when you were there among the natives ?

A. Yes : a great deal.

Q. Are you acquainted with the general products of the African coast ?

A. I am, about the River Congo and Ambriz.

Q. Is there a considerable quantity of trade carried on there ?

A. Not now. The legal trade is very limited.

Q. When you say "not now," what do you mean by "not now?"

A. In proportion as the slave trade flourished it carried with it other trade, in the shape of ivory and gum, which the slaves were made to carry from the interior of the country. When a large proportion of slaves arrived, they used to bring ivory and wax with them.

Q. Then the trade has been diminished in consequence of the slave trade diminishing ?

A. Very much.

Q. If the slave trade was to be put an end to, do not you believe that the trade in ivory, bees-wax, and gold dust and other products, if it was to be protected, would go on ?

A. It is difficult to give an answer to that question. I do not believe that anything would stimulate the natives to do it.

Q. Not the gaining the same things which they enjoy at present, for instance rum and tobacco ?

A. To show the difficulty, for example, an elephant's tooth when it is put on board a ship may be worth 30*l.* sterling money, but it is not allowed to come nearer the coast than about five miles. There it changes hands from one bushman to another. Those bushmen are merchants. There are different divisions of the country, and they dare not bring it beyond a certain spot: then the bushman comes and takes the tooth. I suppose the price of the article goes on at about 200 per cent., in proportion as it travels from one bushman to another. The only opportunity of getting the value of the ivory is on the chance of a slave caravan arriving. The slaves are compelled to carry the ivory and wax.

Q. If the slave trade was at an end, and British and French vessels carried those articles which the native chiefs have been used to obtain by the slave trade, would not they get the ivory and other produce ?

A. They are so subdivided into small sections, that they will not trust one another. In the interior of Africa there are no doubt quantities of

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elephants' teeth lying there that no one would take the trouble of removing, and if he did he would not get anything like the value of the thing, because he would have to pass them to the next bushman, and he to the next, and so on. Each man only gets half or less what the next man gets, and so till it reaches the coast, when the factor of the ship purchases it, the last bushman having the largest profit.

Q. Would it be desirable to attempt to stop the slave trade by operations on the coast itself?

A. There is no one place so well adapted to stop it as there.

Q. By landing a force or taking possession of different parts of the coast, establishing settlements?

A. If you could take possession of Loanda, you would prostrate the whole slave trade of the Brazils at once, in my opinion.

Q. Is the Portuguese territory about Loanda extensive?

A. It extends twenty-three miles to the northward, and thirty miles to the southward of Loanda.

Q. Whose territory is it, twenty-three miles to the north?

A. Native.

Q. Would there be any difficulty in either France or England purchasing land enough to make settlements there?

A. None whatever; the natives about Ambriz have always been disposed to barter or trade.

Q. Nor would there be any difficulty to the southward in getting land enough for a settlement; land is not dear there?

A. No; it is easily bought. There is one person, an Italian, a refugee, about thirty years ago, from Italy, for some crime; he is the only white man between Benguela and Loanda.

Q. There would be no difficulty if the Governments of France and England were desirous of purchasing sufficient land from the natives to make settlements to the north and south of Loanda, in doing so?

A. Not the slightest difficulty. The supply of fresh water would be the best guide as to the locality.

Q. Supposing two such settlements were made, one to the north and the other to the south of the Portuguese territory, might not those settlements materially aid in the suppression of the slave trade?

A. If they could give employment so as to present an example to the natives of what could be done.

Q. Would they not also, accompanied by force at sea, to a certain extent intimidate the Portuguese from carrying on the trade?

A. Yes, to a certain extent. I would recommend Ambriz especially for that. That is to the northward of the Portuguese territory.

Q. Do you think it would be necessary, in order to put down the slave trade, that the force employed for that purpose should land upon the coast and destroy the barracoons, and so on?

A. No, I do not think it is absolutely necessary.

Q. Would it not be convenient?

A. I think the destruction of them close to you, only leads to their being established a little further up.

Q. Is it not more inconvenient to them to have their slaves at a distance.

A. Boats are the principal things used. Destroying boats that would be kept close to slave depôts and not licensed, these are large launches which are not used for trade, would be advantageous.

Q. Then one means of putting an end to this trade would be to destroy such of the native vessels as are employed in that trade?

A. Yes; near where slaves are collected.

Q. Are those vessels of a particular description, so that you can reasonably conclude from their construction, that they were intended for that trade?

A. Quite so ; quite distinct from what the natives carry on near most of the barracoons. Capt. G. Sprigg.
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Q. You are quite certain of that ?

A. Quite certain, if near barracoons.

Q. Then, supposing that any nation, France or England, were to take upon itself the right to destroy those canoes or vessels so fitted for the slave trade, that would be one effectual means of putting it down ?

A. Yes, I think it would be more effectual than destroying the barracoons ; because I think the barracoons would be removed to a short distance,—whereas the launches could not : and not allowing them to remain in or near barracoons at anchor, would be a serious obstacle to their shipping slaves with dispatch.

Q. You are quite satisfied that there would be a reasonable power of distinguishing those vessels so as to prevent the risk of destroying vessels engaged in legal trade.

A. They are quite distinct in that part of the coast near the barracoons.

Q. They are so built that you could clearly distinguish the one from the other ?

A. That trade having created them, they may now and then be used for a legal purpose along the coast.

Q. Are they very long ?

A. They average about seven or eight tons : they will carry 100 slaves.

Q. What is the width of them ?

A. About eight feet,

Q. Are they particularly fitted up ?

A. No : rather like strong open launches, and rudely constructed.

Q. Are they rowed ?

A. Pulled by oars. They have also masts and sails.

Q. To whom do they belong in general ?

A. They are constructed by the natives. They belong to the slave factors, if near barracoons.

Q. You know some of these slave factors ?

A. I know the principal one, a Spaniard at Cabenda.

Q. What nation are they generally of ?

A. Spaniards and Portuguese.

Q. Any other nation ?

A. No other nation.

Q. Do you know whether many vessels under the American flag carry on the slave trade ?

A. The American flag is used to bring over the goods, and with all the fittings in them. I have been on board of them, and they have had everything ready to take the slaves.

Q. Do they convey the slaves under American colours ?

A. No ; they throw the American flag away when the slaves are on board.

Q. Is it not the fact that vessels come to the coast laden with cargoes for the purpose of purchasing slaves assuming an American character, and that when they have got the slaves they assume another character ?

A. Yes, they do.

Q. For this purpose, that the American flag protects them in going into the port. You cannot touch a vessel laden with a cargo, if you know it to be an American vessel ?

A. Just so. I have frequently known the crews of American vessels die under the greatest neglect, the owners of the property having changed at Benguela. The crews have been abandoned altogether.

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Q. They do not take the American crew back, but they take a slaving crew back?

A. Yes.

Q. You know the build of what they call the Baltimore clippers?

A. Yes.

Q. Are not those used very much in the slave trade?

A. They are very much esteemed; they fetch a high price. They are much valued for the property of sailing.

(The witness withdrew.)

Adjourned till to-morrow, at one o'clock.

Tuesday, April 1, 1845.

Captain the Honourable Joseph Denman, R. N., examined.

Capt. J. Denman.

April 1, 1845.

Q. You are a captain in Her Majesty's navy ?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you been upon the coast of Africa ?

A. I have ; I have served altogether three years upon the west coast.

Q. On what parts of the coast ?

A. On almost all parts north of the equator. I have never served on the coast of Africa south of the equator. The part with which I am most particularly acquainted is that between Cape Verd and Cape Palmas.

Q. Does that district include places from which the slave trade has been carried on to a great extent.

A. It does.

Q. In what years were you upon that coast ?

A. I was upon that coast in the year 1835, and afterwards in the years 1840 and 1841.

Q. Was the slave trade carried on to a great extent in the year 1835 ?

A. To a very great extent, indeed. I suppose the exportation of slaves within the limits I have mentioned (Cape Palmas and Cape Verd), could not have been less than 25,000 in the year 1835.

Q. By what nations was that trade carried on ?

A. It was carried on under the flag of Spain, almost exclusively.

Q. For what ports, according to the best of your knowledge, were those cargoes of slaves destined ?

A. For Port Rico and Cuba ; I should say four-fifths, or at least three-fourths.

Q. Then in point of fact, that part of the coast did not export any great number of slaves to the Brazils ?

A. To the best of my belief, it did not.

Q. Under what flag was the trade carried on ?

A. At that time almost exclusively under the flag of Spain.

Q. Were any, and what other, flags made use of for the purpose of covering that trade ?

A. At that time the Treaties with Spain were of such a character, that the slave traders had no difficulty at all in carrying on their traffic without resorting to other flags.

Q. What was the defect in those Treaties ?

A. The defect was that they contained no right to seize vessels when only equipped. If the Commissioners please, I can state the changes in the treaties, and the circumstances which, until the year 1839, rendered success by means of cruizing, impossible. I will go back to the period when treaties containing clauses granting the right of search, &c., were first concluded, viz., the year 1817. Since the commencement of the attempt of Great Britain, to suppress the slave trade, that traffic has been principally (within the last eighteen years, almost exclusively) in the hands of Spain, Portugal, and Brazil. The Treaties concluded with the two first named States in 1817 (for then Brazil was a Portuguese colony), had for their professed object the suppression of the slave trade. But the Treaty with Portugal, in particular, was in express terms intended to protect Portuguese slave trade south of the Equator, and contained a stringent prohibition against the seizure of Portuguese vessels "on any pretence whatever" in south latitude. The avowed object being to secure a supply of slaves to the Brazils. There were also several other regulations in the Portuguese Treaty, strict compliance with which was necessary to constitute a lawful voyage even in south latitude. All these regulations, however, might be violated with complete impunity, by virtue of the prohibition before mentioned.

Capt. J. Deuman.

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The Spanish Treaty of 1817 stipulated for the continuance of the Spanish slave trade south of the equator for three years; after which the Treaty came into force equally in both hemispheres. But there was a defect common to the Treaties of 1817 with both Spain and Portugal, which would have been fatal to their efficacy, had their other provisions been ever so satisfactory. This defect was a denial of the right to seize equipped vessels. Vessels could be captured only when slaves were actually found on board, or when it could be proved that slaves had been on board during the voyage and disembarked. Slave vessels, therefore, while these treaties remained in force, might bring to the coast of Africa their slave equipments, and at the same time all the merchandize required for the purchase of a cargo of slaves. The supercargo, with a part of the crew, was frequently landed to form a temporary factory to purchase slaves. In the meantime, the slave deck of the ship was laid, and provisions were purchased along the coast. When the negroes were collected, provisions obtained, and the water-casks filled, the slave vessel returned to her factory, and waited for an opportunity to embark her cargo of slaves. At the large established depôts of the slave trade, the slave vessels had, perhaps, even greater advantages; for if these parts were more strictly watched by the cruizers, the opportunities of baffling their vigilance were in proportion. As many as fifteen or twenty slave vessels, in different stages of equipment, were often at those anchorages, and so long as there was a cruizer in the neighbourhood, of course no vessel would render herself liable to seizure. From time to time an empty slave vessel would run off the land to find out whereabouts the cruizer might be, whose position they generally managed to know by such means. If found in the track which a slave-vessel having embarked her slaves would follow, the empty slave-vessel would run a long distance in another direction, in order to decoy the cruizer into a long chase, and so carry her away from the laden ship; and when a slave-vessel had completed her preparations, and the positions of the cruizers had been ascertained, she would embark her slaves, and direct her course to a secure distance from the cruizer, while at the same time all the other slave-vessels would sail out to sea still further to baffle any cruizer that might accidentally be fallen in with. So effectually was all the vigilance and zeal of the cruizers baffled by the cunning of the slave-traders under the imperfections of the treaties, that it is a curious fact, that more captures were made during this time by cruizers accidentally falling in with slave-vessels while making the voyage from place to place, than when cruising upon stations assigned them for the purpose of suppressing the traffic. In short, all the preparations and the proceeding of the slave traders were conducted at their leisure, and these precautions taken in the most absolute security from molestation as they could choose the moment at which they should become amenable to seizure: no impression could possibly be made, even had the force employed been increased ten-fold, on a traffic so lucrative by a proportion of captures so extremely small as could be effected under such circumstances. This state of things continued until the year 1835, when Spain concluded a new Treaty with Great Britain, granting the right to seize vessels equipped for the slave trade, although no slaves were on board; a concession calculated to convert a slave voyage into an undertaking of real risk and difficulty. The only effect, however, of this concession, was to place the whole traffic north of the equator under the protection of the Treaty between Great Britain and Portugal of 1817; for the flag of the latter was readily sold to every slave vessel, not only in the Portuguese colonies, but almost at every port where a Portuguese authority was to be found.

The Treaty with Portugal of 1817 was thus perverted, and her flag entirely neutralized the Treaty concluded with Spain of 1835, for under the circumstances above described, the Spanish slave trade became nominally Portuguese, and continued to be prosecuted with precisely the same degree of impunity as if the Spanish Treaty of 1817 still remained in force, and that of 1835 had never been concluded. So much for the conduct of Portugal north of the equator; but in the south latitude, the evil and the dishonesty was yet more enormous. In the year 1826 the independence

of the Brazils rendered it impossible that any lawful slave voyage could thereafter be undertaken under the flag of Portugal, because that event deprived Portugal of her transatlantic possessions, to which alone, according to the express terms of her treaty, a slave voyage could be lawfully directed. The Government of Brazil, shortly after the separation from the mother-country, declared the traffic piracy, and granted the right of search and seizure to Great Britain. But this was obviously fruitless, as the whole slave trade of Brazil was immediately transferred to the flag of Portugal, and the Portuguese Government continued to insist upon the prohibition to molest a vessel south of the equator "on any pretence whatever;" under this plea, Portugal was suffered to cover the whole Brazilian slave trade of 90,000 slaves per annum with perfect security, from the year 1826 until 1839. It must not be supposed that Great Britain saw the whole slave trade thus completely protected by the flag of Portugal without remonstrance. Her remonstrances were incessant, but all in vain. On one pretence or other, Portugal repeatedly refused to modify the Treaty: she sometimes pretended to entertain and consider drafts of new treaties, but some pretext was constantly found to escape from any conclusion of them. After the slave trade had thus continued to be pursued under the Portuguese flag—in one hemisphere for four years, and in the other for thirteen—at length Great Britain resolved on finding a remedy herself; all appeal to the humanity and honesty of Portugal proving ineffectual. In the year 1839, orders were issued by Her Majesty's Government to seize all Portuguese slave vessels, whether met with north or south of the equator, and whether found actually carrying slaves or only equipped for the purpose.

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Q. During the four years that elapsed from 1835 to 1839, was not the Spanish slave trade carried on in a great degree under Portuguese protection, in consequence of the Portuguese Treaty containing no clause enabling you to seize equipped vessels?

A. The Spanish Treaty of 1835 was rendered in practice entirely null and void by the assumption of the Portuguese flag, under which the slave trade could be carried on in north latitude with precisely the same security as it could be under the Spanish flag, before the new treaty with Spain.

Q. So that, in point of fact, the Portuguese flag covered both the Brazilian slave trade and the Spanish slave trade?

A. It covered the whole transatlantic slave trade. Prior to this event treaties had been concluded with nearly all maritime States, granting a mutual right of search and seizure of vessels engaged in the slave trade, whether carrying slaves or only equipped for the purpose: 1839 may therefore be considered as an era in the history of the slave trade, when, for the first time, suppression became possible.

Q. So that up to 1839, in your opinion, whatever might have been the force employed by Great Britain to suppress the slave trade, the efforts of that force must have been prevented from attaining success in consequence of vessels with Portuguese flags and papers, not being liable to seizure under certain circumstances?

A. Exactly so. There was no treaty with the United States, but as by the law of those States the slave trade was punishable with death, as piracy, their subjects were deterred from entering on the traffic; and though the slave traders have derived some advantage from the absence of a treaty with the United States, it has not been of sufficient importance materially to obstruct the progress of suppression.

Q. Is it within your knowledge that this trade was carried on under the American flag at the period of which you are speaking?

A. It was used to some extent subsequently to the Treaty with Spain of 1835, but not to such an extent as to materially interfere with success. The very severe penalty with which American citizens would be visited, deters them from engaging directly in the traffic. Sometimes the flag has been

Capt. J. Denman. nominally used, but there has been no case of any vessel found with slaves on board pretending to be American.
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Q. What do you mean by the word "nominal?"

A. The vessels were *really* Spanish, in the instances I refer to, though wearing an American flag, but, to my belief, never wearing it after slaves were actually on board. Perhaps there may be one or two instances to the contrary. That success has not yet crowned our efforts must be attributed to those efforts never having been conducted either with the necessary perseverance or with an adequate force, and now for the first time the question is put to the test, whether or no operations on the Coast of Africa can be effectual for the suppression of the slave trade. Taking the year 1839 as the epoch when the right of search system first became practically complete, I shall endeavour to show what has been the course of proceeding on the part of Great Britain since that date. In the year 1840 a system of blocking up the slave depôts and preventing the access of slave vessels (the great object being to prevent the shipment of slaves) was partially adopted and carried out with steady and persevering determination. To all who witnessed its operation it was clear that the slave trade could not be carried on while this system was pursued with an adequate force. It must be remembered, too, that the state of the treaties rendered it no longer possible for a slave vessel to bring out her own equipments, and also goods to form a little factory to procure her own cargo of slaves. Now, instead of the leisurely proceedings and insolent security of former days, the slave vessel, from the moment she embarked the most trifling proof of her intended employment, became subject to seizure and confiscation. She was constantly on the look out for enemies; and in all the instructions ever found in captured slave vessels, the master was invariably urged to fly from every vessel that might be seen. Thus large established slave factories, hitherto only used by the great slave merchants, became indispensably requisite to every slave voyage, as it was necessary to know with certainty that a cargo was already collected before the slave ship arrived on the coast. Thus, therefore, the desultory manner of collecting a cargo of slaves, before described, ceased to be possible, and thus also the system, followed by our squadron, of desultory cruising, which, twenty years prior to the year 1839, had proved to be utterly inefficacious, became capable of being replaced by a system which could not fail to throw the most formidable, and, I believe, insurmountable obstructions in the way of the slave trade. Towards the end of 1840, when this system of blocking up the slave factories had already produced a very uncommon number of captures, and a marked consequent decrease of the slave trade, the Gallinas, a favourite depôt of the Cuba slave trade, was destroyed. This depôt contained factories from which at least twelve thousand slaves were annually shipped for that island; about the same time New Cestos, a large branch factory in the neighbourhood, under the sole pressure of the system of cruising before described, was abandoned by the slave factor in despair. The consequences of these combined proceedings, now adopted for the first time, may be traced in the returns of the Cuba slave trade. In 1840 the import of slaves was reduced to 14,000; in 1841 to 8,000; in 1842 to 3,000. Prior to the year 1839 the lowest estimate gave an importation of 60,000 slaves into Cuba. It must be remembered that it takes a long time for intelligence of the events on the Coast of Africa to reach Cuba; so that the destruction of the Gallinas would probably not be known there until March, 1841, as the event only took place at the end of the year 1840. The slaves imported into Cuba in the year 1841 must have been brought by vessels dispatched from Cuba prior to the receipt of the information of the destruction of the Gallinas. Thus the diminution of the slave trade in 1841 is to be clearly traced to the new system of blocking up the slave factories; and its reduction in 1842 to the small number of 3,000 is undoubtedly owing to the destruction of those depôts and the fear that the same measures would be universally adopted. These fears, however, of the slave dealers on this point were unfortunately dissipated; and it has been recently stated that the slave trade has sprung up again to its original extent. But if this be true, I am confident that the system of blocking up the slave factories must have been

abandoned or departed from in some essential particular; and I am equally satisfied that if that system be resumed and carried out with vigour, it cannot fail of putting down the slave trade. This result will be immensely accelerated if the system of destroying the slave depôts be at the same time resumed under proper restrictions and precautions.

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Q. Whenever you saw a vessel under the American flag, and had reason to suspect that she was not *bond fide* American, did you search her for the purpose of ascertaining to what country she belonged?

A. When I met an American vessel subject to such a suspicion, the first thing I endeavoured to ascertain was, whether she was engaged in the slave trade. If I found that she was not engaged in the slave trade, then, in any case, I could have no right to seize her. If I found her engaged in the slave trade, that fact afforded of itself the strongest *primâ facie* evidence, to my own mind the most perfect conviction, that she was not American, as she pretended to be, and then I proceeded to ascertain her national character, to see whether she was amenable to seizure, by virtue of any powers with which I might be invested.

Q. If upon examining the vessel you found her to be a *bond fide* American vessel, though engaged in the slave trade, you had no authority to touch her?

A. Certainly not.

Q. But you had reason to believe, whenever you found a vessel under the American flag engaged in the slave trade, that she was not *bond fide* American, and, therefore, you seized her by virtue of other power and authority?

A. Taking the question to mean, in speaking of "vessels engaged in the slave trade," vessels carrying, or prepared to carry negroes, I answer it in the affirmative. I captured an American vessel and condemned her—she was *bond fide* American to all intents and purposes, as far as her papers could go and her flag and her crew.

Q. Where was she condemned?

A. At Sierra Leone.

Q. As what?

A. A Spaniard. I will state the case. I found the "Eliza Davidson," American brig, employed in purchasing rice to supply the slave factories of Gallinas: her crew were American, she wore the American flag, and she had regular American papers. Among the papers I found a charter-party chartering her to a notorious slave trader at the Havana. She was chartered for the period of two years, and upon the face of the charter-party it appeared that she was to remain exclusively under the control of these Spanish slave dealers, who were to bear all expenses of every description, for the space of two years as before stated, and that the payment for this charter-party exceeded the full value of the ship itself. I also found on board the vessel two slaves. She was not equipped for carrying slaves. From those circumstances I considered that the charter-party was, in reality, a bill of sale, and that she had changed owners.

Q. Have you often met with vessels sailing under American colours, belonging either to the Brazils, to Spain, or to Portugal?

A. I have met many vessels that I have suspected of this, and had no doubt in my own mind, that, although wearing the American flag, they really belonged to those nations; but I have only been able to prove it in two cases. One of those I have mentioned before.

Q. Did those vessels which you so met with carry merchandize to purchase slaves, or had they slaves on board?

A. The two vessels that I mentioned had, I believe, been intended to carry slaves; but the others to which I allude, were sent out with cargoes from the Havana to the slave port, and after landing their cargoes, returned in ballast to the Havana. The transaction was altogether arranged at the Havana, and in most cases they were, I have no doubt, the property of the Spanish slave dealers, not of any American.

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Q. But they had no slaves on board, nor were intended to convey any?

A. For the most part, I believe not. There may have been one or two exceptions.

Q. In the case of the vessel you have mentioned, which was condemned at Sierra Leone, was she tried before a Spanish Commission?

A. She was tried by the British and Spanish Mixed Commission, and the proofs were considered sufficient to establish a Spanish national character, and an engagement in the slave trade contrary to the treaty.

Q. And the Commission were of opinion that the assumption of the American flag would not cover a transaction which was in reality Spanish slave-dealing?

A. Certainly.

Q. They were satisfied with the proofs brought before them, that it was a Spanish transaction?

A. Yes, they were. There was a very glaring case where the American flag was used. A vessel came without any cargo, evidently intended to change hands and to go back again with a cargo of slaves. Early in the year 1840, a vessel called the "Courtenay" arrived at Gallinas, without any cargo, under the American flag, and manned by Americans. This was so clear a case to me of fraudulent proceedings, that I searched her very narrowly; I could, however, find no proof of her being other than an American. The same afternoon I went off in chase of a vessel in sight, when twenty or thirty carpenters were sent off from the Gallinas with canoes full of water-casks, in order to equip the "Courtenay" for carrying slaves. At the same time, a Spanish crew came off from the shore, and a man who had appeared when I searched her as a passenger, (who was, by-the-by, a lieutenant in the Portuguese navy), took the command. The American master's name was Frailey; the vessel had been dispatched from New Orleans by Mc Cackle and Company. While these operations were going on, my ship was again seen approaching the Gallinas. The Spanish crew was immediately landed, and everything, as far as possible, put back into the same condition as before. I satisfied myself with looking at the vessel without again boarding her, and that night the American crew set sail, intending to give themselves up to me; but not finding my ship, they proceeded to Sierra Leone, where they gave themselves up to the authorities. The crew said that when she arrived at the Gallinas, she had Spanish papers concealed in her cabin, and that in searching her, one of my men had his hand upon the very spot where they were concealed, without finding them. She was condemned at Sierra Leone, being in British waters, equipped for the slave trade. The reason that the American crew were desirous of giving up the vessel was, that they would have been landed and left to shift for themselves upon the coast of Africa. Their only alternative would have been to return, subject to the last penalty of the law, with the slaves. They had been deceived.

Q. Do you believe that the American flag has been used to cover the slave trade generally in its inception; for instance, in coming either from America, or from the Havana, or from the Brazils, bringing a cargo or without a cargo to the coast, for the purpose of being afterwards transferred into the names of other owners?

A. That practice has gone on to a considerable extent. The American flag has been used in the slave trade, in my opinion, almost exclusively in the preliminary proceedings, not in the actual conveyance of slaves, although sometimes up to the very moment that the slaves are put on board, as in the case of the "Courtenay."

Q. Can you explain what is the reason why the American flag is used for such a purpose?

A. Because the United States have not entered into any treaty granting Great Britain the right of search.

Q. Where the vessels bring a cargo to the coast for the purpose of sale, such vessels not being themselves equipped for the slave trade, why should the American flag be used in preference to any other flag?

A. The reason against using the British flag is apparent and obvious; for under the British law any degree of aiding and abetting the slave trade would subject the vessel to seizure and confiscation, if met by a British ship. The number of British ships of war upon the coast would render it impossible for any successful voyage to be undertaken under the British flag. That is proved by the case of the "Augusta," the only vessel which for many years has attempted such a thing: she was seized the instant she arrived on the coast by one of my squadron. There were at this time upon the Coast of Africa only two small American cruisers; the chance therefore of being searched under the flag of the United States was less than it would have been under almost any other national flag. I suppose another reason would be, that American ships could be more conveniently obtained at the Havana and upon the other side of the Atlantic in general. Besides the above reasons, I have no doubt that in some cases those vessels were intended to carry back slaves, if opportunity offered, and the American flag was supposed to bear them longer secure from inquiry than any other, because there was no treaty with Great Britain under which they could be visited by British cruisers; so that there were advantages in every point of view to be derived from the use of the American flag, which could not be obtained by the use of any other.

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Q. Do you mean to say, that it was intended that the vessel should be employed in the slave trade without being *bonâ fide* sold to persons of other nations?

A. In most of the cases that I allude to, I believe that the vessels were actually the property of Spaniards, but still apparently American. Conscious of their near and intimate connection with the slave trade, they were glad to render themselves as secure as they possibly could from *all inquiry*, and that they arrived at most satisfactorily, by using the American flag. As long as they could establish a claim to that character, to the satisfaction of the British cruiser, they felt themselves safer than under any other flag. There is no doubt that many American vessels, from officers being indisposed to search them, have in their cargo actually carried large quantities of slave equipments for other vessels: they were absolutely secure in their own opinion from all inquiry.

Q. Under the Treaties of 1831 and 1833 with France, if you were to meet with a French vessel not equipped for the slave trade, but carrying a cargo to the coast of Africa, which cargo you suspected would be employed in the slave trade, should you consider you had any right to detain her?

A. Certainly not; but in that case I should have a right to search her under the Treaty; whereas if she was under the American flag, and could show American papers, I should have no right to search her; therefore an American vessel might in her hold reckon upon carrying with security, especially equipments, or anything else.

Q. Then the difference between the right of search being exercised with regard to all nations with which Great Britain has a treaty, and with regard to America, with which Great Britain has no treaty, is that where there is a treaty you can make an examination of the papers and of the cargo, and so discover whether the vessel is engaged in the slave trade; but, in the case of an American vessel, you were confined to ascertaining whether she really belongs to the United States or not?

A. Exactly so. If you proceed to search her, you do it at your peril, and you can only be justified by discoveries that you make or may not make; therefore, in the great majority of cases, an American vessel is allowed to go at once.

Q. As far as you know, and have reason to believe, the French flag has not been employed to any extent for the purpose of carrying goods destined for the slave market?

A. To a very small extent, if at all, since the treaties. I never heard of a case of direct engagement in the slave trade, under the French flag, since the treaties.

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Q. Before the treaties, was the French flag assumed by Brazilian, Spanish, and Portuguese vessels, in order to cover the trade?

A. To a very limited extent. Since the trade was abolished by the laws of France, the probability of meeting French ships of war rendered it a very uncommon circumstance in later years. In the year 1824 and 1825 there were a great number.

Q. You have stated that your district extended from Cape Verd to Cape Palmas?

A. Yes. I had charge of that district with a small squadron of four ships.

Q. That included Sierra Leone, the Gambia, and Senegal?

A. And Liberia.

Q. Which were the principal slave ports in that district?

A. The Gallinas was the principal place, and the Portuguese colony of Bissao.

Q. Did the Gallinas belong to natives?

A. Yes; and the River Pongos.

Q. In whose dominion was that?

A. The natives—and Rio Cestos: that was native also—that lies immediately beyond Liberia, the American settlement.

Q. Were you able, with four vessels, pretty well to block that length of coast?

A. No; I found that it was of no use to keep them cruising in a desultory manner all about, so I concentrated them upon two points upon the Gallinas and New Cestos, both of which I completely destroyed.

Q. Confining ourselves to the West Coast, of what extent is the coast upon which the trade is carried on?

A. It is carried on at intervals almost along the whole coast from Cape Verd down to beyond Loanda.

Q. Down to where it becomes impossible, from the nature of the coast?

A. Yes; about 20 degrees south latitude.

Q. What is about the extent of it in distance?

A. I should think it was something more than 3,000 miles.

Q. Do you think it would be possible to blockade that extent of coast so as to stop the slave trade?

A. Yes; I think it is possible to blockade all the places where the slave trade is carried on within those limits.

Q. So that assuming that a sufficient force could be obtained, you could effectually prevent the slave trade?

A. I have not the slightest doubt about it. The suppression would be greatly accelerated by breaking up the slave factories.

Q. Are you of opinion that operations on land would materially assist in the attainment of that object?

A. Certainly.

Q. What species of operations?

A. The destruction of the slave factories, the encouragement of commerce, and the establishment of commercial posts at convenient intervals.

Q. And treaties with the native chiefs?

A. Yes; I would destroy the slave factories under treaty with the native chiefs.

Q. Do you think there would be any difficulty in obtaining permission from the native chiefs, for a reasonable consideration, to destroy all the existing factories?

A. I think you might do so, after, by blocking up their factories for a long period, you had made them despair of further prosecution of the slave trade, but not till then.

Q. In fact, when you had reduced the value of the factory by a blockade for a certain time, and the maintenance of the factory had become of less importance, they would then part with it for a consideration?

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A. Yes; according to the system of blockade which I have before recommended, I believe you may prevent the embarkation of one single slave. Under the pressure of that system the natives will soon consider the slave trade a thing of past days, and of no further value, and they will be ready to enter into treaties for its total abolition.

Q. Supposing it to be practicable to obtain treaties with all the native Powers engaged in the slave trade, to allow you by force to destroy the factories, that would be one of the most useful auxiliary measures?

A. It would certainly be one of the most useful auxiliary measures; but I would recommend that we should at once begin to form treaties to this effect with natives upon whose territory the slave trade does not at present exist; because directly you have put it down in one place, they will endeavour to get it up in another, and if you are already armed with powers of that description, which the chiefs of parts where there is at present no slave trade will be ready enough to give you; then you would render the establishment of the slave trade in those countries impossible.

Q. Then you would advise forming treaties with the whole of the native Powers, whether they at present carry on the slave trade or not; giving you the right and authority to put it down by force, in case of need?

A. Certainly.

Q. You have considered the question of suppressing the slave trade very maturely?

A. I have given my mind to the subject a great deal for some years.

Q. Have the goodness to state what measures you would propose to adopt with the view to extinguishing that trade?

A. I consider in the first place a universal right of search upon the part of the ships of war, of whatever nation, employed upon that service, to be indispensable, whether under particular treaties or whether under some substitute for the existing system; but that right I take to be quite essential. The next thing in importance, I think, would be to affix a personal penalty or punishment upon the persons who may be found engaged in the traffic. Thirdly, the breaking up of the slave depôts. Fourthly, the entering into treaties with the native Powers, providing for the destruction of the slave factories. Fifthly, the establishment of commercial posts in the neighbourhood of all present slave trading districts, the encouragement of legitimate commerce, the instruction and improvement of the natives by means of missionary labours and otherwise. And lastly, the liberated African population of Sierra Leone may be made use of, with the greatest advantage, in disseminating improvement and a horror of the slave trade amongst the natives from whence they originally came.

Q. You say that an universal right of search would be indispensable. Presuming the blockade to be effectual, might not that right of search be limited within a certain number of miles round the coast?

A. I believe the right of search can only be effectual when exercised upon the coast of Africa, and that sixty miles from the coast would be sufficient; and that it is entirely fruitless to endeavour, by external means, to stop the slave trade on the other side of the Atlantic.

Q. You believe that it is impossible to blockade the Brazils?

A. I believe it is not only useless but most mischievous to attempt it. It creates a hostile feeling on the part of the natives of those countries, and makes them look more favourably on the slave trade than they otherwise would. I have been a good deal in the Brazils.

Q. You believe that a complete blockade of the Brazils would be impossible?

A. Utterly out of the question. First, from the enormous commerce carried on there; and secondly, from the connivance of the authorities in all quarters, and the weakness of the Government.

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Q. Have you been at the Island of Cuba?

A. No. I have never been in the West Indies.

Q. Assuming that an efficient blockade could be established on the west coast of Africa, would it be necessary, as far as regards the trade coming from that part of the coast, to have any right of search beyond the limits of the blockade?

A. It would be quite unnecessary, in my opinion, to have a right of search beyond the distance of sixty miles from the coast of Africa.

Q. But within those limits it would be necessary to have an entire and complete right of search?

A. Exactly.

Q. You spoke of punishment. Have you found in practice that impunity is extended to many of the slave captains, masters, and so on?

A. The slave captains and crews captured by our ships have scarcely in any instance ever been known to be punished. Under the treaties with Spain, Portugal, and Brazil, they are imprisoned perhaps a week or more till the ship that has brought them in departs, and then they are allowed to go free. And even in cases when they have fired into our boats, and killed many people, we have never been able to obtain any redress whatever.

Q. Are you of opinion that if an effective punishment could be obtained with respect to all those persons, it would be one important means of deterring them from engaging in the trade?

A. I should say that such a liability to punishment alone, would send one-half of the people now engaged in the slave trade out of it.

Q. For instance a liability to ten years' imprisonment for the master, mate, and supercargo?

A. I think it would be sufficient to deter one-half the persons now employed, supposing it could be effectually carried out.

Q. Would it be necessary to give effect to your plan, that there should be forts established upon the coast?

A. I think to secure the eventual extirpation of the slave trade, it would be necessary, and it would at present no doubt be a great assistance. I believe the existing slave trade might be stopped without such assistance.

Q. According to your experience, have the Portuguese authorities connived at the slave trade being carried on?

A. The most notorious slave-dealer upon the coast was also the Governor of Bissao, Caetano Nossolino. When I was there he carried on the slave trade from the walls of the fort.

Q. In case a blockade was established, you must blockade Bissao and Loanda too?

A. If more direct measures could not be adopted with respect to them. They form the great difficulty.

Q. According to your knowledge and belief, since the year 1831, has the slave trade been carried on under the French flag?

A. I do not know of a single instance. There was one vessel captured when I was there, under the French flag. She was proceeding to Senegal to obtain negroes from the River Nunez, as recruits, and she, being in British waters, having come into the Gambia equipped for carrying those negroes, as such she came under the British law, and was captured by a British officer.

(The witness withdrew.)

Captain John Adams, R.N., examined.

Capt. J. Adams.

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Q. You are a captain in Her Majesty's service?

A. I am.

Q. Have you been employed upon the coast of Africa with relation to the suppression of the slave trade?

A. Yes.

Q. In what years?

A. I went out first in 1828. I have been there twelve years.

Q. What part of the coast did you go to in 1828?

A. I went first to the Gambia, and from there to Sierra Leone.

Q. Have the goodness to state the different parts of the coast where you have been, and to the best of your recollection the time you were on each particular station?

A. I was first at Sierra Leone and all round the coast as far as Fernando Po and Prince's Island. I remained upon that station about three years.

Q. How many years were you upon the West and South-west coast?

A. Upwards of eight years, at different times?

Q. Did you then go to the East Coast?

A. I came to England, and then I was in the Mediterranean, and then sent back to the West Coast, and from the West Coast I was sent to Mozambique.

Q. Can you recollect the years you were upon the East Coast?

A. In 1839 and 1840.

Q. Did you afterwards return to the West Coast?

A. I returned to the coast: St. Paul Loando, Benguela, and Ambriz. The stations were divided at that time into three, under the Admiral at the Cape, and I had charge of that station up as far as slaving was supposed to go on. The slave trade was supposed to cease at Benguela, but it increased, and it went up to Elephant Bay.

Q. Did it go further south than twenty degrees?

A. No.

Q. There is none below Tiger Island?

A. No; during my time there was nothing even taken at Fish Bay. Since I came away there has been one vessel taken at Fish Bay.

Q. You know the whole of this coast?

A. Every part of it.

Q. Will you point out the district with which you are acquainted upon the East Coast?

A. I am acquainted with the whole coast from Zanzibar to the Cape of Good Hope. In fact, I know the whole coast from Zanzibar to the Gambia.

Q. Do you know Madagascar?

A. I was ordered by the Admiral to commence at one port and to go to every port of Madagascar; but that was before we were ordered to take slavers to the southward of the line, so that we were not in search of slavers at that time.

Q. Have you been at the Mauritius?

A. Yes.

Q. On the East Coast was there considerable slave trade carried on when you were there stationed?

A. Very extensive.

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- Q. At what particular parts?
 A. Mozambique. When I was at Mozambique the slaves were actually then embarking on board two large ships, but we could not touch them.
- Q. In what year?
 A. That was in 1839.
- Q. Why could not you touch them?
 A. We could not touch them southward of the line.
- Q. But there were a number of ships carrying on the slave trade there?
 A. An immense number. Those ships were taking about 1000 slaves each.
- Q. From the neighbourhood of Mozambique?
 A. In the very harbour under the Governor's palace,—not 200 yards from the Governor's palace.
- Q. So that it was a matter of perfect notoriety at Mozambique, that the slave trade was being carried on there with the connivance of the Portuguese Government?
 A. The Government received two dollars for every slave embarked.
- Q. Do you know that fact?
 A. The Governor at the time was dead, but the people in the custom house who wrote a quire of paper of complaints against me to Lord Palmerston, when the persons were fitting out those ships, three of them were acting as Governor after the death of a Marquis who died there; and it was generally reported that those people were receiving two dollars for every slave that was embarked: they walked down before the very windows of the palace to embark.
- Q. In point of fact, there was no attempt to prevent the slave trade on the part of the Portuguese authorities?
 A. It was encouraged*.
- Q. Are there any other parts of the East Coast where the trade was carried on?
 A. In every place where they could get a boat. At Sofala, at Quillimane, and in the River Cuama, I have been told there were twelve slavers at a time. The Portuguese Governor was the principal person in shipping them. Delagoa Bay is a notorious place for slaves.
- Q. Under whose dominion is Delagoa?
 A. Under the Portuguese dominion; and there is a sort of fort in it.
- Q. To what parts were those vessels laden with slaves destined?
 A. The Portuguese for the Brazils, and the Spaniards for the Havana.
- Q. Were there many slaves sent from Zanzibar?
 A. I never saw any slaves sent from Zanzibar.
- Q. Were you there at the time when the alteration in your instructions enabled you to seize those vessels?
 A. I was at the Cape of Good Hope when the instructions came out, and Admiral Elliot sent me on immediately to Mozambique.
- Q. Did you act under the new instructions to suppress the slave trade?
 A. Yes.
- Q. Did you take many vessels then?
 A. I took seven in Mozambique, large and small.

* During General Marino's time, as Governor, he not only used every means himself, but gave me his aid in putting down the slave trade.

- Q. Is not the trade in slaves from Mozambique carried on in vessels of very considerable burthen ?
- A. I took two vessels that were not under 500 tons ; that is, they would have carried more than 500 tons of cargo.
- Q. Do you know where those vessels were built, generally ?
- A. One of those vessels that I captured in the Mozambique had been once a corvette in the Sardinian service.
- Q. Generally speaking, where do you believe the vessels destined for the Mozambique trade were built ?
- A. In America.
- Q. At Baltimore ?
- A. The fast ones we generally found to be from Baltimore.
- Q. Were the best vessels for the slave trade built at Baltimore ?
- A. At Baltimore.
- Q. After the Act of Parliament took place relative to Portuguese vessels engaged in the slave trade, were you able successfully to stop that trade on the East Coast ?
- A. I captured seven, but I had not the means of stopping it ; it was so extensive a station.
- Q. A considerable number escaped ?
- A. An immense number must have escaped from the want of more men-of-war.
- Q. The force was not sufficient to prevent the trade being carried on ?
- A. No ; it would require more than double the number of vessels.
- Q. Did you take any slave vessels upon the East Coast, except the seven that you took in the Mozambique ?
- A. No.
- Q. Prior to the year 1840 you captured all the Spanish vessels you met with ?
- A. We never found one under Spanish colours.
- Q. Then when you speak of Spanish vessels going to Cuba, you mean vessels that were Spanish-owned in reality, but which had the Portuguese or Brazilian flag ?
- A. They were Spanish in reality, under the Portuguese flag.
- Q. Are there factories for slaves upon that coast ?
- A. Upon every part of it ; and also in the Bay of Sofala and other places.
- Q. Are all the places you have mentioned under Portuguese dominion ?
- A. They are.
- Q. Are there any slave factories belonging to Native Chiefs ?
- A. None that I ever heard of.
- Q. Do the Native Chiefs carry on their trade directly with the vessels ?
- A. No.
- Q. Is it all carried on through the medium of Portuguese factors ?
- A. All carried on by Portuguese agents purchasing the slaves from those people.
- Q. Is there direct intercourse between the Portuguese on shore and the purchasers of the slaves for shipment ?
- A. Yes.
- Q. And the Native Chiefs do not negotiate directly with the master of the vessel for his cargo ?
- A. I do not believe they ever do.
- Q. Where the Portuguese dominion does not extend, is there any slave trade there ?
- A. Not to my knowledge.

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Q. Then the Native Chiefs do not themselves carry on the slave trade directly with any vessels upon the territory which belongs to themselves?

A. No. I have reason to believe that they do not; but I have captured dows going from place to place, with five slaves or twenty slaves, to such a factory.

Q. Is there any slave trade carried on from Madagascar?

A. Yes.

Q. Where do those slaves go?

A. They are purchased by those Spaniards and Portuguese.

Q. Where are the slaves carried immediately from the Island of Madagascar?

A. They are sold to natives, and kept there until they can get a price for them. I have captured the dows going from the main to Johanna and the Comoro Island, with perhaps seven, or perhaps twenty slaves in these little coasting vessels.

Q. Are they carried direct from Madagascar to the Havana, or are they landed upon the main shore of Africa previously to their being so shipped?

A. They are taken to a factory. They are sent to a factory, and then shipped from there.

Q. And there is no direct trade between the slave vessels and Madagascar itself; but the slaves are brought from Madagascar to the factories on the coast, and then exported?

A. I have heard of it; but I have never seen it.

Q. You say you have been at the Mauritius. Are you aware, since 1830, of any slave trade having been carried on there?

A. No.

Q. Can you state what is about the extent of the East Coast where the slave trade is carried on, including the Island of Madagascar?

A. I suppose trade is carried on to Zanzibar.

Q. Of course it would require a very large force to blockade it completely?

A. It would require a very large force and a number of steam-vessels. Half the number of steam-vessels would do more service here than double the number of sailing-vessels, for the monsoon blows six months each way, and with the monsoon goes the current. When a slave-vessel comes round the Cape of Good Hope, if the monsoon is to the north-east, they go over on the coast of Madagascar, and get up along that shore, because the current goes with them. With the monsoon to the westward, they also get over on Madagascar, and come down on the opposite side.

Q. Do you think it would be possible to blockade the whole of that coast so as to entirely prevent the slave trade taking place?

A. I think it can be done with a great many vessels.

Q. Supposing it were possible to stop the slave trade upon the west coast, the south coast, and the east coast of Africa, is there any other place, to your knowledge, whence slaves could be obtained?

A. None that I am aware of.

Q. There is no other trade in slaves of this description to the eastward, anywhere?

A. Not that I know of.

Q. During the time you were upon the East Coast, what were the flags engaged in this trade?

A. Portuguese.

Q. What besides?

A. None that I know of, with the exception of one vessel I captured with slaves in, which was under a red flag belonging to Madagascar. When the man was building this vessel I said to him, "If I get you at sea I will burn

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your vessel ;” he was a known pirate and without papers of any kind. When I found he had been over and had stolen out of a village thirty-one persons, I captured the vessel and destroyed her.

Q. Except that one, they were all under the Portuguese flag ?

A. All. Those large vessels which I captured were Spaniards ; there was not a single Portuguese on board ; but they were all under Portuguese colours.

Q. There is a large district of the coast of Africa in which there is no slave trade at all ?

A. A very large district. There is a great part of it where there are no inhabitants.

Q. In fact from the Cape of Good Hope to Great Fish Bay, there is no slave trade, and there can be no slave trade for want of water ?

A. Certainly, there can be none.

Q. You are well acquainted with the West and South Coast. According to your practical experience, would it be possible effectually to blockade the whole of that coast, from the beginning to the end, so as to shut out the slave trade ?

A. With an immense number of vessels and boats.

Q. But would it be possible ?

A. It would be possible, if a vessel was planted at a particular station, and her boats, a great number of miles on each side of it, stationed alternately along the coast.

Q. Supposing you had a steamer calculated for the purpose of suppressing the slave trade, what length of coast could she safely protect with her boats.

A. If I was in a steamer I should take a certain part of the coast and go along it and return, because the slave ships come in with the sea-breeze, and you have no sooner gone a few miles than they get in with signals, and they can have their slaves on board in one hour.

Q. Supposing the whole coast you had to blockade was no more than a hundred miles, how many vessels of any description would it take to blockade that hundred miles of coast ?

A. I should think four.

Q. What description of vessels ?

A. Small steamers or schooners.

Q. During the time that you were upon the West and South Coast were you enabled, so far as you know, to keep the slave trade under, or was there a good deal of trade carried on, despite you ?

A. I have every reason to believe that a great number escaped.

Q. For what ports and places were those vessels generally bound ?

A. Principally Rio.

Q. Many to Cuba ?

A. I never recollect a Spaniard coming to Benguela.

Q. As far as you can form an opinion, what was the comparative extent of the slave trade in your time, between the Brazils and Cuba ?

A. I should think more than half would go to Cuba, for their vessels are large.

Q. What difficulties occurred to you in the suppression of the slave trade when you were upon that coast ?

A. The want of men-of-war.

Q. Had you any difficulty from the want of a right to search ?

A. I have never had any difficulty in boarding vessels.

Q. Under what flags have you found suspected vessels ?

A. The American and one or two French.

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Q. In what year was that?

A. About two years ago, just before I left the coast.

Q. Where did you find those vessels under the French flag that you suspected?

A. I met one between Loanda and Benguela.

Q. Had she slaves on board?

A. No.

Q. Was she equipped for the slave trade?

A. No, but from her appearance, and doubting whether she was a French vessel, I sent an officer to ask the question who she was, and the master of the vessel told me she was not a slave vessel, that she was a Frenchman, and we did not interfere more. We saw in a moment that she was not a slave vessel. We sent a boat to her, for we never passed any vessel without doing so.

Q. You spoke of another French vessel? Did you visit that vessel?

A. I sent a boat in the same way? She was not engaged in the slave trade.

Q. As to the American vessels that you spoke of, did you detain any that you found under the American flag?

A. None under the American flag.

Q. Did you find any vessels apparently under the American flag, which you suspected of belonging to the Brazils, or to Spain, and did you capture any such vessels?

A. There was a vessel in St. Paul de Loanda one day as an American. I had information that she would take slaves. I met her two days afterwards at sea as a Brazilian. The second morning after that I captured her as a Portuguese with 512 slaves.

Q. So that in point of fact she had used three colours.

A. She had been sold by the Americans.

Q. Can you mention to the Commissioners any plan of your own for the more effectually putting down the slave trade?

A. Sending a great many men-of-war, a very large force, and establishing some people on different points of Africa.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned to to-morrow at 3 o'clock.

Wednesday, April 2, 1845.

M. Edouard Bouet-Willamez, Capitaine de Vaisseau et Gouverneur du Sénégal et dépendances, examined.

Q. You are a Captain of the Royal Navy in the service of His Majesty the King of the French?

A. I am.

Q. You have been employed upon the coast of Africa?

A. Ten years.

Q. Consecutively?

A. Nearly so. From 1831 to 1832 as an officer. In 1836 and 1837, as captain of a steam-vessel in Senegal. In 1837, 1838, and 1839 to 1840, as captain of the gun brig "Malouine" all along the coast. After that in 1840, and 1841, and 1842, as captain of the corvette "Nisus," and commanding all the French naval force on the African coast. In 1843 and the beginning of 1844, as Governor of Senegal and Superior Commanding Officer of all the African station. About the middle of the year 1844, I joined the expedition to Mogador.

Q. What part of the coast of Africa are you acquainted with?

A. I know from Mogador, on the coast of Morocco, to Cape Blanco, near Arguin, and from Portendic, all the coast to Sierra Leone, and further, all the coast from Sierra Leone to Cape Lopez.

Q. Does that coast comprehend the whole of the slave trade, in your opinion?

A. Not quite. To the south of Cape Lopez I learnt, without having been there myself, that the slave trade is carried on along the whole extent of the Portuguese possessions of Benguela and Loando, as far as the 15th degree south to Cape Negro, but I have never visited that part of the coast, because I never had the means of having provisions sufficient to go that distance. But we have now a new depôt at Gaboon, which will allow of vessels going south of the line.

Q. Is the slave trade carried on along the whole length of that coast or only at particular points of the coast?

A. Descending from the north, the first place where the slave trade is carried on is Bissao. Then it is carried on at Rio Compoonee, at Rio Capoches, at Rio Nunez, and above all at Rio Pongos. Then we come to Sierra Leone—there the trade is not carried on in the immediate neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, but I have heard that some slaves have been taken away from there and carried to the Gallinas. At Gallinas the old establishments have been destroyed: but now some have been re-established, and, or on the coast itself, or a league or at a league and a half distant from the shore. Gallinas was always a great depôt for the slave trade. At Cape Mount, which is the next place, the slave trade appears to be for the time being interrupted; but I am not perfectly convinced of this being the case. We come then to the slave establishments in the neighbourhood of the American colony, Liberia, and among those points is New Cestos, where the slave factories have been formed as at Gallinas, at a little distance from the coast. The trade recommences after the Gold Coast, and is carried on at Cape St. Pauls, on the left side of the River Volta. I was informed by the Governor of the Danish settlement, that he had great trouble to guard the mouth of the river, and could not prevent completely the trade being carried on, particularly at Quittah. I consider all the coast from Quittah to Formosa, or Benin, as containing the principal centres of the slave trade. These principal centres are, Whydah, Badagry, and Lagos. The trade re-appears again turning round the Delta of the Niger as far as the Old Calabar River, but there is so much difficulty in the bars of those rivers, that there is no particular centre of the trade there. There take place only isolated operations in the slave trade. There has been very little trade in the Calabar and Cameroon Rivers since the Treaty made between

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the English and the Chief of that country. In the River Bonny, where a similar treaty was made between the Chief and the English, I was assured that it had been violated by the Chief. We come next to the environs of the Gaboon. Since the time that Gaboon has been considered as belonging to the French, I gave orders to prevent the slave trade being carried on on the left side of the River Gaboon, where it was carried on till a year and a-half ago. Lastly, the trade reappears in the environs of Cape Lopez, on the River Nazaret, on the left of Cape Lopez, which was the last point that I visited.

Q. Do you know how the operations of the trade are carried on, and who are the persons employed in carrying it on upon the coast?

A. I will go through the various points, for the proceedings vary at the different points. In the neighbourhood of Bissao the trade is carried on by the Portuguese, and even the Portuguese officers are concerned in the trade, at least, so I was informed, but I cannot positively affirm it to be the case. At Gallinas the trade is carried on by Spaniards. At Whydah the chief agent in the trade is a Portuguese of the name of De Souza, who is the agent of the King of Dahomey. He, on his part, supplies the King of Dahomey with merchandize; and the King of Dahomey supplies him with slaves. Then, when we come to the neighbourhood of the Niger, there are no regular organised establishments. At Cape Lopez the trade is conducted by Spaniards.

Q. Is it within your knowledge that the persons carrying on the trade are entirely Spaniards or Portuguese?

A. Yes; they are all Spaniards, Portuguese, or Brazilians.

Q. Where does the merchandize that is furnished for the purchase of the slaves generally come from?

A. It consists of tobacco, which comes from the United States; gunpowder, which comes partly from the United States and partly from England; and piece goods, which come almost all from Manchester or from Glasgow.

Q. It is generally either English merchandize or American merchandize?

A. Yes.

Q. French merchandize is not ordinarily employed?

A. No. The slaves are paid for generally, one-third in tobacco, one-third in gunpowder and muskets, and one-third in piece goods. We do not send either tobacco or gunpowder; but some few piece goods from France.

Q. Do you know whether there is any French house that has ever sent merchandize to the coast of Africa, for the express purpose of its being employed in the slave trade?

A. No. I do not know of any French house. Merchandize may come there, but it is merely for the purpose of lawful traffic, and not for the slave trade, to the carrying on of which, however, necessarily they may occasionally be employed.

Q. Is it within your knowledge that in England, or America, or in other countries, there are houses which are known to send merchandize to the coast of Africa with the express intention of its being employed in the slave trade?

A. No, I do not know of any.

Q. Do you know to what nation the vessels belong which are really engaged in the slave trade; that is to say, which arrive at the coast with an equipment designed to purchase slaves, and which return from the coast laden with slaves?

A. Spaniards, Brazilians, very few Portuguese now, but principally Brazilians.

Q. Are slaves actually carried under the American flag?

A. I only know of one American vessel of the name of the "Hope," which was taken by the American authorities on its arrival in the American ports.

Q. That is the only American vessel that you are aware of as having carried a cargo of slaves?

A. Yes; but I know of some others being indirectly engaged in the Slave Trade.

Q. How do the other American vessels participate in this traffic?

A. The American vessel comes to the slave market. After having traded in different parts of the coast, they finish by stopping at a slave market, often two at a time; one of the ships is sold. Everything that is on board the one is transferred on board the other; and as soon as the ship is positively sold, the cargo of slaves is embarked, and the ship sails an hour afterwards with its cargo. I had this information from a slave trader himself.

Q. Consequently before embarking the slaves, the American ship is sold to somebody else?

A. Yes; she ceases to be American.

Q. Have you ever heard that English ships have changed hands in the same manner?

Never.

Q. Have you ever heard that French vessels have been sold in that manner?

A. Never.

Q. Do you know of any other vessels besides American, that come to the coast with one flag, and return with another?

A. No.

Q. To what do you attribute the circumstance of this operation being exclusively carried on with American vessels?

A. I can only attribute it to the extreme cheapness with which the Americans build their ships. The Americans build their ships so cheap, that they make a good bargain by selling them to the slave trader.

Q. You think that no other nation could do the same thing with advantage?

A. No; and besides, English or French vessels would run much greater risk in attempting it.

Q. Are not the vessels built in the United States for the purpose of the Slave Trade, much better than in any other country?

A. Yes; because the wood is better for the purpose—the wood is lighter.

Q. Will you explain why there would be more danger to the English or the French in carrying on that operation?

A. They would immediately become suspected, and be subject to the surveillance of the cruizers.

Q. You are aware of the law that was passed in France in the year 1831, which subjected to severe punishment all parties participating in any way in the Slave Trade, not only the captains of vessels, but also the owners, capitalists, or insurers?

A. I know it well, and it would be impossible to equip a vessel for the Slave Trade in France.

Q. Do you think that a French vessel which was not fitted out for the Slave Trade, but fitted out for lawful commerce, if it were afterwards sold to a slave dealer upon the coast, would be suited for carrying on the Slave Trade?

A. No. Besides the fears which the owners would have of being punished, there are material obstacles in the way. The merchant ships sent from France are not arranged in a manner to take slaves, nor can they be adapted to the Slave Trade. Besides, they are very bad sailers, and would not suit the purpose. They would be almost certain to be taken by the first cruiser that met with them.

Q. Then you consider that it is impossible that French vessels should ever carry on the operation which is carried on by the American vessels, because first of the restrictions by the French law against fitting out such vessels, and secondly because they would never be adapted to the Slave Trade?

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A. Just so.

Q. Consequently, to your knowledge, there are no vessels really engaged in the Slave Trade, but the Brazilian, the Portuguese, the Spanish, and the American, which become the property of Brazilians or Portuguese?

A. Exactly so.

Q. When you commanded the French station upon the coast of Africa, you had the right of visiting ships of certain flags?

A. Yes.

Q. What were the flags which you had the right to visit?

A. English, Sardinian, Hanseatic, Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, Tuscan, and Neapolitan.

Q. Was the trade ever carried on under those flags?

A. No; those were the flags under which it was not carried on.

Q. The trade was carried on under the Spanish, Brazilian, Portuguese, and American flags, and those were the flags which you could not visit?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you met with Americans suspected of being engaged in the Slave Trade, and have you visited them?

A. Never.

Q. Have you met with ships under the American flag which you suspected of carrying on the trade?

A. I met with vessels under the American flag, and after having met them, I learnt afterwards that they had participated in the Slave Trade; but I had no right of visiting them.

Q. You allowed to pass by Brazilian, Portuguese, and Spanish ships, whether engaged in the Slave Trade or not?

A. I was obliged to do so, unless I had suspicions of piracy.

Q. Upon what principles did you proceed to decide whether you should visit them or not upon the suspicion of piracy?

A. According to the information I gained upon the coast itself. Under the suspicion of piracy, I stopped one as a pirate, having three flags on board.

Q. Do you consider it a sign of piracy, having carried successively several flags?

A. Yes.

Q. If you saw a vessel which you had not the right of visiting by treaty, changing her flags, sometimes one and sometimes the other, you would visit her on the suspicion of piracy?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you know whether vessels engaged in the Slave Trade often commit acts of piracy?

A. Before the year 1834, the vessels engaged in the Slave Trade came to the coast, and especially into the rivers, to obtain slaves, and then, when several of them met together in the rivers, they often fought among themselves for the slaves, which was considered an act of piracy. But now there are slave factories established upon the coast, and the captains of slave vessels come one after the other to obtain slaves, and it happens much less frequently that they fight among themselves for the slaves. There is much less of acts of piracy and of cruelty than before. I know many instances, before 1834, in which vessels coming for slaves committed acts of piracy one against another to obtain slaves.

Q. Captain Trotter has stated, that at a certain period in 1831, he met a slave vessel which had boarded an American vessel, and had plundered and burnt it, and possessed itself of the cargo. Can you state whether it often happens that vessels engaged in the Slave Trade commit acts of depredation and plunder upon the high seas, independently of the Slave Trade?

A. It is difficult to know whether that is the case, because the Slave

traders are only known as such upon the coast, where, the moment they have shipped their slaves, they depart. It probably may be the case, but I do not know that it is the fact.

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Q. Knowing the coast of Africa as you do, do you think it possible to blockade* all the points at which the Slave Trade is carried on, so as to suppress it entirely?

A. Certainly.

Q. Do you think it would require a greater number of vessels than could be obtained?

A. I think not.

Q. With respect to the portion of the coast with which you are acquainted, how many vessels do you suppose would be required to establish such a blockade?

A. I think thirty cruisers — fifteen sailing-vessels and fifteen steam-vessels—would be sufficient, from Cape Roxo, in the north, to Cape Lopez, in the south.

Q. Ships of what force?

A. I think the best kind of cruisers would be what we call gun-brigs—light vessels constructed on purpose to pursue the slavers, with ten guns or with about four large guns and four small guns; and fifteen steam-boats, of about a hundred or a hundred and fifty horse-power.

Q. Has the French navy any vessels constructed in a manner fit for the service?

A. None; either sailing vessels or steamers.

Q. Have the English navy vessels so constructed as to be fit for the purpose?

A. Yes. The greater part of the English vessels on the coast of Africa are very well fitted for the purpose.

Q. It would be necessary to construct the French vessels upon a new model for the purpose, both the sailing-vessels and the steamers?

A. Yes.

Q. With respect to that part of the coast that you have not visited, but upon which you have obtained some information, can you state whether it is capable of being blockaded in the same manner?

A. It is so much the easier, because the greater part of it consists of Portuguese settlements, who would be obliged to render their assistance in suppressing the Slave Trade.

Q. You think it would be possible to blockade them in the same manner?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you any idea of the number of vessels that would be necessary to blockade that portion of the coast?

A. For that portion of the coast, in order to do it successfully, I should say eight ships—four steamers and four sailing-vessels.

Q. Which would make the whole number of vessels required forty?

A. Yes.

Q. You think that with forty vessels, half of them steamers, you could blockade all the places where the trade is carried on?

A. Yes, so as to prevent the trade.

Q. Supposing that without such a blockade the English Government and the French Government agreed to send to the coast of Africa, each of them a certain number of sailing vessels, and a certain number of steamers, how would you employ those vessels so as to render them as efficacious as possible?

A. Taking the same number of cruisers which I have mentioned, when speaking of a blockade, and supposing that there were any French among them, it would be necessary in this case to increase the total number, because the French have not, without a blockade, a right of search with regard to the Portuguese, Brazilians, and Spanish: so that forty vessels would not be sufficient.

* We understand under blockade, a blockade as in our time of war.

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Q. You think, that as the French have not without a blockade the right of search over the Portuguese, Brazilian, and Spanish vessels, it would be necessary to augment the number of English vessels to render the operation effectual?

A. Yes, it would be necessary to increase it to sixty or seventy. Supposing the forty vessels on the coast to be all English, in the present state of things it would be necessary to add to that twenty or thirty French vessels, say twenty-five.

Q. Do you understand, that at the various stations there should be cruisers of each nation?

A. Yes, it would be indispensable.

Q. You think that each station should be composed jointly of a certain proportion of English cruisers and of French cruisers?

A. Yes.

Q. You would think it desirable that the commanders of the maritime forces of the two nations should carry on their operations in concert with each other?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you think that the two nations, the English and French, would be able to render to each other service in seizing and searching vessels?

A. I think that the two stations should be almost always within sight of one another, so that they might make signals to each other with respect to vessels which might appear suspicious.

Q. If in such a situation, you commanding the French station, perceived a Brazilian vessel which appeared suspicious, but which you had no right to visit, do you think it would be possible for you to assist in causing such a vessel to fall into the hands of the English?

A. It would be very easy, if that vessel would give me the least ground for suspecting her of piracy.

Q. Do not the slave traders often give occasion for suspicion of piracy, inasmuch as by the French law it is considered an act of piracy to have on board the flags of several nations, or several sets of papers?

A. Yes.

Q. Consequently, if you found a vessel with several flags, or with several set of papers, you would feel authorized to seize her as a pirate?

A. Yes.

Q. So that in fact it often happens that, even without a blockade, you may lawfully seize a vessel employed in the Slave Trade, because there is ground for the suspicion of piracy?

A. Yes; out of ten vessels employed in the Slave Trade, I think that eight might be condemned under the French law of piracy for having false papers and false flags. On one occasion we found a Spanish vessel employed in the Slave Trade with three sets of papers. We carried her to Brest, and she was condemned as a pirate on that ground.

Q. The French tribunal at Brest considered this triple set of papers as a sufficient ground for condemning her as a pirate?

A. Yes.

Q. You think that in many cases you, commanding a French station, and near an English station, could find a lawful ground for arresting a Spanish, Brazilian, or Portuguese vessel engaged in the Slave Trade, until an English vessel could come and take possession of her?

A. Yes; I should almost always be able to find some reason.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned till to-morrow at one o'clock.

Thursday, April 3, 1845.

Monsieur Edouard Bouet-Willaumez, Capitaine de Vaisseau, further examined.

Q. Supposing a blockade to be established giving to the cruizers the right to search and stop every vessel, would forty ships, in your opinion, be sufficient?

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A. Yes, with a blockade, I think that even less than I mentioned before would be sufficient, and I think that forty ships with a blockade would prevent the Slave Trade more effectually than the larger number which I mentioned without a blockade.

Q. Supposing no blockade, but that forty British ships and twenty-five French ships were employed, with only the powers now existing, would they be sufficient?

A. No, that would be quite insufficient to prevent the trade completely.

Q. Will you explain what you consider the best mode of establishing a blockade, and at the same time what operations you would recommend to be carried on upon the land?

A. I think that efforts should be made to form treaties with the chiefs along the shore to obtain the right of establishing a police to effectually put down the trade, as well with the chiefs of the territories where the trade is not carried on as with those where the trade is carried on. Supposing the treaties to be established, and the cruizers to be upon the coast, I should recommend that the commanding officer of the French naval force should have 100,000 francs to spend in obtaining necessary intelligence from the inhabitants on the coast. As soon as it was known, whether by a French or an English cruizer, that slaves had been shipped from the territory, all the territory should be put, in virtue of the treaty, under blockade; that is to say, that nothing should be allowed to be embarked and disembarked, that all commerce should be intercepted, so that when any ship of any nation should come to that part of the coast, that ship should be driven away, and it should be endorsed upon the ship's papers that she had been sent away, so that she should not return, and she would be subject to be taken.

It would no doubt be objected that this system may injure the lawful traffic of the country; but that would be only a temporary and a small evil for a great advantage. Subsequently, there would happen at those places that which happens now at Senegal, that the natives being accustomed to European merchandise, would not be willing to go without it; and it would end by introducing legal trade instead of the Slave Trade. Then if the blockade was not sufficient, which I hardly believe, and if it was necessary to embark with a military force to oblige the African Princes to fulfil the treaties which they had formed, we should enter upon a course of hostilities, for which the military resources of the Colony of Senegal would be of immense advantage. Those military resources I will explain. In the Colony of Senegal I have 500 infantry of white men, 300 of regular Black infantry, 150 artillerymen, half of them mounted on camels to go on expeditions in the interior, and 150 spahis on horseback from the Algerian territory. In addition to these there are an indefinite quantity of irregular Black troops, and of irregular Moorish troops. To mention only one example of the resources that I possess in the Colony of Senegal in this respect, I will state that in the month of July, 1843, having learnt that two French schooners had been pillaged eighty leagues up the river from St. Louis, I ordered the tam-tam of war to be beaten, and in four hours' time 2000 irregular Black troops, called Laptoes, were assembled with my regular troops upon a flotilla of six vessels, including two steamers, and they came to assist me in punishing the culprits, which was accomplished two days afterwards. Double the number offered themselves for that service: instead of 2000 I might have had 4000. Those people have a very warlike disposition, and are quite ready to go upon any military expedition. But independently of those resources for war-

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like purposes, we have resources still more important, namely, the fishermen from the village of Guet'n'dar, opposite St. Louis. I have never seen, upon the coast of Africa (and English officers who have come to the Senegal are of the same opinion), men more accustomed to pass in small boats the bars and breakers upon the coast. There are three bars opposite to the Senegal and many other points of the African coast; and those bars and breakers form the great difficulty in carrying on military expeditions upon the coast of Africa against the barracoons, because they are established on parts of the coast which are guarded by bars and breakers. As an example, I may mention the great establishment at Whydah, which is quite inaccessible by European boats, on account of the numerous bars of the coast. If then we had a military expedition to undertake against any slave factories, I should conceive that the Governor of Senegal should call to his assistance the best of his Black soldiers, and his best boatmen among the fishermen of Guet'n'dar. The native boats themselves would be carried on the large steam-vessels—and those resources being put at the disposition of the French and English stations, would almost ensure complete success in their unexpected expeditions for the purpose of destroying the slave factories. The great number of Black soldiers and Moorish soldiers that might be landed, would allow of going and attacking the slave factories in their very centre, at a certain distance from the coast, say six to ten miles,—a thing which it would be impossible to do with only the resources of white soldiers, and sailors who could not stand against the terrible action of the climate for more than one or two days, which is the cause why Monsieur de Souza, the chief agent of the slave factory at Whydah, has never much feared any attacks against his establishment, as he told me himself, even when they destroyed Gallinas and New Cestos. In order to arrive at three forts which he uses as a place of refuge, there are, first of all, a bar and breakers very difficult to cross; then there are two marshes to traverse, and four miles of territory to cross, before you can arrive at his place. Those difficulties, added to the terrible action of the African sun upon Europeans, would render it almost impossible for European troops alone to succeed in attacking them. I have mentioned the point of Whydah: I could say the same thing as to all the other slave factories. It follows, then, from this statement, that the military resources of the Colony of Senegal, combined with those of the French and English stations, would be very important in attacking the barracoons if, unhappily, we should be obliged to resort to that measure.

Q. Do you think it would be easy to obtain treaties with the native Powers, and what means would you take for that purpose?

A. It would be necessary immediately before the design of the present negotiations was known upon the coast of Africa, that a double commission should be given to the English and to the French stations. The French station which would not inspire any suspicion on the part of the owners of the slave barracoons, because they have no right of stopping any vessels that carry on the Slave Trade, should be charged with making Treaties for the suppression of the Slave Trade, with the chiefs (whether such *de jure* or *de facto*) of the territory where the Slave Trade is carried on. This commission should be disguised under the appearance of hydrographic and geographical surveys. A second commission should be given to the English stations, which would naturally inspire more suspicion on the part of the slave factors upon the coast. It would consist of forming similar treaties with the chiefs of the territory where the Slave Trade is not carried on; so that if you should succeed in suppressing the trade on the territories where it is now carried on, it could not then take refuge in another part of the coast. The result of these commissions would be, that all the West Coast of Africa, with the exception of the points occupied by Europeans, would be under the police of the English and French stations, and I do not understand how in that case the trade could be carried on. I think that would be the only way of effectually destroying the Slave Trade.

Q. And you think that by taking sufficient pains, we should succeed in forming those treaties?

A. I think it might be done by sending officers accustomed to the coast of

Africa, who had the necessary patience and address for the purpose, and sums of money at their disposal.

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Q. Are you of opinion that with the system which you have described, forty vessels, French and English, half sailing and half steamers, would be sufficient to put an end to the Slave Trade upon the coast of Africa?

A. Yes, while with the system of cruising merely, however great the number of cruisers may be, the trade would only be partially destroyed.

Q. You persist in thinking that it would be necessary, in order to carry into effect that system, that France should send ships of a different nature from what they are at present, that is to say, vessels constructed for the purpose?

A. Yes.

Q. In your opinion, about how much would it cost to construct vessels such as you would require?

A. I should say about ten millions of francs for those twenty cruisers.

Q. About how much would those cruisers cost per annum?

A. I have not calculated that.

Q. Do you think that the expense would be much greater than the expense of the present cruisers?

A. Much greater. We have no cruisers at present, and America has no cruisers.

Q. You are aware that since the Treaty was made with America, the United States is under the obligation to keep up a maritime force of at least eighty guns, which should combine with the maritime force of England in suppressing the Slave Trade. Can you state of what the American squadron consists, and what has been the result?

A. It consists of four vessels, namely, one frigate, two corvettes, and one brig. I consider that this squadron is not at all sufficient to maintain the police of their own flag. If those eighty guns were divided into ten vessels instead of four, they might have been able to effect much better the object. And in fact my opinion is, that if France and the United States were charged with the police of their own flags exclusively, they could not do it unless they had each twenty efficient cruisers, ten sailing-vessels and ten steamers, constructed expressly for that purpose. But with those twenty ships cruising in the environs of the slave factories, they might prevent all usurpations of the flags of their own countries.

Q. Supposing that France was charged, as America is, with the exclusive police of vessels carrying its own flag, you would require twenty cruisers, half sailing and half steamers?

A. Yes.

Q. Will you explain how you would place them, and how you would employ them?

A. As much as possible I would place at each spot where the Slave Trade is carried on, two cruisers, one a sailing-vessel, the other a steamer. The sailing-vessel should be to windward, the steamer to leeward. That being done, then, having regard to what I have said with respect to the manner in which the Slave Trade is carried on on the coast, I should establish two cruisers before Bissao and Cacheo, and two cruisers before Rio Nunez and Rio Pongos. I beg to observe, that those four vessels would embrace a space of seventy leagues; but, out of that seventy leagues, all the space that would be necessary to be guarded would be fifteen leagues, because the extent of coast where the trade is actually carried on is not more than fifteen leagues. Then going south we arrive at the slave factories at the northern extremity of the Grain Coast, that is to say, Gallinas and New Cestos, before which three cruisers, or four at the most, would be quite sufficient to effect the police of the flags. Those factories are comprised within a distance of fifty leagues; we arrive then at Cape St. Paul, and we find slave factories at Quittah, Popo, Whydah, and Lagos, which are comprised within a distance of eighty leagues, including also Benin or Formosa. Upon this coast I would place four cruisers. From Benin to Fernando Po the Slave Trade operations being of a

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more isolated nature, I would establish two cruizers there, without having any fixed point, but having a general surveillance over the mouths of the rivers. At Gaboon, where we have an establishment, I would only establish two cruizers, which should have the duty of cruizing alternately to Cape Lopez, and to the Isle of Princes, and to the Isle of St. Thomas. We come then to the south Coast of Guinea, where, as it appears to me, cruizers ought to be established at three points, namely, in the neighbourhood of the River Congo and of Cabenda, where I would place two cruizers, and at St. Paul de Loando, where I would place one; and, lastly, at St. Philip in Benguela, I would place two others. Then I conceive, that for the establishment of those cruizers in the south, it would be necessary at Little Fish Bay, or elsewhere, to have a depôt for coals and provisions. The same would also be necessary at Gaboon, for the cruizers off the north coast of Guinea. And it would further be necessary to supply this considerable fleet of cruizers to have another coal and provision depôt at Axim, and another also on the Grain Coast; and things are in a great measure prepared for that. I should observe, that in order to have these twenty vessels in actual service, you must allow one-fourth of the number for repairs and re-fittings; so that I think, upon the whole, it would be necessary to have twenty-eight altogether.

Q. You would undertake, with that force, the exclusive police of the French flag?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you think that if France had the exclusive police of its own flag, it would be possible that any vessel with the French flag could carry on the trade?

A. Certainly not.

Q. Is the French flag used for carrying slaves?

A. No.

Q. Then it could be used only for usurpation by the Spanish, Portuguese, and Brazilians?

Yes.

Q. You think, with that force, no Brazilian, Portuguese, or Spanish ship, using the French flag, would escape you?

A. Certainly not; because, since 1831, the English cruizers have been able to do it with a much less force.

Q. You think twenty vessels would be sufficient, provided those twenty vessels had no other duty but to prevent the usurpation of the French flag?

A. Quite sufficient, and I should be sorry that with that force they should have nothing else to do.

Q. If you found a Brazilian, Portuguese, or Spanish vessel under the French flag, what should you do?

A. I should seize her and send her to be tried as a pirate.

Q. Supposing the same Spanish, Portuguese, or Brazilian vessel, using the French flag, were met by an English cruiser, which perceived that she was using the French flag without right, should not you consider that the English cruiser would have a right also of considering her as a pirate?

A. Yes; just the same as the French cruiser.

Q. In every case the fact of hoisting the flag of another nation would be considered an act of piracy?

A. Yes.

Q. You are aware that during the last two or three years, the practice has existed of transporting free negroes from the coast of Africa to the English colonies?

A. Yes.

Q. When an English vessel sails from the coast of Africa with free negroes, bound for the British colonies in the West Indies, if it met a French

cruizer, would not the French cruizer be entitled, under the Treaties of 1831 and 1833, to stop her and seize her?

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A. That case has occurred to me three times. The first time was in December, 1838. I met, twenty leagues west of Sierra Leone, an English three-masted ship, the "Isabella Anna;" she was principally laden with timber, which was going to Barbadoes, and she was carrying also fifty or sixty Blacks. I perceived the Blacks over the bulwarks, and I had the vessel brought to, to visit her. I went on board. The Blacks were recruits in the service of England, who had been enlisted at Sierra Leone, and whom an officer was conducting to the West India colonies. I observed to the officer, that I did not doubt the lawfulness of the expedition, but inasmuch as the persons on board, those Blacks, required latticed hatches and more barrels of water, and more rice than was necessary for the ship's crew, under the Treaty, I could stop him in his course. From that moment I expected to see the English Government take measures to render those expeditions as regular as possible, because they might give occasion to detentions more or less frequent. In fact when it became a question of the emigration of free Blacks from Africa to America, Lord Stanley took measures that those emigrations should not give rise to any suspicion of a disguised Slave Trade. It is for this reason that ships carrying emigrants were required to carry a pennant, and to be commanded by a lieutenant of the Royal Navy. Such was the "Senator," which was the second vessel I met with in the same manner. Although I saw that at Sierra Leone itself and on board the "Senator," the necessary precaution had been taken to do away with any suspicion of the Slave Trade, I observed, however, to the officer in command, that the persons on board, the free Black labourers, required, as before, more water, more provisions, and more open hatches than was necessary for the crew; all of which was quite contrary to the letter of the Treaty of 1833. I was answered, that, as the vessel carried a pennant and had an English lieutenant on board, I had no right to visit her, and the case was reserved by me for the Government to examine into. The third case was one which has happened often upon the coast of Africa with my cruizers, and recently upon the occasion of the "St. Christopher." This vessel sailed from the Kroo Coast bound to Sierra Leone, with about twenty young Negroes, which she was taking to Sierra Leone, to be placed at the disposal of the emigration agents. The ship was the third of the kind which Captain Baudin met. He put on board a mate and a prize-crew, and sent her to the disposal of the authorities at Sierra Leone, as a prize. Subsequently, the mate, of his own authority, himself gave up the prosecution, for which he was censured, as he had no right so to act.

Q. Were not the persons on board Kroomen?

A. I do not know whether they were Kroomen or not; but if the emigration is not put under strict regulations, great abuse will result.

Q. Is it not as easy for the ships of other nations to usurp a pennant as it is to usurp a flag?

A. Certainly.

Q. When any particular place where the Slave Trade is carried on is closely blockaded, do not the slave traders have recourse to the nearest place not so blockaded, to try to carry on the trade?

A. There is no close blockade on any part of the coast; but if any slave depôt were closely blockaded, there is no doubt that would be done. For example, at Whydah there is a great depôt of the Slave Trade, but the cargoes of slaves are not always embarked at Whydah; sometimes they embark at Popo, a little to the west, sometimes a little further on; and by that means they elude the vigilance of the cruizers, which made me say, that without a blockade preventing merchandise from arriving at those factories, the trade cannot be prevented.

Q. So that, generally speaking, wherever the force already employed has stopped the trade, it breaks out in the nearest convenient place?

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A. Yes: the slave depôt remains where it was before: but the embarkations are carried on elsewhere.

Q. Take New Cestos, for example. Supposing there is a force established there, which prevents the trade being carried on there, will not the trade be carried on at the nearest convenient place?

A. The embarkation will take place at the nearest convenient place.

Q. Would it not be necessary, in order to ensure a total suppression of the trade, to blockade every part of the coast, west and south, from which the trade could be carried on, as well as those parts from which it is carried on at present?

A. Before the points where the trade is carried on, I would have a close blockade; and I would have a general supervision over the points where the trade could be carried on, and have communication with the natives for the purpose of obtaining information.

Q. Taking that view of the subject of cruising off the parts where it is carried on, and keeping a supervision over the other parts, are you of opinion that the force you have mentioned will be amply sufficient?

A. I have already said no, if there be no blockade.

Q. Following the system which you have mentioned of a close blockade over the parts where the trade is actually carried on, and general supervision over the other parts where it is not actually carried on, do you think the force you have mentioned would be sufficient to suppress the trade throughout the whole of the district?

A. I am so persuaded of it, that I would offer my own services to return to Africa for that purpose.

Q. Supposing no treaties to be made with the natives, would it not be essential, if England and France united to suppress this trade by maritime force, to exercise an universal right of search upon the coast of Africa?

A. I have said that, even with an universal right of search, you would not be able to suppress the trade completely.

Q. Supposing France and England to unite for this purpose with an increased force, but without having an universal right of search, would it not be probable that the American flag, not being subject to the right of search, would then be usurped for the purpose of covering the trade?

A. It is entirely matter of conjecture; I can only judge from the past. I have no reason to think that that would be done.

Q. Supposing the English and French navies to succeed in preventing the Slave Trade under every flag except the American, is not it probable that the American flag, being the only one under which the trade could then be carried on, the trade would be carried on under that flag?

A. As things are at present that might happen; but if that were so, it is probable that the American Government would augment their cruizers, and make them more efficacious. The American cruizers are perfectly ineffective at present for the purpose.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned till to-morrow at one o'clock.

Friday, April 4, 1845.

Monsieur Edouard Bouet-Willamez, Capitaine de Vaisseau, further examined.

Q. You understand by the word "blockade" that species of blockade which gives the force blockading the right to stop every vessel entering or going out, not confined to three miles from the coast, but to any extent necessary to prevent ingress or egress?

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A. Yes.

Q. You know that the native chiefs, though they might give you a power of police upon their territory, could not enable you to stop the ships of other nations beyond three miles from the coast?

A. Yes; but it is not in that way that I understand either the blockade or the treaties. In making a treaty with the chiefs, they would engage not to allow the Slave Trade to be carried on upon their territory, and if I found that slaves were allowed to be carried away from their territory, I should complain to the chiefs of the infraction of the treaty, and, if necessary, I should declare war, and establish a strict belligerent blockade upon the coast. By forming treaties of this nature with the native chiefs, you obtain a right to do that which has been done by force at the Gallinas.

Q. Would it not assist in the intended operations, to procure from other nations a right to stop and detain all vessels coming out of the African ports with slaves on board?

A. It would be difficult to know with certainty, whether a vessel is going out or coming in. To know whether a vessel has or has not a cargo of slaves on board, you must visit her, so that you would be obliged to visit all vessels.

Q. Supposing a general right to visit all vessels on the African coast could be obtained, within how many miles from the coast might that right to visit be limited?

A. With the system that I propose, the right of visiting would lose all its value, because it would be unnecessary, if there was a strict blockade.

Q. Would it not much facilitate your plan if you could obtain the right of visiting within a certain distance of the coast of Africa, the vessels of all nations leaving the coast?

A. As I consider that the system of cruizers, and the right of search will never succeed without treaties with the native chiefs, I have not considered that question. I think that nothing would be effectual but the system of strict blockade.

Q. With the treaties, would not such a right be a great assistance?

A. I think it would be of no great advantage, and it would be very difficult to obtain.

Q. What would you do if many of the chiefs refused to enter into such treaties?

A. I have no doubt that they would consent.

Q. Supposing that the greater number should enter into treaties, but that two or three should refuse, what would you do in that case?

A. It would be necessary for France and England to concert together the measures which they should pursue in that case.

Q. Supposing that the greater part of the chiefs should form treaties, but that two or three should refuse, do you think that the suppression of the Slave Trade upon that limited space would be very easy?

A. Very easy.

Q. What do you think should be done in case the trade was to be carried on from Loanda, and other Portuguese settlements, in the manner in which it has hitherto been carried on from those ports?

A. First of all, I would observe, that the Portuguese Government shows a very good disposition now to prevent its functionaries from allowing the

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Slave Trade to be carried on in the Portuguese colonies. I will mention a circumstance which happened two years ago at Benguela, in the year 1841 and 1842. A cruizer, the "Brisk," took five slave traders at Loanda, at Benguela, and in the neighbouring seas. The Governor of Benguela had, as it appears, taken a part in the embarkation of a cargo of slaves on board one of the vessels captured by the British. A complaint was made by England to the Portuguese Government. A council of war was held at Angola, and the Governor was dismissed. So that we have every reason to think that the Government of Portugal would not allow its officers to encourage the Slave Trade.

Q. But supposing that Portugal should continue to carry on the trade, what would you propose to do in that case?

A. That is too much a question of politics for me to answer. I do not know what degree of constraint the English Government could exercise over the Government of Portugal upon that subject.

Q. Have you at all considered with what number of chiefs it would be necessary to make treaties?

A. Since the month of November, 1844, I gave an order to the commanding officer of the station, Captain Baudin, to go down the coast, to anchor before every slave factory, to go under pretence of surveying the country, to enter into communications with the different chiefs (whether chiefs *de jure* or *de facto*), to study what would be their wishes and their complaints, and to be prepared beforehand to have every possible facility to conclude treaties for the abolition of the trade with those different chiefs, before anybody upon the coast had any knowledge of the newly formed more intimate alliance which was about to take place between France and England for the purpose of abolishing the Slave Trade. In the month of December Commandant Baudin wrote to me that he had left for that purpose, and he is expected to return to Goree in the next month. We shall then be able, from his report, which he will send to me, to know exactly both the numbers of the chiefs and the means to be employed to arrive at that result.

Q. Can you give any general notion of the number?

A. I should say twenty or thirty.

Q. In what space of time do you think it probable that such treaties could be concluded?

A. In six months.

Q. Have you anything further to add to what you have stated?

A. In giving a *résumé* of my opinions upon the principal questions put to me by the Commissioners—opinions scattered confusedly in my evidence, and perhaps translated with some imperfections, I wish to say that my ten years of service on the coast of Africa have led me to think that the complete abolition of the Slave Trade upon that immense coast, with the aid of cruizers alone, is not a thing to be realized, however numerous the squadron of cruizers might be. That the blockade, that is to say, the prohibition of landing all merchandise on the centres of the Slave Trade, would be a measure much more efficacious to put down the Slave Trade. That the commerce of barter would no doubt suffer at the beginning, but that in the result it would find its advantage, because it ought to have no other view than lawful speculations. Directly or indirectly, but actually it co-operates indirectly with the Slave Trade, by disembarking its merchandise in the slave factories, although it does not receive in exchange the slaves themselves, but their value in money. That the natives of the territories where the Slave Trade is carried on, accustomed to this merchandise, of which they would be deprived by the blockade, would in the end learn to make use of the advantages of their soil to satisfy their wants, and would sell palm-oil, grain, and ivory, instead of selling their fellow creatures. That things have followed this natural course along the extent of 200 leagues of the borders of rivers which the French possess in Senegal, where formerly the Slave Trade was carried on with great activity. But that this right of blockade can only be founded upon a violation of the treaties concluded beforehand with the natives upon the coast, to prohibit the Slave Trade upon their territory. That the French station, little suspected by the slave merchants, since she has no right either of capturing, or even of visiting the

Spanish, Brazilian, or Portuguese vessels, which are in fact the only vessels which traffic in slaves, would be able to occupy itself immediately in obtaining treaties with the chiefs of those territories which are actively engaged in the Slave Trade. And I think it would be possible to effect this with address, with discretion, and with the aid of annual presents. That the English station should conclude similar treaties with the chiefs of the territories where the Slave Trade is not at present carried on, but where it would subsequently take refuge, if it was driven out of its accustomed channels. That to exercise the police of its flag alone, and in carrying out at the same time with England the suppression of the Slave Trade, by new and more efficacious measures, France ought to have on the coast a squadron composed of at least twenty effective cruisers, which would be reduced to fifteen active ones by repairs and refittings, and at the most twenty-seven effective cruisers, reduced to twenty in active service by the same causes. That the one-half of those cruisers should be sailing-vessels, and the other half steamers, and they should be specially constructed for the service, because there do not exist in the French navy light vessels capable of pursuing the slave ships with success upon those seas. That this squadron would require depôts of provisions and of coals placed regularly from station to station as far as Cape Negro; that is to say, as far as the fifteenth degree of south latitude. That these naval forces would be sufficient to prevent the usurpation of our flag by foreign vessels, inasmuch, as the English station, since the year 1833, being solely charged with that police, has exercised the same with success with the aid of a less number of cruisers and without steamers, except since 1842. That these steam cruisers, forming half of the projected squadron, would double as it were, by the activity of their surveillance, the service which the squadron would be called upon to render, and that thus the actual efficiency of these naval forces would be, *de facto*, much more considerable than their numerical number would appear to indicate. That the blockade of the territories carrying on the Slave Trade would give the right to the English and French stations to become belligerent, to turn away all merchant-vessels, of whatever nation they might be, and even to capture them if, after being warned off, they persisted in trying to avoid the vigilance of the cruisers, and to communicate with the coast. That in case of not succeeding in this system of blockade, they would be able to compel the native chiefs to execute the treaty by attacking by force of arms, and destroying the slave factories,—a last extremity of rigour, and which is of little severity, if you compare it with the acts of deep cruelty and immorality which the Slave Trade necessarily draws after it. That in that case the Colony of Senegal would offer important military resources in Black, Moorish, or white troops, both regular and irregular, as well as in boats and boatmen, enabling them to disembark the troops with success, to go across the bars and breakers which surround the slave-trading countries. That these different measures would, in my opinion, destroy completely the Slave Trade on the African coast. My conviction on this subject is such, that in spite of the fatigues resulting from my preceding service on the coast of Africa, I offer to devote afresh to the execution of such a system the experience that I have acquired in the localities, and the influence which my expeditions have obtained for me over the warlike tribes in the Senegal. Such is the substance of my ideas.

The witness withdrew.

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Monsieur le Baron Rodolphe Darricau, examined.

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Q. You are a captain in the service of His Majesty the King of the French?

A. Yes.

Q. You have been employed on the coast of Africa?

A. I have been employed twenty-two months upon the coast, from the end of 1842 to the beginning of 1844.

Q. What is the portion of the coast of Africa upon which you have been employed?

A. More particularly upon the Gold Coast, and at the Gaboon.

Q. Have you also visited other parts of the coast?

A. I have gone along the whole coast; I have been four times up and down the coast.

Q. To what point?

A. From Goree to Gaboon. In cruising along the coast I generally kept within about five or six miles from the coast, but often coming nearer to the coast.

Q. Have you gone upon the land on those expeditions?

A. Yes.

Q. Is it within your knowledge that the Slave Trade is carried on with activity upon some parts of the coast?

A. Yes.

Q. Will you point out the parts where you think the Slave Trade is carried on?

A. From the Senegal to Sierra Leone the only place where the Slave Trade is carried on is Bissagos. Then after Sherboro there is Gallinas and Old and New Cestos. Along the Kroo Coast there is no Slave Trade. From Cape Palmas to St. Paul there is no Slave Trade upon the coast. At Cape St. Paul there are upon the right bank of the River Volta some Danish possessions, and upon the left bank of the river the Slave Trade is carried on. In the environs of Whydah, Quitta, and Lagos, it is difficult to say which are the points of the coast where it is carried on. They come to those places according as they are more or less pressed by the cruisers; but Whydah, Quitta, and Lagos, are the principal places of disembarkation. The slaves come principally from Dahomey, and they are taken to whichever is the most convenient place to embark. In the delta of the Niger, I think there is very little Slave Trade carried on now; but if the Slave Trade was much disturbed elsewhere, it would be transferred to the delta of the Niger. In the Calabar River there is very little or no Slave Trade, because the palm-oil trade, which is carried on by the English, absorbs all the means of the country, and affords them all the supplies they require. This is one of the rivers where the legitimate trade has entirely superseded the Slave Trade. In the Gulf of Biafra there is the Cameroons River; from the Cameroons River as far as Cape Lopez, the embarkations of slaves are very rare. The slaves come by the rivers from the interior to Cape Lopez, and they are very seldom embarked in the Cameroons River itself. But in the Rivers Danger, Moondah, Mooney, and the Gaboon, the French have now establishments, which will give them the same power which they have in the Senegal. I have not gone to the south of the line, but I have heard that in all the Portuguese settlements on the south of the line the Slave Trade is still carried on at Loanda, Benguela, and in the River Congo. At those points it is notorious that the Portuguese still carry on the trade, but I have not been there.

Q. Of what nation are the European agents who are engaged in the Slave Trade on the coast of Africa?

A. Spanish, Portuguese, and Brazilian, exclusively. I do not think there are on the coast of Africa any barracoons which are not occupied by persons of those nations.

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Q. To what nations do the vessels which bring merchandise destined to be exchanged for the slaves, generally belong?

A. They belong in general to Brazilians and to Americans.

Q. Is it within your knowledge whether there are any French vessels engaged directly in this trade, or whether there are any French houses who voluntarily and professedly engage in sending merchandise to the coast to be exchanged for slaves?

A. I am sure there are none.

Q. Do you know any English houses who do that?

A. I do not know of any.

Q. They are exclusively Spaniards and Americans?

A. Entirely.

Q. Do the American ships which carry this merchandise come under the American flag?

A. Yes.

Q. Would those vessels be liable to be taken, if you had the same right of visiting them which you have with regard to English vessels?

A. I am persuaded that not only the American ships, but the English ships, and all the ships generally which come to the coast to carry on legitimate commerce, would be liable to be seized if the Treaties were applied with all their rigour.

Q. Are the American ships which arrive on the coast with merchandise for the Slave Trade, in the same condition as ships which carry on the legal trade?

A. Entirely.

Q. They are not equipped or fitted out for the Slave Trade?

A. No.

Q. Under what pretext would the vessels which carry on the legal trade be liable to be seized if the provisions of the Treaties were rigorously applied to them?

A. Because from the nature of the coast, and the difficulty that we have in procuring water, it is impossible that a vessel which carries on barter and which remains long on the coast should not have a larger quantity of water and water-casks than is allowed. It is also necessary to have planks to make their little magazines on board for the purpose of exposing their merchandise to the natives who may come on board to purchase it; and also make the several bulk-heads for keeping the various kinds of merchandise separate. They are obliged to exchange for the merchandise of the natives packets consisting of gun-powder, tobacco, piece goods, and especially iron bars and copper, and which iron bars, being easily converted into slave irons, might give occasion to seizure under the Treaties. They also have on board commission agents, and there are sometimes on board as many as twelve black men, the servants of those commission agents, who are embarked without being on the muster-roll of the vessel.

Q. You say that the American vessels which come to the coast of Africa with cargoes designed to be exchanged for slaves, come like the ships of other nations?

A. Entirely so.

Q. When one of those ships leaves the coast of Africa to carry a cargo of slaves, generally under what flag does she go?

A. Under the Spanish, Portuguese, or Brazilian flag.

Q. No others?

A. No others.

Q. Is it within your knowledge that there are ships which come under the American flag with merchandise and which leave the coast with slaves under the Spanish, Brazilian, or Portuguese flag?

A. I have heard that the thing has been done; but I have never seen it, and I have never had any proof of it.

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Q. You have had no occasion to visit those vessels, because you had no right of visiting them?

A. Sometimes I happened, at the Gaboon, to visit American and Spanish vessels, because they arrived in the country under the French flag, and then I had visited them; and sometimes, when coming on board the American ships, I knew with certainty that the merchandise was designed to be employed in the Slave Trade; but I did not find sufficient legal reason to stop them. The practice of changing flags by ships is a rare thing. They are exposed to severe consequences for having several flags and several sets of papers, and they would only do it in very extreme cases, because it would subject them to the charge of piracy.

Q. If you met at sea a Brazilian vessel, and you had known that that vessel had previously carried French colours, you would stop her as a pirate?

A. Yes.

Q. If you met a vessel which, to your knowledge, carried successively different colours, whatever the colours might be under which you met her, you would seize her as a pirate?

A. I should consider myself quite entitled to do so. I should not hesitate a moment in doing so.

Q. Do you think that, in the present state of the French law, supposing the right of search was abandoned, there would be a French vessel that would dare to engage in the Slave Trade?

A. I think not; first of all, because the French law is so severe, that the captain and the crew would be subject to very heavy punishment, even to be condemned to the galleys. French captains are subject to examinations, and have to go through studies which give them a certain position in society, and they would not subject themselves to such infamous penalties, although it might be done by men in a different position.

Q. What flags have you a right to visit?

A. All flags, except the flags which really carry on the trade.

Q. Will you enumerate them.

A. The English, Danish, Hamburgh, Swedish, Bremen, Norwegian, Sardinian, and Tuscan.

Q. Have you seen flags of all those vessels upon the coast of Africa?

A. I have seen upon the coast of Africa the Danish and four vessels from Hamburgh, but none of the others.

Q. You have never heard that the trade has been carried on under these flags?

A. Never. I have no suspicion of the sort.

Q. Consequently, the right of visiting those flags is perfectly useless?

A. It is a mere formality.

Q. Have you considered the means which it would be proper to take in the present state of things, to effect the complete suppression of the trade?

A. Yes. I think that, in the present state of things, our cruizers have proceeded in the suppression of the Slave Trade with very little efficacy, in this respect, that not being able to visit the ships which really carry on the Slave Trade, we have directed our efforts to the coast itself, and thus the vessels which we have used are flat-bottomed vessels, which can go up the rivers, but they are bad sailers. Besides, we have often avoided meeting the English, because, from a feeling of self-love, it was a disagreeable thing to see an English cruizer capture a vessel by our side which we were unable to touch. Now if the French and English cruizers co-operated with a sincere good understanding, this feeling of self-love would disappear. We should be delighted to do what I myself have already done, with respect to Captain Brisbane, captain of the "Larne" sloop, with whom I was on very good terms. It happened to

me to say to him, upon such a point you will find a Spaniard, and to give him the necessary directions to find her. That I did voluntarily, as an act of friendship; but when we should be both engaged in the same service with equal powers, we should do that as a matter of duty which we now do as matter of friendship. Now I think that by changing the principles of our cruizers, and replacing our river vessels by sea vessels, and especially by steamers, we should be able to acquire a knowledge of all that was going forward upon the coast. Consequently, if we did not ourselves stop the Spaniard and the Portuguese, we should have information that would enable us to give to the English cruizers more facilities than they have at present, because we should be informed of all that was going on on shore.

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Q. Have you conversed with Captain Bouet with regard to his plan for the suppression of the Slave Trade?

A. Yes.

Q. According to the knowledge you have of the Native Princes upon the coast, do you think it would be easy by giving them certain advantages, to induce them to forbid the Slave Trade?

A. Yes, I think so.

Q. Have you negotiated with those Chiefs?

A. I have negotiated with many of them, and I think it would be possible to induce them to make treaties for the abolition of the Slave Trade.

Q. It being understood that that would involve the right of enforcing the treaty by force, if it was not observed?

A. Certainly.

Q. Have you observed whether, in the several countries along the coast, it is often the case that there is more than one Chief, that is to say, that there is an actual possessor and a pretender to the power?

A. That happens almost everywhere. The right of sovereignty does not go from father to son, but from brother to brother, and the right of succession is very often very obscure and difficult to establish, and thence arise a great many pretenders and many wars, in which we are obliged to interfere, in order to pacify and to give vent to the commerce which had been stopped by the war.

Q. So that if you found difficulties in treating with the Chiefs who were in possession of the territory, you would treat with the pretenders, who would probably make no difficulty in making such a treaty?

A. Yes; and the influence we have already acquired, and which we have used to pacify them in their wars, would enable us to form such treaties.

Q. Can you give some general idea of the number of treaties of this nature which it would be necessary to make, in order to have the police of the coast from Senegal to Gaboon?

A. I think it will be necessary to make as many treaties as there are places where the Slave Trade is carried on, I should say about ten; but it would be very desirable to make treaties with other chiefs besides, those with whom the Slave Trade might afterwards take refuge when suppressed in the other places. For example, referring to what I said before, that the trade which is carried on at the mouth of the Volta, might be carried to the mouth of the Niger, it would be desirable, as a precaution, to make treaties with the chiefs at the mouth of the Niger, who do not now carry on the trade, but who would be likely to do so if it were driven from the Volta.

Q. And you think it would be desirable to make treaties with those who do not carry on the trade, in order to prevent their carrying it on in case it was driven from the places where it is now carried on?

A. Yes.

Q. And you think they would make no difficulty in doing so?

A. There would be no difficulty.

Q. Supposing these treaties were concluded, and that the chiefs with whom they were concluded did not adhere to their engagements, do you think it

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would be possible to blockade strictly the territories where those engagements were not fulfilled ?

A. I think it would be possible to blockade the territories, the more so, as the territories are not very large : besides, I think that it would be very easy to punish the chiefs who did not adhere to their treaties, in a very effectual manner, because there are very few places on the coast of Africa where you could not effect disembarkations, if you wished it.

Q. If it is easy to land on all those parts of the coast of Africa, is it not equally easy to embark slaves from the same places ?

A. It is not the same thing. I said that the disembarkation of troops was very easy, but it would be necessary for you to have a great quantity of canoes, a great quantity of planks to make rafts, besides the facilities which one man-of-war or more would afford in the disembarkation. One slave-trading vessel could never have those facilities.

Q. Is it not rather a difficult operation to effect this kind of embarkation on account of the breakers, and is it not necessary to have not only European boats, but the native boats of the country ?

A. I have some experience upon this subject, because I made the disembarkation of the materials for the factory of Assinie, across the breakers ; and in that case we could not have effected our disembarkation, if we had not had canoes from Senegal, which we had brought with us. It would be necessary then that the slave traders should have on their ships, canoes and men for that purpose, which it is impossible for them to have.

Q. Is it not a totally different thing to make a disembarkation in open daylight, where several vessels are assisting each other, and to embark a cargo of slaves to escape pursuit ?

A. It is very different, because the embarkation of slaves must take place in the very shortest time, and every thing must be favourable.

Q. Are there not in the colony of Senegal, military resources to assist in such an operation ?

A. Certainly ; the resources of the Colony of Senegal are very great. I do not know them thoroughly as they are known to the Governor, but I have seen enough of them to feel persuaded that we would find in the colony all the resources that we should require for that service.

The witness withdrew.

Fearing that in my examination before the Commissioners, I had not given to my answers the clearness I wished, I now sum up my opinion in a few lines.

The Slave Trade upon the West Coast of Africa is confined and circumscribed to *ten* points. To augment our cruisers to at least twenty sailing vessels and steamers, is to do more than has been done, is to guarantee that the police of our flag will be executed.

If France until now, has taken little part in the repression of the Slave Trade by its cruisers, she has sought to combat this scourge by her influence on land ; she is at present in an advantageous condition to obtain, from a great number of negro chiefs, the renunciation of their traffic in slaves ; she will find, especially in the resources of the Colony of the Senegal, the means of punishment, in the event of the treaties not being observed.

Thus, then, to give to our cruisers the qualities which enable them to execute the police of our flag, to obtain conditions which allow at need of a blockade and of disembarkations, is to augment the means of repressing the Slave Trade, in a manner sufficiently efficacious to arrive at its extinction.

The developement of licit commerce upon the coast of Africa is, in my eyes, the great means of civilization. When the existing treaties were concluded, it was not possible to foresee that it (commerce) would become so very extensive as it has become, nor that the slavers would elude the law in no longer

providing (or freighting) themselves with the objects necessary in that trade; so that measures very good when established twelve years back, have become quite an obstacle, interfering with the licit commerce and thus injuring its civilizing influence.

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It cannot be, but that a great advantage will result to the object of the repression of the Slave Trade by giving to our cruizers that efficacy they might have, by exerting all our efforts to extinguish on land the Slave Trade by blockade and disembarkation of troops, lastly by destroying the obstacles which the existing treaties oppose to free commerce. It ought to be clearly understood, that if vessels engaged in lawful trade have not been stopped on the coast, it is owing only to the moderation and good faith which have prevented the strict literal application of the law—a power which is dangerous to leave optional to use.

Le Lieutenant de vaisseau,
BON. DARRICAU.

Monsieur Alphonse-Jean-Réné Fleuriot de Langle, Lieutenant de Vaisseau, Chevalier de l'Ordre Royal de la Légion d'Honneur, et du Lion Néerlandais, examined.

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Q. You are a Captain in the service of His Majesty the King of the French?

A. Lieutenant in the Navy.

Q. How long have you commanded on the coast of Africa?

A. Altogether five years, distributed over the years 1831, 1832, 1837, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843, and 1844.

Q. What part of the coast of Africa do you know best?

A. All the coast from Gibraltar to the Gaboon.

Q. On what portions of that coast do you know that the Slave Trade is carried on?

A. All the people under the Empire of Morocco have carried on the trade in the interior; but it never has been taken notice of by Europeans. After Senegal it begins between the Gambia and Bissagos.

Q. Will you point out the principal points where the trade is carried on?

A. I think the first point is between the River Gambia and the Island of De Los. The second point would extend from Sherboro to Cape Mount. The third point is New Cestos, where, to my knowledge, there are four houses that carry on the Slave Trade. Along the Kroo Coast there is very little Slave Trade carried on. They are generally only brokers who carry on the trade. They do not carry it on in a direct manner, and the Chiefs do not allow their people to be sold. When they are at war they prefer to kill their prisoners; they never allow the freemen to become slaves. After that, St. Andrews is a point which requires a slight surveillance; for a long time there has been no Slave Trade there. There was a factory there, but there is now none to my knowledge. The slave vessels have come to take in provisions, rice, yams, and wood. All along the coast from St. Andrew's to Little Cestos. From Cape Lahooe to Cape St. Paul there is no Slave Trade carried on. There are European establishments which exercise the police in such a manner as to prevent any Slave Trade being carried on there. After Cape St. Paul the first place where the Slave Trade is carried on, is Quittah, which belongs nominally to the Danes. Great Popo and Little Popo belong nominally to the Dutch; they are often used to carry on the Slave Trade, being very easy of access. After that we come to Whydah, which is one of the principal slave factories in all the Bight of Benin. The slave traders at Whydah send their slaves sometimes in one direction and sometimes in another, in order to deceive the cruizers; and I think there are signals agreed upon between vessels approaching the coast and the inhabitants, to elude the vigilance of the cruizers. Badagry and Lagos, and other places, are in correspondence with Whydah for this purpose. After that I do not know what goes forward in the rivers from Benin to Bonny; those rivers are difficult of access; and I do not think the Slave Trade is carried on there. The King of Bonny has carried on the Slave Trade, notwithstanding the treaty which the English Government made with him. After that we come to Old Calabar, where I have not been. We come then to Gaboon, where there is no Slave Trade; but there is an island, called Coresco, over which we have no jurisdiction.

Q. Of what nation are the agents who carry on the Slave Trade on the coast of Africa?

A. Principally Spaniards; but I have seen Italians and Portuguese, and Brazilians. It is very difficult to distinguish Brazilians and Portuguese, because they speak the same language.

Q. Have you met with English or Frenchmen?

A. Neither.

Q. Any Americans?

A. No Americans directly employed in the trade.

Q. But indirectly ?

A. I know that people of all nations bring merchandise of all kinds to be employed in the purchase of slaves.

Q. It is easy to conceive that all merchandise brought to the Coast of Africa, may serve indirectly to carry on the Slave Trade, but are there not vessels which come from America and other parts, with the direct design of changing their merchandise for slaves ?

A. The American colours serve to cover the commerce as far as the slave factory. The agents who are employed by the houses are generally Italians or Spaniards, and they land with the goods, and then the captain and the empty ship return to America.

Q. Does it not sometimes happen that they sell those ships to Portuguese or to Spaniards ?

A. I do not know it myself. I have only seen them as I have just mentioned, bring their cargoes and return empty.

Q. Under what flag is the transport of slaves carried on ?

A. Under the flags of Portugal and Brazil. I never found slaves under any other flags.

Q. To what do you ascribe the circumstance of the trade being exclusively carried on under those flags ?

A. They are the only nations which have colonies, where no census is taken of the slaves, and I attribute the Slave Trade being carried on under those flags to the great lenity with which it is treated by their laws.

Q. Have you ever known of any Slave Trade under the Dutch or French flag ?

A. Never by the Dutch, but I heard of an instance of the French flag being usurped at Dix Cove.

Q. Of what nation was the ship ?

A. The vessel was presumed to be a Spaniard. The captain of the vessel pretended to be a Frenchman, but he could not speak French: during the night, a ship commanded by Captain Scott, the "Hyacinth," anchored there, but the slaver, without waiting, disappeared before the "Hyacinth" could visit her. I did not arrive till twenty-four hours after the vessel was gone.

Q. That is the only case within your knowledge ?

A. The only one.

Q. If you had met that vessel how would you have regarded her ?

A. As a pirate. I should have applied the law of piracy to her.

Q. What are the flags which you have the right of visiting ?

A. We have the right of visiting seven flags; the three free cities of Hamburgh, Lubeck, and Bremen, the Norwegian and Swedish, the Danish, the Neapolitan, the Tuscan, the Piedmontese and Sardinian, and the English.

Q. Have you ever heard that the Slave Trade has been carried on under those flags ?

A. Only under the Sardinian flag. I was informed of one instance in which it was carried on under the Sardinian flag.

Q. In general, the right of search is a thing almost illusory ?

A. I have not been able to use it. If I had exercised the right of search strictly, I should have stopped every vessel that I met with on the coast, because they had more provisions, more water, and more planks, than was necessary for their crew. It is a matter of good faith altogether. There is one thing which often embarrasses us much; if we meet a vessel which has emigrants on board, no line of conduct is laid down for us upon that subject. Observing the treaties literally, they would be liable to seizure; they have arrangements and fittings up which are altogether different from the arrangements and fittings of other vessels. This case was not foreseen by the treaties; so that a conscientious officer meeting such a vessel, would perhaps feel himself obliged to stop her.

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Q. Have you had frequent communication with the chiefs on the coast?

A. I have had frequent communication; I know many of them personally.

Q. Do you think it would be possible and easy, by treating with them, and giving them presents, and promising them advantages, to induce them to abolish the Slave Trade in their territories?

A. That is a question which I never addressed to them directly.

Q. What is your opinion upon it?

A. I think that all those who have a commerce assured to them in any other way would willingly consent to entertain overtures for that purpose. As to the others, when they saw that the coast was surrounded very closely by the numerous cruisers, I think they would willingly accede to any proposition that was made to them.

Q. It being understood that if they violated their engagements, they would be executed by force?

A. That would be very easy.

Q. Do you think it would be possible to blockade closely the countries of the chiefs who violated their engagements?

A. I have no doubt that if England and France were to notify to other Powers their intention of putting down the Slave Trade, other nations would be obliged to fall into the same course.

Q. Do you think it would be possible in case of necessity, to make disembarkations on the shore, to act against the slave factories?

A. I would engage personally to conduct such an expedition, and I think I could ensure its success.

Q. You think that those expeditions could be conducted with success, with the means at the disposition of the Colony of Senegal?

A. That is my opinion. I think they could be disembarked, and that they would meet with all the success that could be required. I consider the success of a military expedition against the slave establishments, as being certain.

The witness withdrew.

Adjourned to to-morrow at one o'clock.

In summing up the examination I underwent before the Commissioners, I declared that in the actual state of things the market of slaves was supplied under the flags of all the European nations, without the cruisers being able to resist.

I expressed the idea, that if two great nations like France and England, moved by sentiments of humanity, were to digest together a despatch (*une note*), by which all traffic with the slave markets was declared criminal, and if they were to invite the other Great Powers to give their adherence to this despatch, it would be possible in virtue of this agreement, to declare in actual blockade those parts where the Slave Trade is carried on. The chiefs of these localities, in want of every article, would be led to subscribe treaties, by which they would engage to renounce this abominable traffic, and to deliver up to the cruisers the persons of those factors, on whom the law of piracy would be applied. If the chiefs infringed these treaties, the cruisers would have the right to execute them by force of arms, which, with the resources which France has at her disposition, would always be easy and efficacious.

I affirmed that I had never met in the slave markets any but Spaniards, Portuguese, or Italians, and that the flag of Spain, Portugal, or Brazils covered almost entirely the slavers. I have assigned the cause of this state of things especially to the impunity which the adventurers, who engage in the hazards of this navigation, meet before the Courts of Justice in their respective countries ; therefore I propose to consider them as out of the pale of the law, and to apply to them the law of piracy.

M. Fleuriot de
Langle.

April 4, 1845.

A. FLEURIOT DE LANGLE;

MINUTES OF EVIDENCE taken before the Duke de Broglie and the Right Hon. Stephen Lushington,
D.C.L. March 31, April 1, 2, 3, and 4, 1845.

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