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THE

FOREIGN SLAVE TRADE,

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF ITS STATE,

OF THE

TREATIES WHICH HAVE BEEN ENTERED INTO,

AND OF

THE LAWS ENACTED FOR ITS SUPPRESSION,

FROM THE DATE OF

THE ENGLISH ABOLITION ACT

TO THE PRESENT TIME.

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A BRIEF ACCOUNT

OF

THE FOREIGN SLAVE TRADE,

FROM THE DATE OF THE

ENGLISH ABOLITION ACT TO THE PRESENT TIME.

MARCH, 1837.

THIRTY YEARS have passed away, since the Slave Trade was abolished by Great Britain!*—a measure, which it was confidently hoped, would have tended to bring about the regeneration of Africa; but unhappily, proof will be found in the following pages, that the natives of that ill-fated continent are still torn from its soil, and consigned by thousands and tens of thousands in every year to the holds of slave ships, and conveyed across the Atlantic, to till the lands of strangers,—there to be coerced by stripes and cruel punishments, without a hope of any termination to their sufferings, but in death. This enormous and crying evil has not resulted from any apathy on the part of those who were foremost in fighting the battles of the Abolitionists,—it has not arisen from their allowing themselves any rest after their victory was won;—they did not even pause in their good work, to rejoice in the success with which it had pleased Providence to crown their labours; for even before the Abolition Act came into operation, “the Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade,” seeing in the new state of things, reason to hope and believe, that something might be effectually done towards discharging the enormous debt, which Europe had contracted with Africa, whilst inflicting upon it all the horrors incident to, and flowing from a traffic in its inhabitants, had already taken measures for laying the foundation of a new Society, since well known as “The African Institution.” This Society, under the patronage of his late Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, held its first public meeting on the 15th July, 1807.

The benevolence and magnitude of the plan of the Institution, which proposed “to introduce the blessings of civilized society among a people sunk in ignorance and barbarism, and occupying no less than a fourth part of the habitable globe, computed to contain one hundred and fifty millions of inhabitants,” was one well worthy of such a combination of rank, talent, and virtue, as the list of its Directors contained.

The state of Europe, at the time at which it was formed, appeared

* The “Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade,” received the Royal Assent on the 25th of March, 1807.

to hold out peculiar facilities for carrying its objects into successful operation. The naval victories of Great Britain had swept from the seas, almost every flag of its enemies;—their sea-borne commerce, including their slave-trade, was of course nearly extinct, and their colonies were in our possession.

The African Institution commenced its labours with vigour, and for a time they were followed by success. The colony of Sierra Leone, which had been founded with the view of introducing civilization and a legitimate commerce into Africa, but which had failed of success in consequence of the slave traffic which had raged around it on every side, was the spot selected for the first operations of the new society. The plans pursued by it, seemed well calculated to produce the desired effect. One island in the river Sierra Leone, which had heretofore been used only as a *dépôt* for slaves, previous to their being shipped off for the colonies, was changed into a *dépôt* for articles of legitimate commerce, whilst others were cultivated, and even some of those miscreants who had hitherto dealt only in the blood and sinews of their fellow-creatures, became competitors for the prizes offered by the Institution for the cultivation and exportation of rice, coffee, cotton, and indigo. Addresses from the native chiefs in the neighbourhood, were sent to the Directors, expressing in strong terms their desire to co-operate in this work of regeneration, and the prospects of civilization for Africa seemed daily to brighten. But these cheering prospects of improvement and happiness for the African race, were too soon to be blighted; for no sooner had the wars of Europe ceased, than those of Africa were again fomented by the swarms of slavers which appeared on her coast, especially under the flags of France, Spain, and Portugal, whose subjects prosecuted their cruel spoliations with a vigour apparently increased by the cessation to which they had been obliged to submit, but which, unfortunately, had not been so complete, nor so long-continued, as to give sufficient time to the native chiefs on the Coast, to forget their old habits of slave-trading, nor the large profits which they had derived from it. On the first opportunity therefore, which occurred, they again entered into it with avidity, and the western coast of Africa once more became the scene of wars and desolation.

At a very early period, (1810) the apprehensions of the Directors were awakened, (and their attention to a certain degree, diverted from the prosecution of the system they had commenced,) to the consideration of measures, necessary to be adopted for the suppression of the then rapidly-increasing foreign slave trade;—an employment which unhappily, from year to year, seemed to accumulate upon their hands, and to such a degree, as at last to occupy nearly their whole attention.

To transfer to these pages, even the briefest abstract of their proceedings, however interesting they may be to the philanthropist, or however important they may be to the history of the exertions and sacrifices made by this country in its endeavours to obtain a complete annihilation of this inhuman traffic, would swell the pamphlet to an inconvenient bulk. We will therefore, in regard to the African Institution, merely state, that at length, after a protracted struggle of more

than twenty years with this hydra-headed monster,—which, notwithstanding Britain had completely cut off, and annihilated her share of the traffic, seemed daily to acquire fresh horrors, in proportion to the efforts made to crush it,—the Directors closed the last report they published with the following observations, as the result of their experience :—

“It is in slavery, that the slave trade has its origin : it is the market provided by the slave-holder which furnishes the direct incentive to all the crimes of a trade in slaves ;—to the murders and conflagrations which attend their capture ;—to the condensed horrors of the middle passage which follow it ;—and to the misery and desolation of a Continent.”

Shortly after making this declaration, the African Institution retired from the field it had so long, and so honourably occupied, and many of its most active and influential members, thenceforth devoted their time and talents to the objects of the “Anti-Slavery Society,” which had then already commenced its labours. The success of this Society, has formed an epoch unparalleled in the history of the world. The emancipation of 800,000 slaves peacefully accomplished in one day, is an event, from which we may safely augur, that the time will arrive, when the accursed names of the Slave Trade, and of Slavery, shall remain only, as dark spots on the history of mankind. But alas ! the following pages will show, that to hasten that period, those who abhor such crimes, must not yet retire from their labours, but, that on the contrary, they must renew their efforts with redoubled energy on behalf of suffering humanity.

In order to understand the present actual position of the foreign slave trade, it will be desirable to review,—and it shall be done very briefly,—the negotiations which have been carried on with Foreign Powers for its suppression, and to state generally, the nature of the Treaties into which they have entered for this purpose. In the first instance however, it may be as well to recur to the universal denunciation of the slave traffic by all civilized governments.

The Sovereigns assembled in Congress at Vienna, in 1815, branded it, as a “*scourge, which had long desolated Africa, degraded Europe, and afflicted humanity,*” and asserted, that its final abolition “*will be one of the greatest monuments of the age which undertook it, and which shall have gloriously carried it into complete effect.*”

These sentiments were reiterated in the resolutions agreed to by the Congress at Verona in 1822 ;—and in official correspondence, and in solemn treaties, the governments both of the old and of the new world, have exhausted the vocabularies of their respective languages, in describing their abhorrence of it ; but in the use of these terms, it will unhappily appear, that all their zeal for its abolition evaporated.

GREAT-BRITAIN.

Previously to stating the result of the negotiations with Foreign Powers, for the final suppression of the Slave-Trade, we will just state, that after the passing of the “Act for the Abolition of the Slave-Trade,” it was found necessary to pass some additional acts for

the completion of that measure. By an act 51 Geo. III. cap. 23, every person who shall be found guilty of being engaged in the slave-trade, is declared to be a Felon; and by an act, 5th Geo. IV. cap. 113, all British subjects found guilty of Slave Trading, are declared to be pirates, and “shall suffer death without benefit of clergy, and loss of lands, goods, and chattels, as pirates, felons, and robbers upon the seas ought to suffer.”

FRANCE.

In the Treaty of Paris, in the year 1814, the French government solemnly concurred in denouncing the slave-trade, as “repugnant to the principles of natural justice, and of the enlightened age in which we live.” The King also engaged to unite his efforts with those of his Britannic Majesty, in the then approaching Congress (at Vienna), with a view to obtain its universal abolition. But notwithstanding the treaty the King of France had concluded, and the formal declaration of the Congress to which he was a party, he stipulated, that his subjects should be permitted to trade in slaves for *five years* longer; but which in fact, was not a permission to continue, but a decree for creating it anew; for it is a well-known fact, that at the time of the signature of the treaty, not a single French vessel, nor one livre of French capital, was engaged in the slave-trade. Nothing more however at that time, was to be obtained from Louis XVIII. On the return of Napoleon to the throne, he issued a decree (March 1815) for the immediate and total abolition of the French slave-trade. He retained the Crown for too short a time, to allow of his Decree being carried into effect, even if he were sincere in his intentions; and the restoration of Louis to the throne, again rejoiced the hearts of the incipient French slave-traders, with the prospect of being able for five years to enjoy uninterruptedly, the privilege of “desolating Africa, degrading Europe, and afflicting humanity,” by means of a traffic, thus alike designated and secured to them, by their Sovereign. Of this permission, they lost no time in availing themselves, and the coast of Africa accordingly swarmed with slavers under the French flag. The little difficulty which Napoleon had found in issuing his Decree, having inspired hopes of success, the most active and persevering negotiations were immediately recommenced by the British government to obtain an immediate abolition.

The new negotiations were successful; and on the 30th July, 1815, Prince Talleyrand announced to Lord Castlereagh, that the King had issued directions, “that, on the part of France, the traffic in slaves should cease, from the present time, every where, and for ever.” This announcement was followed by an additional article to the treaty concluded at Paris on the 20th November, 1814, between France and the allied powers. By this article, they engaged to renew conjointly their efforts, with a view of securing final success to those principles, which they had proclaimed in the declaration of the 8th of Feb. 1815.

The trade however, still continued to be carried on by French subjects to an enormous extent, and its suppression was the object of

long-continued and anxious negotiation on the part of the British government. It would fill a folio volume, were we to give even an abstract of the reports of the enormities committed under the French flag, and of the repeated representations of these facts, brought under the notice of the French government by the ministers of the British Crown: the complaints were received *civilly*, but the evils complained of *were never redressed*; nor did the French government adopt any new measure, till January, 1817, when an “Ordonnance” was issued, containing the following article:—

“Every vessel, whether French or foreign, which shall attempt to introduce into any of our colonies, purchased blacks, shall be confiscated; and the Captain, if a Frenchman, shall be held incapable of holding a command.

“The whole cargo shall in like manner be confiscated, although not consisting of slaves. With respect to the negroes, they shall be employed on public works of utility in the colony.”

After renewed negotiations, a Convention was signed at Paris, on the 30th November, 1831. By this Convention, the mutual right of search was conceded, under certain limitations; and the high contracting parties agreed to invite the other maritime powers to accede to it within as short a period as possible; and on the 22nd March, 1833, a supplementary Convention to the above, was signed at Paris, by which it was stipulated, that any vessel *equipped for the purpose of carrying slaves*, shall be liable to seizure and condemnation, equally with those having slaves actually on board. By this supplementary Convention, it is also stipulated, that all vessels condemned for having been engaged in the slave-trade, shall be broken up. This will prevent their owners from so immediately renewing their slave-trading speculations, as they have heretofore done, by purchasing the condemned vessels; it may also tend to diminish the temptation to engage in the traffic, by lessening its profits.

The concession by France of a mutual right of search in the case of slave ships, is unquestionably one of the very highest importance, much as that right is clogged in its exercise by the stipulations which accompany it. To these restraints however, we now merely advert, whilst we wish to call attention more particularly to the limits which are prescribed by the Convention to the exercise of the right in question on the coast of Africa. Those limits appear to be far too narrow to admit of giving complete effect to the benevolent object of the contracting powers. They still leave a wide scope of coast, along which the French Slave Trade will still enjoy an entire freedom from interruption by British cruisers.

The only parts of the western coast of Africa, to which the right conceded by this convention extends, are those which lie between 15° north, and 10° south of the equator, and it takes in no part of the eastern coast of that continent. Two very extensive lines of coast are thus wholly excluded from the operation of the Convention, from which a very large exportation has continued to take place, until a very recent period: viz. 1st, the Western coast of Africa, from the latitude of 10° south, to the latitude of Cape Negro in about 17° south, including the great slave marts of a considerable portion of Angola, and the

whole of Benguela; and, second, the whole of the Eastern coast from the equator, to 25° or 30° south latitude.

The magnitude of the Slave Trade recently carried on by Brazil alone, to say nothing of that carried on by other nations, from these parts of Africa, may be seen by referring to the correspondence of the British functionaries in Brazil with the Foreign office.

Of the immense numbers of slaves imported into Brazil, a considerable portion were brought from the east coast of Africa, viz. Mosambique, Qualimano, and Intrambana, about 14,000 from Angola, and 6000 from Benguela, making more than a third, indeed three eighths, of the whole import.

It is obvious therefore, that, to a certain extent, slaves may still be safely carried under the French flag without any interruption from British cruisers.

The repeated and severe disappointments which have attended our negotiations with France on this subject for so many years, cause us to hail this new treaty, notwithstanding its defects, with heart-felt gratification, more especially as her municipal laws and regulations, and their execution, appear now to be in accordance with this improved state of her treaties. The consequence has been such, as under these improved circumstances was to be expected. According to the last returns from the coast of Africa, there were scarcely any slave-ships to be found under the French flag.

France has thus redeemed herself from the stigma under which she had long lain, of being indifferent to the suppression of the slave-trade; and instead of the papers annually laid before Parliament on this subject, being filled with accounts of numberless atrocities committed under her flag, and reports of fruitless representations made to her government thereupon, they now exhibit her, as uniting her efforts with those of Great Britain, to obtain (alas! unavailingly) the accession of the American government to the Conventions above alluded to.

SPAIN.

To trace the history of our negotiations with Spain, on the subject of the slave-trade, and the shameless infractions of the treaties which the government of that country has entered into for its suppression, it would be necessary to transcribe many a folio page from the papers annually laid before Parliament. The very able and luminous résumé of these transactions, which was drawn up by Mr. Villiers, our Ambassador at the court of Madrid, and presented by him to the Spanish government, on the 31st December, 1833, alone occupies six folios. To this résumé we will only briefly allude. In 1814, the King of Spain pledged himself to take the subject of the slave-trade into consideration. After a negotiation carried on with great zeal and ability on the part of our government, a Treaty was concluded on the 23rd September, 1817, at Madrid, having for its object the abolition of this disgraceful traffic. By this treaty, the King

of Spain engaged to abolish the traffic in slaves "throughout the entire dominions of Spain, on the 30th day of May, 1820," and it was stipulated, that north of the equator, the trade should "cease immediately on the exchange of the ratification of this treaty." On the other hand, England engaged to pay to the King of Spain the sum of £400,000 sterling, as an indemnity for losses which Spanish subjects engaged in the traffic might suffer as a necessary consequence of its abolition, and by article 6, the King of Spain bound himself to adopt effectual measures for its suppression. The treaty also stipulated a mutual right of search, under strict limitations, and constituted Mixed Commission Courts, for the adjudication of such ships as might be seized *with slaves actually on board*. It was soon discovered, however, that these limitations of the right of seizure, rendered the treaty of little effect. "It was this clause which first exhibited the imperfection of the provisions laid down in this treaty and its accompanying instructions, for the effectual abolition of the commerce in slaves. One of the first instances which occurred of seizure, was a case in which *one* slave alone was found on board, the rest having been disposed of; but it soon became a practice, on a slave-vessel perceiving a cruiser in chase, to run ashore, or make for the nearest cove or harbour, and there land her living cargo before she could be actually come in contact with; an evasion of the letter of the law, which enabled the slaver to brave the power of his pursuers in the very act of perpetrating his crime, and by waiting a convenient opportunity, to re-ship the unfortunate wretches he had put on shore, and continue his voyage with impunity."

To rectify this, an explanatory article was agreed to between the two contracting parties, by which it was stipulated, that on proof of slaves *having been on board* the ship at any time during the voyage on which she might be detained, she should be equally liable to condemnation, as if they were actually on board at the time of capture.

Some laws and regulations were also made by the Spanish government for the ostensible purpose of putting down the slave-trade, to which however, his Spanish Majesty's subjects paid no respect; indeed, they were perfectly nugatory, and the trade continued undiminished. Representations and remonstrances on this subject were made by the British government, month after month, and year after year, which were received with promises of attention, but which were treated with absolute neglect.

The British government continued also to urge the necessity which existed for a new treaty, containing stipulations better calculated for the attainment of the end in view; and at length, on the 9th of September, 1834, Mr. Villiers informed Lord Palmerston, that the Spanish government had formally "admitted the right of Great Britain to claim a complete execution of the treaty of 1817 for the suppression of the slave-trade;" but it was not till the 28th of June, 1835, that a new treaty was signed between Great Britain and Spain, the first article of which, declares, "the slave-trade on the part of Spain to be totally and finally abolished in all parts of the world;" the second, that within two months from the exchange of the ratifications, a penal

law shall be promulgated throughout the Spanish dominions, inflicting a severe punishment on all Spanish subjects, who shall, under any pretext whatsoever, take any part in the traffic in slaves: the fourth, and five following articles, renew the right of mutual search, and contain the regulations under which it shall be carried into effect, and also the regulations regarding the establishment of the Mixed Commission Courts for the adjudication of prizes, &c.; the tenth, contains the equipment article, already alluded to under the head of France, which is one of great importance. Under the old Treaty, a cruiser might blockade a river, in which twenty slavers were lying, with all their slaves on shore, within twenty yards of them, ready for embarkation, with wood, water, and every thing ready on board for a start, and the cruiser could not touch one of them, unless a slave or slaves were actually on board; the universal mode therefore was, to keep them on shore, until a favourable opportunity for shipping them occurred, when, in the space of an hour, the vessel could receive them and take her departure under cover of a fog, or with any change of wind, that might have driven the cruiser off her station; and article 12 stipulates, that all vessels condemned under the treaty shall forthwith be broken up.

It can scarcely be hoped, that the Spanish government will not break their faith in regard to this treaty, in the same scandalous manner they have hitherto done with regard to all the treaties and engagements they have hitherto entered into, for the ostensible purpose of abolishing the slave trade.

Subsequently to the sending of these pages to the press, we met with some very sensible observations in a periodical publication, on the probable effect of the 10th Article in the last Treaty with Spain, which we are tempted to transfer to these pages, as they tend to show, how easily the best and most strictly constructed Treaties can, and are likely to be, evaded by illicit slave-traders,—and to prove the absolute necessity which exists, for universally declaring the slave-trade to be piracy—or what would be far better, to obtain the universal Abolition of Slavery itself. The observations are as follows, viz. :—

“Article 10 of this Treaty contains a description of fitting, that renders any Spanish vessel so fitted, liable to seizure; every part of which can either be evaded, or is not necessary to the ship carrying slaves. Certainly ships carrying slaves have hitherto been so fitted, but then no law has existed against it; now that it is declared illegal, the slaves will be carried away under more wretched circumstances than formerly they were, because such fittings are proscribed.

“This article begins by declaring ‘hatches with open gratings, instead of solid or close hatches, to be illegal.’ By this law, it is proposed to prevent the carrying of slaves, because they must be put below the upper deck, and with close or solid hatches the air would become in such a state below, that suffocation would follow. There was, very recently, a Spanish brig upon the coast, which had been boarded by a British sloop of war, detained upon suspicion, and sent to the Mixed Commission Court for trial; by the decision of that court she was deemed not to be fitted illegally, because not falling under the description in the Treaty. She evaded the Treaty by having numerous airscuttles in her *sides*. To all intents and purposes she was fitted for slaves, but she infringed no part of the new Treaty in her fitting, therefore she could not be legally condemned.

“In the second provision of Article 10—‘partitions in the hold, in greater

numbers than necessary for merchant vessels,' is declared illegal. Two partitions only are required on board a slaver, and those every merchant ship has, to separate the cargo from the people on board.

"In the third provision of the same article—'spare *planks*, for laying down as slave decks,' are declared illegal. This is evaded by using split bamboo stalks.

"In the sixth provision of Article 10, it is declared illegal to have on board a larger quantity of casks, tanks, or other utensils of that kind, for carrying water, unless legalized by having a certificate from the custom-house at which the vessel cleared outwards, stating that security had been given that such extra quantity of casks, &c., should only be used for carrying palm oil, or for other lawful purposes.

"This is a precaution which at once renders it safe for any Spanish vessel to carry just as many water casks as her captain shall think fit to have on board. I will suppose that she has actually a correct custom-house certificate, permitting her to carry these water casks, and that good security has been given to insure a proper use of them as directed by law—the vessel sails without her slaves, and meets a cruiser—the certificate saves her from seizure. She shall then sail with her slaves, and makes the voyage to Cuba or elsewhere safely. Who then inquires what has been done with the water casks? It is absurd to say that some of the people on board may inform against her. That could always have been done by any part of any crew of a slaver under the former treaty, and would have condemned her, for 'having *had* slaves on board', or 'for having *been* engaged in the slave trade;' but no vessel was ever yet informed against, simply because the high wages given to the crew form so great an inducement to enter the service, and keep confidence with the owners. If they get clear into port, the wages are instantly paid; if they are captured, the information is useless. But let us suppose the vessel sailing with her slaves and captured by a cruiser; the punishment is no greater for having the extra casks on board than it would have been without them; but the security is forfeited, and the loss enhanced. True, but this is paid by the insurance offices, for hardly a slaver sails excepting under insurance. Certainly, instead of charging 18 per cent., the present rate of insurance, a small additional per-centage might be put on; but this would only increase the sale price of the negro, and thereby render the traffic more alluring.

"The remaining provisions in Article 10 relate to the usual fittings of a slaver, and declaring their use to be illegal, and when found on board any Spanish or British vessel, they will be considered as evidence against such vessels being legally employed in traffic.

"This will have no effect, further than that the irons, boilers, mess-tubs, &c. hitherto brought to the coast by the slaver, will now be brought by some other vessel, under a flag over which the British cruisers have no jurisdiction, and by such vessels deposited on shore at the different anchorages where a slave establishment exists, and from thence they will be taken on board the slaver with her slaves, and not till then.

"Article 12 of this Treaty requires that every vessel condemned by the Mixed Commission Court shall be 'broken up entirely,' and sold piecemeal. Such a stipulation is tantamount to a clause for the encouragement of Spanish and American ship-builders, and is no doubt received very gratefully by that class."

PORTUGAL.

In no one instance recorded in the page of History, has England so tamely submitted to such repeated and infamous breaches of solemn Treaties, as those she has permitted Portugal to indulge in, in regard to the slave trade. Indeed they have been so often repeated,—so

openly,—so wholly without excuse or precedent,—that posterity will almost be led to doubt, whether England herself, was in earnest in her endeavours to obtain its total abolition. Had the position of the two countries been reversed,—had Portugal been the most powerful nation in Europe—and had England been the weakest, the most distracted, and dependent on Portugal for its very existence as a nation, the statement we have to make relative to our negotiations with her government for the abolition of the slave trade, might perhaps have been natural, and such as might have been expected. It has signified not, by whom the sceptre of that unhappy country has been wielded; whether by King,—Regent,—Council,—or Queen, the result has ever been the same;—of promises we have had abundance,—of performance—alas, how little!

After much anxious negotiation, the first stipulations entered into with Portugal on this subject, are to be found in the treaty of alliance, concluded and ratified on the 19th February, 1810. In the 10th article of that treaty, the Prince Regent of Portugal solemnly promised to co-operate with the King of England, “by adopting the most efficacious means for bringing about a gradual abolition of the slave trade, throughout the whole of his dominions,” and engaged, that his subjects should not be permitted to carry it on, on any part of the coast of Africa, not actually belonging to Portugal.

At the Congress of Vienna, the Portuguese government, on the strong representations of the British, Austrian, Russian, and Prussian Ambassadors, became a party to the denunciation of the slave trade, contained in the Vienna Declaration; and on the 21st of June, 1815, signed a Convention with this country, by which it was stipulated, that in consideration of regulations to be made by Portugal for avoiding certain doubts arising out of the treaty of 1810, England should pay the sum of £300,000 sterling;* and subsequently, a Convention was agreed to, that it should no longer be lawful for the subjects of the Crown of Portugal to carry on the slave trade on any part of the coast of Africa, to the northward of the equator, on any pretext whatsoever.

By this treaty, the Prince Regent of Portugal bound himself to adopt such measures as should best conduce to the effectual execution of its stipulations, reserving the question of the period of time at which the Portuguese slave trade should universally cease, and be prohibited, to be fixed by a separate treaty; in the mean time, the right of slave trading to the south of the line, was formally claimed and maintained. For these concessions, and for the hope held out, that at some future period, Portugal would enter into a treaty to name a period, at which she would prohibit the trade to her subjects, his Britannic Majesty agreed to remit “such further payments as might be due upon the loan of £600,000, made in London, for the service of Portugal, in the year 1809.” And as nearly the whole sum remained unpaid, the debt was converted into a gift, in

* See Parliamentary Paper, No. 539, Sess. 1821.

addition to the sum of £300,000 previously stipulated to be paid to Portugal on account of the slave trade.*

Our treaties with Portugal remained in the same state till the 28th July, 1817, when an additional Convention to the treaty of the 22nd January, 1815, was signed in London. This Convention, contained an agreement for the allowance of the mutual right of search, under certain limitations; for the establishment of Mixed Commission Courts; and also marked out the limits within which, Portugal still claimed a legal right to carry on the slave trade, viz. from the eighth to the eighteenth degree of south latitude; and by a separate act, dated the 11th September following, it was agreed, that, as soon as Portugal should totally have abolished the slave trade, the existing conventions should be adapted to such new state of things, or in default thereof, that the Convention of July, 1817, should remain in force until the expiration of fifteen years from the day on which the general abolition of the slave trade should take place on the part of Portugal.

At the Congress held at Aix la Chapelle, in 1818, Portugal firmly withstood all the representations, remonstrances, and solicitations of the British Ambassador, notwithstanding they were powerfully supported by all the Monarchs there assembled, and refused either to adopt any further measure for the suppression of her enormous illicit slave trade, or to name a period when she would finally abolish it.

On the 15th March, 1823, after much tedious negotiation, an additional article to the convention of 1817 was signed at Lisbon, by which it was agreed, that a slave vessel might be condemned on account of her having had slaves on board during the voyage in the course of which she was captured.

The only pretence advanced by the Portuguese Government for refusing totally to abolish the slave trade was, the necessities of her trans-atlantic possessions. After the declaration of the independence of Brazil, this pretence no longer existed. Portugal, nevertheless, clung to the trade, and even advanced a claim to carry it on without molestation, from the coast of Africa, for the supply of her African islands—the Cape de Verde, St. Thomas, and Princes—whence it would obviously be an easy matter afterwards to transport them to the Brazils or Cuba. A traffic of that description actually took place, of the occasional interruption of which, by British cruisers, the Portuguese Ambassador ventured rather loudly to complain as a breach of treaty. These complaints, and the intention apparent on the part of Portugal, to perpetuate the slave trade by means of her African islands, even after the separation from Brazil, led Mr. Canning, in 1826, to search more particularly into the existing compacts with this country. An able and luminous note was the consequence of this inquiry, in which, after specifying the various compacts and negotiations between the two States, from 1810, he shewed it to be “a distinct engagement,” entered into by “the contracting parties,” that they “shall not permit their flag to be used for the slave trade, except for supplying the *trans-atlantic* possessions of Portugal.”†

* See Parliamentary Paper referred to in the preceding page.

† See Parliamentary Papers, 1827, Class B. p. 24.

This remonstrance was answered by an acknowledgment, that “the moment is come to put an end to the inhuman trade in slaves; and that consequently, the Portuguese government will have no hesitation to insert in the Treaty of Commerce, which the undersigned hopes will be shortly concluded between Portugal and Great Britain, an article, by which his Most Faithful Majesty binds himself, not only to the total abolition of the slave trade in the dominions of Portugal, but also to co-operate with his Britannic Majesty for the total extinction of so barbarous a traffic in the countries where it unfortunately still exists.” Still, the Portuguese slave trade was continued without interruption. Representations of the fact were consequently made to our government from all quarters; the Foreign office was again roused, and a new remonstrance was made by Lord Palmerston, in a despatch, addressed to our Ambassador at Lisbon, dated 13th of February, 1832,* by whom it was communicated to the Portuguese minister, who stated, that he would submit it to his colleagues in council. As he still continued to evade giving any satisfactory answer, our Ambassador again addressed him on the subject in a strong note, dated 5th June, 1832,† which had no effect, and during the succeeding years up to 1836, the same kind of negotiation continued, when nothing having been done by the Portuguese government to put a stop to the trade, which was still carried on as vigorously as ever, Lord Palmerston, in a very able despatch,‡ in which he took a review, at great length, of the whole question as it regards Portugal, again loudly called upon the Portuguese government to perform the engagements it had entered into.

The answer returned by the Portuguese minister to this able exposé, is as unsatisfactory as any of his preceding notes; however, on the 2nd of April last, Lord Howard de Walden, our ambassador, transmitted to the Secretary of State for the Foreign Department, the project of a law for the total abolition of the slave trade throughout the Portuguese dominions, which had been presented to the Cortes by the minister of marine. This project, should it become the law of the land, is highly important, not only as it totally abolishes the slave trade, but as it lays the foundation for the abolition of slavery itself.§

It is understood too, that a new treaty is in progress between this country and Portugal for the final abolition of this infamous traffic. With its stipulations we are at present unacquainted;—but, unless Portugal is awakened to some sense of honour in regard to public faith, it is greatly to be feared, judging from past experience, that laws and treaties will be of little or no avail. This fear is increased by the tenor of most of the despatches contained in the papers communicated to Parliament in the last session, by command of his Majesty.

* Parliamentary Papers, 1832, Class B, page 10.

† See ditto, 1832, Class B, p. 13.

‡ See ditto, 1835, Class B, page 46.

§ See ditto, 1835, Class B, p. 44.

Lord Howard de Walden, in a letter addressed to the Duke of Palmella on the 12th of September, 1834, says :—

“It is unnecessary for me to expatiate on the disgrace which is thus continually brought upon the nation at large, upon the government, and the Queen’s flag, by the conduct of the Portuguese authorities in the distant colonies of Portugal ; and I have the distressing reflection now brought to mind, that, *in no one single instance, out of the many representations which I have brought, by the King’s command, under the notice of the government of Portugal, making known specific cases of encouragement of, or connivance at, this infamous traffic, has any one satisfactory answer been returned by the Portuguese government, nor, as far as I have been able to learn, has any one of the guilty, or suspected, or accused persons, been either proceeded against judicially, visited by any declaration of her Majesty’s displeasure, or removed from situations where there exists every reason to believe that this system of encouragement to the traffic in slaves is still carried on in the fullest activity, in direct infraction of treaties, to the disgrace of the national flag, at the expense of the reputation and good faith of the government, and the honour of the Queen of Portugal.*”*

Mr. W. H. Read, the British consul at St. Michael’s, in a letter to Lord Palmerston, dated 7th August, 1835, speaking of a case of illegal Spanish slave trading, says :—

“In the verbal communications of the 6th and 11th inst. alluded to in my note, I thought that the Prefect showed a disposition to inquire into the matter ; but the three members who are appointed his official councillors in all matters relative to the Prefect’s duty, were evidently averse to any interference with this vessel, alleging that they are *without any instructions whatever, regarding the slave-trade, from the Portuguese government*, which defect, I however supplied, by producing the British acts of Parliament, and copies of the several treaties with Portugal, contained in Hertslett’s collection.

“I can, however, discern a decided apathy and indifference amongst the Portuguese in general, towards any active measures for the suppression of this inhuman traffic, which has so long engaged the attention of his Majesty’s Government ; and nothing short of its being declared piracy by every government, will, in my humble opinion, effect the total abolition.”†

Since writing the above, we have learnt that the Queen of Portugal has issued a decree for the abolition of the Slave Trade, of which the following is an abstract :—

The document, which is in Portuguese, is of too great length to allow us to translate and insert it entire. It consists of the decree itself, signed by the Queen, and countersigned by the Ministers, and is composed of 25 articles. It is preceded by a report on the subject, addressed to the Queen, on the 10th Dec. 1836, by the Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs, and it is followed by a description of the slave ships which will be liable to capture and condemnation under the provisions of the decree.

The following articles are given substantially :—

Article 1. The exportation of slaves shall be prohibited either by sea or land, in all the Portuguese dominions, without exceptions, either north or south of the equator, from the day on which the present decree shall be published in the chief town of any of the said dominions.

* Parliamentary Papers, 1835, Class B, p. 37.

† Class B, p. 34.

2. The importation of slaves by sea is at the same time prohibited, and shall not be permitted under any pretext whatever.

Articles 3, 4, and 5, have qualifying sections relating to the two first articles.

6. No passports shall be given to merchant vessels sailing for the coast of Africa, situated to the south of the parallel of twenty degrees north latitude, unless their owners, captains, and masters, have undertaken not to receive on board any slaves described by Article 3.

7. Portuguese or foreign ships which are about to sail from the various ports of the monarchy to proceed to Africa to the south of the parallel of twenty degrees north latitude, shall be visited on their departure by the civil authority of the port, or by some other official of responsibility, who shall examine the vessel with the most scrupulous and vigilant care, and on finding nothing to cause suspicion, may allow her departure.

Other articles of minor importance follow.

Article 11 provides that in all cases of transgression of the purposes of the decree, the penalty imposed shall be the loss of the slaves; and a section of the article further provides, that every slave shall be set free.

Succeeding articles indicate the amount of penalty to be inflicted on the authorities who omit to enforce the provisions of the decree.

Article the 15th provides, that every master or captain of a ship who shall be met with to the south of the 20th degree of north latitude, and at less than 200 miles distance from the continent of Africa, without the above prescribed passport, shall be punished with three years in the galleys; and the owner, captain, or master of the said ship shall be subjected to a fine equal in value to half the vessel.

Other articles of less importance follow, but the first section of article 19 is so material as to deserve especial indication. It enacts that captains, pilots, or masters of ships, who shall engage in the trade of slaves, and all individuals who shall buy or sell slaves for the use of such ships, shall be subjected to a punishment of from two to five years in the galleys, over and above a fine of 500 milreas.

Article 20 enacts that every contravention of the provisions of the above decree is declared a public crime, and capable of being prosecuted in the Royal Courts. It is, moreover, declared the especial duty of the Queen's law authorities, under pain of suspension. Any person may lay an indictment."

The appendix applies to the peculiar build, structure, holds, and fittings out of the slave vessels. Any vessel coming under the description comprised in that appendix will be liable to be immediately seized, whether they have slaves on board or not, or whether they are caught *flagrante delicto* or not.

This document is certainly very important, and if it were possible to put any faith in the honest intentions of the Portuguese Government, would be very satisfactory also; but after what we have seen, is it possible, we ask, to place the slightest reliance upon the performance of any treaty, or the due execution of any laws the Portuguese Government may enter into, or enact relative to the slave trade? No; certainly not, whilst England remains passive, as she has hitherto done, under the insulting indifference which the governments of Spain and of Portugal have shown in regard to the performance of their engagements. We have bought and paid for treaties, by which they bound themselves to restrain their subjects from the performance of acts, which they acknowledged to be acts of inhumanity, robbery, and murder; but both governments have shamelessly broken every engagement they have entered into; and after having taken our money, both have

turned a deaf ear to every remonstrance we have made. Can it then be a question, whether the time has not arrived for England to cease her forbearance, and to say to these governments, they *shall* no longer be allowed to protect the slave-trade? Justice, humanity, and power, are alike on our side, and if asserted, *must* be successful. If we refrain to use the means which Providence has put in our power in so holy a cause, does not England participate in their crimes? bearing this additional disgrace, that all she has gained by an expenditure of more than a million of money, is an enormous mass of treaties and official correspondence stored in the presses of the Foreign office, the utmost value of which, may be estimated at the price it would fetch if sold as waste paper.

BRAZIL.

The Conventions and Treaties entered into with Portugal during the period of her union with Brazil, were equally applicable to, and equally binding on, both countries, as well subsequent to their separation, as during their union; but shortly after the former event, the Emperor of Brazil entered into a treaty with this country, by which it was stipulated, that at the expiration of three years from the exchange of the ratification of the treaty (March 1827), “it shall not be lawful for the subjects of the Emperor of Brazil to be concerned in the carrying on of the African slave-trade under any pretext or in any manner whatever, and the carrying on such trade after that period by any subject of His Imperial Majesty, shall be deemed and treated as piracy.”

In 1831, a decree passed the Legislative Assembly,* and received the sanction of the Regency, imposing further and more rigid restrictions for the prevention of the importation of slaves into the ports of Brazil, by the 1st article of which, it is declared that “All slaves entering the territory or the ports of Brazil, coming from abroad, are free,” except 1st, slaves enrolled in the service of vessels belonging to countries where slavery is allowed, and 2ndly, those which may have escaped from such vessel or territory, who are to be delivered up to their masters.

Notwithstanding the favourable state of the treaties and laws of Brazil relating to the slave-trade, Lord Palmerston, in his despatch to our minister at Brazil, dated 7th of May, 1833, says:—

“The Brazilian government must be aware, that all the efforts which their wise and beneficent intentions upon this subject have given rise to, have hitherto failed, under the existing law, to put an end to the illegal traffic of Brazil in slaves from Africa, and it must be obvious therefore, that the only mode of meeting the difficulty is, to add some more effectual stipulation to the treaty now in force upon the subject.”†

The negotiation thus commenced, was for a time unsuccessful. Our ambassador, in a despatch to Lord Palmerston dated 15th of October, 1834, makes the following statement;—

* Parliamentary Papers, Class B. 1832, p. 26.

† Class B, 1833, p. 16.

"My letter was officially communicated to the Assembly, and read to them by the minister, Aureliano, at the same time that he recommended to their adoption some other measures connected with the more effectual suppression of the slave-trade. But the minister, and all his communications, were, unfortunately upon this occasion, equally ill-received; and the reading of my letter served only to call forth a *violent attack upon the government, for listening to foreign dictation, and upon Great Britain for presuming to give advice to Brazil.*" *

The British government, however, not at all disheartened by this unfavourable report, instructed our Ambassador to renew his efforts to obtain the consent of the Brazilian government to additional articles similar to those concluded with France and the Netherlands; and on the 25th of March, 1835, Mr. Fox informed the Duke of Wellington, that he had every reasonable prospect of being able to carry the wishes of His Majesty's government completely into effect. He observes:—

"The terror that is spreading far and wide through Brazil since the late insurrection of the blacks at Bahia, has rendered the present moment favourable for renewing to this government, any proposal for improving and strengthening the anti-slave trade legislation. The eyes of most men are beginning to be opened, if not to the infamy of slave dealing, at least to the enormous danger of allowing fresh multitudes of Africans, under any condition, to be poured daily into the country." †

On the 4th of August, in the same year, Mr. Fox, in his despatch to Lord Palmerston, says,—“The three additional articles supplementary to the Slave Trade convention between Great Britain and Brazil of the 23rd of November, 1826, were signed on the 27th ultimo;” and adds, that they were referred to the Chamber of Deputies, who had not then reported upon them. But on the 28th of October, he says,—“I am very sorry to say, that the session of the Legislative Chambers of Brazil has been closed without their sanction being obtained to the additional articles for the more effectual suppression of the slave-trade, which were signed on the 27th July last, by Senhor Manoel Alves Branco and myself, as the plenipotentiaries respectively of His Majesty, and of the Emperor of Brazil. The sanction of the Assembly has not been refused, but the session has been closed without the matter being brought on for discussion.” ‡

NETHERLANDS.

On the 15th of June, 1814, the government of Holland issued a decree, by which its subjects are prohibited from trading in slaves; and the governors of the Dutch forts on the coast of Africa are commanded to suffer no slave trade to be carried on by the ships of any nation, and to seize all Dutch ships that may contravene this decree: and on the 13th of August, 1814, the King of the Netherlands entered into a convention with his Britannic Majesty for the suppression of the trade: but notwithstanding this treaty, and the decree

* Parliamentary Papers, Class B. 1834, p. 36.

† Class B, 1835, p. 73.

‡ Class B, 1835, p. 77.

above alluded to, a considerable slave trade was continued on the African coast by Dutch subjects; and there were strong reasons for believing, that the Dutch governors on the coast, instead of obeying the orders they had received from their government, connived at this traffic. Representations were thereupon made to the Dutch government, and subsequently a treaty was entered into between the two governments for its more effectual suppression. By this treaty, which was signed at the Hague on the 4th of May, 1818, the mutual right of search and detention was agreed to, and mixed courts of justice were established for adjudicating vessels captured under the treaty; and on the 20th of November following, the Dutch government passed a law for giving effect to this treaty.

Still, the treaties and abolition laws of the Netherlands were violated, and large importations of slaves into Surinam were openly permitted by the local authorities. Our government again remonstrated, with a view to put a stop to this breach of treaties, and in consequence, the King of the Netherlands issued a decree on the 21st of April, 1821, which, extraordinary as the fact may appear, tended to open the ports of that colony still more widely for their admission. A long negotiation ensued between the two governments, which was attended by the usual fate of our negotiations on this subject, and thousands of new negroes still continued to be imported into Surinam, notwithstanding the mixed commission court was established in that colony.

With a view to remedy the deficiencies of the treaty of May, 1818, three additional and explanatory articles were agreed upon at Brussels, in the months of December, 1822, and January, 1823. These articles contain the agreement relative to the seizure of vessels having had slaves on board, and that relative to equipment, together with some additional regulations.

DENMARK.

The King of Denmark, by an edict, dated Copenhagen, so early as the 16th of March, 1792, decreed, that the slave trade carried on by his subjects, should “with the beginning of the year 1803 cease on the African coasts and elsewhere out of the West Indies.”

By an article in the treaty of Kiel, of the 14th of January, 1814, the King of Denmark engaged to prohibit all his subjects in the most effectual manner, and by the most solemn laws, from taking any share in that traffic, although it appears that slavers touch at the Island of St. Thomas, where some of the resident merchants have had an interest in their speculations. The Danish government has promised to repress this practice, but throws the blame of it, on those governments, which still tacitly sanction this infamous traffic.

The King of Denmark has acceded to the Conventions recently concluded between England and France for the suppression of the slave trade, and a treaty to this effect between these three powers was accordingly signed on the 27th of July, 1834.

SWEDEN.

The King of Sweden issued a Royal Proclamation, bearing the same date with the Edict of the King of Denmark (viz. the 16th of March, 1792) by which the subjects of Sweden were also prohibited from trading in slaves after the beginning of the year 1803.

It having been discovered, that a considerable trade in slaves was carried on under the flag of Sweden, the subject was brought under the notice of the Swedish government, and a negotiation was set on foot with the view of inducing the King of Sweden to adopt measures for its suppression; and on the 6th November, 1825, a treaty was signed at Stockholm, between the English and Swedish governments, by which the King of Sweden engaged to reiterate to his subjects, in the most explicit manner, the prohibition already existing to their trading in slaves, and to enact penal laws for its suppression. The mutual right of search was also agreed to, as was also the article rendering ships liable to seizure and condemnation if equipped for the slave trade.

An additional article, stipulating the breaking up of all ships condemned for slave trading, was signed at Stockholm on the 15th of June, 1835.

A negotiation has been entered into with the King of Sweden, to obtain his Majesty's accession to the conventions lately entered into between Great Britain and France, which there is no doubt will be successful.

AUSTRIA, RUSSIA, AND PRUSSIA.

The Emperors of Austria and of Russia, and the King of Prussia, were parties to the anti-slavery Declaration of the Congress of Vienna, and to the Resolutions of the Congress of Verona. Although there exists no direct proof, that the subjects of these monarchs are, or have been, engaged in the slave trade, still their flags have been used by foreigners for the purpose of covering their nefarious slave-trading transactions. To all representations made to these governments on this subject, the utmost attention has been paid, and prompt measures have been adopted to rectify the evils complained of.

In the several conferences which have been held, and on other occasions, these Sovereigns have been always ready to co-operate with the British government in pursuing measures for the final suppression of the slave-trade, and a negotiation is now pending with them respectively, which there is every reason to expect will terminate in their accession to the two conventions recently concluded between Great Britain and France for that purpose.

SARDINIA, THE TWO SICILIES, AND THE HANSE TOWNS.

His Sardinian Majesty executed a treaty in 1834, containing his accession to the conventions concluded between Great Britain and France, on the 30th of November, 1831, and 22nd March, 1833, for

the more effectual suppression of the slave-trade; and treaties for the same purpose are in progress, between our government and the governments of Naples, and of the Hanse Towns, of whose accession to these conventions there can be no doubt.

AMERICA.

Having reviewed the state of our slave-trade treaties with the governments of Europe, we will now turn to those of America, and as briefly as possible, state what has been done in regard to the abolition of the slave trade in this quarter of the globe; and first, as regards the United States of North America. Here, the direful curse of slavery is not restricted to distant colonies, nor the traffic in men, women, and children, carried on on distant coasts only, but slavery exists in her very bosom, and the accursed trade in mankind, is carried on in her markets and villages on the same terms, and with as little compunction, as the trade in the beasts of the field, or in the productions of the soil. Slavery and the Slave-Trade, exist in most of the States, and are protected and fostered by them all. Of her domestic slavery, and of the buying and selling of her own subjects, however, it is not intended to treat in these pages, which will be confined to statements regarding the African branch of her slave-trade.

No fewer than nine Acts, having for their ostensible object the abolition of the foreign slave trade, have been passed by the Legislature of the United States, between the 22nd of March, 1794, and the 5th of May, 1820; that of the earliest date prohibits "the carrying on of the slave-trade to any foreign place or country;" and that of the last date, declares the slave-trade to be piracy, and affixes the punishment of death to the crime. Thus, all that can be effected by mere enactments, appears to have been done, but nevertheless the American slave-trade has flourished on the African coast, and will probably be renewed; but should it not, there is every reason to fear, that the American flag will be assumed by the miscreants of all nations, as soon as they shall find, that under its protection, they will be free from interruption from the cruisers of those nations, who, waiving national prejudices, have joined in a holy league to use their mutual endeavours to suppress this infamous traffic. This fear naturally arises, from the American government having steadily refused to admit of a mutual right of search, which this country has ever deemed essentially necessary to success. The Senate of the United States appeared at one period to have entertained a similar opinion; for in the year 1807 they adopted the following resolution, viz.:—

"That the committee, to whom was referred the petition of the committee of the yearly meeting of the Society of Friends at Baltimore, be instructed to inquire into the expediency of so amending the laws of the United States on the subject of the African slave trade, as more effectually to prevent the said trade from being carried on by the citizens of the United States under foreign flags; and also into the expediency of the United States taking measures, in concert with other nations, for the entire abolition of the said trade."

From the spirit evinced by this resolution, hopes were entertained,

that the government of America might be induced to enter into a treaty with this country for the suppression of the slave-trade, and that the important measure of a mutual right of search, might be agreed to,—a measure which appeared to afford the only means of securing the effectual execution of the laws already passed for that purpose. Accordingly, in June, 1818, Lord Castlereagh addressed a letter to Mr. Rush, the American minister in London, stating the necessity which existed for some effectual concert being established amongst the principal maritime powers, to prevent their respective flags being made a cover for an illicit slave-trade, and showing, that whatever might be the state of the law on this subject, the evil would continue to exist; and, that in proportion as it assumed a contraband form, it would be carried on under more aggravated circumstances of cruelty and desolation. His lordship referred to the treaties already concluded with other powers for this purpose, and urged on the attention of the American government the advantages to be derived from their acceding to a mutual right of search. To this despatch, an answer was returned in the following December, by order of the President, which stated, that the American government was desirous of a total abolition of the foreign slave-trade, but declined to enter into any treaty for its suppression. Year after year, have the advances made by this country for a treaty for affording mutual facilities for its suppression, met with the like failure. The last effort was made in concert with the King of France, who joined the British government in inviting America to accede to the Conventions lately concluded between the two former powers; with how little success, the following letter from the French minister to Earl Granville will show. It is a remarkable document in the history of the slave trade: it is as follows, viz. :—

Paris, 11th January, 1835.

M. L'AMBASSADEUR,—I received with the letter which your Excellency did me the honour to write to me on the 3d inst., copies of two despatches and of their enclosures, from the minister of his Britannic Majesty at Washington, relative to the refusal of the American government to accede to the Conventions between France and Great Britain for the repression of the slave trade.

The Cabinet of his Britannic Majesty will doubtless agree with us in considering, that any further effort to induce the government of the United States to accede to these Conventions, as offering for the present at least, no chance of success.*

(Signed) “DE RIGNY.”

Thus the government of the United States, is the only civilized government on record, which has refused, and that too on a mere point of etiquette, to make a concession to the universal desire of all Christian men; and has positively declared, that “under no condition, in no form, and with no restrictions, will the United States enter into any Convention or Treaty, or make any combined efforts, of any sort or kind, with other nations for the suppression of a traffic” which she has denounced as piracy, and declared those engaged in it, to be worthy of death.

* Parliamentary Papers, 1835, Class B, p. 103.

The following is an extract from an American paper, "the Emancipator," Dec. 22, 1836:—

"SLAVE TRADE.—We learn, says the Albany Daily Advertiser, from a source that seems entitled to credit, that the slave trade flourishes rather more than common in and about Matanzas. It is asserted, that many ships from the United States are sold there for the purpose of being made slavers of. Instead of the Baltimore clippers and fast sailers hitherto bought, the slave traders now buy up leaky, unsuspicious ships, which are sent to the slave coast for 'sperm oil,' which means *negroes*. There is an anchorage ground near Matanzas, where slave ships come in very often, full of negroes from the coast of Africa. There they are landed, and unwillingly marched to Matanzas, where they are put in the slave market, the authorities winking at this violation of the laws of nations. If the abolitionists would direct their attention to the slave trade as carried on there, and expose the manner in which vessels are built and sold for the purpose of making slavers of them, they would do an essential service to the human race."

SOUTH AMERICA.

BRAZIL, in consequence of its former intimate connexion with the Crown of Portugal, has been classed with the powers of Europe.

MEXICO.—The supreme executive government of Mexico, passed a decree, dated 13th July, 1824, by which the slave-trade is abolished; every ship, whether national or foreign, arriving in their ports is confiscated, the guilty parties made liable to a punishment of ten years' imprisonment, and all the slaves on board declared *ipso facto* free.

RIO DE LA PLATA.—By the 14th article of a treaty made between Great Britain and the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata, ratified on the 19th of February, 1825, the government of those Provinces, engaged to co-operate with this Country in its endeavours to abolish the slave-trade, and to prohibit in the most effectual manner, and by the most solemn laws, all persons residing in the United Provinces, or subject to its jurisdiction, from taking any part in the same.

PERNAMBUCO.—The President of Pernambuco, issued an Edict in July, 1824, by which the slave trade was suspended, until the Legislative Assembly should have finally determined the question.

PERU.—On the 12th of August, 1821, the government of Peru issued a Decree for the gradual abolition of *slavery* itself, by which it is declared, that all sons of slaves, born and to be born on the Peruvian territory from the 28th of July, 1821, shall be free, and shall enjoy the same rights as other Peruvian citizens. The British Consul at Peru has been instructed by Lord Palmerston, in a despatch, dated 13th of November, 1835, to negotiate a treaty with that government for the abolition of the slave trade.

VENEZUELA.—Similar instructions have been sent to our Consul at this place.

CHILI.—On the 11th of October, 1811, the Supreme National Congress of Chili "resolved and decreed, that from that day, no slave should be brought into Chili; and that all slaves, being on their passage to countries where slavery subsists, who should happen for any reason to remain in Chili for six months, should become and be, *ipso*

facto, free.” And it was further “resolved and decreed, that all children born of slaves from the date above mentioned, should be free.”

BUENOS AYRES.—On the 14th of May, 1812, the Cabildo published the Superior Decree of the government of Buenos Ayres, of the 9th of April preceding, which absolutely prohibits the introduction of slaves into the United Provinces. The 2nd article, orders the immediate departure of all slaves which may arrive within one year from the 25th of May, 1812; and the 3rd decrees freedom to all such as may arrive after that period.

This Decree is followed by another, dated 2nd February, 1813, by which, all the children of slaves are declared and holden to be free, who shall be born from and after the 31st of January, 1813. By a law of the 15th of November, 1824, the trading in slaves was declared to be Piracy. In 1831, however, this law was in part annulled, and permission was given for the introduction of slaves in the class of *servants*,—a permission, which it will readily be believed, was soon abundantly abused. The British Consul at Buenos Ayres was not slow in making strong remonstrances upon the subject; and in November, 1833, a Decree was issued, the first article of which is as follows:—“The enactments prohibiting the traffic are declared to be in full vigour, more especially the law of the 15th of November, 1824.” By a despatch from the British Consul, dated 15th of November, 1835, it appears, that he was then engaged in negotiating a Convention with the government of Buenos Ayres, for the more effectual suppression of the slave-trade.

COLUMBIA.—On the 19th of July, 1821, the Congress of Columbia passed a law for the manumission of slaves, by which, all the children of slaves, born after the publication thereof, are declared to be free.

By the same law, the introduction of new slaves is strictly prohibited, and all such as may be surreptitiously introduced, are to be forfeited and to become free.

GUATIMALA.—One of the first acts of the Constituent Assembly of Guatemala, was the abolition of *slavery* itself; which disgrace of a civilized age was annihilated, so far as this State was concerned, by a decree of the 17th of April, 1824. The article is short and expressive,—it is as follows:—

“Every man in the Republic is free, and no one who takes refuge under its laws can be a slave, nor shall any one be accounted a citizen, who carries on the slave trade.”

MONTE VIDEO.—“The 131st article of the Constitution, made all children born of slave parents, free, and entirely prohibited the importation or traffic in slaves, after the 10th of September, 1829. By this Act, it was considered that slavery would become extinct in the present generation. But soon after the abdication of the Emperor of Brazil, numerous individuals emigrated to the Republic, bringing with them their property and slaves; at first, the government, desirous of promoting farther emigration, wilfully shut their eyes to small numbers disembarking in the character of body servants, &c. In the course however of a very short time, the slave dealers at Rio de Janeiro, ever

upon the alert to take advantage of circumstances, commenced a traffic, by introducing slaves under the denomination of sailors, in Brazilian vessels, or servants to Brazilian passengers, and claimed protection for this traffic under the interpretation of the word *property* in the 147th article of the constitution, which says, "Any individual is at liberty to enter the Republic, to reside in it, or to leave it *with his property*, observing the laws," &c. &c. These claims set up by Brazilian subjects, and supported by their political agent at Monte Video, led to a correspondence between that government and the government of Brazil, which terminated, after rather a lengthened debate in the House of Representatives, on the 26th March, 1832, in the adoption of the following law:—

Article I.—All slaves that shall be introduced into the territory of the Republic after the promulgation of the present law, shall, by the same act, be free. Except, 1st, sailors of foreign vessels entered on the muster roll. 2nd, slaves to foreign agents,—the one and the other shall remain slaves whilst they continue in the same service. 3rd. Slaves belonging to passengers, previous to the expiration of six months, will be protected by the office to which the case belongs. 4th. Slaves that had belonged to the republic, and shall return with the same masters that exported them, within the term of two years.

Article II.—Those slaves excepted in the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd cases of the foregoing article shall be free, from the moment that their masters shall sell or exchange them. And those slaves comprehended in the 3rd class of the 1st article, if not exported within six months, shall, after the expiration of that term, by the said act be free.*

Notwithstanding the slave trade was thus made illegal, yet, as in all other cases, it had little or no effect in suppressing it. In the Parliamentary papers of last session, we find many remonstrances made to the government of Monte Video, by the British consul on the subject, and that he had made an attempt to negotiate a Convention for its more effectual suppression. But it is painful to add, there appears at present but little hope of his success. Mr. Consul Hamilton, in his despatch to Lord Palmerston, dated 23rd July, 1835, says,

"I perceive a most decided reluctance to put down the slave trade, although it is distinctly prohibited by the Constitution of the country, and many enactments hostile to it have subsequently, from time to time, been promulgated; together with a repugnance altogether as unequivocal to all foreign alliance: and that if the present Executive had ever for one moment, in the teeth of that reluctance and that repugnance, seriously and sincerely meditated the entire execution of the treaties, it was solely with the hope of accomplishing with greater facility the long contemplated loan in England.

"But the party in the country, who are adverse to these treaties with his Majesty, have now acquired a decided ascendancy, and in consequence, the said loan, in spite of the heavy embarrassments of the exchequer, has dwindled, when placed against the rejection of those treaties, into an object of secondary importance."†

MADAGASCAR.—In 1817 a treaty was concluded with Radama, the King of Madagascar, and renewed, with additional articles, in 1820, for the final abolition of the slave trade, throughout the whole extent of his dominions.

* Parliamentary Papers, 1832, Class B, p. 79. † See Parliamentary Papers.

MUSCAT.—On the 10th of September, 1822, the Imaum of Muscat, signed a treaty with Great Britain, by which his Highness engaged, “that all traffic in slaves to foreign countries should cease, and be abolished for ever, throughout his dominions and dependencies.”

PERSIAN GULF.—In January, 1820, a general treaty was signed with the Arab tribes of the Persian Gulf, containing a declaration, that “the carrying off of slaves,—men, women, and children, from the coast of Africa, or elsewhere, and the transporting them in vessels, is plunder and piracy, and the friendly Arabs shall do nothing of this nature.”

Such is the history of the long and laborious negotiations which the British government has entered into with foreign powers in all parts of the world, for the suppression of this infamous traffic. We have seen with feelings of indignation, that notwithstanding justice and humanity have been bought of some of these powers, by the payment of above a million sterling, they have done nothing effectual towards carrying their solemn engagements into effect, and that in some instances, they have *not even promulgated the treaties which they have contracted*, nor furnished their subordinate authorities with *any directions for carrying their stipulations into effect*; but, on the contrary, have clung to the traffic with a pertinacity truly astonishing.

Let us now turn our attention for a short time, to the nature of the trade, which has been thus fondly cherished. Its character is unaltered. We shall still find it to be, in its inception,—in its progress,—and in its conclusion,—a disgusting system of perjury,—robbery,—and murder.

CHARACTER AND ACTIVITY OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

As most of the ships engaged in the traffic are provided with simulative papers, the enormous amount of false-swearing which must take place in order to procure them, is too evident to require more than an allusion to it.—This is bad enough,—but it is in Africa, that the more atrocious horrors of the trade commence. It is not necessary to say much on this part of the subject, it is too well known already to the people of England; but still a very few extracts shall be given from the journals of travellers of a later date than those of Mungo Park, and others of an early period, to show, that the character of the trade on the coast, still continues the same.

Extracts from Major Gray's Travels in Africa: 1818 to 1821:—

“I had an opportunity of witnessing, during this short march, the new-made slaves, and the sufferings to which they are subjected on their first state of bondage. They are hurried along, (tied, as I before stated,) at a pace little short of running, to enable them to keep up with the horsemen, who drove them on as Smithfield drovers do fatigued bullocks; many of the women were old, and by no means able to endure such treatment. One in particular was at least sixty years old, in the most miserable state of emaciation and debility, nearly doubled together, and with difficulty dragging her tottering limbs along. She was naked, save from her waist to about half-way to her knees; all this did not prevent her inhuman captor from making her carry a heavy load of water, while with a rope about her neck he drove her before his horse; and whenever she showed the least inclination to stop, he beat her in the most unmerciful manner with a stick.”

"The sufferings of the poor slaves during a march of nearly eight hours, partly under an excessively hot sun and east wind, heavily laden with water, of which they were allowed to drink very sparingly, and travelling barefoot on a hard and broken soil, covered with thorny underwood, may be more easily conceived than described. One young woman, who had for the first time become a mother two days only before she was taken, and whose child, being thought by her captor too young to be worth saving, was thrown by the monster into its burning hut, from which the flames had just obliged the mother to retreat, suffered so much from the swollen state of her bosom, that her moans might frequently be heard at the distance of some hundred yards; when refusing to go on, she implored her fiend-like captor to put an end to her existence.

"A man also lay down, and neither blows, entreaties, nor threats of death, could induce him to move. Never did I witness (nor indeed did I think it possible, that a human being could endure,) such tortures as were inflicted on this man."

From Major Denham's narrative :—

"The ground around the well (at Meshroo in Fezzan) is strewn with human skeletons of the slaves who have arrived exhausted with thirst and fatigue. Every few miles, a skeleton was seen through the whole day. About sun-set we halted near a well, within half a mile of Meshroo. Round this spot were lying more than one hundred skeletons, some of them with the skin still remaining attached to the bones.

"We bivouacked in the midst of these uncarthed remains of the victims of persecution and avarice, after a long day's journey of 26 miles, in the course of which, one of our party counted 107 of the skeletons.

"During the last two days we had passed on an average from sixty to eighty or ninety skeletons each day; but the numbers that lay about the wells at El Hammar, were countless.

"If the hundreds, nay, the thousands of skeletons, that whiten in the blast between this place and Moursuh, did not, of themselves, tell a tale replete with woe, the difference of appearance in all slaves here (where they are fed tolerably) and the state in which they usually arrive in Fezzan, would but too clearly prove the acuteness of the sufferings which commence on their leaving the negro country."

Extracts from narratives by Major Denham, Capt. Clapperton, and Dr. Oudney :—

"Near the wells of Omaha, numbers of human skeletons, or parts of skeletons, lay scattered on the sands, not even a little sand thrown over them.

"While I was dozing on my horse about noon, overcome by the heat of the sun, which at that time of the day always shone with great power, I was suddenly awoke by a crashing under his feet, which startled me excessively. I found that my steed had, without any sensation of shame or alarm, stepped upon the perfect skeletons of two human beings, cracking their brittle bones under his feet, and, by one trip of his foot, separating a skull from the trunk, which rolled on like a ball before him." * * *

"This treaty of alliance was confirmed by the Sheikh's receiving in marriage the daughter of the Sultan of Mandara, and the marriage portion was to be the produce of an immediate expedition into the Kerdy country, called Musgow, to the south-east of Mandara, by the united force of the Sheikh and the Sultan. The results were as favourable as the most savage confederacy could have anticipated: three thousand unfortunate wretches were dragged from their native wilds and sold to perpetual slavery; while probably, double that number were sacrificed to obtain them.

"Dirkulla was quickly burnt, and another smaller town near it; and the few inhabitants that were found in them, who were chiefly infants, and aged persons

unable to escape, were put to death without mercy, or thrown into the flames. At least twenty thousand poor creatures were slaughtered, and three-fourths of that number at least driven into slavery."

Extract from Robert Adams' narrative:—

"From the Praa southwards the progress of the sword, down to the very margin of the sea, may be traced by mouldering ruins, desolated plantations, and asseous relics."

Extract from the narrative of a residence at Sierra Leone, by Mr. Rankin.*

"The Gulf of Guinea is studded with fleets of prison-ships that steal into every river, and forcibly convey to the New World from the Old, the population of kingdoms. The old and new Calabar, the Bonny, Whidah, and the Gallinas, contribute an inexhaustible supply for the French islands of the West Indies, Rio Janeiro, Havannah, and the Brazils; where, notwithstanding every opposition and hinderance from the British cruizers, one hundred thousand are supposed to arrive in safety annually, five times that number having been lost by capture or death. Death thins the cargoes in various modes; suicide destroys many, and many are thrown overboard at the close of the voyage; for as a duty of ten dollars is set by the Brazilian government upon each slave upon landing, such as seem unlikely to survive, or to bring a price sufficiently high to cover this custom-house tax, are purposely drowned before entering port. Those only escape these wholesale murders, who will probably recover health and flesh when removed to the fattening pens of the slave-farmer, a man who contracts to feed up the skeletons to a marketable appearance.

"As yet, this evil trade, like a religious sect, has but increased under persecution; and at no time has it torn away from country and home, more men than since it has been pursued in defiance of Great Britain. The mode is altered, not the system destroyed.

"To supply an annual demand of half a million, the captives in casual warfare, the criminals justly condemned, and even the offending members of the Purrah and the Renudas, are insufficient; and the first evil brought into existence by the export trade, consists in the revolting methods which it introduces of increasing the number of slaves. Wars are promoted, strife between tribes, as well as between individuals, is sedulously fostered; seeds of hatred are industriously sown, that the white man may reap the harvest; laws are perverted; the judge is bribed to sacrifice the innocent, by the price given for the condemned; false accusations are rewarded by unjust sentences. Witchcraft, a crime more easily asserted than disproved, is found particularly to increase, and the inquisitors discover, in their favourite ordeal of boiling oil, or the poisonous red water, a convenient assistant to wealth.

"Nor is this all: kidnapping, the most artificial of crimes, becomes a mode of subsistence; social feeling melts before distrust; and a tribe where this practice is universal, as the Ibbos, may be regarded as an aggregation of antagonisms."

The reports of the British Commissioners at Sierra Leone, at the Havanna, at Rio de Janeiro, and at Surinam,—and of the British Consuls in the Brazils, at Bahia, at Maranham, at Pernambuco and at Para, have been filled from year to year, with representations and complaints of the enormous slave trade carried on (with the exception of Sierra Leone) at all those places; and with complaints, not only in most cases of the total indifference of the local foreign authorities to the representations made to them, *but of the countenance actually*

afforded to those engaged in the trade, in direct defiance of treaties and of laws. It would now be useless to give extracts in support of this assertion at any length; a reference to the slave trade papers annually laid before Parliament for nearly twenty years past, will be abundantly sufficient. Two or three extracts, however, are given as specimens of the reports alluded to, and first from those at

SIERRA LEONE.

On the 21st September, 1830, the British Commissioners here, say :—

“We are of opinion, that if the whole of the British squadron now stationed on this coast, were to pay its undivided attention to the *rivers and places about Sierra Leone*, the slave trade therein could not be effectually suppressed.”*

“28th December, 1831.

“It is our painful duty to inform your Lordship (Viscount Palmerston) that the *Spanish slave trade* carried on under our own observation, is in as full activity on this devoted coast as it ever was; we are repeatedly warned of the arrival of Spanish vessels at, and their sailing with cargoes of slaves from, the Rio Nunez, Rio Pongos, and Galinas, and we doubt not, equal activity is displayed by Spanish slavers in the Bights of Benin and Biafra.”†

“5th January, 1833.

“We feel every assurance, that the slave-trade continues to be carried on with as much perseverance and success as heretofore, under the *Spanish flag*. We regret, however, to state, that our information leads us to believe, that the flag of *France* is still polluted by the same traffic, and we hear of *Portuguese vessels* being engaged therein at Whydah and other places near thereto, for the purpose, we doubt not, of smuggling the slaves into the Brazils, now that slaving has become piracy under the flag of that nation.”‡

“14th December, 1833.

“The *Primo* was fitted for the slave-trade in the port of Cadiz; and the fact, that such illicit adventures are unopposed in the very heart of the greatest seaport of Spain itself, affords a melancholy proof, that the Spanish government, notwithstanding its professions to the contrary, has hitherto taken no effectual step to repress the traffic in slaves.”§

“6th January, 1834.

“With reference to the enclosed return, we have to draw your Lordship’s notice, to the number of Spanish vessels which have been condemned for slaving in the past year, and which, being the average number that have been condemned here in former years, would show that there has been, under the flag of Spain, no diminution in that traffic. Seven vessels under the Spanish flag, were three months ago, trading for slaves in one river alone,—that of Calabar; and twenty-two ships, almost all of the same nation, were boarded about the same period, by Lieutenant Josiah Thompson, then in command of his Majesty’s sloop ‘*Trinculo*,’ now commanding his Majesty’s brig ‘*Brisk*,’ some of which had their water and their fuel in, and their platforms laid for the reception of slaves.

“The Portuguese slave vessels, the ‘*Rosa*,’ ‘*Hebe*,’ and ‘*Virtude*,’ that have, within the last three years, been condemned here for slaving, were all bound to Cuba, into which island, during late years, we believe, French vessels imported great numbers of slaves from Africa. We have, however, pleasure in acquainting your Lordship, that we have been informed, that the flag of France has not been met with lately on this coast in connexion with slaving, the treaty between

* Parliamentary Papers, 1830, Class A. p. 13. † 1832, Class A. p. 16.

‡ 1833, Class A. p. 3.

§ 1834, Class A. p. 11.

France and Great Britain having apparently put an end thereto. It has, however, *always been found, that when by effectual remedies applied, the slave trade has been suppressed under one flag, it rears its head under another.* A signal proof of the truth of this remark is now afforded by Portugal, the first nation that entered into a treaty with Great Britain for the repression of that traffic.

"The traffic in slaves under the *Portuguese flag*, which, for years past, has been almost unheard of, appears now to be carried on to as great an extent as it was before Brazil ceased to belong to Portugal.

"We have been informed, that thirty Portuguese vessels were, a short time past, engaged in slaving in the Bights of Benin and Biafra, and the rivers emptying themselves therein; and we are of opinion, that the destination of those vessels would be to the Island of Cuba. To the flag of Portugal has thus been transferred the carrying of slaves, which had been so successful under that of France."*

"28th November, 1834.

"The '*Felicité*,' owned by two French gentlemen of the name of Laporte, by whom she was carried into the Rio Nunez, for the purpose of shipping on board of her a cargo of slaves from that river; but the speculation having proved unsuccessful, owing to the activity of the French squadron, she was sold to the Portuguese Governor of Bissao, by whom she was loaded with slaves for sale in the Cuba market. The fulfilment of this guilty intention, by which national laws and solemn treaties would have been equally violated by one, who had been appointed to be the guardian of both, was happily frustrated by the capture of the '*Felicidad*' within three or four miles of the island where her miserable cargo would have been disposed of."†

"5th January, 1835.

"The experience of the last year, certainly does not tend to show any diminution in the slave trade, pursued on this unfortunate coast. It is true, that the activity of the French squadron, and the dread of the punishment consequent on detection, have destroyed in a great measure, if not altogether, the slave trade which was formerly carried on under the French flag: but the anticipation which we ventured to express to your Lordship twelve months since, has been too correctly fulfilled, and Portuguese vessels are now found to enter, with comparative impunity into those guilty adventures, in which French vessels can no longer engage.

"If we judged merely by the number of vessels which have been before the British and Spanish court during the past year, as compared with former years, we should say that the slave trade of that power had increased rather than diminished."‡

"2nd January, 1836.

"There is nothing in the experience of the past year, to show, that the slave trade of Portugal or of Spain has in any degree diminished. With regard to the former, we have elsewhere called the attention of your Lordship to the fact, that all the Portuguese vessels which have been captured during the year 1835, fully laden with slaves, were fitted out at Prince's Island, and received their papers and clearances from the provisional government of that settlement. But malpractices of this nature, on the part of her colonial governments, have so long been tacitly permitted, or wholly disregarded by Portugal, that we entertain little hope of any further representations on the subject being effectual."§

Extract from an American paper, 1st Nov. 1836.

A recent traveller asserts that "the slave trade is in full operation on the coast of Africa. But a few weeks ago, forty-five Spanish vessels to the Southward, and

* Parliamentary Papers, 1835, Class A. p. 1. † 1835, Class A. p. 90.

‡ 1835, Class A. p. 2.

§ 1835, Class A. p. 9.

25 to the Northward of the line, were engaged in this infernal traffic. We regret to learn that these are chiefly American built, and such swift sailers as almost to defy capture. It seems also, that the Portuguese to the Southward of the line, are also extensively engaged in the business, and by the effect of a late treaty with England, pursue the business with impunity."

Abstract of Return of Slave Ships condemned in the Mixed Commission Court at Sierra Leone, from 1st January 1827, to 1st January, 1835.

	Vessels.	Slaves.	Emancipated.
Spanish	60	16,964	14,778
Portuguese	38	5,896	5,384
Netherlands	8	1,573	1,381
Brazilian	36	7,596	6,143
	<hr/> 142	<hr/> 32,029	<hr/> 27,686
Died before emancipation			3,707
Landed at other places than Sierra Leone, in consequence of their bad state, most of whom probably died			636
			<hr/> 32,029

Abstract of Return of number of Slaves emancipated at Sierra Leone, up to 1st January, 1836 :—

Total number of slaves emancipated and registered here, between June 1819, and 1st January, 1835	30,574
Total number of slaves emancipated, and not registered here, between June, 1819, and 1st January, 1835, for reasons assigned in previous Returns	2,029
Total number of slaves emancipated between 1st January, 1835, and 1st January, 1836	4,645
Total number of slaves emancipated between June, 1819, and 1st January, 1836	37,248
Of which number there has not been registered here, as appears by the foregoing remarks	2,118
Total number registered up to this day	35,130*

HAVANNA.

The Reports from the British Commissioners at the Havanna, are of the same character with those from Sierra Leone.

Under date of 1st January, 1834, the Commissioners write thus :—

"We are grieved to state that the year just expired, shows no decrease whatever, but rather an increase in the slave trade of this port.

"Although we are well aware of your Lordship's being already convinced of the fact, we must repeat, that the slave trade is only nominally abolished by Spain, as long as she refuses to declare it piracy, or protect vessels from condemnation that are evidently fitted up for this detestable traffic."†

In a report under date of 1st July, 1834, relative to the ineffectual representations made to General Tacon, the new Captain General of

* Parliamentary Papers, 1835, Class A. p. 11. † Class A. 1834, p. 78.

Cuba, of a case of illegal importation of slaves into that island, the Commissioner says :—

“It is distressing to find, that his Excellency is *resolved to prosecute the plan adopted by his predecessors for the protection of the slave trade*, and to remove all responsibility from himself, by the system of devolving the preliminary investigation of all such cases of illicit traffic, on subaltern agents.”*

On the 11th August, he again writes :—

“I grieve to state, that since the occupation of his post by the new Captain-General, the slave trade of this port has been more shamelessly prevalent than ever I recollect it to have been during my long residence here; while no good whatever, results from the representations I make to his Excellency on every arrival from the coast of Africa. * * * *

“On such a lamentable statement it is needless for me to expatiate. Your Lordship will however perceive, that never has the slave trade of Cuba been at a greater height than at present, and that the remonstrances of his Majesty’s Commissioners here are not attended to, except in a manner that amounts to downright mockery.”†

“1st January, 1835.

“In their general report to your Lordship, at the commencement of last year, his Majesty’s Commissioners ventured to express their hope, that under the new political system which Spain was then happily entering upon, protection would no longer be afforded to slave-traders. It would of course give me the greatest satisfaction, could I now state, that the hope then indulged has been justified by the experience of the year just past; but truth obliges me to declare that never, during the last ten years of anti-constitutional government, was witnessed so glaring a disregard of the treaty for the abolition of the slave trade as is now manifested in the island of Cuba.

“According to the list, No. 1, which I have the honour to enclose, your Lordship will perceive that *thirty-eight* vessels, of which two were Portuguese, sailed from the Havanna for the coast of Africa in the year 1833. Of the thirty-six Spanish vessels, twenty-two safely landed their cargoes, while two have been captured and one destroyed by his Majesty’s cruisers on this coast, and one on the coast of Africa, so that the fate of only twelve remains unknown.

“The number of slave-vessels which have sailed from the Havanna in 1834, according to the enclosed list, No. 2, is no less than *sixty-one*, among which are two Portuguese. Twelve of these have already returned and safely landed their cargoes; one has been run on shore on this coast by his Majesty’s schooner ‘Nimble,’ and totally destroyed, the greater part of the negroes having been brought before the Mixed Commission, and emancipated. Another of these Spanish slave-vessels is said to have been carried to England as a supposed pirate. One of the most *distressing facts to be noticed* in the list is, that, *secure of the protection of the local government* in the event of their not being detained by his Majesty’s Cruisers, these vessels *now openly sail for Lagos, San Pablo de Loanda, and other places on the African coast*; whereas, in the time of General Vives, the whole of this coast was prohibited to them expressly by their royal passport.

“By the enclosed list, No. 3, your lordship will see, that during the year 1834, there have arrived in the Havanna from Africa, thirty-three slave-vessels; all excepting one, having certainly landed slaves on the coast, previously to entering this port in ballast. Four of these were not Spanish; but still there is an increase of five arrivals upon the whole year as compared with last. I believe, however, that nothing whatever has had such a baneful tendency to augment the

evil as the protection which the actual local government bestows on the African slave trade. I hope I do not express myself too harshly when I use the word 'protection;' but as it appears certain that the authorities here are able, as well as empowered, to seize every contraband cargo of slaves that arrives, and that they actually, if common report can be credited, even raise a duty of half an ounce per head on every bozal negro so landed, I confess that I can view the conduct of the local government in no other light than as bestowing its protection on the slave trade. As to the continual remonstrances of his Majesty's Commissioners on the arrival of every slave-vessel, your Lordship is already aware of the mockery with which they are treated; indeed, I need scarcely repeat that, without some further powers conferred on this Mixed Commission by treaty, little good whatever can be effected by it towards the annihilation of slave-trading."*

"31st July, 1835.

"We beg leave respectfully to call your lordship's attention to the unprecedented height to which the slave-trade has arrived in this port during the last month. The representations we make on the subject to the local government are of no use whatsoever, as your lordship will perceive by the enclosed list of no less than seventeen vessels, which, during this present month, have sailed for the coast of Africa. We may observe, that the last vessel in this list is commanded by a person, who, we find by the papers presented to Parliament last year, on the subject of the slave trade, claimed the mercy of his Majesty's government."†

It will have been observed, that the *authorities themselves*, in the Havanna, have participated deeply in the crime of slave-trading. The following extract from a despatch of the British Commissioner, dated 30th September, 1835, relates a curious fact in corroboration of their prior statements:—

"During the present month four slave-vessels have arrived in port, after landing their negroes on the coast. All these vessels were denounced by us to the Captain General on their respective arrivals; and some circumstances which have since come to our knowledge respecting the 'Matilde' and 'General Mina,' deserve to be stated. Both these schooners arrived on the same day in Cojimar, a small bay about two leagues to the east of the Havanna, and began to disembark their negroes to the number of about seven hundred, under the protection of the commandant of a small *Torreón*, or Castle, which defends the fishing-village at the bottom of the bay. As this village is in the jurisdiction of Guanabacoa, a town about a mile and a half from the Havanna, the Alcaldes of this town, on receiving notice of the landing, hurried off to Cojimar, and found about four hundred and eighty Africans already on shore. The subaltern administration of justice in this island is so corrupt, that we are not sure that the Alcaldes had any other object in interfering than their own private interest; but, however this may have been, the military commandant of the castle resisted the seizure of the negroes, notwithstanding a formal protest of the Alcaldes, and urged that he had authority for his proceeding. The Alcaldes accordingly retired, and immediately represented the circumstances to the Captain-General, since which time we have had reason to know, that the only answer they received from his Excellency, was an acknowledgment of the receipt of their communication, and a laconic intimation, that as the affair was one of the supreme government (*del Alto Gobierno*), his Excellency would proceed in the matter as he thought proper."‡

On the 17th November, 1835, the Commissioner again writes:—

"We have repeatedly been under the painful necessity of declaring to your lordship, that never has the slave trade been so prevalent in the Havanna as since

* Class A. 1835, pp. 131, 132. † Class A. 1835, p. 182.

‡ Class A, 1835, p. 184.

the period when the present Captain-General of this island assumed the reins of government. As the slave-traders are confident, not only of escaping with impunity, but of almost meeting with *open protection from his Excellency*, their *shamelessness has of late risen to a most unusual pitch*. As a proof of this, we have the honour to enclose a copy of the 'Noticioso,' one of our daily newspapers, in which your lordship will perceive a *public advertisement for the sale of bozal negroes*. Immediately on noticing this advertisement, we addressed the Captain-General on the subject in the note, a copy of which we now have the honour to enclose. On the following day, the 4th instant, we received his Excellency's answer (a translation of which is also enclosed) promising that the several matters of which we had complained, should be inquired into. Since that date we have learned little more on the subject, except, that such infamous advertisements no longer appear in the public journals.*

It might naturally be supposed, from the perusal of the foregoing extracts, that the slave trade at the Havanna had reached to an extent not likely to be surpassed; but, to our astonishment, notwithstanding all the treaties entered into by the Spanish government, and notwithstanding the reiterated promises of that government to enforce the observance of those treaties on its subjects, we find in the British Commissioners' General Report on the state of the slave trade in Cuba, dated the 1st of January, 1836, the following statement:—

“Never since the establishment of this Mixed Commission has the slave trade of the Havanna reached such a disgraceful pitch as during the year 1835.

“In the year 1834, according to the List No. 1, which we have the honour to enclose, 62 slave-vessels, of which two were Portuguese, sailed from the Havanna. This is twice the number that sailed in 1832. Of the 60 Spanish vessels, no less than 33 have safely landed their cargoes, while 12 have been captured by his Majesty's Cruizers, and the fate of 15 remains to be ascertained. The two Portuguese vessels landed their slaves in safety.

“In the year 1835, as your lordship will perceive from the enclosed List No. 2, no less than 80 vessels have sailed from the Havanna, of which two are Portuguese. This is by far the greatest number of slave-vessels that has ever sailed for the coast of Africa from this port in any one year. Of the Spanish vessels, 17 have already returned and landed their cargoes.

“By the 3d List which we have the honour to enclose, it will be seen that 50 slave-vessels have safely arrived in this port during the year just expired. Of these, no less than eight are Portuguese. In 1833, there were 27 arrivals, and in 1834, 33; but 1835 presents a number, by means of which there must have been landed, at the very least, upwards of 15,000 negroes.

“It is extremely difficult for us to point out how far this unfortunate increase of the traffic may be owing to the conduct of the present Captain-General, and still more difficult is it for us to separate the effect of his Excellency's own peculiar feelings on the subject from that of any private instructions which he may have received from his government.

“We are satisfied that his Excellency is himself too pure and disinterested to have personally any pecuniary concern with the traffic; but the *universally credited fact of money being raised for public works, on every negro clandestinely landed, must doubtless contribute in the eyes of the slave-traders, to give a legal aspect to this commerce in human flesh.*

“It must be confessed that this last-mentioned class of persons do not appear to think, that their favourite career can be so readily arrested. *Some of them*

have even been heard to say, that Great Britain in vain labours to extinguish this commerce as long as the American government refuses to aid in the cause of Abolition, and while American vessels are ever ready to assist the Spanish slave-trader in his various schemes to elude punishment.

"On the first report of a new treaty having been concluded between Great Britain and Spain on the subject of the slave trade, the Insurance Offices refused to insure for the African trade, and slave-vessels for a time ceased to sail for the coast. An article in the 'Times' newspaper produced this remarkable change in the Havanna, but soon after, private letters arrived from Madrid which altered the public opinion. The Insurance Offices recommenced their operations by engaging only to ensure the voyages of slave-vessels alone: vessels instantly began to sail for Africa, and now the only visible effect of the reported new treaty, is an increased rate of premium out and home, with an augmented price of negroes.

"Whether this low estimate of the efficacy of the new treaty be owing to any hope in the minds of the slave traders, that they will be able to avoid its effects by means of the Americans, we know not; but the Havanna has been some time in possession of its stipulations, as they appeared in a Madrid newspaper, called the 'Abega.' Many of the slave traders, however, still believe, that this treaty will never be ratified, although his Majesty's commissioners are informed that several British cruisers on the coast, are already provided with instructions under it to make seizures.

"We observe from the papers laid before Parliament, that the Spanish government has been interceding with your Lordship, in favour of the masters of two vessels condemned at the Havanna. We cannot help thinking this to be little better than mockery on the part of those who urged the court of Madrid to make this application. We believe we may venture to affirm that neither of the individuals in question was ever sent to the Philippine Islands, and we suspect the true motive for this appeal to his Majesty's clemency, to have been *no other than that they might thus be allowed to return to the command of slave-vessels.* Accordingly one of them, Don Felipe Rebel, did actually sail on the 28th of July last, in command of the slave-schooner 'Isabeleta,' for Africa.

"In the spring of last year, an American agent from Texas purchased in the Havanna 250 newly imported Africans, at 270 dollars per head, and carried them away with him to that district of Mexico, having first procured from the American consul here certificates of their freedom. This perhaps would have been scarcely worth mentioning to your Lordship, had we not learned, that within the last six weeks, considerable sums of money have been deposited by the American citizens in certain mercantile houses here, for the purpose of making additional purchases of *bozal negroes* for Texas. According to the laws of Mexico, we believe such Africans are free, whether they have certificates of freedom or not, but we doubt much, whether this freedom will be more than nominal under their American masters, or whether the whole system may not be founded on *some plan of smuggling them across the frontier into the slave States of the Union.* However this may be, a great impulse is thus given to the illicit traffic of the Havanna; and it is not easy for us to point out to government what remonstrances ought to be made on the subject, since the American settlers in Texas are almost as independent of American authority, as they are of Mexico. These lawless people will, doubtless, moreover assert, that they buy negroes in the Havanna with a view to their ultimate emancipation. We thought the first experiment to be of little consequence, but now that we perceive fresh commissions arriving in the Havanna for the purchase of Africans, we cannot refrain from calling your Lordship's attention to the fact, as being another cause of the increase of the slave trade in the Havanna." *

Every word of this report is deeply interesting, but the last para-

* Parliamentary Papers, 1835, Class A, pp. 206, 207.

graph contains intelligence of the most fearful importance;—America refuses to assist the other nations of Christendom in those measures which are most likely to be effectual for the suppression of the slave trade. America, it is believed, is desirous to annex the Province of Texas to the Union, as a Slave State. Should she succeed, the dreadful impetus which such a measure would give to the slave trade, is too horrible to contemplate. Surely the nations of Europe will never permit such a line of policy to be carried into execution.

Since the mere equipment of vessels for the slave trade has by treaty, rendered them liable to capture, American vessels have availed themselves of their freedom from search, and are already engaged in carrying out all the necessary articles for fitting up slave vessels on the coast, which the little chance of their being visited by their own ships of war, enables them to do with impunity. They land their shackles, water casks, coppers, &c. on the spot agreed upon, and the slavers take them on board immediately before their departure.

The following is an abstract of the official returns of the number of slavers which sailed from the Havanna from 1822 to 1835 inclusive, most of which returned in safety with their cargoes :—*

In the years	Vessels.	In the years	Vessels.
1822 to 1826	96	1833	38
1827	42	1834	62
1828	63	1835	80
1829	45	Out ports	7
1830	29		87
1831	32		
1832	31	Total - - -	525

The above table shows, that during the years 1822 to 1826, a period of five years, the average number of vessels which sailed from the port of Havanna, was nineteen per annum; the next five years, viz. from 1827 to 1831, that the average was forty-two per annum, or more than double the number in the preceding five years; and the last four years give a further increase in the average, amounting to *fifty-four*, being *very nearly three times the amount* of the average of the first five years.

The number of vessels captured and lost at sea, may be reckoned as one to ten (this estimate will be found above the mark, vide p.); so, that out of the above list of 525 vessels, not less than 473 have returned to the Havanna in safety.

* In a late debate on the slave trade in the House of Assembly, at Jamaica, it was asserted that Cuba employed 127 ships in this nefarious traffic.

By a letter dated Fernando Po, 10th Nov. 1834, we learn that there were then twenty-five slavers to the south of the line, and that at Whydah, there were twelve, Bonny six, Old Calabar four, and in the river Camaroons one. These vessels, it is reported, would take away 20,000 negroes from the coast. It was currently reported, that not less than 100 sail of slave vessels were fitting out for the coast!

List of Spanish vessels and slaves condemned in the Mixed Commission court at Havanna:—

	Vessels.	Slaves
1st July, 1828, to 1st January, 1829	4	1409
1st January, 1829, to 1st January, 1830	5	1077
1st January, 1830, to 1st July, 1830	2	300
1st July, 1830, to 1st January, 1831	0	
1st January, 1831, to 1st January, 1832	4	1515
1st January, 1832, to 1st January, 1833	3	1010
1st January, 1833, to 1st January, 1834	2	638
1st January, 1834, to 1st January, 1835	9	2363
1st January, 1835, to 1st January, 1836 !		
	<hr/> 29	<hr/> 8312

BRAZIL.

It is notorious that the Brazilian slave trade is carried on, with great activity in the Bight of Benin, particularly at Whydah and Lagos, chiefly, if not wholly, under the cover of the Portuguese flag, which secures them from seizure when once south of the equator; for it is only from British cruisers they have any chance of interruption.

The following is the report of the Minister of Marine to the Legislative Assembly on the 17th June, 1833 :—

“ Well known are the tricks resorted to by speculators, as sordid as they are criminal, to continue the disgraceful traffic in slaves, in spite of all the legislative provisions and orders issued respecting it, which have been most scandalously eluded. It therefore appears necessary to the government to have recourse to the most efficacious means, which are to arm a sufficient number of small vessels to form a sort of ‘ cordon sanitaire,’ which may prevent the access to our shores of those swarms of Africans that are continually poured forth from ships employed in so abominable a traffic.”—*Rio de Janeiro, 17th June, 1833.**

The Brazilian government appears desirous of putting an end to the slave trade; but such is the base character of the functionaries along its immensely extended coast, that they are easily bribed to connive at, and sometimes even to assist in its continuance.

RETURN OF SLAVES IMPORTED INTO BRAZIL.†

Rio de Janeiro.

	Slaves.	Vessels.	Died on Voyage.
From 1st July, 1827, to 31st Dec. 1830	150,537	368	10,622

Maranhão.

From 1st January, 1817, to 30th June, 1830	3361	in 33	474
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Pernambuco.

From 1st January, 1829, to 30th June, 1831	8432	in 28	308
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Bahia.

From 1st January, 1829, to 30th June, 1830	22,202	in 70	768
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* Parliamentary Papers, Class A, p. 58.

† The legal Brazilian slave trade terminated on the 13th March, 1830.

Slaves.	Vessels.	Died on Voyage.
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Para.

From 1st January, 1829, to 30th June, 1830	799	in	6	30
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How many more may have been introduced into other ports along the coast during the above period, it is impossible to say. The number must have been very considerable however, from the fact, that many ships from the coast of Africa reported themselves in ballast at Bahia.

BAHIA.

The number of slavers which sailed from Bahia to the coast of Africa from January, 1831, to June, 1835, was 81; and the number which arrived was 62.

RIO DE JANEIRO.

It is a well-known fact, that slavers almost innumerable, land their slaves at Maldonada, a town situated at the entrance of the Rio de Janeiro, and not much more than one hundred miles from the capital. This appears to be done with impunity, and it is lamentable to think that no efficient remedy can be applied to it, unless Portugal is forced to respect the faith of her treaties with this country, for the abolition of her slave trade.

The despatches from the British Commissioners at Rio de Janeiro, mention numerous cases of slave vessels brought into this port, under the usual circumstances. In their despatch of the 24th July, 1834, they observe:—

“The only other point to which we would beg leave particularly to call your Lordship’s attention, is the connivance, for it cannot be called by any other name, with which the Portuguese authorities at Benguela and Loando encourage and facilitate this traffic. On the strength of no better evidence than a fictitious sale, so obviously fraudulent that no one could really be deceived by it, the Governor *ad interim* of the captaincy of Benguela, declares this schooner to be wholly and solely Portuguese property, and gives her a passport as such; and the port authorities at Loando certify that she left that port in ballast, when it was sufficiently notorious, that she was to receive a cargo of slaves on board; and when, as appears by one of the documents, found at the time of her detention, several of them had actually been shipped many days prior to her sailing out of that harbour.”*

In a despatch to Lord Palmerston, dated the 18th December, 1834, the British Commissioners transmitted a Report from the Juiz de Direito of Ilha Grande on the subject of the suppression of the slave trade, of which the following is an extract:—

“I see that in the trade in Africans brought to this district, are committed almost the whole population of this place, and of the neighbouring districts, wherefore I judge that no measure can be taken either to punish them, or even to

impede such a traffic, unless it be, that all the views of the government be directed to the employment of cruisers on a scale sufficiently extensive, and under the inspection of some one authority. However great might be the number of Judges sent by the government to this and the adjoining districts, they would prove to be too few for the trial of so many thousands of individuals, who, either from necessity or family connexions, by fear or ill-judged philanthropy, are deemed to be conniving. This, which occurs in this district, and which I have the pain to bring under the cognizance of your Excellency, must be felt to extend to the whole coast of Brazil; for it is hardly to be supposed, that the merchants of Rio de Janeiro have been able to engross this commerce exclusively, in defiance of the laws and of the authorities, or that it is only here, that men are found ready to yield to crime. Here, since I have been in the district, there have been twenty-two disembarkations which I can remember; and I can assure your Excellency that an equal, or even greater number have called off this port; and it is certain that they did not return to Africa.”*

This functionary, the Commissioners say, acted with zeal and energy, when the penal slave-trade code was promulgated; but who, in consequence of his upright conduct at that time, they represent as since having been obliged to live in his house “as in a besieged citadel, in constant fear of assassination, and not daring to stir out, but accompanied with an armed force.”

In the next year (March, 1835) the Commissioners say:—

“When we inform your Grace, that no less than thirty-two vessels sailed from this port alone last year for the coast of Africa, under the Portuguese flag, though in all probability, the property was in whole, or in part, Brazilian, every one of which, there can be little doubt, was destined to bring return cargoes of slaves to these shores (a presumption which advices from that coast strongly confirm), your Grace will at once see how requisite the adoption of some measure of the kind has become.

“The same observation applies to the Argentine and Montevidean Republics, whose flags, as we have seen, have already been resorted to by the traffickers in slaves, and would, no doubt, be still more frequently employed in proportion as that of Portugal should cease to be so prostituted.”†

The absolute devotion of the inhabitants of Rio de Janeiro to this infamous traffic is unhappily such, that the British Commissioners, in a despatch to the Duke of Wellington, of the 16th February, 1835, state it as their opinion,—

“That till some means shall be found as a substitute for slave labour, the introductions of Africans will continue, and that with aggravation both of misery and crime, in spite of every step hitherto resorted to for its suppression.”‡

On the 17th May, 1835, the British Commissioners transmitted to the Duke of Wellington two reports which had been presented to the Chamber of Deputies by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs and of Justice, of which they (the Commissioners) speak in the following terms, viz. :—

“These extracts, your Grace will be sorry to perceive, concur in representing, in the strongest terms, the continuance of the traffic to an extent at once frightful to humanity, and alarming to the best interests of this country; and, while the one contents itself with acknowledging, in general terms, that the efforts of go-

* Class A. 1835, p. 234. † Class A. 1835, p. 257. ‡ Class A. 1835, p. 252.

vernment to repress it have been fruitless, the other declares, that no year presents a greater number of captures than the past and present years have done, and speaks with great minuteness of the points on the coast where the Africans, it is known, are disembarked, the places where they are publicly sold, and the magistrates who lend to the trade their aid and protection.

"Many however, we must here observe, as have been the cases brought before the Court within the last two years for adjudication, in comparison with any former period, they form but a very small proportion of the vessels which, it is notorious, are every day pouring forth their wretched cargoes on this coast.

"The first of the enclosed Reports, ascribes this deplorable state of things to the abuse of the flag of Portugal, and to the prejudices of the agriculturalists; the second, (that of the Minister of Justice,) cites it as a proof, in the opinion of some, of the defect of harmony between the laws and treaties, and the wants of the people, and in that of others, of a deep-rooted corruption, to which the most sacred duties are sacrificed.

"Without stopping to inquire which of these causes, all more or less adverted to in our previous correspondence, may predominate, it is impossible, we fear, to come to any other conclusion, than that *the suppression of this trade in this country is beyond the reach of any enactment, legislative or conventional*, and that even supposing good faith, and a sincere desire to put a stop to it, to exist in the executive, their endeavours will still be frustrated by the weakness of the subordinate authorities, and the operation of individual interests."*

The Report alluded to in the above extract, contains the following statement:—

"The fury of this barbarous traffic, gentlemen, continues every day to increase with a constantly progressive force.

"In fact, since the year 1830, in which only one prize was judged legal, no year presents a greater number of captures than the past year, 1834, and the present, 1835."†

On the 8th July following, the Commissioners transmit a copy of a despatch from the Minister of Justice to the Vice-President of the Province of Rio de Janeiro, relative to fresh importations which had recently taken place in the vicinity of Ilha Grande, demonstrating the continued, "we might almost say," they observe, "uninterrupted traffic in slaves still carrying on, on these coasts."

"Your Lordship will observe, that in the first despatch of the Minister of Justice, the Vice-President is recommended to use every exertion for the discovery of the Africans; and in his second, reference is made to the reply given by the Vice-President, but the document itself is not published. The nature of it, however, may readily be inferred from the rejoinder, and may well be supposed to corroborate the statement made by the Minister, and which is, in fact, *a matter of public notoriety,—of the scandal and impunity with which Africans are frequently disembarked, and exposed to sale in places indicated, without any interference or proceeding on the part of the local authorities,—a negligence or connivance, which will no doubt, frustrate, in this as in other instances, every effort to apprehend the Africans or to bring to justice their importers.*

Of the impunity which is almost certain to attend these latter, when brought to trial before the ordinary tribunals of the country, two striking instances have lately been afforded,—the one, the acquittal of the *individual who is publicly pointed out as having been the prominent personage concerned in the robbery of the blacks belonging to the 'Rio da Prata';* the other, the acquittal of the persons, two of

* Class A. 1835, p. 263.

† Class A. 1835, p. 265.

them Brazilian subjects, whom the sentence of the Court of Mixed Commission, in the case of the patacho '*Santo Antonio*,' dated 4th September 1834, declared to be liable to the provision of the 1st Article of the Convention of 23rd November, 1826. In the former of these cases the accused party were escorted home in triumph, with drums beating and colours flying."*

"27th July, 1835.

"The purchase of the dead bodies of blacks, is now becoming very common in this city,—a practice which, as there is no want of subjects for all anatomical purposes, can only, it would seem, have for its object to carry off into slavery the Africans hired out, by alleging them to have died, and producing dead bodies of corresponding appearance in proof of the assertion."†

"29th July, 1835.

"The officer in command of the '*Dous de Março*' made a statement in the course of his deposition, which, though not recorded in his testimony, we think we ought not to refrain from reporting to your Lordship. Speaking of the activity with which the slave trade is at present practised, and the inefficiency of the means at command to suppress it, he mentioned one estate alone in the neighbourhood of *Ilha Grande*, where not fewer than sixteen hundred new blacks were openly maintained, the proprietor of the estate keeping up an armed force, and mounting some guns on such points of his grounds as might be supposed to be most accessible, thus setting at defiance every attempt to interfere with him."

Of the treatment of the slaves on their arrival at Rio de Janeiro, it is almost unnecessary to say a word; but in order that some idea may be formed of it by those who are not familiar with the subject, the following extracts are subjoined from the voyage of Dr. F. J. T. Meyen, who sailed as physician and naturalist in the Prussian ship, the '*Princess Louisa*,' commanded by Captain Wendt, on a voyage round the world, in the years 1830-31, and 1832:—

"We visited the Slave Stores in Rio, and found many hundreds nearly naked, their hair almost all cut off, and looking frightful objects.

"They were sitting on low benches, or huddled upon the ground, and their appearance made us shudder. Most of those we saw were children, and almost all these boys and girls had been branded with red-hot irons on the chest, or other parts of the body. Through the filthiness of the vessels in which they had been brought over, and the badness of their diet, (salt meat, bacon, and bean-meal) they had been attacked by cutaneous diseases, which first appeared in little spots, and which soon became spreading and eating sores. Through hunger and misery, the skin had lost its black and glossy appearance, and this with the whitish spotted eruption, and their shaven heads, with their stupid, gaping countenances, they certainly looked creatures which one would hardly like to acknowledge as fellow-beings. To our astonishment, we found at Rio, persons in repute for cultivation and humanity, who coolly assured us, that we must not suppose that the negroes belonged to the human race. According to their extraordinary principles, the slaves were (as the people of Rio boast) very mildly treated. One must have lived long enough to be accustomed to their misery and degradation, to understand such a way of speaking.

"The negroes for sale were treated as we should treat animals. To remove their lowness and debility, they give them stimulants, as capsicum, ginger, or even tobacco, or else they rouse them to briskness by sheer blows: they box their ears, poke their sides, and misuse them in every way. The owner of a

* Class A. 1835, p. 282.

† Class A. 1835, p. 285.

slave store will come out with extreme friendliness, if he thinks you are a purchaser, he makes the poor creatures stand up, and, stick in hand, makes them show their capabilities; if, however, these horrid man-traders see that you are only come out of curiosity, their behaviour changes:—they are very abusive against foreigners, particularly against the English, who meddle, as they say, in their affairs, merely to enrich themselves at their expense.

“They make no scruple of selling little children away from their mothers.”

List of Brazilian vessels and slaves condemned in the Mixed Commission Court at Rio Janeiro :—

	Vessels.	Slaves.
From 5th July, 1827, to 5th July, 1830	0	0
5th July, 1830, to 5th July, 1831	4	1211
5th July, 1831, to 5th July, 1833	0	0
5th July, 1833, to 5th July, 1834	2*	277
5th July, 1834, to 5th July, 1835	4†	1705
	<hr/> 10	<hr/> 3193

MONTE VIDEO.

We have seen in the preceding part of this paper, that the Republican governments of the South American States, were very ready to issue Decrees and enact Laws for the abolition of the slave trade, but it is unfortunately the fact, that almost before the ink was dry with which they denounced the trade, they were engaged in underhand means, in fostering and encouraging it, by allowing slavery to be carried on under a simulated character.

Mr. Consul Hood, in his despatch to Lord Palmerston, dated Monte Video, the 10th of February, 1833, gives a statement of a plan adopted there, for the importation of 2000 *negro colonists from the coast of Africa*, for the introduction of whom, licenses were granted by the government, and “the Monte Videan minister for foreign affairs, questioned the right of Great Britain to interfere with nations who had no diplomatic relations with her,” and expressed his hope, that the vessels engaged in this traffic would meet all respect from British men of war. Mr. Consul Hood adds, that he has “ascertained from good authority, that the minister had received a bribe of 30,000 dollars to permit a company of merchants to import 2000 slaves under the denomination of colonists; but the remonstrance

* Another vessel, the “*Maria da Gloria*,” with 423 slaves, under Portuguese colours, was brought before the Mixed Commission Court, but was not adjudicated, the Commissioners conceiving from her having sailed under Portuguese colours, and having been owned by a Portuguese by birth, that they were not competent to do so, although this Portuguese was a resident at Rio Janeiro, where he carried on his business, and the vessel was fitted out from Rio, and was to return there. Lord Palmerston has informed the Commissioners of their error in judgment in allowing her to escape.

† The cases of two of these vessels, having 659 slaves on board, were still undecided, at the date of the return.

made by me, although private, has so drawn the public attention to the total disregard of the constitution by the executive, that I firmly believe this nefarious transaction will not be persevered in, and I am the more borne out in this belief, from knowing that the fitting of the *Aguile Primera*, has been abandoned for the present.”*

Notwithstanding the expectations here expressed, vessels did sail, and cargoes did arrive, with these “free colonists,” mostly children, who were to be apprenticed for twelve years, from thirteen years of age, if they cannot pay 240 dollars each, and prove that they came by the money honestly.†

New contracts were subsequently entered into, new licenses were granted, and new remonstrances were made by the British consul, which, appearing to have been successful, at least for a time, it is not at present necessary to enter into farther detail on the subject.

Late arrivals from the West Indies, prove the continued activity of the foreign slave trade, as will be seen by the following extracts from the colonial journals:—

Extract from “The Grenada Free Press,” September 21st, 1836.

“Last night his Majesty’s ship ‘Vestal’ returned to this port, having in company a slave trader, captured after a short chase off Tobago yesterday. The vessel is a schooner, named the ‘Negrinha,’ under Portuguese colours, bound to Cuba, and having on board 337 Africans, who will thus be relieved from their intended doom of slavery, as the slaver being under Portuguese colours, cannot be sent to Havanna for adjudication; and as she could not, we are assured, with safety to the crew, and the poor pent-up human beings on board, make the voyage to Sierra Leone, we trust that the governor will allow their being landed and located here.

“To those who have never witnessed the horrors of a voyage across the Western Ocean, the whole of it performed in one of these chanel houses of living death, no adequate idea can be formed of the sufferings of these unfortunate victims of rapacious cupidity. A favourable opportunity now presents itself of personally contrasting the number of the inmates, with the diminutive capacity of the vessel, in which they were literally stowed in bulk; such a contrast, we are convinced, would effectually satisfy the veriest stickler for the slave trade, of its gross inhumanity, and the absolute necessity of its total extinction.”

Another paper observes:—

“The sufferings of these poor victims to Spanish cupidity, on their passage, must have been frightful. The widest space between the decks of the vessels is scarcely two feet three inches, and under the beams only twenty-two inches, and she is under 130 tons. In this place 336 fellow-creatures were confined in a state of nudity. Our correspondent, who visited the vessel in company with Colonel Doyle, the Lieut.-Governor of the island, states, that this abode of misery presented a scene of horror that far exceeds any description he can give.”

Extract from the “Barbadian,” 24th September, 1836.

“His Majesty’s schooner ‘Pincher,’ Lieut. Byng, captured on the 12th July, the Spanish schooner slaver ‘Preciosa,’ from Rio Pongo, bound to Cuba, having on board 300 slaves. Chased her from Cape Ginger, where she was observed on

* Class B. 1833, p. 55.

† Class B. 1835, p. 141.

the 9th, to Cay Sal, off Matanzas, and made a prize of her on the 12th, at 2. 50. A. M."—*Jamaica Paper*.

Extract from the "Barbadian," 1st October, 1836.

"Since writing the above, we have read the 'St. George's Chronicle,' (Grenada paper) of the 1st instant, in which we find, to our great satisfaction, that his Majesty's ship 'Vestal' has captured two more slavers, the Spanish brigantine, 'Empresa,' with a cargo of 434 Africans, the other the 'Phoenix,' Portuguese brigantine, with 486; the original number on board this vessel having been 516, of whom 32 had died on the passage. These make 1157 Africans redeemed from slavery by the vigilance of Captain Jones, in the short space of eight days, since he had captured the 'Negrinha,' as lately noticed in the Colonial papers."

GREAT PROFITS MADE IN THE SLAVE TRADE.

Although much has been done by the various treaties which have been entered into, to lessen the profits by increasing the risk of slave trading adventures, still they are so enormous, that if every third vessel were captured and condemned, the safe arrival of two would leave the speculators a very considerable profit. But instead of one vessel in three being unsuccessful in their voyages, the Commissioners at Sierra Leone in one of their despatches say, that it is their opinion, not more than one in thirteen are captured.

"Of the enormous profits of the slave-trade," says commissioner Macleay, "which clearly depend on this increasing demand for negroes, the most correct idea will be formed by taking an example:—The last vessel condemned by the Mixed Commission was the 'Firm.' It appears from her papers, that the cargo she took out from this port to Africa, consisted principally of gold, silver, raw spirit or aquadente, handkerchiefs, printed cottons, and gunpowder; the whole value of which was stated in the invoice to be 28,000 dollars. Among her papers it appears, that there was a contract signed at Havanna between the master and crew, whereby the former engaged sixteen able seamen at the exorbitant wages of forty-dollars per month, and twenty ordinary seamen at thirty five dollars per month; such wages to be altogether forfeited in case of capture or shipwreck. This vessel was ten months absent, and the master and principal officers were shareholders, and in part owners; and they were to have been reimbursed in slaves or money, according to the success of the voyage. The expenses incurred for provisions, ammunition, spars, wear and tear during the voyage, may be calculated at 10,600 dollars.

"The 'Firm' was a favourite vessel, commanded by a master of proved talents and experience; and it was known that her slaves would be of the best quality, and that they were to come from the best part of the coast,—Mandingo negroes being particularly esteemed. I have, indeed, learned, that they were selling in the market for some time before her arrival at 300 dollars per negro. Taking them at 300 dollars, the worth of the cargo of the 'Firm,' consisting of 484 negroes, was 145,200 dollars; from which sum, if we deduct the expenses, we have a clear profit of 95,200 dollars. Such are the vast profits of a successful voyage, even when calculated at the lowest, while the risk is so small, that half the vessels which sailed during that year have succeeded in disembarking their slaves."*

* See Papers ordered by House of Commons, No. 381, p. 37.

Lord Howard de Walden, in a despatch to the Duke of Wellington dated Lisbon, 26th February, 1835, mentions the case of a vessel fitted out there at very great expense, and states the profits expected to be derived from her voyage at the immense sum of £40,000. The following is an extract from the despatch alluded to :—

“I have only further to add on this subject, that I am informed that the ‘*Esperança*,’ besides mounting eight long guns, has ten more (as described to me, raking pieces) in her hold, that she has a great quantity of gunpowder and ammunition on board; that she is insured, partly at Lisbon and partly at Cadiz, against capture by Portuguese or British cruisers, and that M. Pedro Carvalho, who is reported in the ship’s papers to have transferred the command to the mate, sailed in her. It is supposed that, although she has thirty-two men on board, she will take in more at the Cape de Verde Islands; that she will there alter her rigging to that of a schooner, her masts being so set that it can be done with the greatest ease; and that she will assume her former name of the ‘*Mercure*,’ having still preserved her figure-head, that of Mercury. The subject of her departure and destination have become quite notorious, and the sum expected to be cleared by the parties concerned in the enterprise is put at £40,000.”*

HORRORS AND MORTALITY ATTENDANT ON THE SLAVE TRADE.

The horrors of the middle passage have been too often commented upon, and are too well known by description to the people of Great Britain, to require one syllable to be added to the few plain statements which follow, and which are inserted, to show, that the horrors of this traffic, now exceed even the powerful and heart-rending statements made many years ago by Mr. Clarkson and Mr. Wilberforce, and which then raised the nation to cry out as one man, against this atrocious traffic.

The nations engaged in this trade, seem to be utterly careless of the treatment of the negroes on board ship; they appear to forget, that their own interest is materially connected with the condition of the negro, as an article of merchandize. They crowd their vessels to a horrible extent; the following pages will show, that one vessel of 158 tons only, had on board at the time of capture 725 slaves, and a crew of 34, including the captain, &c., making a total of 759 souls;† thus having embarked in the climate of Africa, in the small space of 158 tons, as many persons as would sufficiently crowd an English line-of-battle ship of 2000 tons. The usual tonnage rate allowed in the British service for the transport of troops, is 1½ ton for each man, and we never heard they had any room to spare, but on the contrary, many were the complaints made of their crowded state.

It must be borne in mind, that the following statements are extracts from the official reports made by naval officers and others, who were eye-witnesses of what they described, and that the facts are narrated with official brevity.

* Class B. 1835, p. 27.

† See case of the “*Minerva*, p. 49.

Case of the "Destimida," under Portuguese colours.

This vessel was captured by his Majesty's ship "Druid." In the first instance she was detained on suspicion only, and it was not discovered till after a very considerable time, that she had any slaves on board. Captain Hamilton, in his letter to the Commissioner, says,

"On our getting into Bahia, in the afternoon of the same day, I sent Lieut. Hoare, and Mr. Bean, the carpenter of this ship, on board the 'Destimida,' to search, as well as to ascertain the nature of her leaks. They after some time and with much difficulty, discovered fifty male negro slaves concealed in the bottom of the vessel.*

"Five young men were extricated from one water butt; but the greater part had been stowed or forced in the small or close spaces between the water-casks, under the false decks."†

Their sufferings must have been dreadful.

Case of the "Continenté."

His Majesty's Commissioners at Rio Janeiro, in their report respecting this vessel, dated 29th July, 1835, say:—

"From the former of these documents, your Lordship will perceive, that the Patacho was, in the first instance, detained only on suspicion, and that the capturing party had had possession forty-eight hours, and had made every possible search, as they supposed, before it was discovered that there were any slaves concealed on board. What the state of these wretched beings, to the number of forty-seven, must have been, deprived for so long a time of air and food, and packed in the smallest possible compass, like so many bales of goods, we need not pain your Lordship by describing."‡

The crowded state of the "Mensageira."

The certificate of the acting Commander and Surgeon of His Majesty's ship "Eden," states as follows:—

"We whose names are hereunto subscribed, have been on board the Brazilian schooner, 'Mensageira,' and have there taken a strict and careful survey upon the slaves on board of her, and upon their state, and find as follows: 160 on deck, without accommodation for them below, and the whole number, 353, suffering so much from their crowded state, from dysentery, ophthalmia, and ulcers, that we recommend their being immediately landed, to save their lives; and we also recommend their being detained on shore, until the vessel be properly equipped and prepared for her voyage to Sierra Leone."

(Signed) J. BADGLEY, Act. Commander.
WM. BARN, M.D.

The crowded state of the "Maria."

Havanna, 25th January, 1831.

"The 'Maria,' being only 133 Spanish tons burthen, and having on board, in addition to her slaves, 40 seamen, (making a total of 545

* Class A. 1831, p. 127. † Class B. 1831, p. 117. ‡ Class A. 1835, p. 286.

persons) gave the almost unprecedented small space of *one ton* for the accommodation of *four souls*, and the quantity of provisions, water, &c. required for their support, during a voyage, probably of forty days, to the Havanna."

Crowded State of the "Rosa,"

Captured by His Majesty's schooner, "Pickle."

Nassau, Bahamas, 3rd July, 1831.

This vessel had on board 157 negroes, (among whom were several pregnant women) all in a state of perfect nudity, and suffering from disease. The Board of Survey, in their report to the Governor, state, "That it is repugnant to every feeling of humanity, to allow so many human beings to be confined in so limited a space as the hold of this vessel, and we give it as our decided opinion, that the effect of a protracted voyage, under such circumstances, must be fatal to a large portion of them."

Crowded State of the "Carolina."

The "Carolina," a Spanish Brigantine, was captured off Whydah on the 16th February, 1834, by the "Isis," captain Polkinghorne. This vessel was only 75 tons burthen, yet she had, independently of her crew, 350 human beings crammed on board of her, 180 of whom, were literally so stowed, as to have barely sufficient height to hold themselves up, when in a sitting posture. The poor creatures crowded round their deliverers, with their mouths open, and their tongues parched for want of water, presenting a perfect spectacle of human misery.

Extract from Mr. Rankin's Narrative of a visit to Sierra Leone.*

"Close in shore, lay a large schooner, so remarkable from the low, sharp cut of her hull, and the excessive rake of her masts, that she seemed amongst the other craft, as a swallow seems amongst birds. Her deck was crowded with naked blacks, whose woolly heads studded the rail. She was a slaver with a large cargo. In the autumn of 1833, this schooner, apparently a Brazilian, and named with the liberty-stirring appellation of 'Donna Maria da Gloria,' had left Loando, on the slave coast, with a few bales of merchandise, to comply with the formalities required by the authorities, from vessels engaged in legal traffic; for the slave trade under the Brazilian flag, is now piracy. No sooner was she out of port, than the real object of her voyage declared itself; she hastily received on board 430 negroes, who had been mustered in readiness, and sailed for Rio Janeiro.

"Off the mouth of that harbour she arrived in November, and was captured as a slaver by His Majesty's brig 'Snake.' The case was brought, in December, before the court established there; and the court decided, that as her Brazilian character had not been fully made out, it was incompetent to the final decision of the case. It was ne-

cessary to apply to the Court of Mixed Commission at Sierra Leone for the purpose of adjudication. A second time, therefore, the unfortunate dungeon-ship put to sea with her luckless cargo, and again crossed the Atlantic amidst the horrors of a two months' voyage. The 'Donna Maria da Gloria' having returned to Africa, cast anchor at Freetown in the middle of February, 1834, and on arrival found the number reduced by death from 430 to 335.

"Continuance of misery for several months in a cramped posture, in a pestilential atmosphere, had not only destroyed many, but had spread disease amongst the survivors. Dropsy, eruptions, abscesses, and dysentery were making ravages, and ophthalmia was general. Until formally adjudicated by the court, the wretched slaves could not be landed, nor even relieved from their sickening situation. With the green hills and valleys of the colony close to them, they must not leave their prison. I saw them in April; they had been in the harbour two months, and no release had been offered them. But the most painful circumstance was the final decision of the court. The slaver was proved to have been sailing under *Portuguese* colours, not Brazilian; and the treaty with the Portuguese prohibits slave traffic to the *north* of a certain line only, whereas the *Donna Maria* had been captured a few degrees to the *south*. Her capture was decided to have been illegal. She was formally delivered up to her slave captain; and he received from the British authorities written orders to the commanders of the British cruisers, guaranteeing her a safe and free passage back to the Brazils; and I saw the evil ship weigh anchor, and leave Sierra Leone, the seat of slave liberation, with her large canvass proudly swelling, and her ensign floating, as if in contempt and triumph. Thus, a third time, were the dying wretches carried across the Atlantic, after seven months' confinement; few, probably, lived through the passage."

Case of "La Pantica."

"The craft showed Spanish colours, and was named 'La Pantica;' we easily leaped on board, as she lay low in the water. The first hasty glance around, caused a sudden sickness and faintness, followed by an indignation more intense than discreet. Before us, lying in a heap huddled together at the foot of the foremast, on the bare and filthy deck, lay several human beings in the last stage of emaciation,—dying. The ship, fore and aft, was thronged with men, women, and children, all entirely naked and disgusting with disease. The stench was really insupportable, cleanliness being impossible. I stepped to the hatchway, it was secured by iron bars and cross bars, and pressed against them were the heads of slaves below. It appeared that the crowd on deck formed one-third only of the cargo, two-thirds being stowed in a sitting posture below, between decks; the men forward, the women aft. Two hundred and seventy-four were at this moment in the little schooner. When captured, three hundred and fifteen had been found on board; forty had died during the voyage from the old Calabar, where she had been captured by His Majesty's ship 'Fair Rosamond,' and one had drowned himself on arrival, probably in

fear of being 'yammed' by the English. It was not, however, until the second visit on the following day, that the misery which reigns in a slave ship was fully understood.

"The rainy season had commenced, and, during the night, rain had poured heavily down. Nearly a hundred slaves had been exposed to the weather on deck, and amongst them the heap of dying skeletons at the foremast. After making my way through the clustered mass of women on the quarter-deck, I discovered the slave-captain, who had also been part owner, comfortably asleep in his cot, undisturbed by the horrors around him. The captives were now counted; their numbers, sex, and age written down for the information of the Court of Mixed Commission. The task was repulsive. As the hold had been divided for the separation of the men and the women, those on deck were first counted; they were then driven forward, crowded as much as possible, and the women were drawn up through the small hatchway from their hot, dark confinement. A black boatswain seized them one by one, dragging them before us for a moment, when the proper officer in a glance decided the age, whether above or under fourteen, and they were instantly swung again by the arm into their loathsome cell, where another negro boatswain sat with a whip or stick, and forced them to resume the bent and painful attitude necessary for the stowage of so large a number. The unfortunate women and girls, in general, submitted with quiet resignation, when absence of disease, and the use of their limbs permitted. A month had made their condition familiar to them; one or two were less philosophical, or suffered more acutely than the rest. Their shrieks rose faintly from their hidden prison, as violent compulsion alone squeezed them into their nook against the curve of the ship's side. I attempted to descend, in order to see the accommodation. The height between the floor and ceiling was about twenty-two inches. The agony of the position of the crouching slaves may be imagined, especially that of the men, whose heads and necks are bent down by the boarding above them. Once so fixed, relief by motion or change of posture is unattainable. The body frequently stiffens into a permanent curve; and, in the streets of Freetown, I have seen liberated slaves in every conceivable state of distortion. One I remember, who trailed along his body, with his back to the ground, by means of his hands and ancles. Many can never resume the upright posture."

That such horrible scenes of misery and cruelty should produce the most dreadful mortality amongst the negroes, is to be expected, but the following details will show a loss of life exceeding all anticipation. The diseases from which the negroes suffer most are small-pox, dysentery, scurvy, and ophthalmia.

The mortality on board slave-ships is not unfrequently almost incredible. Take for instance, the following cases:—

Case of the Midas.

The details given by the Commissioners at Sierra Leone to the Earl of Aberdeen, of the mortality on board the 'Midas,' are most affecting, and will serve to explain the causes of mortality on board slave-

vessels in general. In their despatch they say :—"The mortality on board this brig has been dreadful ; she sailed in May last with a cargo of 562 slaves from the river Bonny, on the coast of Africa, and had only 400 on board at the time of detention ; of these, after the surrender, a number, through fright as it is supposed, threw themselves into the sea, so as to reduce the number to 369 at the time of the captor's counting them, the day after the action. Unfortunately, owing to unfavourable winds, and the small force of the 'Monkey,' she was obliged to remain some days at anchor on the Bahama Bank, with her prize, so that by the time of her arrival at the Havanna, nine other negroes had thrown themselves overboard, notwithstanding the utmost care on the part of the captor, who had placed sentinels on the outside of the brig ; 69 others had died also of small-pox, and the other diseases which have been, owing to the confinement on board, ravaging this brig ever since she left Africa. After her arrival in this port, your lordship will perceive from the enclosed letter of the Mixed Commission to the Captain General, that ten more died, thus making the mortality of the negroes on board, after capture, 88, and the number given up by the captors to the Governor, to amount to 281. According to the reports of the medical men, they are still, I grieve to say, in a most dreadful case, already reduced to about 253, and those so ill and emaciated, that it has been hitherto impossible to make out the descriptions of their persons and marks, that are inserted in their certificates of emancipation."

They are all branded !

The British Commissioners at the Havanna give the following cases :—

Case of the 'Fama de Cadiz,' alias the 'Nueva Diana.'

On the 22nd instant, the long-expected privateer, called the 'Fama de Cadiz,' came into port, having previously landed 300 slaves at Santa Cruz. It is said, that this notorious slave-trader and pirate was boarded by one of His Majesty's sloops on the coast of Africa, but liberated on account of having no slaves then actually on board. She afterwards plundered other slave-vessels of about 980 slaves, and had scarcely sailed for this island with them, when the small-pox and other contagious diseases broke out, which reduced a crew of 157 to 66, and her slaves to about 300, of whom the greatest part are in so wretched a state, that her owners have been selling them as low as 100 dollars.*

Havanna, 31st July, 1829.

Case of the 'Constancia.'

On the 21st instant, the Spanish schooner 'Constancia,' D. A. Ferrer, arrived in this port, in ballast, after having landed 70 slaves on the coast. She is said to have left Africa with 438 negroes, who

have been reduced by the small-pox to the above small number. The mortality on board the slave-vessels this year, has been truly shocking.

Havanna, 30th September, 1829.

The 'Ricardo,' Portuguese, *lost a whole cargo of negroes* by sickness, and returned from the coast to the Havanna, in ballast. What must have been the mass of human suffering in this instance, no human tongue can tell!!

The number of slaves brought into the ports of Rio de Janeiro, Maranhão, Pernambuco, Bahia, and Pará, in one year and a half, ending 30th June, 1830, was 114,288. 8107 are reported to have died on the passage.* The probability is, that the mortality was much greater than reported, for we find, that many captains neglected to make their returns under this head.

Cases of this kind might be multiplied to any extent, but a few more only, of a late date, are added to show, that up to the very last returns, the same horrible system continued without any mitigation.

1835, *February*.—The 'Formidable,' Spanish brig, 200 tons. The prize-master, Mr. Halcrow, second acting-master of the 'Buzzard,' deposed in the Commission Court, that "*on the 17th day of December, last past, there were 712 slaves on board the 'Formidable;'* that *subsequent to the seizure of the said brig, 304 slaves died; that of that number, six threw themselves overboard, and were drowned; 150, or thereabouts, died from the said brig having been struck by lightning, on the 28th day of December last past, and from the effect of the shock which descended from the fore and main hatchways (10 of them dying instantly), and that the remainder of the 304 slaves died from bowel complaints.*"†

1835, *February*.—The 'Sutil' Spanish slave-schooner, 77 *Spanish tons*, captured by the 'Pelorus,' took on board 335 *slaves in Calabar river*, 27 of whom died on the night she left that river, and 79 more before she arrived at Sierra Leone, making a total of 106 deaths, within 50 days, and 18 more died before condemnation.‡

1835, *March*.—The 'Minerva,' alias 'Santa Ana,' Spanish Polacca, bark, of 158 *Spanish tons* burden, with a crew of two officers and 32 men, took 725 *slaves on board in the Calabar*, 186 of whom died on the passage from Calabar to Sierra Leone, two were in a dying state on her arrival, and 20 more died before adjudication.§

1835, *April*.—'Bienvenida,' Spanish schooner, about 70 *Spanish tons*, took 430 *slaves on board in the river Gaboon*: 63 died between capture and adjudication.||

1835, *November*.—The 'Argos,' Spanish brig, 100 tons, 429 *slaves taken on board in the Bonny*: 55 died in the passage up, and one drowned; all in a bad state on arrival.¶

1835, *May*.—The 'Marte,' Spanish brig, armed with eight guns and a crew of 56 men, shipped upwards of 600 *slaves at Loango* on the 25th

* The voyage from Africa to the Brazils, is usually accomplished in a month.

† Class A. 1835, p. 50. ‡ Ditto, p. 48. § Ditto, p. 56.

|| Ditto, p. 63. ¶ Ditto, p. 79.

February, 1835, and was captured by the 'Skipjack' on the 8th April, with 442 slaves on board. On the 19th April, 403, all that remained alive, were landed at the Havanna; thus upwards of 200 deaths appear to have occurred from the time of shipping this cargo of human beings, to the time of landing them, showing a loss of one-third of their number in 47 days!!! *

1835, *December*.—The 'Diligencia,' Spanish schooner, captured by His Majesty's ship, 'Champion,' shipped 210 slaves at Mayumba, 21st October, 1835: of these only 120 remained alive on the 12th December, when she was brought into the Havanna, more than half the number shipped having died in 43 days!!!! †

In the following list of seventeen vessels, it will be seen that the deaths amount to upwards of 38 per cent:—

<i>Slavers.</i>	<i>Captured by</i>	<i>Slaves on board.</i>	<i>Died before landing.</i>
1 Emelia	North Star	282	107
2 Invincival	Esk	440	190
3 Clementina	Clinker	271	115
4 Ceres	Plumper	279	151
5 Cristina	Black Joke	340	132
6 Tentadora	Dallus	432	112
7 Umbelina	Sybille	377	214
8 Arcenia	Little Bear	448	179
9 Mensageira	Eden	226	109
10 Midas	Monkey	565	281
11 Constança	—	433	70
12 Fama da Cadiz	—	980	300
13 Formidable	Buzzard	712	304
14 Sutil	Pelorus	335	124
15 Minerva	Ditto	725	208
16 Marte	Skipjack	600	403
17 Diligencia	Champion	210	120
		<hr/> 7057 <hr/>	<hr/> 2683 <hr/>

PIRACY, RESISTANCE, AND STRATAGEMS.

Another feature of the slave trade, is the piratical actions to which it gives birth. There are numerous instances on record, of slavers having attacked others of the same class, and robbed them of their living cargoes. Except as such proceedings may increase the sufferings of the negroes, this is a matter of minor consideration;—some have gone further, they have captured and robbed vessels engaged in legitimate commerce; but, this is not all—they have gone further still, they have insulted the flag of Great Britain when unfurled on board her ships of war!! and they have murdered British seamen!! and what is more

* Class A. 1835, p. 163. † Ditto, p. 260.

wonderful than all; Great Britain has contented herself with a few remonstrances on paper, and has still permitted Spain! and Portugal!! tacitly to encourage the piratical acts of their subjects.

No less than 14 actions have been fought between British Cruisers and piratical slave-vessels, during the last seven years, viz:—

1	The Black Joke	and Ameranté.
2	„ Clinker	„ Voodor.
3	„ Primrose	„ Veloz Pasagera.
4	„ Black Joke	„ Primera.
5	„ Ditto	„ Marinerito.
6	„ Conflict	„ Nympha.
7	„ Nimble	„ Guerrero.
8	„ Pickle	„ Voladora.
9	„ Monkey	„ Midas.
10	„ Speedwell	„ Aguila.
11	„ Nimble	„ Joaquina.
12	„ Buzzard	„ Formidable.
13	„ Pelorus	„ Minerva.
14	„ Skipjack	„ Marte.

Several of these actions were long and fiercely contested. In these engagements many British seamen were killed and wounded, and a considerable number of the crews of the slavers also.

Other actions have been fought, but as we have not seen the official reports, they are not given in the above list.

The Commissioners at Sierra Leone, speaking of the capture of the ‘Ameranté,’ remark, that the determination to persist in these speculations at all hazards, is becoming more daring every day: in fact, they say, the trade is assuming a new character, and the vessels now employed are of such a class, as not only to lessen the chance of capture by superiority of sailing, but also to enable them to make a very formidable resistance in the event of their being boarded.

The following few extracts will serve to show the desperate resistance made by these slavers:—

Extract of a Letter from Capt. Bolton, dated, His Britannic Majesty’s schooner, “Nimble,” *Havanna*, 16th November, 1833.

“I beg to acquaint you, that I arrived this day, at this port, in his Britannic Majesty’s schooner, ‘Nimble,’ with the Spanish slave-schooner, ‘Joaquina,’ captured on the morning of the 10th inst. off the Isle of Pines. At daylight on the 10th inst. a sail was discovered about 9 or 10 miles to leeward, standing in for land. All sail was immediately made in chase, and having greatly the superiority of sailing, I soon made her out to be a large schooner, which we were closing very fast. When within three or four miles the stranger, perceiving there was no chance of escaping by sailing, wore round, shortened sail, and hove-to to receive us; being then seven or eight miles from the south-west point of the Isle of Pines. I soon afterwards took in studding-sails and square sail, and prepared for action, still bearing down upon him; he then hoisted Spanish colours and fired a blank gun, when I hoisted our colours, and as soon as we were within musket-shot (to ascertain positively what he was) I ordered two muskets to be fired over him, which he returned by a well-directed shot from a long 12-pounder.

"I immediately opened fire upon him; closing as quickly as possible. The wind now becoming very light, he continued receiving and returning our fire until within half pistol-shot, when, having received two 18-pound shot between wind and water, several through his upper works and sails, his mainmast cut nearly through, and rigging much damaged, the captain desperately wounded (since dead), he struck his colours, and cried for quarter. His defence was most obstinate and desperate, continued nearly an hour, and he fought worthy of a better cause."*

Statement of the chase and action between His Majesty's brig, "Buzzard," and the Spanish slave-brig, "Formidable."

"About 8h. 30m. A. M. on the 17th of December, 1834, whilst cruising off Old Calabar River, observed a brig bearing E. N. E.; made all sail, and our sweeps in chase; at 9h. 45m. saw the brig make sail, steering south; 11h. 20m. saw the long-boat of chase going astern, she having been cut adrift; at noon very light winds, brig bearing S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ S. $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles; gaining on her fast; distinctly made her out to be throwing overboard quantities of stores, casks, spars, &c. and to be an armed vessel; at 4 o'clock observed her cut down her stern-boat, run out her stern-guns, hoist a large Spanish flag, and immediately after take in her studding-sails; 4h. 15m. commenced firing with small arms at pistol-shot distance, which she immediately returned by firing her stern-guns; gave her our great guns as they could be brought to bear, using every effort to run her on board; 4h. 40m. his colours came down; ceased firing at him, and hailed to know if he had struck; was answered by a discharge from his stern-guns, which shot away our flying jib-boom; continued to pour a heavy fire into him, and at 5 o'clock succeeded in boarding him from our larboard bow on his starboard quarter, when after a trifling resistance she surrendered: found her to be the 'Formidable,' Spanish slave-brig, mounting six 18-pounders, Gover's guns, and two long 16-pounders; pierced for eighteen guns, with a crew of sixty-six men; and having on board upwards of 700 slaves, from Old Calabar, bound to Havana; commanded by Don Manuel Mateu. On taking possession of the 'Formidable,' we found six of the crew killed, including the mate and carpenter; five severely, and eleven slightly wounded: amongst the former was the captain, who received four musket-ball wounds. The ship's company of the 'Buzzard' were constantly employed at the sweeps from 9h. A. M. until the action commenced.

(Signed) A. M. MILWARD, *Lieutenant and Commander.*†

Statement of the capture of the Spanish polacca-bark, "Minerva," detained in the Old Calabar River by the boats of His Majesty's sloop, "Pelorus," on the 15th of January, 1835.

"On information that this vessel was about to leave Duke's Town with slaves, three boats of His Majesty's sloop, "Pelorus," were despatched, on the 12th of January, under the command of the first lieutenant, to intercept her, and were placed in ambush about sixty miles from the mouth of the river.

"On the 15th the second lieutenant was despatched in the cutter with ten men, for a further supply of provisions, leaving the pinnace and gig, with the first lieutenant, a volunteer of the first class, and a party of twenty-one seamen and marines. After sunset, in reconnoitring the river close to Duke's Town, the 'Minerva' was perceived under weigh, towing down in silence by several canoes. It was then ascertained from Mr. Cummings, the master of an English brig, that slaves had been embarked, under an armed escort of the crew and a

party of free natives, and that the polacca was prepared for action. The two remaining boats were placed at a narrow part of the channel, and when she dropped abreast they pushed off. After the second hail, the marines fired aloft, to cover the boats (which was deemed prudent, from the calm clear moonlight night, and the known state of preparation of the Spaniards). This was replied to by a continued stream of musketry from the vessel, until the boats touched the side. None of the crew were hit, as they could not distinguish their opponents from the smoke, but several of the oars were shot away; and, at the moment of boarding (principally through the ports, the boarding-nettings being up), an 18-pounder, double-shotted, burnt priming immediately over the boats, the second which we afterwards learnt had done so. When the English gained the deck, two of the Spaniards were cut down, the remainder fled below and under the poop, and the free natives jumped overboard, pilot and all.

"She was immediately anchored, being in a dangerous position, and proved to be the 'Minerva,' Spanish polacca-bark, from, and bound to Havana, of about 300 tons, with a crew of 37 men, armed with four guns, double-shotted, with round and musket balls ready for action; forty muskets on deck, all of which, with the exception of two or three, had been just discharged; match was burning in the tubs, and brandy distributed about the deck, and under the guns. About an hour after her detention, the master came nearly along-side in a canoe, which was detained by a boat prepared for the purpose; and, as the master asserted that the twenty-five slaves in her were part of the 'Minerva's' cargo, they were embarked by my orders.*

(Signed) T. P. BARROW, *Senior Lieutenant of His Majesty's sloop, 'Pelorus.'*"

Besides the open resistance made by slave ships to capture, the stratagems resorted to, in order to avoid such a result are innumerable, and most difficult to defeat. The assumption of the flag of any nation, according as circumstances seem to render them least liable to interruption, and the ease with which simulative papers are procured, have been frequently alluded to by the British commissioners and the naval officers employed on the coast. It is on proof in the mixed commission court at Sierra Leone, that Portuguese papers have been obtainable at the Islands of Princes and St. Thomas, for only a few dollars.

The commissioners at Sierra Leone, in one of their despatches to Lord Palmerston, make the following observations:—

"It is also probable, that the unsuccessful exertions of the squadron may arise, in some measure, from two new systems, which we learn the proprietors of slave ships, particularly Spaniards, have commenced. One is, that of sending ships with suitable cargoes of merchandise, to purchase slaves on shore, allowing sufficient time to elapse for a cargo to be collected, and then sending, in every way perfectly prepared, the swiftest sailing vessels that can be obtained to ship the slaves (which can be done in a few hours), and carry them off; in opposition to the system formerly adopted of sending the goods and merchandise in the same ship that carried off the return cargo of slaves.

"The other plan is, for the slaving vessel to run to the place from whence she intends to ship her slaves, land the goods and merchandise for their purchase, and then quit, and go to some other port, 200 or 300 miles distant. She is then engaged in wooding and watering and arranging for the reception of her intended cargo; and if one of His Majesty's cruisers should, during such time, board that vessel, the parties on board of her conjecture, and it appears to us with proba-

bility, that the commander of His Majesty's ship would imagine the slaves intended for shipment must be near the spot, that under such impression he would keep off the place (usually out of sight of land), in expectation of meeting the slaver coming out with her cargo, which vessel, taking advantage of this circumstance, runs back, ships her slaves, and effects her escape.

"It is, indeed, difficult to devise and adopt any plan consistent with a due regard to the existing stipulations of the treaties for the repression of the slave-trade, that cannot be readily evaded or circumvented by the ingenuity of slave-dealers, whose perception of the means of fraud, appear to become keener the more their schemes are opposed, powerfully stimulated thereto by the prospect of the immense profits usually made in such traffic."—*5th January, 1833.**

TREATMENT OF NEGROES AFTER CAPTURE AND EMANCIPATION.

Humanity would fondly indulge the hope, that after the capture of a slave vessel, the negroes on board would at once become sensible of a beneficial change in their situation, or if whilst at sea, this should be found impossible, that at all events on reaching a port, it would at once be effected; but unhappily this has not always been the case. At Rio de Janeiro, great suffering seems sometimes to have been inflicted on the negroes, by the delay which has occurred in landing them, after their arrival in port. The following letter from Rear-admiral Hamond on this point is important; he says :—

"The detention of slave-vessels by His Majesty's cruisers is not a matter of choice, but of absolute necessity, in obedience to the orders they receive, the commanders exercising their best judgment thereon. It bears no analogy to the case of neutrals suspected of favouring the enemy in time of war, where the captain exercises his judgment at his own risk, but where *humanity* makes no call, and the case is not imperative. Here the mind revolts *against* the capture under *certain circumstances*, because the sufferings of the unhappy slaves are very much increased instead of diminished by the interference. For instance, a vessel sent into Rio de Janeiro (as in the case of the '*Rio de la Plata*,') overloaded with slaves, already sickly and dying fast, the vessel old, leaky, utterly unfit for sea, and without accommodations in fact for half the number she carries, comes into a hot and close port, where there is no provision for their being landed, no hospital for the sick, no agent or person appointed to look after and provide for the unhappy captives. They must await in the confinement of the vessel the tardy process of the mixed commission court, which takes no care about them during the discussion, during which delay the mortality is to a certainty much greater than if the poor wretches were at sea. The captor is probably absent from his station, and the officer in charge without funds or credit, even if humanity should make him willing to incur the ruinous expense of the necessary shelter and protection, cannot land the helpless creatures without the greatest difficulties on the part of the government as to the place where they shall be put in, and still greater as to their security from being carried off when disembarked, as the government will not provide a guard, and an armed force cannot be landed from the ships, nor can he provide for their maintenance if it should be necessary. Under these circumstances, I feel bound to submit to their Lordships whether,

* Parliamentary Papers, Class A. 1833, p. 4.

when a slave-vessel is detained by one of His Majesty's cruisers, an officer of the mixed commission *might* not and *ought* not to act as protector of the slaves, have authority to cause such as he saw fit to be landed and properly guarded, and food, &c., as requisite, provided; for even in the imaginary case of an officer unintentionally transgressing his orders and incurring expense by the detention of a slave-vessel, it is clear, that the government will always have power over his pay, and even over his commission as a check, while it is equally clear that without some such provision, by authority, the stopping of a slave-vessel is only exposing the blacks to greater misery, and a much greater chance of speedy death, than if they were left to their original destination of slavery, to say nothing of the horrors which the officers and men in charge of the vessel undergo, of which it is not easy to form an adequate idea without having witnessed them."*

It would not seem unreasonable to expect, after the emancipation of the small proportion of the miserable victims of this inhuman traffic who are rescued by our Mixed Commission Courts, that *they* at least would enjoy a respite from their sufferings, and be placed in a state of security, in which the blessings of religion and civilization might reach their benighted minds. But what is the fact with respect to many even of them? At Sierra Leone itself, (although the statements of Mr. Justice Jeffcot, were proved on an investigation ordered by the Colonial Secretary of State, to have been greatly exaggerated,†) it is to be feared, that some have been kidnapped, and again transferred to the pestilential holds of slave ships. At St. Mary's in the Gambia, it appears from the evidence laid before the Parliamentary Committee on the Aborigines last session, many negroes are "kept in a state of slavery,"‡ and reports of a strange and afflicting nature, of the working of "Pawns" as they are called, in chains at Cape Coast Castle, and of a positive slave trade being carried on there, have reached our ears; representations we believe have been made to the Colonial office on the subject, and we trust, if they are proved to be true, that steps will speedily be taken to put an end to such a flagrant violation of the laws, and that the offenders, whoever or whatever they may be, will be brought to justice.

At the Havanna, the British Commissioners, under date of November, 1833, say they have reason to believe, that "gross frauds have been committed by some of the persons to whom emancipated negroes have been distributed by the local government." On the 26th of December, 1834, Mr. Macleay states, in his despatch to Lord Palmerston, that the captain-general of the island had proposed a plan for raising funds, to be applied to public buildings, by letting out at certain rates each emancipated negro,—a breach of treaties, against which, Mr. Macleay properly remonstrated; and he adds, "but I am nevertheless much afraid, that on these negroes arriving at the destined scene of their labour, little difference will be made between their condition and that of a slave."§

At Rio de Janeiro, the same evil seems to have arisen. The

* Class B. 1835, p. 66. † See Parliamentary Paper, No. 364, Sess. 1832.

‡ See Appendix to Report of that Committee, p. 493. § Class A. 1835, p. 125.

British commissioners, in a despatch dated 10th of November, 1834, say that,—

“Under the idea that the Legislative Assembly would not close its labours without some further enactment on the subject of Africans illicitly introduced into this empire, the minister of justice determined on placing all such as should be entitled to their freedom in provisional deposit at a new establishment forming in the vicinity of this city, under the name of the House of Correction. No measure of the kind, however, having been decreed, and the expense of their support under this plan rapidly increasing, to the amount, we have been assured, of upwards of £200 per month, his Excellency has reverted to the other alternative allowed by the Alvará of the 26th of January, 1818, and proposes to let out the greater part, as heretofore practised, reserving only a small proportion for the use of the government.”*

On the 10th of December following, the commissioners, referring to an official report made by the chief of the police respecting emancipated negroes, say,—

“The result of these documents confirms the more than surmises, which it has been the duty of His Majesty’s commissioners, at various times, to present to His Majesty’s government, respecting the mal-practices of those to whom the negroes were consigned, after being declared free by the mixed commission, and is well worthy your Lordship’s attention, as showing how grievously the humane intentions of the British government and nation have been, in effect, frustrated.

“The conditions of hiring the Africans, and which, if duly enforced, would have obviated in a great measure the mal-practices and neglect complained of, were to serve for fourteen years, the hirers engaging to feed and clothe them; to attend to their health and instruction; to cause them to be vaccinated; to present them every six months, and, in case of death, not to bury them without a previous communication to the proper tribunal; not to punish them to excess, and to pay one year’s wages in advance.

“A yet more afflicting circumstance which this report accredits, and which is but a confirmation of what has long been matter of general belief, is, the all but certain fact that many of these unfortunate beings, instead of being duly taken care of, and taught to know and appreciate the blessings of freedom, have been again sold into irremediable and unconditional slavery.”†

In a despatch to Lord Palmerston, dated 18th of March, the Commissioners make the following important suggestion:—

“It would seem hardly possible,” they say, “considering especially the alarm occasioned by the late insurrection at Bahia, and the apprehension which is felt of similar occurrences in this and other quarters, but that some measure, with reference to a question so replete with difficulty and danger as that of the importation and disposal of negroes in this country, must be speedily adopted by the ensuing legislature; and it were greatly to be wished, that in any future arrangement which may be determined on, the powers of the commission could be enlarged so as to embrace, not merely the decreeing of the confiscation of the vessel and the emancipation of the negroes, but also *the right of superintending and enforcing the due execution of its sentence, progressively, through all its stages, from the first moment of its promulgation to that when the negro shall become entitled to his full and entire freedom*; in a word, that those powers which are fully and explicitly given in the 4th and 5th articles of the above-mentioned Alvará should be vested in the four commissioners composing this court,

* Class A. 1835, p. 226.

† Class A. 1835, pp. 229, 230.

instead of in any one Brazilian authority alone. The want of this power has undoubtedly been the cause of considerable loss and delays as regards the sale of the vessels and cargoes, other than slaves, and without some such arrangement there can be no security, we have no hesitation in saying, in this country, for the conscientious and efficient execution of the other and by far the most interesting and important part of the whole process; and that means will still be found, as heretofore, by pretended deaths and other frauds, favoured by the negligence, if not actual connivance, of the superintending power, to defeat the main object contemplated in the slave trade conventions, namely, the practical improvement and the *bonâ fide* liberty of the negro.*

Before we quit this subject, a few remarks must be made on the arrangements of the British government for the future treatment of captured Africans in our own colonies. By the 22d section of the 5th Geo. IV. c. 113, already quoted, as consolidating and amending the laws relating to the abolition of the slave trade, a power is given to his Majesty, and to such persons as he may appoint, to provide for liberated Africans, either by enlistment into his Majesty's land or sea service, or by apprenticeship, for any term not exceeding seven years, where and in such manner as his Majesty shall think fit; and by the 31st section, his Majesty is empowered to make further provision for such apprentices, at the termination of their apprenticeship. In accordance with this power, since the abolition of slavery in the British colonies, arrangements have been made with the governments of Spain and the Brazils, for the removal of a portion of the liberated Africans from Cuba and from Rio Janeiro into our own colonies as labourers; and considerable numbers have in consequence been imported into Trinidad and British Guiana, where they have been immediately subjected to a servitude in most respects similar to that of the negro under the abolition act. Now, although the treatment of such unhappy beings in the countries from whence they are exported, leaves us nothing, perhaps, to regret at their simple removal to a British colony, even without their consent, provided no separation of families take place, it yet becomes matter of gravest enquiry, how far the benevolent intentions of the British legislature have been carried into effect by the destiny which awaits them on their arrival. What will be the probable effect of the sanction thus afforded to a new system of apprenticeship in the British colonies, founded on the principle of coerced labour, certainly enforced with much rigour, involving great personal hardships, justified by no apparent necessity, either as it regards the police of the colonies, or the welfare of the negroes themselves, manifestly injurious to free labour in the colonies, tending to stigmatize British generosity, establishing a dangerous precedent both at home and abroad, and possibly supplying a new impulse at a future period to the activity of the slave trade itself? All these are questions which require to be maturely examined, as we trust they will be, by the committee, recently appointed to inquire into the condition of "apprentices in the colonies, and the laws and regulations affecting them which have been passed." In the mean time we

* Class A. 1835, p. 255.

cannot but express our earnest hope that great jealousy will be exercised over so suspicious a procedure; and that if the balance of evils incline to the location of these unfortunate beings in our West India settlements, the strictest precaution will at least be employed to secure to them in that hazardous position, the substantial rights of British subjects, and the invaluable blessings of moral and religious instruction.

EXPENDITURE INCURRED BY GREAT BRITAIN IN ATTEMPTS TO ABOLISH THE FOREIGN SLAVE TRADE.

There yet remains one point, to which, as these pages have already been extended far beyond the number originally intended, we can only now briefly allude; we mean the heavy expense incurred by Great Britain in her endeavours to procure the total abolition of the foreign slave trade. The expenses of the Naval force, which has been constantly kept afloat for the purpose of cruising against Slave Traders, has been very considerable. The Squadron stationed on the Coast of Africa has generally consisted of a 46 gun frigate, three sloops of war, and eight smaller vessels commanded by Lieutenants. And the expenditure occasioned by the Mixed Commission Courts, established under the several treaties has also been very heavy.

We have alluded in the earlier pages to the treaties by which the British government engaged to pay to those of Spain and Portugal, certain sums for their consenting to assist England in the abolition of this atrocious traffic, and we now insert the following abstract of a paper (No. 539) laid before the House of Commons in 1821, relative to this subject.

Paid to Portugal, in pursuance of the Convention of	£.	s.	d.
21st January, 1815.	-	-	-
Interest on ditto	-	-	-
Remission of Loan, in pursuance of Treaty of	-	-	-
22nd January, 1815, say	-	-	-
In Satisfaction of Claims of Portuguese subjects for losses sustained by informal seizures and condemnation of Slavers †	-	-	-
	300,000	48,904	2 2
	*600,000		
	110,882	8	6
Total amount paid to Portugal	£1,059,786	10	8
Paid to Spain, in pursuance of the Treaty of May, 1820.	-	-	-
	400,000		
Total payments to Portugal and Spain	£1,459,786	10	8

One million, four hundred and fifty nine thousand, seven hundred and eighty six pounds, ten shillings and eightpence!! paid to the governments of Spain and Portugal:—for what? the preceding pages contain the answer.

* The actual sum remitted was £601,771. 9s. 7d. 3 per cent. stock.

† The captors of these vessels were ordered by government to pay their proceeds into the treasury, but most of them having been distributed, the whole amount paid in was only £3,703. 19s. 10½d.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS.

We have thus taken a rapid review of the state of the slave-trade question, since England abolished her share of the traffic; and we have seen, that notwithstanding her efforts to induce Foreign Powers to follow her example have been so far successful as to procure its abolition by law, by all the governments in Christendom, the trade itself, has suffered but little, or no diminution, whilst all the horrors incident to it, have been increased in a tenfold degree.

The question naturally arising from this review is—*What is now to be done?*—It is a question of fearful importance.—New treaties may be entered into, and existing treaties may be improved and strengthened in all their prohibitory stipulations; and new laws, containing higher penal clauses, may be enacted; but should they not prove sufficient to annihilate the traffic, we shall see again, as we have already seen, increased atrocities perpetrated in order to evade their provisions.

It is no doubt true, that if measures could be adopted to render the traffic one of such risk, as to reduce the profits derivable from it to such an extent as to bring them to a level with those of legitimate commerce, the slave-trade would cease to exist.

The right of mutual search, if it were universally agreed to, and universally acted upon in good faith, might perhaps be effectual; but whilst one single state refuses to concede it (and the United States of North America do refuse), the measure, as has been clearly shown in the preceding pages, will be perfectly illusory.

The declaring of the slave-trade to be *piracy* by the universal law of nations, is another measure which has been strongly recommended by most practical men acquainted with the subject, as likely to be the most effectual one which could be taken, for putting it down; and its adoption was strongly recommended by the British Plenipotentiaries at the Congress of Aix la Chapelle in 1818.*

For several reasons, some of them of a temporary nature, the proposal was not agreed to.

At the Congress held at Verona, in 1822, the proposition for declaring the slave trade piracy, was, on the recommendation of the late Mr. Canning (at that time Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs) again brought under consideration by His Grace the Duke of Wellington, together with an additional proposition, namely, that all the Sovereigns of Europe, should agree to, and bind themselves to prohibit the introduction of colonial produce from the colonies of any State, which should, not only legally, but effectually, have abolished the slave trade. These propositions, however, were not more successful than those made at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle. The Russian cabinet alone stated, that,

* The arguments in favour of it were clearly and forcibly stated in a Memoir, drawn up by the late Mr. Stephen, with the concurrence of Mr. Wilberforce, and other abolitionists, and submitted to the British cabinet about that period.

"However prejudicial to the interests of Russia, the interruption of commercial relations established for so long a series of years between her and Portugal might be, yet, if the allies of his Imperial Majesty were to consent to adopt this measure, the Emperor would not hesitate to impose on himself the same sacrifice."

But added, that,

"In admitting the necessity of having recourse to efficacious measures with regard to those states, his Russian Majesty thought, that if the allied Cabinets were to confine themselves to adopting the determination pointed out by the Cabinet of London, they would still be far from obtaining the object which they had in view; and that a general suspension of all commerce whatever with those powers which should not have forbidden the slave trade, would tend much more promptly to the desired result."

In pursuing the inquiry of what is to be done to put down the slave trade? there is still another method left for consideration, which has not been discussed in Congress by the crowned heads of Europe, but which is one worthy of attention. Laws and Proclamations, and the enforcement of them by the strong arm of power, are subjects well fitted for the consideration of Sovereigns; but a change to be effected in the public opinion of those, from whom the power of these Sovereigns emanates, is a subject of greater importance, and one more particularly fitted for the consideration of Abolitionists. It was the force of public opinion in England, which not only obliged our own government to abolish the slave trade, but which has acted on the governments of both the continents of Europe and America, and obliged them also, to enact laws for its abolition; but the misfortune in their case is, that legislation has been in advance of the public opinion of their own subjects; and in this fact, is to be found the cause of the little success which has attended all our efforts for the suppression of the slave trade. This is the cause of our having seen the new Republics of South America, and the old Monarchies of Europe, whilst vying with each other in their professions of abhorrence of the traffic, alike cherishing it, by the sacrifice of every principle, not only of honour, but of common honesty.

With reference to the progress and force of public opinion, let us for a moment look at France. What was the state of feeling in the most enlightened continental nation in Europe, with regard to the slave trade, only little more than ten years ago? We have the testimony of the French government itself in 1822, that there was no public feeling—*none*—which responded in the *smallest degree* to the sentiments prevalent in England. Whilst this apathy prevailed, the African coast swarmed with slave ships under the French flag; but a change in public opinion has since been effected by means of French abolition societies, and by the influence of the press; the consequence is, the French slave trade is nearly annihilated, and France is now acting cordially with England in mutual endeavours for its suppression.

With regard to Spain, we have the authority of official correspondence on which to state, that there, a powerful effect was produced, at least in smoothing the way for the formation of abolition treaties, by the circulation in the Spanish language, of Mr. Blanco White's work founded on Mr. Wilberforce's letter on the slave trade.

In America it is well known, that the press is producing wonderful effects in regard to the existence of slavery itself.

Let us not then despair, nor relax our efforts in this holy warfare, because we have not effected all we wished. When we recur to the history of our own abolition, we see abundant reason for believing, that by the spread of accurate information, as to the true nature of the traffic, it will be as universally repudiated by other nations as it now is by England. How many are there still living in England, in all ranks, from the highest to the lowest, who were once the strenuous defenders of the slave trade, but who would now blush, at having the fact brought to remembrance! The triumph of truth is not confined to England alone; its power is universal;—if we wish for its success, let us not be tardy in forwarding its progress. Opportunities seem to be offering for its extension in quarters apparently the most inauspicious for its introduction, especially in regard to the slave trade,—even in Rio de Janeiro itself,—a place, into which as has been shown, slaves innumerable are constantly and openly imported—a place, where they are openly and by force carried off from the possession of the authorities who have legally seized them—even *there*, exists a Society alive to the power of the press, and which has already offered a premium for the best treatise on the slave trade. The British Commissioners, in one of their despatches to Lord Palmerston, say,—

“A Society existing here, under the title of Defenders of the National Liberty and Independence, has recently offered a premium of 400 milreis for the best Treatise on the Slave Trade, upon the following basis:—

“1st. To demonstrate the odium of the traffic, refuting the sophisms with which its apologists are wont to defend it.

“2nd. To examine the means by which a substitute can best be provided for the introduction of African slaves—whether by sending for colonists on account of individuals, or by the admission of such machinery as may simplify and accelerate the progress of agriculture and the working of the mines, or by ameliorating the condition of the slaves already existing, or by endeavouring indirectly to remove them from the cities into the country.

“3rd. To notice, in detail, the advantages of free over compulsory labour.

“4th. And finally, to point out the baneful influence which the introduction of African slaves exercises on the habits, the civilization, and the liberty of the country.

“At the same time they addressed to the Emperor a representation, from which, as well as from the communication made by the minister of justice to his colleagues, your Lordship will judge of the influential character of this society, which has ramifications in various other provinces, and of the probable spirit in which the subject is likely to be proposed and discussed in the ensuing session of the Chambers.”*

It is truly gratifying to see this first step taken towards abolition, in one of the strongest holds of slavery and the slave trade; but we must never forget, whilst raising our voice against the accursed trade in our fellow men, and whilst straining every nerve to obtain its utter extinction, that it is in slavery itself, that the slave trade has its origin. This was said in the early part of these pages, and we repeat it,—SLAVERY is the root from which springs the enormous,—the dreadful

* See Parliamentary Papers, 1834, Class A. p. 138.

accumulation of horrors,—of which a faint idea only, can be formed from a perusal of the preceding pages; and harrowing as they must be, even to hearts the most callous; who, after all, will venture to affirm, that viewed in the whole range of their results, the atrocities of the slave trade; though more palpable to observation, and striking more directly and forcibly on the senses, outweigh, in the sum of misery they produce, the evils of slavery,—of a protracted and irremediable and perpetual servitude, living through the life of the slave, and renewed in his children, and children's children, to the latest generation? Let any man think but of the perpetually impending scourge, the interminable toil to which it urges, the stocks, the blows, the contempt, the degradation, the hunger, the lassitude, the disease, the agony of broken and bleeding hearts, and all the nameless and scarcely conceivable inflictions which await those, whose own destinies, and those of every endeared relative—wife—husband—child—are bound up in the will of any individual who claims them as his slaves; without any effectual, nay, any possible protection from law against his tyranny and caprice. Let any one but think of all this, and he will perhaps see no very cogent reason for exempting slavery from a moral reprobation, to the full as severe as we pass on the slave trade, or for not exhibiting it alike, as an outrage on every principle of justice, humanity, and true religion.

Once more we solemnly repeat, that by the total abolition of slavery only, can the slave trade be annihilated. Destroy the demand of the slave holder, and there will no longer be a traffic carried on to supply wants which shall no longer exist; but whilst a demand, whether for merchandise or for men, does exist, all experience shows, that the hope of gain will tempt unprincipled men, despite of all laws, human and divine, to run every risk in order to supply it.

We cannot close our pages, without referring once more to the absolute necessity of creating, where it does not exist, and fostering, where we see the germs of it, a sense of humanity and moral rectitude, on the subjects of slavery and the slave trade—remembering, that destitute of the support of public opinion, the due execution of any law is not to be expected;—even in this country, laws held in veneration by our forefathers, have fallen into desuetude, when a change in public opinion in regard to them, has become at all general.—Governments which are sincere in the laws they may enact, can, and doubtless will do much to secure their being carried into execution, but it is scarcely to be expected, that new laws will be effectually executed in countries into which they have been introduced on the suggestions of a foreign power; for the purpose of putting down a profitable traffic, against which, no moral feelings exist throughout their whole population. Governments may enter into negotiations,—engage in treaties,—enact laws,—and promulgate ordinances, for the abolition of the slave trade; but thirty years' experience has proved, that all will be in vain, if they are not in unison with the feelings, and are not supported by the opinions of the people themselves.