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SOME ACCOUNT

OF THE

TRADE IN SLAVES FROM AFRICA

AS CONNECTED WITH

EUROPE AND AMERICA;

FROM THE INTRODUCTION OF THE TRADE INTO MODERN EUROPE,
DOWN TO THE PRESENT TIME; ESPECIALLY WITH REFERENCE
TO THE EFFORTS MADE BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT
FOR ITS EXTINCTION.

Ἤμισυ γάρ σ' ἀρετῆς ἀποαίνυται εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς
Ἀνέρος, εἴτ' ἄν μιν κατὰ δούλιον ἦμαρ ἕλῃσιν.
Homeri Odyss. ρ. 322, 3.

"Jove fix'd it certain, that whatever day
Makes man a slave, takes half his worth away."
POPE'S *Translation.*

BY JAMES BANDINEL, ESQ.,
FOREIGN OFFICE.

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TO

THE EARL OF ABERDEEN, K.T.

HER MAJESTY'S SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, &c. &c. &c.

THIS MEMOIR,

INTENDED TO FURNISH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE

EUROPEAN TRADE IN SLAVES FROM AFRICA,

AND OF THE

STEPS TAKEN BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT FOR ITS EXTINCTION,

IS (WITH HIS LORDSHIP'S KIND PERMISSION) INSCRIBED,

MOST RESPECTFULLY,

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S OBLIGED

AND FAITHFUL SERVANT,

JAMES BANDINEL.

NOTICE.

THE extinction of the Trade in Slaves from Africa has been an object of desire with the people of this country for the last half-century: and they have repeatedly urged the Crown and the Government to make every endeavour possible to effect it.

Parliament has expressed its readiness to agree to great sacrifices for the attainment of this object; and successive Administrations have been unceasing in their efforts, to fulfil the commands of the Crown, and to second, in this respect, the wishes of the People.

I therefore thought, that a succinct account of the facts belonging to these transactions might not be useless to the Government, nor unacceptable to the public.

But, having begun the statement, it appeared desirable to make the work more comprehensive, by giving an account of the introduction of the Trade into modern Europe, and tracing the events connected with it,—1st, to the time when the English entered into the Trade; 2ndly, to that at which they finally abandoned it; and 3rdly, to the present day: marking more particularly, first, how it occurred that the Trade was introduced into modern Europe, and on what grounds it was maintained; secondly, the conflict in England, between its supporters and its opponents, down to its abandonment on the part of England; and thirdly, the subsequent efforts of the British Government, for its entire extinction.

Such is the view with which I drew up the accompanying Memoir; the main part of it is therefore confined to a statement of the steps taken by the British Government to effect the suppression of the Trade.

The work has been composed at short and irregular intervals of leisure, snatched with difficulty from laborious occupations. I am fully aware, that it is not such as it should be, and as, I venture to think, it might have been, had I been able to give more time to it; but those, to whose judgment I willingly defer, think it desirable to have it printed, such as it is; and it has, therefore, been placed, in its present shape, at the disposal of Government.

JAMES BANDINEL.

December 31*st*, 1841.

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PART THE FIRST.

INTRODUCTION OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE INTO EUROPE, AND PROGRESS OF IT AMONG EUROPEAN NATIONS.

Chapter the First.

Slavery in ancient Times.

Slavery and the Slave Trade existed, under various modifications, in most countries, in the earlier ages of the world.

There were several ways in which, at those early periods, people became slaves.*

Among many nations, captives in war were treated as slaves. In several states, criminals were reduced to slavery by way of punishment; and in some cases, individuals in impoverished circumstances sold their families, and in other cases themselves into slavery.

In those times too, frequent cases occurred

* Leviticus, chap. xxv., verses 44, 45, and 47. Mitford's Greece. Potter's Antiquities of Greece. Adams's Roman Antiquities. Montesquieu, Esprit des Lois, article Origine dc l'Esclavage. Note by Guizot, on Slavery, in Milman's Gibbon, vol. i., p. 67. Blair's Inquiry into the State of Slavery among the Romans, &c.

of kidnapping people to make them slaves. But the practice was treated by the Jews,* the Greeks,† and the Romans,† as one of the basest of crimes.

The Jewish‡ law, which has been much quoted as justifying the conduct of modern nations in respect to slavery, made the slave, if an Israelite, free at the end of seven years; and upon the return of each fiftieth or jubilee§ year, every‖ slave, Israelite or foreigner, throughout the land, received his freedom. The slave was protected by special laws against ill treatment; and the

* "He that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand," says the Jewish lawgiver, "he shall surely be put to death." Exodus, ch. xxi. ver. 16; also Deuteronomy, ch. xxiv. ver. 7.

† Blair's Inquiry, &c. page 31.

‡ Deuteronomy, ch. xv. ver. 12, 13, 14, 15, "And if thy brother, an Hebrew man, or an Hebrew woman, be sold unto thee, and serve thee six years, then in the seventh year thou shalt let him go free from thee; and when thou sendest him out free from thee, thou shalt not let him go away empty. Thou shalt furnish him liberally, and thou shalt remember that thou wast a bondman."

§ The term jubilee was taken from an Hebrew word "*jobel*," which, according to Josephus, signifies liberty. See on this point Patrick's Commentaries on the Bible.

‖ See Leviticus, ch. xxv. ver. 10, "And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land..... and ye shall return every man unto his possession, and ye shall return every man unto his family."

master was repeatedly exhorted to treat him with kindness, and to remember that he himself had been a bondman in the land of Egypt.

According to Herodotus, slavery did not exist in Greece, until after the expulsion of the Pelasgi from Attica.*

In subsequent times, slavery became common in most states of Greece; and in the greater number the authority of the master over the slave, properly so called, was absolute; and slaves were often cruelly treated.

But this was not universally the case. According to Muller, the Phocians, Locrians, and some other Greeks† had no slaves; and according to Mitford, slavery in Macedonia was of a mitigated nature.‡

According to Potter and Boëckh, slaves at Athens§ could institute a suit against their master on account of ill treatment: they were allowed to accumulate property even in land; and if they could collect as much as would pay for their freedom, their master could not prevent its purchase. The manumission of slaves by individuals was

* Herodotus, book vi. ch. 137.

† Muller's History of the Dorians, ch. iii. sec. 2.

‡ Mitford's Greece, vol. ix. p. 54.

§ Potter's Antiquities of Greece, art. Civil Government of Athens. Boëckh, Œconomy of Athens.

not uncommon as a remuneration for services done. After the sea-fight at Arginusæ, where the Athenian seamen were mostly slaves, the State, out of gratitude for their services, manumitted them all.*

The learned commentator† on the voyage of Nearchus states, that there was no slavery among the Indians, properly so called, at the time when Alexander entered India.

In Rome,‡ during the Republic, the power of the master was absolute over the slave, and the slave in general was treated with great severity; but still there were laws to regulate that treatment. Slaves had a specified daily allowance, from which, if they could save enough, they might purchase their liberty. In the later times of the Republic, the master, when the slave behaved well, treated him often with kindness and confidence, and sometimes even as an equal.§ Cicero‖ observes, that sober and industrious

* Boëckh, Œconomy of Athens, book ii. ch. 21. The battle of Arginusæ took place towards the close of the Peloponnesian War.

† See Vincent on the Commerce and Navigation of the Antients, vol. i., p. 17.

‡ Adams's Antiquities of Rome, art. Slaves.

§ Very many instances might be adduced here in support of this observation; but perhaps the instance of Polybius, who was treated as an equal by the great Scipio, is sufficient.

‖ Phil. S. 11.

slaves seldom remained above six years in servitude. In Rome also, the manumission of slaves for services to the state or to individuals, was a common practice. Blair enumerates above twenty modes, by which a slave might obtain manumission at Rome.*

Upon the introduction of Christianity, its mild and benign doctrine, that all Men are Brethren, had the effect of gradually lessening the rougher inequalities in the condition of mankind; by impressing upon the Christian master a conviction, that kindness to his slave was a duty, and that a gift of freedom to his slave might be an act pleasing to their common Maker. A.D. 200

The effect of these impressions soon became manifest both upon Governments and individuals.† Laws were enacted by the different Emperors, for lessening the power of the masters over their slaves; and, according to

* Blair, after enumerating these, observes, "Such, or perhaps more favourable to liberty, was the state of the law respecting manumission during the whole of the Republic; and masters used to avail themselves of it to a great extent. However harsh their treatment of slaves might be, freedom was the common reward promised for good conduct; and tended perhaps to reconcile the master and slave to temporary rigour and endurance."—p. 172.

† Blair's Inquiry, &c.

A.D. 380 Gregory * of Nyssa, it was customary, so early as the fourth century, for Christians to come forward at the great religious festivals, with an act of manumission to their deserving slaves.

582 At length the first Council of Macen,† in 582, took the decisive measure of issuing a decree, that no Christian should be compelled to remain a slave; and, in the latter end of the sixth century, Gregory‡ the Great adopted the further step of ordaining, that no heathen, desirous of becoming a Christian, should be retained in slavery.

Many rescripts of this character were issued by the enlightened men who, from time to time, were at the head of the Christian church, and the manumission of slaves became more and more frequent; so that at length, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries,§ the number of slaves in Italy had visibly decreased. In the twelfth century, indeed,

1200 Alexander III.‖ published a Bull for the

* De Resur. Dom., orat. 3, tom. iii., p. 420. See Apostolic Letter of Gregory XVI., 3rd December, 1839.

Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa, was one of the fathers of the church. He was born about 331, and died in 396.

† Milman's History of the Jews, vol. iii. p. 209.

‡ Ut supra.

§ Hallam's Middle Ages, vol. i. pp. 221, 223. Blair's Inquiry, &c.

‖ Smith's Wealth of Nations, vol. ii. p. 91.

emancipation of all slaves: and the author of an "Inquiry into the State of Slavery among the Romans" is of opinion, that slavery had entirely disappeared in Italy in the thirteenth century.*

Throughout the greater portion of Germany, also, the peasants, who in that country, as in many others, had formerly been in a species of bondage termed villenage, had in the thirteenth century acquired entire liberty.† A.D.

In the course of the fourteenth century 1300
the peasants in England‡ were emanci-

* Blair's Inquiry, &c., edit. 1833, p. 16.

† Hallam, vol. i. p. 221.

‡ In the 12th century the condition of the English peasantry was one of mere servitude: although that servitude was in some respects different from slavery, inasmuch as in the eye of the law the villein was equal to all other persons, saving only his immediate master; and the master could be sued for certain offences against the villein.

In the 13th century the condition of the peasants improved greatly: partly owing to the kindness of their masters, and partly to acts of the Crown, "the services of villenage were "gradually rendered less and less onerous and uncertain;" so that "before the middle of the 14th century a large proportion "of the peasantry had become hired labourers instead of "villeins;" and though towards the latter end of that century Parliament attempted to induce the King to put restraints on the growing liberty of the villeins, those attempts were ineffectual. "From that time forward there seems to have been a rapid "tendency to the abolition of villenage." Hallam is of opinion that by the 15th century "the whole system of personal and territorial "servitude had become silently extinguished."

pated from villenage. In other parts of Europe, however, they still remained in a condition of modified servitude.*

In this state of things the dawn of letters came on: a more unrestrained intercourse took place throughout Europe; and a greater liberality of sentiment began to prevail; and it might have been† expected, that through the influence of civilization, slavery in the western world would soon have disappeared,

But events, the results of which have in some respects been glorious, since they opened the commerce of the East by sea to modern

Although, as he observes, some few traces of the remains of that system might still be found of a much later date.—Hallam, vol. iii., pp. 254, 260, 263, 270.

* Hallam's Middle Ages, vol. i., pp. 221, 223.

† The words of the Apostolical Letter of Pope Gregory XVI., 13th December, 1839, are remarkable on this point:—"When, therefore, in process of time, the darkness of heathen superstitions had been more fully cleared away, and the manners of even the ruder nations had been softened by the beneficent influence of faith manifested in kindness, things came to such a state that, during a period of several centuries, there were not in the majority of Christian nations any persons whatever held in a state of slavery. But there afterwards arose, among even the faithful, many who, basely blinded by lucre, did not hesitate to reduce in remote countries negroes to a state of slavery, and by establishing and extending a traffick to those who had been made slaves by others, to participate in that infamous crime."

Montesquieu also attributes to Christianity the beneficial changes which had taken place in favour of the slaves.—Mont. Origine de l'Esclavage.

Europe, introduced into it at the same time, as a branch of European commerce, the TRADE IN SLAVES FROM AFRICA.

All the old barbarous distinctions between the lord and his bondman were revived in the case of these African slaves. They were considered as much an article of property as the cattle of the field: they had no more consideration paid them by their master, and no greater protection afforded them by law. This separation between the master and the slave was maintained, with all the bitter character which belonged to it in the most barbarous ages, and among the most cruel nations. Civilization and Christianity have again, in some places, done away with it; in others, softened it down. Yet its baneful influence in deadening the kindly feeling between man and man is still distinguishable, in the way in which a portion of the Christian world treat and consider the subject of Negro Slavery.

Chapter the Second.

Early Voyages of the Portuguese to Africa, and Importations of Negro Slaves by them from thence. 1385 to 1497.

1385 In 1385, John the First, surnamed the Bastard, mounted the throne of Portugal, the succession to which had been in dispute for some years previous to this period.

Although, after a severe struggle, the title of John to the throne was recognised by the sovereign of Castile,* the minds of his subjects were still so unsettled, that John found it necessary to give employment out of the kingdom to the restless spirits within it.†

1411 In 1411 he accordingly undertook an expedition against the Moors, of which the immediate object was the capture of Ceuta.‡

1415 That fortress surrendered in 1415. John resolved to continue his enterprises against the Moors, under the direction of his third son, the famous prince Henry of Vasco. "Ma,"

* Faria y Souza. Epitome de las Historias Portuguesas. Brussels, 1678, p. 237.

Faria Africa Portugueza. Lisbon, 1681, p. 18.

† Todo era hablar de guerra entre aquestos principes, y todo quedarse tristes, porque revolviendo en la fantasia il blanco no le vian. Faria Africa Portugueza, Lisba, 1681, p. 18.

‡ In latitude about 36° N.

observes Barros, "il desiderio del infante con questi tali predi non remaneva soddesfatto."*

Henry † possessed science far beyond the men of rank of his time. He had read all that was then extant respecting Southern Africa; had gained what information he could of it from the Moors of Barbary; and had formed a notion, that it was possible to pass round Africa to the Indies. He laboured with the utmost diligence to accomplish this passage; entertaining an earnest hope, that he might thus obtain for his own country the riches which were expected to flow from Indian commerce: his whole life was, in fact, devoted to the prosecution of this design. In this view he fitted out vessels; engaged the hardiest and most able navigators to follow up his plans; and fixed his residence on the most southerly point of Portugal, in order that he might thence catch the first view of his returning ships. ‡

Such was the ardent spirit with which that Prince entered into these enterprises; and such was the laudable object he had in view.

In the year 1418 the Prince sent out his 1418

* Barros, Dec. 1, lib. i., c. 2. "But the desires of the Prince did not remain satisfied with such a prey."

† Robertson's History of America, vol. i. p. 61. Lond. 1780.

‡ At Sagres, near Cape St. Vincent. See Robertson, vol. i., p. 62.

first expedition of discovery. It consisted of but two vessels, under Gonzales Varca and Tristan Vaz. They were driven by a violent storm to the neighbouring island of Porto Santo,* and proceeded no farther. They stated, that the soil was fertile, and the inhabitants not quite savage: but the fact that the crews employed in the expedition were willing to venture on another,† was the circumstance which gave most pleasure to its promoter.

1420 In 1420 Henry sent them out again with three vessels; but they only reached Madeira,‡ and brought home nothing. Henry, however, was not discouraged by this want of success: and every succeeding year he sent out vessels of discovery in the same direction. But it

1432 was not till 1432§ that they doubled Cape Nun, or Non,‖ still only about seven degrees below Gibraltar.¶

Until that time, indeed, this Cape was considered impassable;** and is said to have received its name from that circumstance.

* In lat. about 31° N.

† Barros, Dec. 1, lib. i. c. 2. Faria y Souza's Asia, translated by Stevens, vol. i. p. 5.

‡ In lat. about 31° 30′ N. § Barros, Dec. 1, lib. i. c. 4.

‖ In lat. about 29° N.; Gibraltar being about 36°.

¶ Antonio Galvao. Discoveries of the World in Hackluyt, vol. iv.

** It was the boast of the son of Columbus, (see the Life of

At length, in 1433, Gilianez, one of Henry's officers, doubled Cape Bojador, between two and three degrees further to the south; but as yet brought home nothing but plants.* 1433

In 1435 Gonzales Baldeza penetrated about two degrees further, and collected a valuable cargo of seal skins, with which he returned to Henry. The Prince had always urged his navigators to bring home some of the natives; that he might have them baptized, educated, and sent back, so that the Portuguese might afterwards be able to open a commerce with them in their own country.† 1435

"Perchioche," said Gonzales to his companions, "la intenzione sua in questo scopri-
"mento non e tanto per la mercanzia che noi
"gli portiamo; che perche cerchiamo gente di
"questa Costa e ridurrla al Battesimo, e poi
"aver con essi loro comercio per l'onore e
"utiltà del Regno."‡

Colon, in Pinkerton, vol. xii. p. 19,) that at length, in his time, the Spanish proverb was broken through, which says, "He that "goes to Cape Nun, either turns back or returns not." Cadamosto says, on the name of it, Cape Nun, "Cio e: chi'l passa non "torna."

* Lat. about 26° 15′. Barros, Dec. 1, lib. i. c. 4.

† Barros, Dec. 1, lib. i. c. 6.

‡ Barros, Dec. 1, lib. i. c. 6. "For his Highness's object in "this discovery is not so much the goods which we bring to "him, as that we may fetch people from that coast and make "Christians of them, and afterwards trade with them in the

1442 In 1442,* twenty-four years after the first expedition had sailed on this pursuit, the Prince's wishes were gratified. Gonzales, returning after a voyage of two years, brought with him ten slaves and some gold-dust. Henry held out to his followers the gold, as the fruit to be gathered by all who would assist in those discoveries; and he presented the negroes to the Pope,† and entreated his Holiness to make over to him a title to all the countries he should discover, as an encouragement to those who should persevere in the enterprise, for the propagation of the Christian Faith.

Upon this invitation‡ Pope Martin V., in the year 1442 issued a Bull,§ by which he

"commerce of their country, for the honour and service of the "kingdom."

* Barros, Dec. 1, lib. i. c. 6.

† Voyages de Mandelso, vol. ii. Leyde, 1717, p..686.

‡ Barros, Dec. 1, lib. i. c. 7.

§ A confirmation of it by a subsequent Pope, in 1455, will be found in Koch and Schoel Diplomatic, vol. iii.

This important decree thus secured for Portugal, under what was then deemed to be an undeniable title, the possession of all coasts and islands in all seas to the south and to the east of Portugal. The effects of the famous Bull of Pope Martin V. were important in another respect; for, shutting up from every other country excepting Portugal the hopes of dominion over the East, it induced the searching mind of Columbus to turn his thoughts to the opposite side of the globe, and the result was the discovery of America. Spain, on this occasion, profiting by

granted to the Portuguese nation an exclusive right to the possession and dominion of all the countries which they might discover, from Cape Bojador to the Continent of India.

The laudable purpose which Henry had first in view was soon mixed up with baser objects. Faria y Souza says that "the gold," not only which the Portuguese bartered for their stuffs, but that which they got in ransom for the slaves whom they seized, "now stirred "up covetous desires."*

In 1433, John died, and was succeeded in† 1433
the kingdom by his son Edward, who reigned only five years. In 1438 Alfonso, then only 1438
six years of age, succeeded his father Edward; his uncle, Pedro, governing the kingdom during his minority.

In 1443 Nunez Tristan sailed on one of 1443
these expeditions to Africa; reached Arguim, in latitude 20° 30′ N.; met with some native boats, captured them, and brought back their crews, amounting to 14 persons, and made slaves of them.

An Association was instantly formed for the example of Portugal, obtained in 1493 the issue of a Papal Bull, which granted to the Crown of Spain all continents and islands which her subjects might discover to the westward of 100 miles west of the Azores.

* Faria y Souza. London edition. Part i. c. 1.

† Galvao in Hackluyt, vol. iv. page 413.

the avowed purposes of carrying on jointly the Gold and Slave Trade. Lanzarote, Gilianez and others, followers of Prince Henry, belonged to that Association; stipulating, at the same time, that they should pay Henry a portion of their goods.*

From that period may be dated the beginning of the African Slave Trade in Europe; and it is melancholy to reflect upon the rapidity with which it increased.

1444 In 1444, the year after Tristan's return, and the very year in which the Association was formed, its leaders set sail with six caravels, attacked the islands of Nar and Teder, and brought home 200 slaves. Part of these were liberated again on ransom in Africa; and part were brought to Portugal and there sold. Acting on the principle, if so it may be called, which has always distinguished the slave traders, of *quocunque modo rem*, the Portuguese cared not whether they made money by the ransom of the slaves in Africa, or by their sale in Portugal. They were willing enough, therefore, to give back the slaves for ransom; and one Cape on the coast of Africa was called Capo di Rescate, from an occurrence of this nature.

1445 In 1445, Gonzales made another voyage,

* "Con patto di pagar un tanto de quel che portassero al Infante." Barros, Dec. 1, lib. i. c. 8.

attacked the unoffending natives with a view of making more of them slaves, but was killed in the affray which ensued.*

From the accounts of that early period, it appears that the natives were to the utmost degree hostile to these attempts of the Portuguese to carry away slaves from the coast; and that they resisted them, though ineffectually, with all their might.

In 1446, the Portuguese again set sail to the south, and in their eagerness to obtain slaves again attacked the natives; and in the scuffle Nunez Tristan lost his life, leaving his name to the river† on which he died. 1446

In 1447, Alonzo Fernandez undertook a voyage of discovery in the same direction as those previously referred to. He advanced 100 miles further; and it deserves mention, that he was praised by Henry for having deviated from the practice, which even then it seems had prevailed among the Portuguese, of attempting to foment a dispute with the natives, for the purpose of having an excuse for making slaves. 1447

In 1448,‡ King Alfonso, surnamed the African, assumed the reins of government; 1448

* Barros, Dec. 1, lib. i. c. 9.

† The opening of this river (Rio Nunez) is in latitude about 10° 20′ N.

‡ Barros, Dec. 1, book ii., chapter 1.

and one of his first acts of sovereignty was to grant to his uncle, Prince Henry, the entire control over all discoveries beyond Cape Bojador, "and a fifth and a tenth" portion of all the goods which might be brought from the parts discovered. Prince Henry enjoyed the fruits of this donation until his death.

Gold and slaves, but chiefly the latter, were still the two main objects, for which the Portuguese traded with Africa. The articles, which they carried there for barter, were cloths and stuffs of Portuguese manufacture.

1454 In 1454, Prince Henry, having heard of the existence of the river Gambia,* coupled with wonderful accounts of the wealth of its banks, employed Cadamosto to undertake a voyage of discovery thither.

Cadamosto has told his own tale.

1456 He states, that, at that period, the outrages of the Portuguese upon the natives were so great, that Prince Henry, who was eager for the trade, but wished it to be carried on with as much humanity as was compatible with success, thought it necessary to make stringent regulations to prevent these excesses.†

Before the existence of these regulations,

* The opening of this river is in latitude about 13° 30′ N.

† Cadamosto in Ramusio, pages 97-110.

the Portuguese, says Cadamosto, used to come by night to the coast, and landing, surprised the villages, attacked them, and carried off the inhabitants: and thus sailing along the coast, committed ravages, and caused horrors wherever they went.

Such were the deeds, which had already become common with the Slave Traders of Portugal.

Prince Henry now published an ordinance, by which no person was to trade with the Arabs, excepting such as were comprised in that ordinance, and who had commercial establishments on the island of Arguim, about fifteen degrees below Gibraltar, where the Portuguese had established a factory.

Here they enticed the Arabs to bring down from the interior negroes and gold, in exchange for Portuguese goods.

In this manner, says Cadamosto, from 700 to 800 head of slaves, "Teste di Schiavi," as they were termed, were, even at that early time, yearly imported from Africa into Portugal.

About the year 1460, according to Cada- 1460
mosto, the Spaniards had also imbibed a taste for man-stealing, though they indulged it only to a very limited extent.

The Spaniards, it seems, had stretched over

to the Canaries, to which islands they laid claim; and having seized a few of the inhabitants, sold them for slaves in Spain.*

1461 In 1461,† the Portuguese built a fort at Arguim, then their chief factory. This appears to have been the first fortress erected by the Portuguese in Western Africa. In the same year‡ they discovered the Cape Verd Islands.

1463 In 1463 Henry de Vasco died, leaving a name, revered in Portugal for enterprize, liberality, and knowledge, directed to the prosperity of his country.§ At the time of his death, the discoveries made on the Coast of Africa by officers under his orders, had reached to Sierra Leone in lat. 8° N.

The projects of King Alfonso, were distracted by differences with his uncle Pedro, so that, says Barros, he could not

* Galvao states, that early in the 14th century, Masham, or Machin, the Englishman who was cast away on Madeira about that period, landing afterwards in Spain, induced the Spaniards to try their hand at maritime discovery in that direction. They reached only, however, as far as the Canaries: and Viera states, that in 1545, Don Luis de la Cerda, Infant of Spain, surnamed the Disinherited, obtained a grant of those islands from Pope Clement VI.—Galvao, in Hackluyt, vol. iv. p. 411. Viera y Carijo de la Hist. Canaria, Madrid, 1772, p. 268.

† Barros, Dec. 1, book 2, chap. 1. ‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid., chap. 16. See the character of Henry in Barros.

himself attend to the discoveries and commerce of Africa. When Prince Henry died, Alfonso, therefore, let out the whole commerce with that continent for five years to Fernando Gomez,* upon condition, that during those five years Gomez should extend the discoveries on the coast of Africa 500 leagues further, being at the rate of 100 leagues a-year.

In 1471, Juan de Santarem and Pedro de Escobar reached, in 5 degrees N. lat., a place where gold was so abundant, that they supposed it to be the produce of a mine, and not of washings; they called the gold *Oro de la Mina*, and gave to the place the name of El Mina. The discovery was deemed so important, that in acknowledgment of it, the King ennobled Gomez, and gave him the surname of El Mina.† 1471

In 1472, Fernan Po discovered the island of Fernando Po, and from its beauty gave it the name of Formosa. But having returned and died in its vicinity, the name of the island was changed to that of its discoverer, which it has borne ever since. 1472

At the same period Cape Catherine, in lat. $2\frac{1}{2}^{0}$ S., was discovered; and this

* Barros, Dec. 1, lib. 1, cap. 2.

† Ibid., lib. 2, cap. 2.

was the farthest point reached in Alfonso's time.

1481 In 1481* Alfonso died, and was succeeded by John II., who, finding that his subjects in some cases discontinued the slave-trade, and in others disposed of their negroes in Africa for gold, encouraged them by all means in his power to continue to trade in slaves, and to import them into Europe, "in order," said he, "that the slaves may be taught the worship "of the true God before they die."†

The first act of John in Africa was to build a fort at El Mina; and for this purpose he fitted out twelve ships laden with every material necessary for the building, from the stones to the tiles.

1484 In 1484 John solicited the several Courts of Christendom to assist him "in making conquests on the infidels:" promising to those Courts a share of the spoil, according to the quotas they should furnish. But they all declined the offer.

John then applied to the Pope for encouragement; and the Pope gave him a title of possession over all the places which his officers should discover by sea, eastward from Portugal to India.

In the same year Diego Cam discovered

* Barros, Dec. 1, lib. 3, cap. 1. † Kerr's Voyages and Travels.

the river Congo, and penetrated down to 22° S. lat.

In 1485 the King of Portugal, upon the strength of these discoveries, formally assumed the title of Lord of Guinea; since borne by his descendants. 1485

In 1486 Bartholomew Diaz discovered and passed the Cape, called by him the Cape of Storms: on his return, however, King John gave to it the name of the Cape of Good Hope. 1486

In 1487, John sent Pedro de Covillam, and Antonio de Payva, by way of the Mediterranean, to Alexandria. The commission entrusted to them was twofold; 1st, To discover the country of Presbyter John, a supposed Christian monarch of great power in Eastern Africa; and, 2nd, To ascertain how India might best be attained, whether by sea from the Cape of Good Hope, or by land from Alexandria. They proceeded to the Red Sea, and embarking there sailed to Aden, where they parted—Payva for Abyssinia, and Covillam for India. Covillam reached Goa, and, re-embarking, came to Sofala on the east coast of Africa, in lat. about 20° S., and coasting thence northwards reached Aden, and thence returned to Egypt.* 1487

King John, continuing his enterprises in

* Astley's Voyages, vol. i pp. 18, 19, from Castañeda.

Western Africa, built several other forts besides that at El Mina, and established slave factories at the last mentioned place, at Arguim, and on the banks of the rivers Senegal, Nunez, Benin, and Congo; and carried his commercial enterprises even up to Timbuctoo.

1497 In 1497 John II., surnamed the Great, died. Barros says, that his mind could not take rest, on account of his desire of investigating Africa.*

John was succeeded by Emanuel, who inherited John's earnest desire for discovery and trade in the East. He immediately fitted out a fleet under the renowned Vasco de Gama, who in 1498 passed the Cape of Good Hope, and the southern extremity of the African continent, visited Cape Natal, Mozambique, and Melinda in 3° S. lat., whence he stretched across to India, and arrived at Calicut, on the Malabar coast, in the same year.

The Portuguese had now completed the circumnavigation of Africa. Their trade in slaves rapidly increased; and, after supplying Portugal itself with as many slaves as that country would take, they commenced the practice of transporting their victims from Africa as slaves to other countries. This was called the "carrying trade."

* Barros, Dec. 1, lib. 3, cap. 3.

Chapter the Third.

Settlements of the Spaniards in the West Indies, and of the Portuguese in Brazil: African Slaves imported into those Settlements. 1492 to 1562.

Christopher Columbus, a Genoese by birth, had married a daughter of one of the early Portuguese navigators, and had himself been engaged in many of their voyages to Africa. The mind of this extraordinary individual was thus directed to the solution of the problem of the shortest way to Asia by sea; and he imagined that the eastern shores of that continent might best be reached by traversing the ocean in a westerly direction. He offered his services in that view to many of the Courts of Europe. After innumerable disappointments and mortifications he was at length patronised by Isabella of Castile, wife of Ferdinand the Catholic; and being employed under their auspices in successive voyages, from 1492 to 1497, he discovered the Western Hemisphere, with many of its islands, and gave, in fact, a new world to Spain.*

The island of Hàyti was discovered by Columbus in 1492, and named by him Hispaniola. It was immediately settled by the Spaniards, who began working its mines by

* Life of Columbus, by his Son. Robertson's America, vol. i. p. 88, et seq.

means of the native Indians. The settlement flourished. Columbus himself founded the
1498 capital, St. Domingo, in 1498.* But the constitution of the Indians was so feeble, and their treatment by the Spanish settlers so cruel, that the race rapidly diminished: and already, in
1503 1503,† a few African slaves were imported from Portugal, to supply the place of the native Indians at the mines. Still, the natives sunk under the harassing tasks assigned to them by their masters; which were so overwhelming, that the population of the island is said to have been reduced in the short space of fifteen years from one million to sixty thousand souls:‡ and in

* Edwards, vol. iii. p. 197. † Clarkson, vol. i. p. 33.

‡ Robertson, Book 3; edit. 1780, p. 305.

This account would seem exaggerated, if it were not confirmed by the whole of the Spanish writers, many of whom confess to the inhuman treatment which caused it. Oviedo, who was there in 1535, only 43 years after its discovery, states, that not above 500 of the original natives were then in existence; the remaining Indians having been decoyed there and forced into slavery from the neighbouring islands; for when (Edwards, vol. i. p. 106,) the inhabitants were thinned, the Spanish Court gave permission to seize the unsuspecting inhabitants of the neighbouring islands and transport them to St. Domingo, to work on the mines there; and 40,000 of the Leucayos were enticed there under an idea that their departed ancestors had sent for them to that delicious spot to enjoy perfect happiness. "Thus," says Dr. Robertson, "they were decoyed to Hispaniola to mingle their "tears and groans with those of the wretched natives of the island."

1511 Ferdinand the Catholic gave a formal permission to import slaves from Africa in considerable numbers into Hispaniola.* 1511

Cuba, though discovered the same year as Hispaniola, was not ascertained to be an island until 1508, and was not settled by the Spaniards till 1511.†

Porto Rico, which was discovered in 1494, was explored and settled in 1508‡.

Jamaica § was also discovered in 1494, and was settled, under the son of Columbus, in 1509. It soon became a very flourishing colony, and Seville, its chief town, an important city.

These four islands appear to have been the first settled by the Spaniards. The natives were barbarously treated in them all: and the race everywhere diminishing, African slaves were imported to supply their place.

The latter were found to be a more docile and hardier race than the Indians, and were worked accordingly.

After Ferdinand's death, and during the minority of Charles V., Las Casas, Bishop of Chiapa, styled the Protector of the Indians, proposed to Cardinal Ximenes, then Regent,

* Robertson's America, Book 3. Clarkson, vol. i. p. 34.

† Edwards, vol. i. p. 70. ‡ Ibid., vol. i. p. 70.

§ Ibid., vol. i. p. 162.

to establish a regular system of importing negro slaves from Africa into Hispaniola, to work the mines of the island.

The bishop urged the Cardinal to adopt this measure, upon the ground of humanity to the natives of Hispaniola. But that enlightened statesman dismissed the plan altogether; declaring it to be, in his opinion, unlawful to consign innocent people to slavery at all, and wholly inconsistent with humanity to deliver the inhabitants of one country from a state of misery, by consigning to that state the inhabitants of another country.*

* Clarkson, Slave Trade, vol. i. p. 35. Although the suggestion of Las Casas is not justifiable, yet his pity for the Indians is not to be wondered at, when the horrors he witnessed are considered. The whole story of mankind, says Edwards, (vol. i. page 104,) affords no scene of barbarity equal to that of the cruelties exercised by the Spaniards on the unoffending natives of the Leeward Islands. The Spaniards distributed them into lots, and compelled them to dig in the mines, without intermission, till death put an end to their sufferings. Such as attempted resistance or escape were hunted down with dogs, which were fed on their flesh. Some Spaniards called in religion to sanctify their cruelty; forced their captives into the water, and after baptizing them cut their throats to prevent their apostacy.

Las Casas mentions himself one story, which, not being long, may be admitted here. "I once beheld,"* says he, "four or five principal Indians roasted at a slow fire, and as the victims poured forth screams which disturbed the commanding officer in his slumbers, he sent word they should be strangled. But the officer on guard (I know his name, and I know his relations in Seville,)

* Edwards, vol. i. p. 111; from Las Casas, Ant. 1579.

The cardinal, however, in rejecting the scheme of Las Casas, was not inattentive to the miseries suffered by the Indians. He gave directions that strict inquiry should be made into their state, and stringent regulations adopted for securing their kind treatment; but his views as to the African Slave Trade, and his wishes as to the Indians, were alike disregarded.

Charles V. soon afterwards assumed the reins of empire; and representations were made to him, of the diminution of the Indians in the several islands settled by the Spaniards, and of the superior patience and hardihood of the Africans; and he was urged to permit a further importation of the latter into the islands, "porque era mas util il trabajo de un negro que de quatro Indios"—"Because the work of one negro was more than equal to that of four Indians."* In 1517 Charles, yielding 1517
to these representations, granted a patent to a Flemish gentleman of his court, authorizing him to import annually 4,000 Africans into Hispaniola, Porto Rico, Cuba, and Jamaica.†

would not suffer it; but causing their mouths to be gagged, that their cries might not be heard, he stirred up the fire with his own hand, and roasted them till they all expired. I saw it myself."

* Herrera, Dec. 1, p. 235

† Ibid., Dec. 2, lib. 2, c. 20. Herrera states that this Flemish gentleman was the Governador de la Bresa.

The Africans thenceforward took regularly the place of the Indians, first at the mines, and then at other hard works, under which the Indian population had gradually worn away.

The supply of negroes to the Spanish American colonies became from this time an established and regular branch of commerce. But the patent did not long rest in the hands of the Flemish courtier to whom it had been granted. He immediately sold it, for eight years, to a body of Genoese merchants, in consideration of a payment of 25,000 ducats;* and thereafter it was consigned to Portuguese merchants.

Guadaloupe, Dominica, St. Vincent's, and the other islands discovered by Columbus, were not as yet settled by the Spaniards. But Cuba and Hispaniola, Porto Rico and Jamaica, absorbed annually a very large supply of negroes; and when the mines were exhausted in Hispaniola, the Spaniards removed to Mexico, and took their negroes with them to work the mines in that country.

Brazil had been discovered in 1500, by a Portuguese commander, Alvarez Cabral, driven there by adverse winds, while on his course to Africa; and the number of negroes required from Africa for America was largely

* Herrera, ut supra.

increased by the settlement of the Portuguese in this new possession.*

On finding the increased demand, the Portuguese, says Edwards, made application to the Pope to sanctify the trade. His Holiness, adds Edwards, issued a Bull, according to their request; and in consequence of his authority a very considerable slave-market was established at Lisbon; insomuch that about the year 1539, from 10,000 to 12,000 negroes were sold there annually.†

In the year 1542, a decree which Charles V. then issued, gave a brief interruption to the trade in slaves from Africa to the Spanish settlements in America. 1542

Charles, moved by the representations of the miseries which the slaves in America suffered from the Spaniards, not only revoked, by this decree, the permission given to import slaves from Africa, but ordered that every slave in his American possessions should at once be set free.‡

Shortly afterwards, however, Charles abdicated the crown; and on Philip assuming the reins of government, the order was reversed; Slavery was revived in America; and the

* Edwards, vol. i. p. 142. Astley, vol. i. p. 40.

† Edwards, vol iii. p. 202. Edwards, however, does not give the name of the Pope or the date of the Bull, nor his authority for the fact stated as to the number of slaves in the Lisbon market.

‡ Clarkson, vol. i. p. 37.

importation of Slaves from Africa again permitted.*

Still Slave Trade and Slavery did not continue, without occasionally being severely arraigned.

During the pontificate of Leo X., the Dominican Friars in South America, witnessing the cruel treatment which the slaves underwent, loudly expressed their concern at it. The Franciscan Friars, on the contrary, defended the practice. The discussion became warm, and the question was carried for decision before the Pope; when Leo X. issued a bull, declaring that "not only the "Christian religion, but Nature herself, cried "out against a state of slavery."†

As yet the English had abstained from mixing themselves up in any way with this abominable traffic. Indeed, though early thirsting for enterprise in Africa, the English had been diverted from even sending a ship there by the Bull granted in 1442 by the Pope to the Portuguese.‡

* Clarkson, vol. i. p. 37. † Ibid., p. 39.

‡ Garcia de Rexado, in his History of the Life of John II., relates that so early as in 1481, John Tintam and William Fabian had fitted out a fleet of ships for Guinea. But John II. of Portugal thereupon sent an embassy to Edward, acquainting him with the title of Portugal to Guinea, and urging him to "prohibit his subjects throughout his dominions from sending "any ships to that country;" which, adds Rexado, was accordingly done.

But, in 1551, Captain Thomas Windham made a voyage "for the trade of Barbary." "He sailed," says Astley, "to Marokko;" "and this," adds Astley (vol. i. p. 138), "was "the first voyage we meet with to the Western "Coast of Africa." In 1552, Windham under- took another voyage in that direction: in this second voyage, however, he only reached "Zaf- "fin, or Saffi, without the Streights, and Santa "Cruz:" and in his relation of it he observes, "Here by the way, it is to be observed, that "the Portugals were much offended with this "our new trade into Barbary; and both in "our voyage the year before, and also in this, "gave out in England, through their mer- "chants, that if they took us in those parts "they would use us as their mortal enemies."*

1551

1552

In 1553 Windham, nothing daunted, un- dertook a third voyage, in which he reached Guinea. Slaves, however, were not his object. He proceeded first to Rio Sestos, where, says the relator (Richard Eden), they might with great advantage have loaded the ship with pepper. "But setting lightly "by that commodity in comparison of the pure "gold they thirsted, he coursed on to the "Golden Coast, obtained 150lbs. weight of "the gold of the country and returned."†

1553

* Hackluyt, vol. ii. p. 466. † Ibid., p. 464.

1554 In 1554 John Lok made a voyage to Guinea. He proceeded to Rio Sestos, and thence to the Gold Coast, and brought home 400 lbs. weight of gold, 36 butts of Guinea pepper, and 250 elephants' teeth. The natives are described by him as being "very "wary in bargaining, but yet honest."*

1555 In 1555 William Towrson made a voyage to Guinea. He reached Don John's Town, near Elmina, and began to trade with the natives in the neighbourhood, but was attacked by the Portuguese. He escaped, however, to his boats, and passing further, completed his cargo of gold-dust and elephants' teeth; though, he observes, "the Portuguese "brigandines followed us from place to place, "to give warning to the people of the country "that they should not deal with us."†

1556 In 1556 Towrson made another voyage to Guinea. He met with five French vessels trading on the African coast. The French urged for permission to join company, which permission he gave them, on consideration that their common enemy was Portugal.‡

The English and the French met with a Portuguese squadron which attacked them. The French did not assist Towrson as he had

* Hackluyt, vol. iii. p. 470. † Ibid., p. 480.

‡ Ibid., vol. ii. p. 496.

expected; and the English and French then parted company; soon after which Towrson met with another French vessel, who, seeing his shattered condition, attacked him. But he fought her off, and returned in safety, not having, however, obtained on his voyage so much gold as he expected.

Still no slaves are mentioned: and I have given the particulars of these voyages, because they show the objects of the English trade at that period; and that as yet Englishmen had not mingled with the baneful practice of Slave Trade.

It appears, that down to this time the Portuguese lorded it on the African seas. Richard Eden, who gave an account of Windham's voyage to the Gold Coast, wrote the narrative, as he says, "purposely to show "what the English may gain from this new "trade, if it be not prevented by the arbitrary "monopoly of the Portuguese on this coast, "of such who, on account of conquesting forty "or fifty miles here or there, certain fortresses, "or rather block-houses, among naked people, "think themselves worthy to be lords of half "the world, envying that others should enjoy "the commodities which they themselves "cannot wholly possess."*

* Hackluyt, vol. ii. p. 464.

Chapter the Fourth.

Commencement of the Connexion of the English Nation with the African Slave Trade. Settlements of the Dutch, English, and French in the West Indies; and African Slaves imported by them. 1562 to 1713.

1562 At length, in 1562, Sir J. Hawkins having, says Hackluyt, received information, "that "negroes were very good merchandise in His-"paniola, and that stores of negroes might "easily be had on the coast of Guinea," fitted out three ships, sailed to Guinea, obtained 300 negroes, carried them to Hispaniola, sold them, and returned to England with the produce.

Queen Elizabeth is reported to have sent for him on his return from this voyage, to have expressed her concern at the undertaking, and to have told him, "if any Afri-"cans should be carried away without their "free consent, it would be detestable, and "call down the vengeance of Heaven upon "the undertaking."*

Hawkins, who was a species of freebooter, still persisted in his lawless enterprises. He

* Clarkson, vol. i. p. 40, from Hill's Naval History.

made another voyage in 1564, and in 1568 a third: this last voyage, however, terminated miserably, and the fate which Elizabeth had threatened fell upon him. 1564 1568

In 1580 Henry of Portugal (the Car- 1580
dinal), who had succeeded to the throne on the death of Sebastian in Africa,* died without heirs; and, on his death, Spain took possession of Portugal, and of its various dependencies in Africa, Asia, and America.†

Philip II., who now possessed the throne of Spain, was fully occupied in Europe: and what attention he could give to colonial matters was devoted to the Spanish possessions in America.‡ Africa was therefore neglected; and the English, French, Dutch, and even Courlanders, rushed in, and within a few years possessed themselves, with comparative ease, of that trade, which Portugal had la-

* The impetuous Don Sebastian fell in 1578, at the early age of twenty-five, at the battle of Alcazar, on an attempt to dethrone Muley Moloch, Emperor of Morocco, and to raise Muley Mahomet, his nephew, to the throne in his stead. The body of Don Sebastian was never found; but many adventurers subsequently appeared under that name and endeavoured to acquire a footing in Portugal: and the Portuguese, who revered the memory of their gallant prince, would not believe he was dead; and for half a century afterwards expected he should again return.

† Barbot, p. 165; Koch, Rév. de l'Europe, vol. ii. p. 106.

‡ Koch, Révolutions de l'Europe, vol. ii. p. 15.

boured so hard and spent so many years in acquiring.*

1585 In 1585 the English Government appears to have manifested an interest in the trade to Africa; for in that year Elizabeth granted to Lords Leicester and Warwick a patent to trade to Barbary for a period of twelve years.

1588 In 1588 Trinidad, which had been discovered in 1498, was settled by Spain.†

In 1588‡ Elizabeth granted a patent to a company to trade to the Senegal and Gambia for the space of ten years. Many authors insinuate, that by this patent she virtually gave permission to trade in slaves; whilst some§ affirm, that no voyage was actually undertaken under the patent which she granted. Those writers, however, appear to have been mistaken in both points: for I find in Hackluyt and in Astell a mention of three

1589 voyages undertaken under this patent; one in

1590 1589, a second in 1590, by Thomas Dassell

* Hackluyt, vol. ii. p. 599. † Edwards, vol. iv., p. 297.

‡ Hackluyt, vol. ii. p. 610. Hackluyt considers this patent to be of sufficient importance to give it in extenso. No mention in it is made of a trade in slaves.

§ Anderson's History of Commerce. Edwards' West Indies, vol. ii. p. 52.

and others, and a third in 1591, by R. Rainolds 159
and Dassell; and this last voyage is specially declared to have been undertaken "in virtue "of Her Majesty's most gracious patent, "given in the year 1588." The account of it, though short, is very precise: the several places visited, and the trade at each of the places resorted to is particularized: hides, gums, ivory, grains, ambergris, rice, ostrich feathers, and some gold. But negroes are not mentioned; so that I see no ground for supposing that, excepting Hawkins, any Englishman had as yet mixed himself up with the African Slave Trade.

Rainolds, in the account of his last voyage to Africa, mentions, that he found that "the "Frenchmen of Dieppe and Newhaven had "traded thither above thirty years, and com-"monly with four or five ships a year."*

The French writer Labat, in his work on Africa, claims for his country the honour of being the first European nation that discovered and settled Western Africa. According to him, the French had settlements along that coast, a century before the Portuguese reached it. But his assertion rests only on the tradition, that a relation had once been

* Hackluyt, vol. iii. p. 2.

extant, giving a true account of these proceedings. He brings forward no existing document in support of his allegations: he shows no traces of these early voyages: he finds no remains of these ancient possessions.*

We may more safely therefore proceed on the account of Towrson, who saw the French trading to Africa in 1556, and of Rainolds, who heard in 1591 that they had traded in Africa, from about the time when Towrson first saw them.

The Dutch were not so early as the French in the African trade; but they were more active, and seem to have embarked at an early period in the traffic in slaves. It was not until 1581 that the Low Countries made their declaration of independence.† They had no sooner established their independence at home, than they sought by enterprise abroad to increase their power and wealth.

1595 In 1595 the first voyage to Guinea‡ was undertaken by a Dutchman of the name of Bernard Erecksen. Shortly afterwards the Dutch repeated the voyage; and entering into the trade with avidity, they purchased

* Labat, Rélation de l'Afrique, vol. i. † Koch, vol. ii., p. 56.

‡ Barbot, Voyage to Guinea, in Churchill, vol. v. p. 114.

Goree, in 1617, from the King of Capo Verde;* and following up the traces of the Portuguese, soon supplanted them; embarked in all their objects of trade, including that in slaves; and possessed themselves of all the Portuguese factories and forts, in addition to which they constructed some new ones. 1617

In 1621 the States General established the 'West India Company,' and gave to it all the lands and countries of which it could gain possession in Africa, from the Tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope.† 1621

In 1624 the Company bought from the natives permission to build a fort at More, near Cape Coast. 1624

The very name of this Company, coupled with these facts, seems to denote the purpose for which it was mainly formed—to supply the West Indies with slaves from Africa.

The Spaniards had arrogated the Western World entirely to themselves, under the Bull formerly issued by the Pope in favour of Spain. But about this period the Dutch, and also the English and French, made many attempts to settle there. The Spaniards, however, treated these attempts as usurpations upon their dominion. The Portuguese, who had settled

* Bosman, Voyage to Guinea.

† Barbot, p. 164.

in Brazil and Barbadoes, had also disputes with the Spaniards on this score; but their differences were settled by treaty.

In 1620 the Dutch settled in Berbice; and shortly afterwards in Essequibo and Demerara.*

In 1629 they attacked the Portuguese dominions in Brazil; and, following up the enterprise, succeeded in dislodging and for a time retaining possession of seven out of fourteen provinces of that extensive empire.†

In 1632 a company of Dutch merchants from Flushing settled in Tobago.‡

In 1633 the Dutch West India Company, extending their settlements in Africa, captured Portendic from the Portuguese.§

1618 In 1618 James I. had granted a charter for a trade to Africa in favour of Sir J. Rich and others, who were bent on "adventuring in the golden trade." That Company fitted out ships, and erected forts as well as factories at several places on the Gambia; and this appears the first instance in which the

* Edwards, vol. iv. p. 247.

† Koch, vol. ii. p. 111. Burke's Settlements, vol. ii. chap. Dutch Settlements.

‡ They were shortly after dislodged by the Indians, but returned and settled again in 1654.

§ Durand, Voyage au Senegal.

English interfered with the exclusive sovereignty claimed by Portugal on that coast; but those Englishmen did not meddle with the trade in slaves.'

Richard Jobson, who was sent out by the Company in 1620, has given an account of his voyage, and of the trade of the Company. Buckar Sano, the great African trader in the Gambia, having brought down some women to sell to him for slaves, "I made answer," says Jobson, "we were a people who did not "deale in any such commodities; neither did "we buy or sell one another, or any that had "our own shapes; at which," adds Jobson, "he seemed to marvell much; and told us it "was the only marchandize they carried down, "and that they were sold to white men, who "earnestly desired them. We answered," continues Jobson, "they were another kind "of people, different from us; but, for our "part, if they had no other commodities, we "would return again."*

Anderson relates,† that the trade of that Company did not answer, because the gold and drug trades alone were not sufficient to support their forts and factories; and there

* See Jobson's curious and interesting account, entitled "Golden Trade," Lond., small quarto, 1623, pp. 29 and 87.

† Anderson, vol. i. p. 500.

was as yet no trade for negro slaves for our plantations.

1631 In 1631, *Sir B. Young, Sir K. Digby, and others, were erected by charter of Charles I. into a Company for trade to Africa. This was the second British chartered Company for trading to Africa; and Edwards says, that the merchants under that charter supplied the British settlements in the West Indies with negroes for working the estates. This is the first record I find of the English embarking in undertakings for the African Slave Trade since the solitary instance of Hawkins; and the occasion and the exact period at which they embarked in it will be presently related.

1583 In 1583, Sir Walter Raleigh had discovered Virginia, so named by him in honour of his mistress, "The Virgin Queen." In 1585, in 1586, and again in 1587, the English made attempts unsuccessfully to settle the island. In 1606, they succeeded in this object through the efforts of a powerful Company, called at first the London Company, but afterwards the Virginia Company.†

"This," observes Anderson, "was the first

* Anderson, vol. ii. p. 42.

† Ibid., vol. i. pp. 426, 427, 430, and 471. This Company induced the great Sir Francis Bacon to write his "Instructions Concerning New Colonies."

"English colony which took root on the con-
"tinent of America."

The colony flourished. In 1609 there were already 500 English colonists: tobacco was from the first its staple commodity, and they soon exported so much that the market became glutted.

In 1619,* James I., who, observes Anderson, had always a mortal aversion to tobacco, issued a Proclamation for restraining the cultivation of it: and, in 1620, James renewed the retriction. The prosperity of the colony meanwhile increased. In 1621,† the London Company sent out to it from England 1,300 more English colonists. It is said,‡ that meantime, in 1620, a Dutch vessel had disembarked 20 negroes there, and sold them. But I do not find any mention of negroes in the very detailed documents issued by James almost yearly up to the time of his death, for regulating the cultivation of the colony; so that, supposing these 20 negroes remained there, the number imported had not apparently increased, so as to make them yet of note.

1619

1620

* James calls it in his Proclamations "one of those vanities "and superfluities which come from beyond seas; a weed of no "necessary use." "Leading to the corruption both of the health "and manners of our people."—Anderson, vol. ii. pp. 5 and 19.

† Anderson, vol. ii. p. 8.

‡ Beverley, History of Virginia, book i. chap. iii. par. 21.

1605 In 1605,* the English took possession of Barbadoes, now abandoned by the Portuguese; but the English do not appear to have formally settled it till 1614.† "It is," observes Anderson, "the mother of all our "West India sugar islands."

1624 In 1624 the English made a considerable addition to the settlement; and it rapidly increased, chiefly on account of the disturbances that shortly after ensued in England, and induced many English people of quiet dispositions to leave their native country. But it does not appear that as yet there were any negroes in Barbadoes.

The planting of tobacco, together with ginger and cotton, says Anderson,‡ was all the trade which Barbadoes carried on till the year 1642.

1609 In 1609,§ the English had formed a small settlement on the Bermuda islands, discovered in 1522 by the Spaniards under Juan Bermudez. The English settlement flourished, insomuch that, in 1619, it numbered 1000 souls, among which were no negroes.

1625 In 1625,‖ the English made a settlement on

* Edwards, vol. i. p. 317. The Portuguese had discovered it, and settled it from Brazil.

† Anderson, vol. i. p. 491.

‡ Anderson, vol. ii. p. 28.

§ Edwards, vol. iv. p. 235.

‖ Edwards, vol. i. p. 455; and Anderson, vol. ii. p. 20.

St. Christopher's, and here again, as in Virginia and Barbadoes, they at first employed themselves in raising tobacco. In 1629 they were driven out of it by the Spaniards, who treated them with great inhumanity.

In 1625,* also, they took possession of Santa Cruz; but, 25 years afterwards, the Spaniards landed and murdered the whole of the settlers. 1625

In 1629,† the English made a settlement on the Bahamas, which the Spaniards had formerly settled, but, after exterminating the native Indians, had abandoned. The Spaniards, however, would not let the English rest there, but drove them out in 1641. 1629

In 1632, the English settled at Antigua and Montserrat. 1632

"In 1641,"‡ says Anderson, "the most industrious planters in Barbadoes procured "some sugar-canes from Fernambuc (Per- "nambuco); in Brazil. This was the first of "our colonies which fell into sugar planta- "tions; and as it was impossible to manage "the planting of that commodity by white "people in so hot a climate, so neither could "a sufficient number of such be had at any "rate. Necessity, therefore, and the example 1641

* Edwards, vol. i. p. 184. † Ibid., vol. iv. p. 218.

‡ Anderson, vol. ii. p. 72. Until this time Europe had been supplied with sugar from Brazil.

"of Portugal, gave birth to the negro slave "trade from the coast of Guinea."

This seems to mark the time, when the English began to embark in undertakings for importing slaves from Africa; but it does not appear that they yet entered into what was called the "carrying trade" for other nations. They contented themselves with supplying to the British settlements already mentioned, the few slaves which they wanted.

Already, in 1626, a Company of French merchants trading to Africa existed at Rouen; their Director-General resided at Senegal; and thence this Company shortly afterwards supplied the West Indian colonies with slaves.*

According to Burke,† the first settlement of the French in the West Indies was St. Christopher's, in 1625.‡ In 1629 they were driven out by the Spaniards; but a portion of them returned, and kept their ground, despite the attempts of the Spaniards to dislodge them. The other portion repaired to Antigua, and settled there.

A body of them, however, together with

* Labat, vol. i. pp. 13 and 20.

† Burke's European Settlements in America, vol. ii. chap. French Settlements.

‡ Edwards, vol. i. pp. 455.

some English, fled to Tortuga. The Spaniards followed them to that island; and during the absence of the ablest of their men in a hunting party at St. Domingo, landed and murdered every soul remaining at Tortuga. Those French and English, who, being at St. Domingo, had escaped the massacre, turned "buccaneers," and proved the most formidable enemies the Spaniards ever had in these quarters, performing feats of enterprise never surpassed in any age or country.

A few of the Frenchmen, however, chiefly Normans, desirous of a more peaceable life, settled on St. Domingo; and there, in obscurity, but in industry, increased and flourished.* At length the French Government took up their cause,† acknowledged them, and secured for them possession of the western part of the island.‡

In 1635 the French settled Martinique 1635
and Guadaloupe.§

In 1640, Louis XIII. issued an edict,‖ 164
by which all "Africans whatever who came "into the French colonies, under any circum-"stances, were to be made slaves."

In 1641 the French settled St. Lucia, 1641

* Edwards, vol. iii. p. 133. † Ibid., p. 138.
‡ Koch, vol. ii. p. 10. § Ibid., p. 10.
‖ Clarkson, vol. i. p. 41.

and drove thence the English, who had settled in that island only two years previously.*

At this time the English, French, Dutch, and Portuguese, supplied, from Africa, their own colonies in the West Indies with such negro slaves as were needed by them. The Spaniards seem to have been the only people, who then had recourse to other nations to help them with a supply of negroes for their colonies; and the carrying trade for that purpose often changed hands. The Spaniards made a hard bargain, however, with those to whom they granted the privilege of importing slaves into America; and Anderson and Postlethwayte say, that the Genoese made nothing of their contract; and that the Portuguese Company, who, subsequently to them had a contract for it, were ruined: and that a French Company, to whom it was next transferred, was also in the end a sufferer by it.†

1637 In 1637 the Dutch took the fortress of Elmina from the Portuguese.

John of Braganza had now by a successful effort raised himself to the throne of Portugal; and, shaking off the yoke of Spain,

* Edwards, vol. iv. p. 263.

† Postlethwayte, Articles—Assiento and French Trade; and Anderson, ditto.

was glad to purchase the recognition and friendship of Holland by the formal cession, or rather perhaps renunciation, of what had been the Portuguese possessions in Guinea. These were secured to the Dutch, by the Treaty concluded in 1641 between Portugal and the States. 1641

Soon after this period, according to Postlethwayte, the Dutch made it their business to ruin the British trade in Africa: and step after step, sometimes by fraud and sometimes by force, effected to a great degree their object, destroying our ships and taking our forts. The loss inflicted at this period on the English Company by the Dutch is stated at £300,000, which, if not exaggerated, shews the power and wealth of which the Company had been in possession.

In 1648, Tortola and many of the other Virgin Islands were settled by Dutch buccancers, who, eighteen years after, were dislodged by British buccaneers. 1648

The Dutch also settled in Curaçoa, St. Eustatia, and some smaller islands in the West Indies.

The minds of men in England were, however, at that time too engrossed with the troubles of the "Great Rebellion" to give much

consideration to distant commerce. But the attention of Cromwell was so far directed
1651 to the subject, that, in 1651,* he conferred on Boutaud, Williams, and others, the privileges granted in 1634 by Charles I. to a Joint Stock Company. It does not, however, appear that any great advantage was taken of the patent conceded by Cromwell.

At length the Protector was roused by the accounts which continually reached him, of the oppressions exercised by the Spaniards upon the English in the West Indies, whom the former, not content with driving out of the colonies, tortured and murdered in cold blood. Cromwell demanded satisfaction from Spain for these outrages. Commissioners were appointed to treat upon the subject with the Spanish ambassador; but in regard to the two main points on which Cromwell required concessions and redress, —namely, the powers exercised by the Inquisition, and the arrogation of exclusive dominion in the West Indies,—the Spaniard answered, that Cromwell might as well ask his master's two eyes.†

Cromwell immediately determined to take

* Astley, vol. ii. p. 159.

† Edwards, vol. i. page 191.

satisfaction for himself. He fitted out an armament, and, in 1655, attempted to take St. Domingo: he failed, but took Jamaica. This fine island was then in a state of extreme depression; being occupied by only about 1500 whites and about an equal number of negroes, who, after the natives were exterminated, had been imported from Africa.* 1655

Cromwell immediately took means for peopling Jamaica with emigrants from England, Scotland, and Ireland. It does not appear, that he then contemplated the assistance of negroes for that purpose. The exports of the island were at that time cocoa, hogs' lard, and hides. No sugar was yet produced in it; but, from an observation made by the commander of the expedition, on the "commodity" of a situation for the erection of water-engines for sugar, it appears that he contemplated introducing machinery for making the article.

In the year 1662, Charles II. granted a Charter to a third African Company, of which his brother, the Duke of York, afterwards James II. was a member. That Company undertook to supply the British West India Colonies with 3000 slaves annually. 1662

* Edwards, vol i. p. 193.

The Companies, however, which engaged in this trade, though protected by patents and exclusive privileges, do not appear to have flourished. From time to time they returned into the hands of the Crown the powers and privileges granted to them.

In 1664 the English, in addition to the islands already mentioned, had colonized St. Vincent and Dominica. But Barbadoes and Jamaica seem to have been considered at this time and thenceforward as the chief settlements of England in the West Indies.

At that period the Dutch were the great cause of the ill success of the English trade to Africa; and the British Government having failed in obtaining redress from the Dutch Government for the wrongs which the Dutch had committed against the British trade in Africa, declared war against Holland
1664 upon that ground in the year 1664. The war was carried on with various success. In 1664, the English took New York, which had been built by the Dutch; and in 1667, the Dutch took Surinam, which had been settled by the English. These conquests were secured to the respective parties by the peace of
1672 Breda;* and, in 1672, the fourth and last English African Company was established.

* Koch, vol. ii. p. 232.

That Company acting with much energy restored the trade, enlarged Cape Coast Castle, and built forts at Accra, and at five other places; imported large quantities of dye-stuffs, of ivory, and wax, and gold, and supplied the British colonies with slaves. But still, according to Astley, the Dutch trade in slaves was at this time ten times greater than the English.

Soon after this period the Dutch diverted their attention from Africa to the commerce of the North, and of the Molucca Isles.

In 1673 the British governor of Jamaica sent home his first "pot" of sugar to the Secretary of State, together with a "story" of it.* At that time the colony had greatly increased, and negroes had been extensively imported. There were then 7,768 whites and 9,504 negroes on the island. The exports were cocoa, indigo, and hides.

About the same time, in 1670, Barbadoes 1670 had 50,000 whites and 100,000 negroes.† But

* Edwards, vol. i. page 301.

† It appears that the rapid increase of the settlement of Barbadoes from 1624, when it was first settled on, to 1650, when the settlers had increased to 20,000 men, half of whom were able to bear arms, had attracted the attention of Parliament, who knew they were strongly attached to the cause of the Stuarts. The Parliament accordingly detached an armament to reduce Barbadoes,

from that period Barbadoes rapidly declined, and never afterwards recovered its population. Its decline is said to have been mainly owing to the dreadful hurricanes by which it was ravaged.

The French now again came forward more prominently to the contest for the African trade; which, it will have been seen, was essentially mixed up with that of the West Indies.

In 1664, the French African Company sold their establishment at Senegal, and all their trade, to the French West India Company, which obtained from the King of France an exclusive right to trade from Cape Blanco to the Cape of Good Hope for forty years.

At that period, the French West India Company possessed Martinique, Guadaloupe, St. Christopher, St. Croix, Grenada, and Marie Galante. It appears, however, that not satisfied with providing their own colonies with

and supported the undertaking by an Act prohibiting all foreign shipping from trading with British Plantations, and any goods from being imported into British Possessions unless in English bottoms, or ships of the country which grew or manufactured the goods. This was the origin of the famous Navigation Law, to which, in Charles the Second's time, was added a provision, that the master and two-thirds of the crew should be English subjects. Edwards, vol. i. p. 342.

slaves, they now entered on the trade of carrying them to the Spanish colonies.

Burke states, that Cardinal Richelieu encouraged and supported this Company; and that after his death they got into difficulties. But that their affairs were then given up to the Crown; and that upon this the French trade flourished again.

In 1677, the Dutch island of Tobago surrendered to France. 167

In 1678, the French took the Dutch settlement of Arguim; and the trade being then, under wise regulations,* thrown open to all subjects of France,† the French trade got the ascendancy in that quarter, engrossing the whole line of Western Africa. 167

The Spaniards now renewed their attacks upon the English in America. In 1680, they landed at Providence, destroyed the settlement, took the governor, Mr. Clark, to Cuba, and put him to death by torture.‡ 168

In England, the Declaration of Rights, in 1688, took away virtually the exclusive privileges of the African Company; and the 1688
British African trade thenceforward became

* Established in 1681.

† Burke's European Settlements in America, Part v. ch. i.

‡ Edwards, vol. i. p. 185.

legally open to all British subjects. It appears that about 4,500 slaves* were annually im-
1679 ported to the British Colonies between 1679
1689 and 1689. Some of these were, however, im-
ported by private traders; but the English African Company still existed, and in 1689 entered into an agreement with the Spanish Government to supply the Spanish West Indies with some negroes from Jamaica;†
1707 and it appears that from 1698 to 1707 there were landed in the British Colonies, partly by the Company and partly by British traders, about 25,000 negroes a year.‡

The direct supply of slaves from Africa to the Spanish colonies was, however, at that time engrossed by the French; and
1713 it was not until 1713 that the English took a part in the carrying trade from Africa.

* See Report of Privy Council on Trade with Africa, 1789, Part IV., No. 25.

† Edwards, book iv. ch. 2.

‡ See Report of Privy Council on Trade with Africa, 1789, Part IV., No. 25.

Chapter the Fifth.

Some Account of the Assiento Contract, and of the Negro Population in certain West India Colonies. 1713 to 1780.

In the year 1713, the Spanish government 1713
made over to the English Guinea Company, by a formal Royal Contract, the privilege of supplying the Spanish colonies with slaves from Africa.

As the Assiento Contract is often mentioned in History—and I know not that a distinct account of it has ever been given—a short notice of this Contract* may not be misplaced here.

The Spanish term for contract, "Assiento," was specially applied to the Agreement. The Contract was called Assiento; the Company were called Assientists.

The Contract was held of such consequence as to form the subject of a stipulation in the Preliminaries of the Peace of Utrecht; and it was confirmed in an Article (the 16th) in the Treaty of Utrecht of July, 1713.

The Contract was dated the 13th March,

* Assiento Contract, March 13, 1713, as printed at the time, and preserved in the State Papers.

1713, and was signed by the king of Spain himself. It purported that the engagements in it were to last thirty years from its date; and that, the contract which His Majesty had made with the French Guinea Company for supplying his colonies with slaves having expired, he now made over a similar contract to the English Guinea Company, who were to bind themselves to supply his colonies with 144,000 slaves within the thirty years, being at the rate of 4,800 slaves a-year. They were to advance him 200,000 crowns for the privilege of importing these slaves, and to pay a duty of 33½ crowns for each slave; and they were moreover to give the king of Spain, and the king of England, each one-quarter share of the profits of their trade.

The privileges granted to them were, that at the specified periods they might convey and import into any ports of the Spanish dominions in America, the number of slaves stipulated for; and that they might import as many more slaves as they could sell within the first twenty-five years; and that they might sell the slaves for the highest price they could get, anywhere in the Spanish West Indies, excepting at the following three ports,—Santa Martha, Cumana, and Maracaybo; at which ports they were not to raise the price above

a specified sum, because the king of Spain considered it desirable to induce the inhabitants to import slaves. The Company had also the privilege of sending every year to the Spanish West Indies, a ship of 500 tons burthen, with an assortment of general goods for sale.

It is calculated that for 20 years after 1733
1713, the period when the Assiento Contract was made, the number of slaves annually exported by the English from Africa was 15,000, of whom from a third to a half went to the Spanish Colonies; and that for the following 20 years the export of slaves by England from Africa was 20,000.*

But the Assiento was not more profitable to the English, than it had been to the Portuguese, or French, or other nations; † for in 1739, 1739
25 years after its commencement, the English Company had got in debt to Spain to the amount of £68,000 sterling; and the king of Spain threatened to suspend the Assiento, until the debt was made good.

A war soon afterwards took place, and the contract was interrupted.

* Edwards's West Indies, Book 6. London, 1798.

† Declaration of the Spanish Minister attached to the Treaty of Pardo of the 11th of January 1739.

By the Peace of Aix la Chapelle, of Oc-
1748 tober 18th, 1748, it was stipulated, that the Assiento should be allowed to continue four years more, in consideration of its having been interrupted by the war. But by the
1750 Convention of the 5th October 1750, the king of Great Britain, upon receipt of £100,000 in lieu of being allowed the annual trading ship, gave up for his subjects the privilege which had been conceded to them, of continning the Assiento Contract for four years more.

It appears, that the Slave Trade part of the Assiento had all along been a losing trade; and the only chance, which the Company had of gaining by the contract, consisted in the profits they might make by the cargo of merchandize, which they were allowed to send annually to the Spanish West Indies.*

The English African Company was entirely ruined by the speculation; and at so early a period as 1729 they were forced to come to Parliament for assistance to keep up their forts and factories. Parliament thenceforward assisted them with occasional grants of money, amounting in the whole, from the year 1729 to 1749, to £80,000.

* Anderson, Art. "Slave Trade." Journals of Parliament.

Still, their affairs deteriorated, and in this situation they formally gave up the privilege of carrying negroes from Africa to the West Indies, and confined themselves to the sending gold and elephants' teeth, and drugs, home; but their agents still sold to traders on the coast of Africa slaves purchased from the natives.

At length, in 1749, they presented a Memorial to Parliament, in which they stated, that notwithstanding the aids already given, they were indebted to sundry creditors in the sum of £107,262 8s. 5*d.*; and they offered to the Government the immediate surrender of their charter, forts, and other property, on condition that Parliament should pay the debts they owed, and give them £25,000, to be divided among the proprietors.*

Their Memorial having been taken into consideration by Parliament, money was, in 1749, given to them to pay their debts, and 1749
the Company was dissolved. The management of the trade with Africa was put into an entirely new form; and a new Company was established under an Act of Parliament, which declared specifically, that the trade should be free and open to all His Majesty's

* See Report to Privy Council, "Trade to Africa," 1789.

subjects from South Barbary to the Cape of Good Hope.*

The new Company still retained the command of the forts and settlements, and the Act of Parliament continued to them the power to enact Regulations for Trade, "so "as the same do not lead to lay any con- "straint upon the trade contrary to the "intent of this Act."

This new Company was of the character of a "regulated" Company, in which each member traded individually on his own capital; whereas the previous Companies had been "joint-stock" Companies, in which a set of men subscribed a stock of money, and traded upon it collectively as a body.

Although the English African Company now ceased to export slaves from Africa, it is not therefore to be understood, that the number of slaves exported in English vessels had diminished. Such was by no means the fact. The carrying trade had become open to the English generally; and though other European nations, the Dutch, the French, and lastly the Spaniards, now by degrees entered into it, still, from 1750 down to the time of the troubles between England and her American

* Journals of Lords and Commons.

colonies, the English were by far the greatest exporters of slaves from Africa; and the number exported by them during this period was gradually increasing.*

Edwards states, that from 1733 to 1766, 173 the average annual exportation of slaves from 1766 Africa by England might be estimated at 20,000; but that immediately before the troubles with America, the number had increased to 41,000. And Macpherson,† in his History of Commerce, states, that the number of Africans shipped in 1768, by all nations, for America and the West Indies, was estimated at 97,000. That of these the British shipping took 60,000, and the French 23,000; the remainder being divided in small portions among the shipping of other nations, the Portuguese at that time only taking 1,700.

Down to this period the Spanish government had had recourse to other nations to obtain negroes for the Spanish American Colonies. But, in 1769, the Spanish Government entered into a contract for this purpose with some Spanish merchants, and granted to them the same privileges which, under

* Edwards's History of the British West Indies, Book 4. London, 1798.

† Macpherson, vol. iii.

the Assiento Contract before mentioned, the Spanish Government had conceded to English merchants.

Under this new contract the Spanish American Colonies were supplied with slaves
1769 by Spanish merchants, from the year 1769
1774 to 1774.*

The English trade in slaves about this time diminished: perhaps because the carrying trade to the Spanish Colonies had been thus taken from them; perhaps, as Edwards supposes, in consequence of the dissensions then arising between our American colonies and the mother country.

In the mean time the English African Company, declining by degrees in influence, in power, and in projects of ambition, had, in 1765, ceded to the Crown all its forts and settlements in Africa.

Burke, in his account of the European
1755 Settlements in America in 1755, states, that at that period the number of negro slaves in the British Possessions in the West Indies was about 240,000, and that of the white population 90,000; and that in Virginia there were about 100,000 negro slaves, with a

* Report of the Privy Council on "Trade to Africa," 1789. Part 6.

white population of between 60,000 and 70,000 souls; and that the English imported annually at least one-sixteenth part of the existing negroes to keep up the stock, making an importation of about 15,000 annually for the British West Indies, and of 6,200 for Virginia.

In the British West Indies the negroes were at this period thus distributed:—In Jamaica, 90,000; in Barbadoes, 80,000; St. Christopher, 20,000; Antigua, 30,000; and Nevis and Montserrat, 10,000 each.

According to Edwards,* the negro slaves in

St. Domingo amounted in	1779	to	249,098
Martinico ..	1776	,,	71,268
Guadaloupe	1779	,,	85,327
St. Lucia ,,	1776	,,	10,752
Tobago supposed the same			10,752
Cayenne amounted in	1780	,,	10,539
Total . .			437,736

Which, added to the negroes in the British Possessions in the West Indies and Virginia, taking them from the estimate of 1755 . . 340,000

Makes a Total of . 777,736

* Edwards, vol. ii., book 4, chap. 1.

And it is to be observed that this list not include the Danish, Swedish, and D possessions in the West Indies; nor English, French, or Dutch possessions Guyana; nor the Spanish possessions on main land of America, and in Cuba Porto Rico; nor the Portuguese possessi in Brazil and elsewhere.

PART THE SECOND.

ABANDONMENT OF THE TRADE BY ENGLAND.

Chapter the First.

inions of English and other Writers against the African Slave Trade. 1750 to 1788.

FORE the period treated of at the conusion of the last section, persons of note, England and elsewhere, had not been anting to raise up their voices against this rbarous traffic.

Godwin,* a clergyman of the Established hurch, and Baxter,† the celebrated nonnformist Divine, had, in writings published early as the end of the 17th century, prosted loudly against this Trade. Baxter had served, that "They who go out as pirates, and take away poor Africans, and make them Slaves and sell them, are the worst of robbers, and ought to be considered the common enemies of mankind; and that they who buy them and make use of them

* Godwin's Negro's and Indian's Advocate.

† Baxter's Christian Directory, fol. 1673.

" as mere beasts of burden are fitter to be
" called Demons than Christians."

1750 In 1750, Montesquieu published his great work, the " Esprit des Loix," in which he declares slavery to be contrary to every principle of law, human and Divine, civil and moral: and with a severe irony ends by concluding that negroes could not be human beings, for that, if they were, the whole of Christendom would have united in a league to put down the African Slave Trade.*

1759 In 1759, Adam Smith, in his " Theory of Moral Sentiments," said, " There is not a
" negro from the coast of Africa, who does
" not possess a degree of magnanimity which
" the soul of his sordid master is too often
" scarce capable of conceiving."

1761 In 1761 the Quakers began to stir themselves against the Trade, passing several resolutions expressive of their abhorrence of the traffic.

In the next year the Wesleyans followed their example.

Hutchinson, in his " Moral Philosophy," expressed his " astonishment that in a nation
" where a sense of liberty prevails, and the

* See Montesquieu's Esprit des Loix, vol. ii. article " Origine de l'Esclavage."

"Christian religion is professed, custom and "high prospects of gain can so stupify the "consciences of men, and all sense of natural "justice, that they can hear such computa- "tions made about the value of their fellow- "men, without abhorrence and indignation."

Postlethwayte, in his "Commercial Dictionary," dilated on the evils resulting from that "unjust, inhuman, and uncharitable "traffic."

In 1766, Bishop Warburton preached and 1766
published an eloquent and powerful Sermon against the Slave Trade, "which," he said, "infringed all human and all Divine law, "since nature made man free, and grace "incites him to assert his freedom."

By degrees, the public voice in England shewed itself more and more against the Slave Trade; and at length a feeling of commiseration for the negroes, and of respect for the principles of liberty established in England, evinced itself by a decision of the Judges in respect to negro slaves arriving in this country.

It had been the custom for West India merchants to bring their slaves over to England, and on returning to the West Indies, to seize by stratagem, or by force, the persons

of those negroes, and to transport them back again, as slaves, to the British colonies. In
1769 1769, Mr. Granville Sharp took advantage of an aggravated case of this kind, in the instance of a person named *Summersett*, to try whether or not a negro, on arriving in England, became essentially free. Summersett had been brought over from Jamaica as a slave, had refused to return, attempted to abscond, was seized and sent on board ship to be carried back to Jamaica, and to be there sold as a slave. Before the ship carrying him had sailed from England, a writ of *habeas corpus* was applied for and granted, to know why the negro was seized, and why he should not be discharged; and, after a long and anxious trial, in which the case was argued in three different sittings, the Judges, in May,
1772 1772, decided, that as soon as any slave set his foot upon English territory, he became free, and could not, but by his own will, be taken back to be a slave.*

* Howell's State Trials, vol. xx. pp. 25, 26.

In the course of this trial an opinion of Chief Justice Holt was quoted, "that as soon as a negro comes into England he becomes free." This opinion was not disputed; but it was argued, that it applied only to the state of the negro when in England; and that even while in England he could be removed, to become a slave again in the Colonies. Lord Mansfield over-

The trial made a great sensation in England, and Mr. Sharp, on its conclusion, immediately urged the Government to abolish both the slave trade and slavery itself, "as "utterly irreconcileable with the principles "of the British constitution, and of the esta-"blished religion of the land."*

The Government, however, took no notice of this appeal: and I do not find that the sub-

ruled this latter argument, observing, that "slavery could not be resumed after emancipation." Again, it was argued by Mr. Dunning and others, that there was in England no absolute law against slavery, and it was stated that there were then 14,000 negro slaves in England returned from the Colonies; and that the declaring them absolutely free would produce great inconvenience. The Court seemed to feel this inconvenience; and on the last hearing of the case, intimated that the former owner of the slave might be disposed, perhaps, to end the trial by discharging or giving liberty to the negro. The former owner (Mr. Stuart), however, declined so to do; and Lord Mansfield then observing, 'Fiat Justitia, ruat cœlum,' proceeded to give the decision of the Court; the question in *this* case being, as he observed, "whether any dominion, authority, or coercion, could "be exercised in this country on a slave according to the Ame-"rican laws." He observed, "The owner says, the slave de-"parted and refused to serve, whereon he was kept to be sold "abroad. So high an act of dominion must be recognised by "the law of the country where it is used. The state of slavery "is of such a nature and so odious, that nothing can be suffered "to support it but positive law. Whatever inconveniences, "therefore, may follow from the decision, I cannot say that this "case is allowed or approved by the law of England; and there-"fore the black must be discharged."

* Clarkson's History of the Slave Trade, vol. i. p. 79.

ject was pressed further upon public notice for four years afterwards.

1776 In the year 1776, the point was first mooted in Parliament, by Mr. Hartley, member for Hull, who moved in the House of Commons, a resolution "that the Slave "Trade was contrary to the laws of God "and the rights of man."*

The motion was seconded by Sir G. Saville. It does not appear to have awakened at the moment a debate of any interest, and it was dropped.

Meantime eminent English writers warmly denounced the Trade.

About this time, Dr. Robertson, in his "History of America," condemned the trade, as "no less repugnant to the feelings of "humanity than to the principles of religion."†

1782 In 1782, it was designated by Paley, in his "Moral Philosophy," as an "abominable "tyranny, beginning with exciting the natives "to wars, for the purpose of supplying the "markets with slaves; continuing, by tear-"ing away negroes from home and friends "and country and liberty, and carrying them "across the sea, with no better accommoda-

* Clarkson, vol. i. p. 84.

† Robertson's History of America, Book 3.

" tion on ship-board, than what is provided
" for brutes; and ending, by placing them
" for life in subjection to a dominion the most
" merciless that ever was tolerated on the
" face of the earth."

In 1786 Mr. Clarkson, one of the earliest 1786
and most distinguished advocates of the
abolition, took his first open step on this
subject by publishing a work against the
trade; and in 1787 Clarkson, with Granville 1787
Sharp, Mr. Hoare, Mr. Wilberforce, and
others, formed themselves into a private committee, having for its object the abolition of the Slave Trade.

That committee was soon afterwards joined by distinguished men of various religious persuasions and political opinions: most of them were Englishmen, but some were foreigners. Paley, John Wesley, Bishop Porteus, William Smith, La Fayette, and Condorcet,* were among them. They collected and published evidence: they wrote and circulated various tracts against the trade. They assembled public meetings; spoke against it; and used all the means in their power

* A corresponding society was also formed at this time in France, and took the name of Amis des Noirs. Edwards's Abolition of Slave Trade and History of St. Domingo.

for disseminating their opinions on the subject. They soon excited a general feeling in England on behalf of the Africans—it spread rapidly—it showed itself in various ways;—in meetings of different bodies throughout the kingdom;—in speeches—in the public press—in petitions to Parliament: and the ferment in the public mind having awakened the attention of the Government to the subject,* the King, by an Order in Council,
1788 dated the 11th Feb. 1788, directed, that the Board of Trade "should take into their "consideration the present state of the Afri-"can Slave Trade, the practice and manner "of purchasing and obtaining slaves on the "Coast of Africa, the importation and sale "thereof, both in the British and Foreign "Colonies of the West Indies, and of Ame-"rica, and also the effect and consequences "of the trade both in Africa and also in the "Colonies, and also to the general com-"merce of the kingdom, and that they should "report to the king the result, with their ob-"servations thereupon."

The friends of the Abolition now became active in obtaining evidence for the Board of Trade.† They also waited on Mr. Pitt,

* Clarkson, vol. i. p. 471.

† Ibid., p. 481.

Mr. Fox, and Lord Grenville, in order to interest them in favour of the Abolition. Mr. Pitt inquired searchingly into the facts, as to the alleged mischievous nature of the trade, its effects on Africa, on the West Indies, and on the crews employed in it. At the conclusion of the interview, Mr. Pitt confessed, with emotion, that* all his doubts were removed on these points; and he became from that time forward a warm and earnest advocate for the Abolition of the Slave Trade. Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox at once declared themselves in favour of the abolition.

The friends of the Trade, however, stoutly denied, that it was a nuisance or an iniquity. According to them it was a benefit to humanity; they denied, that kidnapping ever took place, or that wars were ever waged for the purpose of obtaining slaves; they asserted, that the slaves exported were either prisoners taken in battle or persons sentenced to die for crimes; and they contended that the Slave Trade was a "blessed means of saving "the victims." They attempted to cry down all the evidence produced to the contrary; and boasted, that they would soon do away with all the idle tales "which had been in-

* Clarkson, vol. i. p. 474.

"vented against them, and would prove their "opponents to be grossly ignorant or gross "calumniators." *

1788 At that period,† 1788, there were 450,000 negroes in the British sugar colonies. The West India planters estimated their value at about £50 a-head, making £22,500,000. The value of the land, buildings, cattle, and other stock, was estimated at double the value of the negroes, or £45,000,000; and the value of town houses, coasting and trading vessels belonging to the islands, at £25,000,000, making a total of £70,000,000 as the value of British property in these islands.

The Board of Trade thinking this estimate too high, directed Mr. Chalmers to make another. But his estimate varied little from that of the planters.

The evidence before the Board of Trade upon the nature and effect of the African Slave Trade was in many respects conflicting: yet such a mass of incontrovertible testimony was brought forward, proving horrible circumstances attending and following the Slave Trade, that, as the inquiry proceeded, every liberal mind became a convert

* Edwards, vol. iv., p. 332.

† Report of Privy Council, Part IV., Appendix, No 18.

to the impression that the trade should be abolished: and petitions for its abolition crowded the table of the House of Commons.

The City of London, though its interests lay on the side of the Slave Trade, sacrificed them in behalf of humanity, and presented a strong petition for the abolition of the trade. The other chief cities of the kingdom, and he tlarge manufacturing towns, one after another, followed her example. The commercial communities in all the counties expressed the same sentiment. The two Universities declared warmly their conviction in support of the abolition. The Established Church, speaking through assemblies of its ministers, in every one of its Dioceses, and the Quakers and the other dissenting bodies, through their authorized representatives, united their voices on this occasion; and before the Board of Trade had given in its Report to the Privy Council, the public mind showed such an increasing anxiety on the subject of the Slave Trade, that the private committee already mentioned of friends of the Abolition determined to have the subject brought at once, in the substantive shape of a motion, before the House of Commons.*

* Clarkson, vol. i. p. 502.

Chapter the Second.

Conflict in England between the Supporters and the Opponents of the African Slave Trade. Act of Parliament regulating the mode of transporting Slaves from Africa. 1788.

Mr. Wilberforce, on whom the friends of the abolition mainly relied, as their champion in the House of Commons, being taken ill, they were at a loss how to proceed under the circumstances, when Mr. Pitt sent a message to their chairman, Mr. Sharpe, desiring a conference with him. At that conference, Mr. Pitt declared, he concurred with the Committee in their wish for the entire abolition of the Slave Trade. He added, "He "considered himself pledged, that the cause "should not sustain injury by the illness of "Mr. Wilberforce." He observed, "He did "not believe the subject could be fully inves-"tigated, until the Board of Trade had con-"cluded their evidence; but he promised,

"that he would bring forward a motion, "making it obligatory on the House to "take up the question early in the ensuing "session."*

Accordingly, on the 9th of May, 1788, Mr. Pitt brought forward a motion, "That "the House should, early in the ensuing "Session, take into consideration the cir- "cumstances of the Slave Trade, as com- "plained of in the petitions presented to the "House; and what may be fit to be done "thereupon."

May 178

Mr. Pitt, in introducing the subject to the House, premised, that "he felt it to be a "subject more important than ever had been "submitted to that House." He intimated, that the object of some opponents of the Slave Trade, was to abolish it entirely; and that the object of others was only to regulate it. For himself, as minister, and as bringing on the subject for another person, he thought it right, in that early stage of the question, to avoid giving his opinion, as to which of the two parties, hostile to the present state of the trade, he inclined himself.

Mr. Fox then rose, and stated, that "as

* Clarkson, vol. i. p. 504.

"for himself he had no scruple to declare at "the outset, that the Slave Trade ought not "to be regulated, but destroyed."*

Mr. Burke then rose and stated, that "he "too was one of those, who wished for the "abolition; and thought the trade ought to "be abolished, on the principles of humanity "and justice."†

Sir W. Dolben dwelt upon the horrors of the "carrying trade:" stated that the negroes on board ship were chained to each other, hand and foot, and not allowed above a foot-and-a-half each person in breadth; and he urged that this part of the subject should be considered separately.‡

Lord Penrhyn and Mr. Gascoyne, the members for Liverpool, were the only two members who defended the traffic. They asserted, that the African planters and merchants had been grossly calumniated, and were anxious for an immediate inquiry.§

The resolution moved by Mr. Pitt was, however, agreed to without a division.‖

So strongly was the feeling of the people of England excited upon the subject, that

* Clarkson, vol. i. p. 511. † Ibid., p. 516.

‡ Ibid., p. 520. § Ibid., pp. 514 and 517.

‖ Ibid., vol. i., p. 524.

before the Session ended, the opponents to the Slave Trade again brought the subject before the House, by a motion of Sir W. Dolben for leave, to bring in a Bill to lessen the horrors of what was called the "middle passage;" that is, the transportation of slaves from Africa to the West Indies.

By this Bill Sir W. Dolben proposed to limit, according to the tonnage of the vessel, the number of slaves she should carry: to secure for the slaves good and sufficient provisions: and to regulate other matters for their health and accommodation, until Parliament should decide on the general question, whether the Slave Trade should continue or not.

On the 21st May, 1788, leave was given to bring in this Bill; and Mr. Pitt took advantage of the interval between that period and the bringing in the Bill, to collect and make himself master of evidence, shewing the treatment suffered by negroes on their passage. May 17

Slave vessels then at Liverpool were measured; and it was found that the space given to a slave was five feet six inches in length, and sixteen inches in breadth. The deck was from four feet to five feet four inches in height. It was ascertained upon evidence. that the slaves were chained hand and foot to each other, and fastened besides by ring-

bolts to the deck; that they had a pint of water a day each, and were fed with yams and horse-beans; and that afterwards they were made to jump in their irons for exercise, and were flogged if they refused to do so.

e 17, 88 The Bill for lessening these miseries was brought in on the 17th June.* The Liverpool merchants took the alarm, and determined to oppose the Bill in all its stages. They petitioned the House; and they brought forward witnesses, who stated that no change was necessary; that everything needful was done for the health and comfort of the slaves; and that "the middle passage was one of the "happiest periods of a negro's life."†

Mr. Pitt, however, had caused a strict inquiry to be made into the facts; and he brought forward incontrovertible evidence to prove the miseries inflicted on the slaves, and the consequent mortality they suffered; and further, that the mortality among the crews of the slave vessels was such, that instead of the trade being a nursery for seamen, as had been alleged, it was in reality their grave.

The members for Liverpool opposed the Bill in debate, declaring that to regulate the trade would tend to suppress it altogether; and on this occasion Mr. Pitt,

* Clarkson, vol. i. p. 528. † Ibid., vol. i. p. 536.

who, from the first communication held with him on the subject, had privately declared himself warmly in favour of the objects of the Abolitionists, now broke through the restraints, which in the early part of the year he had prescribed to himself, in regard to any public declaration of his opinion on the subject. He stated, that he was most unequivocally in favour of the motion of Sir W. Dolben. He observed, "It had been "said, that the regulations proposed would "tend to the abolition of the slave trade. "Such was not his opinion: but even, if "such should be the case, he had no hesi-"tation boldly and openly to declare, that if "the trade could not be carried on differently "from the way stated by the Members for "Liverpool, he would retract what he said on "a former occasion, against going at present "into the general question; and, waiving "every other discussion than what had taken "place that day on the subject, would give his "vote for the utter annihilation of the trade. "It was a trade which it was shocking to "humanity to hear detailed; and he hoped "the House would endeavour to extricate "themselves from the guilt and remorse "which every one ought to feel, for having "suffered such monstrous cruelties to be

"practised on a helpless and unoffending "part of the human kind."

The Bill passed in the Commons by a majority of 56 against 5.*

It was carried to the House of Lords; but there it was opposed by Lord Thurlow, the Duke of Clarence, and Lord Sandwich: the former pronounced a bitter and vehement oration against the Bill,† declaring it to be unjust that "this sudden fit of philanthropy, "which was but a few days' old, should be "allowed to disturb the public mind, and "become the occasion of bringing men to "the metropolis with tears in their eyes and "horror in their countenance, to deprecate "the ruin of their property, which they had "embarked on the faith of Parliament."

The opposition of Lord Thurlow had great effect, on account of the high station which he filled. For he not only influenced many of the Peers; but by putting himself forward prominently as the uncompromising supporter of the slave merchants, gave them courage to hold up their heads after their recent defeat.

The opposition to the Bill was so powerful, and such alterations in it were consequently introduced by the Lords, that on its being re-

* Clarkson. vol. i. p. 551. † Ibid, p. 553.

turned to the House of Commons, it was rejected. Another Bill to the same effect as the former was then instantly introduced by Sir W. Dolben into the Commons. It was sent up to the Lords, but there shared the same fate as the first, and was, consequently, rejected by the Commons. Sir W. Dolben then without any delay introduced a third Bill for the same object as the two former ones; and, though it met with severe opposition in the Peers, it finally passed both Houses, and received the Royal sanction on the 11th of July 1788.* July 17

It is observed by Clarkson, that this Bill is memorable, as being the first Act of Parliament which put any fetters on the Slave Trade.

It has previously been stated in this paper, that the Slave Trade of Great Britain had lessened during the differences between this country and the United States; but according to the Reports laid before the Privy Council in 1788 by merchants of Liverpool, it appears, that immediately after the peace with the United States, the Trade rapidly increased.†

* Clarkson, vol. i p. 560.

† See Report of Privy Council of 1789, Part IV. No. 24, corrected in Part VI.; and Conferences of London, February, 1819. Lord Castlereagh's Observations.

1787 At the period spoken of in those Reports, namely, 1787, the total annual export of negroes from Africa, as slaves, was estimated at 200,000.

Of these it was estimated, that one-half were exported from the Western Coast of Africa to America* and the West Indies; and the remaining half, partly from the Eastern Coast of Africa to Persia and the East Indies, and partly from the interior of Africa to Turkey and to Egypt.

Of the 100,000 transported to America and to the West Indies, it was estimated, that the number exported by the

British, amounted to-	38,000
French - - - - -	31,000
Dutch - - - - -	4,000
Danes - - - - -	2,000
Portuguese - - -	25,000
Total - -	100,000

* The price at which these negroes were purchased in Africa was stated to vary from £3 to £15, and the price at which they were sold in America to vary from about £13 to £40.—Report upon African Slave Trade, Part V., No. 25.

Chapter the Third.

Progress of the Conflict between the Supporters and the Opponents of the African Slave Trade. Act of Parliament for preventing British Subjects from assisting the Slave Trade of other Countries. 1789 to 1806.

The Lords of the Privy Council, sitting as a Committee for Trade, having concluded the hearing of Evidence on the subject of the Trade to Africa for Slaves, Mr. Pitt, in April, 17
1789, delivered at the Bar of the House their Report, containing the entire mass of information they had collected respecting it; and on the 12th May following, Mr. Wilberforce Ma
moved for a Committee of the whole House, to take into consideration the Petitions against the Trade, the Evidence in relation to the same, and the Bills respecting Slavery passed recently both in Great Britain and the Colonies.

Mr. Wilberforce began, by describing the miseries entailed on Africa through the export of its inhabitants as slaves. He adverted to facts, showing that villages, having been at war, were making peace, and celebrating it by marriages, when British Slave Traders

came in, and fomenting new discord for the sake of trade, joined in the renewed contest, and carried away the conquered party.*

He then described the carrying trade, where 600 persons had been linked together so close, that no one could pass them without treading on them: where the supply of water was so deficient, that they frequently gasped for life from thirst: and the air so close, that they were often suffocated by its corruption. He stated, that the slaves had little to eat, and that little was unfit for human food. They were flogged into dancing, and again flogged if they complained. The mortality on board ship was great: and it continued some time after they landed: so that not above half the negroes embarked in Africa survived, to share the miseries of slavery in a foreign land; and among the crews of the slave vessels, the mortality was so great, that they generally lost a third in each voyage.

Mr. Wilberforce then, founding upon these facts various propositions, affirmative of the mischievous effects of the Slave Trade, invited the House to take the whole subject into consideration.†

The opponents of these propositions now changed their tactics, and endeavoured to

* Clarkson, vol. ii. p. 46.

† Ibid., p. 67.

prevail on Parliament to regulate the Trade, as the best means of preventing its abolition.* The West Indian merchants and planters were foremost in this course. Mr. Dundas, Mr. Addington, and Lord Hawkesbury, were also on this side; declaring, that regulations would remedy all the evils which really existed, and at the same time prevent the mischief which would follow from the abolition. The planters, they said, had done their part. The Assemblies had recently made wholesome laws. The great grievances as to Slavery in the West Indies had been redressed. No slave could any longer be wantonly killed by a white man. There were laws for better feeding and clothing the slaves; and the aged could not now be turned off to perish. It only remained to put the Slave Trade with Africa under as wise regulations, as had been carried into effect for the benefit of the slaves when arrived in the colonies.†

* Clarkson, vol. ii. p. 101.

† From this short statement of the apologists and defenders of Slave Trade in those times, it may be learnt, first, that down to very recent times, a white man might, in the West Indies, kill his slave with impunity; and, secondly, at that very period there were no laws by which a man ill treating or murdering a slave on the passage from Africa could be brought to punishment. Indeed so late as the 18th March, 1802, Lord Seaforth, Governor of Barbados, writes to Lord Hobart, then Secretary of State, thus:—"Your Lordship will observe, in the last day's proceedings in the Assembly, that

But the other party would be content with nothing short of Abolition: and on their side were Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, Mr. Wilberforce, Lord Grenville, Mr., afterwards Lord Grey; in fact all the great statesmen of the day in the House of Commons, and most of the great men of the day in the House of Lords, Lord Thurlow excepted. The language of Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Burke was, "that the Slave Trade could not be "regulated, because there could be no Regu-"lation of Robbery and Murder."*

The opponents of the Resolutions of Mr. Wilberforce were very active; they obtained possession of part of the public press; they contended that the negroes were but a step removed from brutes; that it was a kindness to take them from Africa; that the real object of the Abolitionists was emancipation; that the slaves, if emancipated, would starve; their masters be reduced to poverty; and the islands be ruined; that the planters must be compensated; and the compensation must be from 80 to 100 millions;† the majority of the House has taken considerable offence at a passage of mine, recommending an Act to be passed to make the murder of a slave felony. At present the fine for the crime is only £15 currency, or £11. 4*s*. sterling." See the Star of April 16, 1805.

* Clarkson, vol. ii. p. 101. † Edwards, vol. iv. p. 352.

that the English funds would be depressed; and English commerce in general annihilated.

The debate in the House of Commons continued, with adjournments, for some weeks. The result was, a permission given for those interested in the question to bring evidence for and against the propositions. The opponents of the abolition of the trade now aimed at defeating all measures in relation to it by procrastination and delay. On the 9th June, 1789, Alderman Newnham moved, that the consideration of the subject be deferred to the next session, and this motion was carried; but, on the other side, Sir W. Dolben introduced and carried a Bill, renewing for one year more, the Regulations in his former Bill, as to the mode in which the carrying trade was to be conducted.*

Jun 17

During the recess, Mr. Wilberforce proposed to the friends of the Abolition of the Trade, that, among other steps for securing their object, they should apply to the leading characters in the French Revolution, "to "take the slave trade into their consideration, "and incorporate it among the abuses to "be done away with in the possessions of "France."†

Clarkson accordingly proceeded to Paris,

* Clarkson, vol. ii. p. 109. † Ibid., p. 122.

and waited on Rochefoucault, Brissot, La Fayette, Condorcet, Mirabeau, and Sieyes; and endeavoured to induce them to bring forward the subject at the National Assembly.

These personages received Mr. Clarkson with kindness, and declared themselves in favour of the principle of abolishing the Slave Trade. But they observed, "the Revolution "is of more importance to France than the "abolition of the Slave Trade. To secure this "is our first object, and the other will flow "from it. As yet, too, England is but cousi- "dering the subject, and has done nothing "on it; and many persons in France would "think that England, in wishing France to "take the initiative, only aimed at gaining an "advantage over her." After many interviews with the leading characters in France, Clarkson finally returned, without having accomplished his object of getting the subject of the Slave Trade introduced into the French Assembly.*

1790 In 1790 the English Parliament renewed the examination of witnesses.

The party opposed to the Abolition of the Trade were at this time so active, that, by the evidence they adduced, and the works they published, they actually brought the

* Clarkson, vol. ii. p. 141.

public to form a favourable opinion of the trade.

The friends of the Abolition were not, however, inactive; and among other eminent writers who assisted in forwarding their cause were Paley, who published "Arguments against the Unjust Pretensions of Slave-dealers;" and Cowper, who wrote a small poem called "The Negro's Complaint."* These works were widely circulated, and made a considerable impression; but the utmost which the friends of the Abolition were able to effect, in the Session of 1790, was a renewal of Sir W. Dolben's Bill, for lessening the miseries of the carrying trade.

Meantime the trade of England in slaves from Africa continued to flourish. Holland was at that time the only successful rival to England in the trade.

In 1791, according to Edwards, the number of forts in Africa was 40. Of these, 14 belonged to England, 15 to Holland, 3 to France, 4 to Denmark, and 4 to Portugal. 1791

In the British Parliament the examination of witnesses proceeded, and had concluded; when, on the 18th April, 1791,† Mr. Wilberforce moved for leave to bring in a Bill "to

* Clarkson, vol. ii. p. 188.

† Ibid., vol. ii. pp. 212-54.

"prevent the further importation of slaves "into the West Indies." Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Fox spoke in favour of the Bill.

Mr. Wilberforce* again described the miseries of the Trade—1st, As regarded Africa itself; 2ndly, As regarded the voyage to America; and lastly, As respected the state of slavery suffered in the West Indies. He quoted orders given to British slave-agents settled on the coast; among others to encourage the Chieftains, by presents of brandy and gunpowder, to go to war to make slaves. Youths came with vegetables to sell; families came to pay a friendly visit—one and the other were seized and sold. The country was made a field of warfare and desolation; a wilderness in which the inhabitants were as wolves preying on each other.

He repeated, on the Carrying Trade, the horrors he had previously described:—the state of suffocation of the slaves; their dancing in fetters; their eating by compulsion; their despair; their insanity; their throwing themselves into the sea, and, in drowning, waving their hands in triumph, exulting that they had escaped from their tyrants. He mentioned a Captain Fraser, who, finding a man would

* Clarkson, vol. ii. p. 212, et seq.

not eat, caused hot coals be held to his mouth to compel him; and this fact was in evidence before the Council.

He said, that in the West Indies the negroes were treated like cattle, kept at work under the whip, left totally ignorant of religion, unprotected by law, ill used when in health, neglected in sickness, and, by the treatment they were subjected to, driven continually to suicide. Had the trade, indeed, been ever so profitable, his decision, he said, would, in no degree, have been affected by that consideration. "Here's the smell of blood on the "hand still, and all the perfumes of Arabia "cannot sweeten it." He ended his speech by saying, "Never, never will we desist, till "we have wiped away this scandal from the "Christian name; till we have relieved our-"selves from the load of guilt under which "we at present labour; and till we have ex-"tinguished every trace of this bloody traffic "which our posterity, looking back to the "history of these times, will scarcely believe "had been suffered to exist so long, a dis-"grace and a dishonour to our country."

Mr. Pitt had taken great trouble to collect all the evidence existing on the state of the West Indies; and he argued from it, that the abolition of the Trade would eventually be a

benefit to the colonies. But he did not conceal his abhorrence of the Trade. "Every "principle," he said, "which would bind a "man of honour and conscience, would impel "him to give his most powerful support to "the abolition."

Mr. Fox also made a most powerful speech in favour of the abolition. His arguments turned entirely on the injustice and inhumanity of the Trade: he quoted an instance, where a slave, under hard usage, had run away. To prevent a repetition of the offence, his owner sent for a surgeon, and desired him to cut off the man's leg: the surgeon refused. The owner, to render it a matter of duty in the surgeon, snatched a stake, struck with it the man's leg, and broke the leg.—"Now," said he, "you must cut it off; or the man "will die." He stated another case, in which an owner had tied up a female slave, and applied lighted torches to her body to torture her; and he said—"If the House, "knowing by the evidence what the trade "was, did not, by their vote, mark to all "mankind their abhorrence of a practice so "savage as the Slave Trade—so enormous, "so repugnant to all laws, human and divine, "they would consign their character to eter-"nal infamy."

The debate on the other side was maintained by General Tarleton, Lord Sheffield, and others. They contended, that the friends of the abolition were led away by a mistaken humanity; that the Africans had no dislike to the trade; that the stories told of its horrors were palpable forgeries; and that the slaves should be thankful, for being carried away from barbarism and beggary to British comfort.

Mr. Grosvenor "admitted, that the slave "trade was not an amiable trade. But he "would not gratify his humanity at the ex-"pense of the interests of his country; and "he thought we should not too curiously "inquire into the unpleasant circumstances "which attended it."

Lord John Russell* said, though slavery was repugnant to his feelings, he must vote against the abolition as visionary and delusive. It was a feeble attempt, without the power, to serve the cause of humanity; for other nations would take up the trade.

At the conclusion of the debate several members successively got up, among others Mr. Stanley, member for Lancaster, and the Hon. Mr. Ryder, and said, that when they

* The late Duke of Bedford.

came into the House, they intended to vote against the Bill; but such was the impression on their feelings, and the conviction upon their understandings, by what they had heard, that they could not persist in the resolution with which they entered the House.

The Bill, however, was lost by a majority of 75 votes:* the minority included Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, Mr. Burke, Mr. Windham, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Francis, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Ryder, Sir W. Scott, and Mr. Fitzpatrick.

1791 Before the session of 1791 ended, the Legislature gave its sanction to the formation of a settlement at Sierra Leone, with a view to promote free labour, and assist in putting down slave trade.

In 1791, there arose in St. Domingo a struggle for equality between the blacks and the whites. In that island the laws gave no protection to the slave against ill usage from his master; and the slave was more cruelly treated there, than in any other West India Colony. Under the laws of the island even the free inhabitant of colour was treated with contempt and ignominy: he was admitted to none of the privileges of a citizen,

* Clarkson, vol. ii. p 338.

and if a free man of colour lifted his hand against a white man, he was by law liable to have his hand cut off for the presumption.

In this state of things, a great ferment had been produced among the slaves in the island by the famous declaration of the National Assembly in 1789, that "all men were born free and ought to continue free." But a still greater ferment had arisen among the free coloured people by the result of a deputation, which they sent in 1790 to France, in order to obtain a share in the rights of citizenship. For this deputation procured the issue of a decree in France, that free coloured individuals in St. Domingo should be placed on an equal footing with the whites. But the colonists suspended the fulfilment of this decree in the island; remonstrated against it in France; prevailed; and obtained its repeal. On this repeal, partial rebellion ensued—dreadful cruelties were practised; among others, torture in its most savage forms—at first by the whites to terrify the coloured people—at length by the coloured people for vengeance on the whites.

The slaves in St. Domingo now began to yearn for liberty. They rose in separate bodies; were put down, and rose again. The free coloured people meanwhile fought their

own cause; and then by degrees espoused the cause of the slaves. While this struggle was going on the colony became, moreover, a prey to domestic divisions between contending parties of the whites, striving for dominion the one over the other; and confusion, and havock, and misery increased. At length, in 1793, one of the parties of the whites called in the rebellious blacks to its aid, and these coming down in a mass upon the capital, overpowered at once both parties of the whites, and then possessed themselves nearly of the whole island. France continued the struggle against them until 1804, when the coloured inhabitants of St. Domingo formally proclaimed, and, after much struggling, obtained a recognition of, their independence.*

Denmark† had the honour, among Euro-

* Edwards, West Indies, vol. iii. Historical Survey of St. Domingo, states, that in 1791, according to a report given in to the French Government, the negro slaves in the French part of St. Domingo amounted to . . . . 455,000 persons.
The negro slaves in the British West India Possessions at the same period are computed by him at . . . . . 450,000 ,,
And in the French Possessions, omitting St. Domingo, about twelve years previously, about 188,000 ,,
1,093,000 ,,
(See end of Part I.)

† Herstlett, vol. iii. p. 72.

pean States, of being the first to take a decisive measure towards abolishing the traffic in slaves. On the 16th of March 1792, the King of Denmark issued a decree formally prohibiting Danish subjects from purchasing, selling, or transporting slaves, whether in or from Africa or any other foreign place.

On the 2nd April, 1792, the subject of the abolition of the trade was again mooted in the House of Commons by Mr. Wilberforce, who moved a Resolution, "That the Trade, car- "ried on by British subjects for the purpose "of obtaining slaves on the coast of Africa, "ought to be abolished."* 1792

The opponents of the measure succeeded in inserting the word "gradually" before the word "abolished."† In that form, however, the Resolution was carried by 230 votes against 83.

On the 23rd of the same month Mr. Dundas, on whom the task of bringing in a Bill for the gradual abolition of the Slave Trade devolved, rose to offer the outlines of his plan. That portion of the trade, by which Great Britain supplied foreigners, was to be immediately abolished; and the remainder, or the trade for the supply of our own colonies, was to be abolished seven years afterwards,

* Clarkson, vol. ii. p. 354. † Ibid., p. 449.

or on the 1st January, 1800. Mr. Dundas grounded his project for delay, on the allegation, that a portion of the British colonies were not yet supplied with slaves, sufficient to carry on their cultivation, without an addition to their numbers.

He concluded by reading several Resolutions to this effect.* These, however, were opposed by Mr. Pitt, who denied the inferences drawn by Mr. Dundas, and urged an immediate and entire abolition of the Trade.

Mr. Fox and Mr. Wilberforce held the same language.

Lord Mornington, now Lord Wellesley, then rose, and proposed, that the year 1793 be substituted in place of the year 1800, for the entire abolition of the trade. This amendment was lost by a majority of 49. And, on the 27th of the same month, Mr. Dundas having moved, that the trade should cease in 1800, Lord Mornington moved, that the year 1795 should be substituted for the year 1800. This amendment was also lost by a majority of 40; when Sir J. Knatchbull moved, that the year 1796 should be substituted for the year 1800, and this last amendment was carried by a majority of 19.

* Clarkson, vol. ii. p. 458, et seq.

The Resolution, so amended, was taken to the Lords; and there supported warmly by Lord Grenville. Evidence was examined on the question. But on the 5th June a motion was made and carried, that further examination on the subject should be postponed to the next Session; and thus the Session of 1792 was lost to the cause of the Abolition.

In February, 1793, Mr. Wilberforce having 1793
moved, that the House of Commons should resolve themselves anew into a Committee to consider the Slave Trade, the motion was lost by a majority of 8. But the friends of the abolition still persevered: they thought it best, however, now to try to abolish first a portion only of the trade; and on the 14th May of the same year, Mr. Wilberforce brought in a Bill, to abolish that part of the trade, by which British merchants supplied foreigners with slaves.

This Bill went into Committee, but was lost, notwithstanding the efforts of Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and others.

In the Session of 1793 the House of Lords proceeded no further than hearing evidence on the subject.

In February, 1794, Mr. Wilberforce again 179
brought into the House of Commons a Bill for abolishing the Foreign Slave Trade of

Great Britain. This Bill passed the House of Commons; but meeting with an overwhelming opposition in the Lords, was lost.

Among the opponents in that House, Lord Thurlow was always present and active and bitter; and Clarkson states, that it was supposed, that his opposition to the Abolition arose from a personal feeling against Mr. Pitt, and a wish in consequence to thwart a measure, in the success of which that minister was known to take the warmest interest.

On the 22nd March, 1794, the United States passed a law "to prohibit the carrying on the "Slave Trade from the United States to any "foreign place or country."*

1795 In February, 1795, Mr. Wilberforce advanced so far as to move for leave to bring in a Bill for the entire abolition of the trade. It was lost by a majority of 19. In
1796 the year 1796 he was suffered to introduce a Bill for abolishing the trade in 1797; but it was lost in Committee. Mr. Dundas, whose support of the gradual abolition appears to have been insincere, now opposed the Bill.

1797 In the year 1797 nothing was attempted in the House of Commons towards the abolition of the trade.

* Herstlett's Treaties, vol. iii. p. 463.

At the commencement of the French Revolution, the trade in slaves decreased very much, owing to the mutual captures of the English, the French, and the Dutch vessels engaged in it. The French, for a time, were entirely driven from the trade. But upon the conquest of Dutch Guyana by the English, the English trade rapidly increased; and, at this period, the export trade from Western Africa in slaves was divided among the English, the Americans, and the Portuguese. The English had the largest share, namely - - - - - - - - 55,000

The Americans - -	15,000
The Portuguese - -	25,000
Total - -	95,000 *

It thus appears (see pages 63 and 86) that in 1768, 1787, and 1798, the average number of negroes exported from Western Africa varied but little, and amounted to nearly 100,000 a year.

Down to this period also, the Slave Trade was still popular among a portion of the writers, as well as speakers of the day. In the first edition of Edwards's work on the West Indies, published in 1798, he defended the 1798

* Minute of Conferences in London on Slave Trade, Feb. 1819. Papers presented to Parliament, p. 15.

Slave Trade, on the score of humanity. He alleged, that in Africa a man was made a slave, generally on account of crime; and would be immediately put to death in such case, if the slave-traders did not purchase him. He saw no reason why the treatment of the slaves at sea should not be humane; and therefore, he observed, he believed it to be so. But supposing all the horrors told of it to be true, still he saw no reason why it might not be regulated, so as to obviate these evils; and if such were the case, there was no reason why it should be abolished.*

1798 In 1798† Mr. Wilberforce again endeavoured to introduce a Bill for abolishing the trade within a limited time; and on this occasion the friends of the Abolition received a valuable support to their cause in the person of Mr. Canning. The motion for the abolition, however, was lost, though by a majority of 4 only.

1799 In 1799 Mr. Wilberforce again renewed the same motion. Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, Mr. Hobhouse, Sir R. Milbank, and Mr. Canning supported it. It was opposed by Colonel Wood, Bryan Edwards, Mr. Dundas, and Mr.

* Edwards's West Indies. London, 1798.

† Clarkson, vol. ii. p. 475.

Windham; the latter of whom now turned round and supported the Trade on the ground of expediency.

Mr. Canning made a severe attack on Mr. Dundas's conduct, and on Mr. Windham's arguments. "Never," said he, "never was "the word 'Right' so prostituted, not even "when the Rights of Man were talked of, as "when the right to trade in man's blood was "asserted by the members of an enlightened "assembly. Never was the right of import-"ing these labourers worse defended, than "when the antiquity of the Slave Trade was "brought forward in its support. On what "principles did we respect the institutions of "antiquity?—when we saw in them some "shadow of departed worth, some memorial "of what had been creditable to mankind! "Here was nothing but crime and suffer-"ing,—nothing but what wounded and con-"vulsed our feelings,—nothing but what "excited our indignation and horror!"

The motion, however, was lost by 8 votes.*

Mr. Thornton then brought on a motion, to confine the Slave Trade within certain limits, excluding the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone. His Bill passed through all its stages in the

* Clarkson, vol. ii. p. 479.

House of Commons, but was vehemently opposed in the Lords by Lord Westmorland, the Duke of Clarence, and Lord Thurlow. It was supported by Lords Grenville, Loughborough, and Holland, and by Bishop Horsley. The latter made a very able speech in aid of the motion; and concluded by stating, that as some persons had adduced Scripture in defence of the trade, it was right to remind them, that St. Paul had coupled man-stealers with murderers.

This Bill was ultimately lost in the Lords, only by a majority of seven votes; and the supporters of the Abolition now felt that, notwithstanding the violent opposition raised against them, their cause was gradually gaining ground.

It was thought prudent by them, under the circumstances, not to press the abolition further as a mere annual measure; but to wait, till some new circumstance should favour its introduction and secure its success.

1800 Accordingly, the years 1800, 1801, 1802,
1801 and 1803, were suffered to pass over without
1802 any motion being made for the abolition, or
1803 even for a restriction of the Slave Trade. In the mean time, Mr. Brougham (now Lord Brougham), Mr. Macaulay, and William

Allen, became active members of the Committee for the Abolition.

In 1803, Mr. Brougham published his "Enquiry into the Colonial Policy of the European Powers." *

In this work, the learned author gave early but ample proofs of those extraordinary talents that have marked his subsequent career. He dwelt on the complicated iniquities and manifest disadvantages of the slave system; and contended that it could not be doubted, that the total abolition of Slavery in any one of the sugar colonies, and the cultivation of its territories by free subjects, whose constitutions were adapted to the climate, would be productive of the most beneficial effects, and raise its comparative resources and strength to a very high pitch.

But he was decidedly opposed to an immediate emancipation of the slaves in the British Colonies.

He stated, that the general cruel treatment of the West Indian slaves could not be denied: that the very defenders of the slave system admitted, that the oppression of the negroes called for redress.

He brought forward the recent case of St.

* Enquiry, &c., Lond., 8vo., 2 vols. 1803.

Domingo, where cruelty and oppression on the part of the whites, breeding in the negroes a deep hostility, had produced a barbarous revenge, at which humanity shuddered.

And he made use of this case in his argument, two ways:—The one, as showing it would be dangerous to admit the negroes to instant emancipation, because ill treatment had made them, in their habits, and character, and disposition, at present unfit to be trusted with it: the other, as a warning, that if the British colonists persisted in their barbarous conduct towards their negro slaves, a fate awaited them, similar to that which had befallen the French colonists in St. Domingo.

He said, that the greatest errors had arisen from the prejudice of considering the Africans as a peculiar race, different from other people, and to whom therefore general views do not apply. The negroes, he observed, closely resembled every other rude people, placed under similar circumstances with themselves.

As to the acknowledged ill-treatment which the negro slaves received in the West Indies, that treatment arose, he said, from the ease with which the stock could be kept up by purchase; and that so long as a slave-market existed, men would find their profit in work-

ing up a certain number of slaves, and supplying their blank by purchase rather than by breeding; and until the market was put down, it would be in vain to attempt to ameliorate the condition or the character of that race. But that when this resource should be cut off, few would be so insane as to maltreat and work out their remaining stock; and room would then be given for introducing other measures tending to the general improvement of the negro slave, and to fit him by degrees for entire emancipation.

Hence upon the grounds of humanity, justice, and sound policy, but, above all, of paramount necessity, Mr. Brougham earnestly urged the immediate and total abolition of the Slave Trade.

In 1804 the supporters of the Abolition of the Trade having, in consequence of the Union with Ireland, received an addition to their numbers in the House of Commons from the Irish Members, most of whom were known to be friendly to this object; Mr. Wilberforce* asked leave to bring in his Bill, for abolishing the Slave Trade within a term to be fixed. The Bill was introduced, but received very vexatious opposition from 1804

* Clarkson, vol. ii. p. 490.

the antagonists of the abolition. Mr. Windham allowed the justice, but differed as to the expediency of the measure. Lord Castlereagh was a friend to the abolition, but did not agree in the mode proposed. Sir J. Wrottesley approved the principle, but must oppose the details. Lord Temple affirmed "the Bill would seal the death-warrant of "every white inhabitant of the islands."

Sir John Newport warmly supported the Bill; and Mr. Barham, a large West India proprietor, came over to the support of the abolition, and spoke in favour of the Bill. This conduct of Mr. Barham seems to have produced great effect, owing to his position as a proprietor of slaves.

The Bill was eventually passed in the House of Commons, and taken up to the House of Lords; but there, as had often before happened, the discussion of the subject was postponed to another Session. Lord Liverpool was the person who, on this occasion, moved its postponement.*

1805 In 1805† Mr. Wilberforce renewed his motion for abolishing the trade within a term to be fixed. Mr. Fox made an animated speech in support of the motion, and the Bill

* Clarkson, vol. ii. p. 494. † Ibid.

was expected to pass; but on a division for the second reading, to the surprise of its supporters, it was lost by a majority of seven votes.

It appeared, however, that its loss had been owing more to the confidence of its Friends who stayed away, than to the strength of its Opponents who were present: and Lord Henry Petty, on the Bill being thrown out, gave immediate notice of a motion "for abolishing the Foreign Slave Trade "of Great Britain."

The impeachment of Lord Melville and other important matters coming on, the notice was not acted upon in this Session. But on the 15th of August, 1805, a Proclamation was Aug. 18 issued by the King in Council, prohibiting British subjects from importing slaves into the colonies which had been conquered by His Majesty's arms during the war then existing: and this Proclamation affords the first instance, in which the Government of Great Britain had taken on itself to adopt a decisive step, for terminating the British Slave Trade.

In January of the next year (1806) Mr. 1806 Pitt died. Clarkson mentions many circumstances which evince the earnestness of his wish for the suppression of the Slave Trade.

Amongst others, he states that so early as 1788, Mr. Pitt made overtures to the French Government for an union of Great Britain with France in measures to promote the abolition: that one of the subjects always nearest his heart was the civilization of Africa; and that he had formed a plan for promoting that object by making establishments in that country, so soon as the Slave Trade should have been abolished.*

The great act of abolishing the British Slave Trade was now near its completion. Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox had been called to power, and the Attorney-General (Sir A. Pigott) on the 31st March in the same year (1806) brought in a Bill to "prevent "the importation of slaves by any of His Ma- "jesty's subjects into any islands, colonies, "plantations, or territories belonging to any "foreign sovereign, state, or power; and also "to render more effectual the Order made by "His Majesty in Council on the 15th August, "1805, for prohibiting the importation of "slaves into any of the settlements, islands, "colonies, or plantations on the continent of "America; or in the West Indies, which have "surrendered to His Majesty's arms during

* Clarkson, vol. ii. p. 505.

the present war; and to prevent the fitting out of foreign slave ships from British Ports." This Bill passed both Houses of arliament, and received the Royal sanction the 23rd May, 1806:* it thus became the cond Act of the British Parliament, putting strictions on the Slave Trade; Sir W. Dol-n's, regulating the carrying trade, having en the first.

* Act of the 46th Geo. III. cap. 52, 23 May, 1806.

Chapter the Fourth.

Act of Parliament for the Abolition of British Slave Trade. 1806 to 1807.

It seems, that at this time it was considered in England a settled matter, that the British Slave Trade should be abolished; and Clarkson remarks, that the Bill of the 23rd May, 1806, having passed, and it being too late in the Session to pass a Bill for the total extinction of the Slave Trade, it was determined to move a Resolution, recording the propriety of such a measure. Accordingly, on the 10th
1806 June in the same year (1806) Mr. Fox moved, in the House of Commons, "That the House, "conceiving the African Slave Trade to be con- "trary to the principles of justice, humanity, "and sound policy, will, with all practicable "expedition, proceed to take effectual mea- "sures for abolishing the Trade."

In the speech of Mr. Fox on this occasion, he quoted expressions of Mr. Burke on the subject. "To deal in human flesh and "blood," said Mr. Burke, "not in the labour "of men, but men themselves, was to devour "the roots, intead of enjoying the fruit of "human diligence."

Mr. Fox also quoted Mr. Pitt's speech of 1791, already referred to, combating the argument that the abolition would ruin the West India Colonies. "It was a speech," said Mr. Fox, "not less remarkable for splendid "eloquence than for solid sense and convinc- "ing reasoning, supported by calculations "founded on facts, and conclusions drawn "from premises as correctly as if they had "been mathematical propositions, all tending "to prove that, instead of the West Indies "suffering an injury, they would derive a "material benefit from the abolition of the "Slave Trade." Mr. Fox, after giving his opinion of that speech of Mr. Pitt, "called on "the friends of this great man to show their "respect for his memory by their votes." The resolution of Mr. Fox was carried in the House of Commons by a majority of nine votes.

On the 15th of the same month a conference on the subject of the Resolution was held between the two Houses of Parliament; after which, on the 24th, Lord Grenville moved a Resolution in the House of Lords, that they concurred in the Resolution of the Commons: he moved also an Address to the Throne,* "beseeching His Majesty to take "measures for establishing, by negotiation

* See Lords' Journals for 1806.

"with foreign powers, a concert and agree-
"ment for abolishing the African Slave
"Trade;" and assuring the King that, "feel-
"ing the justice and honour of the nation
"involved in this object, they will always
"cheerfully concur in giving effect to mea-
"sures for its attainment."

A long and eager debate ensued upon these subjects.

Lords Hawkesbury, Sidmouth, and Westmorland opposed the Resolution. It was supported by Lords Grenville and Erskine, and by Bishop Porteus. The latter observed, that it had been asserted, that slavery and the Slave Trade were sanctioned, both by the Jewish and Christian dispensations. But as to the Jews, there had been no such thing as perpetual slavery among them. They had two kinds of slaves; one of their own nation, the other of foreign nations. The first kind were set free on the seventh year; and the latter, of whatever nation, on the fiftieth year, or year of jubilee. With respect to the Christian dispensation, it was opposed to the practice of slavery, both in spirit and in principle; and it classed men-stealers, or slave-traders, with murderers of fathers and mothers.

24, 06 On the same day, the 24th June, 1806, the Resolution was carried by a majority of

twenty-one, and the Address to the Throne was then carried without a division.*

A Bill was immediately afterwards introduced, enacting, that after August 1806, no vessel should be allowed to clear out for the Slave Trade, which had not previously been employed in it by the same owner, or been contracted for on that account previously to the 10th June 1806.† The Bill was passed on the 21st July, 1806. This was the third Act of Parliament, putting restrictions on British Slave Trade.

In October 1806, Mr. Fox died. "Two "things," said he, on his death-bed, "I "earnestly wish to see accomplished—peace "with Europe, and the Abolition of the Slave "Trade. But of the two I wish the latter."‡

On the 2nd January, 1807, Lord Grenville introduced into the House of Lords a Bill, for putting an entire end to the British Trade in Slaves. Jan. 180

In the House of Lords, the former supporters of the Abolition of the Slave Trade received an addition to their numbers, in the person of the Duke of Gloucester, who made a speech of some ability in favour of the Bill. To the usual opponents of this measure,

* Journals of Lords. † Act 46 Geo. III. cap. 119.

‡ Clarkson, vol. ii. p. 568.

were now added in that House Lords Eldon and St. Vincent. The Bill, however, was carried by a majority of 16, and sent down to the Commons on the 10th Feb., 1807. Here Lord Howick, now Lord Grey, made an eloquent speech in its support. Sir C. Pole moved, that the year 1812 be substituted for the year 1807. This amendment produced a long debate, in which General Gascoyne Messrs. H. Addington, Rose, and Bathurst supported the amendment; and Mr. Canning, Lord Henry Petty, Mr. Whitbread, and Mr. Perceval the original Bill. The original Bill was carried by a majority of 108.

On the 18th March, it was taken to the House of Peers; but, even at that last moment, there was danger of its being delayed to another Session: for George III., displeased with the introduction of the Roman Catholic Officers' Bill into Parliament, had at this period signified his intention of removing the Administration.

Lord Grenville therefore moved, that instantly on the Bill's being printed, it should be considered by the Peers. It was so; and it was finally passed by the House of Lords on the 24th March, 1807, and received the Royal Assent on the following day.*

* Act 47 Geo. III. cap. 36, March 25, 1807.

This Bill was entitled "An Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade." It enacted, that from and after the 1st day of May, 1807, the African Slave Trade, and all manner 1807
of dealing and trading in the purchase, sale, barter, or transfer of slaves, or persons intended to be dealt with as slaves, practised, or carried on in, at, to, or from any part of the coast or countries of Africa, should be utterly abolished and unlawful; and also, that if any British subjects should, after that date, deal or trade in, purchase, sell, transfer, or contract, or agree for any such dealing in slaves, or in persons intended to be dealt with as slaves, by removal or transhipment from Africa, or from any place not in the dominion, possession, or occupation of His Majesty, to any other place whatever, they should forfeit £100 sterling for each slave so dealt in; and every British vessel fitted out for that purpose should be forfeited; and no British subject, or person residing in British territory, should be concerned in removing any person as a slave from any one place out of British dominions to another, or in receiving any such slave, under penalty of £100 for each slave so attempted to be removed, and of forfeiture of the ship concerned in the removal; and that if any person

should be brought into British territory as a slave, contrary to the provisions of the Act, they should be forfeited to the King.

The Act further declared, that for every slave seized under the Act, the seizor should receive a bounty of £13 if the slave should be a man, of £10 if a woman, and of £3 if a child; and that for every slave captured in war, the captor should have £40 bounty if the slave were a man, and £30 if a woman.

The performance of the Commission for giving the Royal Assent to this Bill, was the last act of the Grenville Administration. Lord Grenville delivered up the seals of office immediately on his return from the House of Lords, closing his ministerial career with the completion of this beneficent measure.

It may here be remarked, that from 1795 to 1805 the slaves taken by the English had been chiefly for the supply of her recently conquered colonies.* The slaves taken by the

* Down to the latest period at which it was permitted by law to transport slaves from Africa to the British West India colonies, the slaves continued in some of those colonies to be considered and treated as beings out of the pale of humanity. So late as on the 7th January, 1805, one year only before Resolutions for the abolition of the Slave Trade had passed the Parliament of Great Britain, Lord Seaforth, Governor of Barbadoes, writing to Lord Camden, then Secretary of State, enclosed from the Attorney-General of Barbadoes statements of negroes wantonly murdered, and added, "several other instances of the same barbarity have

French and Dutch, in this period, were chiefly for the supply of their own colonies.

The slaves exported from Africa by the

"occurred, with which I have not troubled your Lordship, as "I only wished to make you acquainted with the subject in "general." The first of these cases was thus stated in Lord Seaforth's communication:—

"A militia-man, of the name of Hall, of St. Michael's regi- "ment, meeting some negroes returning from labour, cried out "he would kill them; they, thinking him in joke, did not move "away. The nearest to him being a woman far advanced in "pregnancy, and the mother of five or six children, he coolly "and deliberately plunged his bayonet several times into her "body, without the smallest provocation; when the poor creature "dropped, and expired without a groan. Mr. Harding, who "was an eye-witness of this horrid action, told Hall 'that he "'ought to be hanged.' 'For what?' said Hall, with perfect "indifference, 'for killing a negro?' Mr. Harding, however, "procured assistance, and carried him before a magistrate. The "magistrate (Mr. Walter), being at a loss how to proceed, as the "laws of the island gave him no jurisdiction in the case, went to "consult Mr. Ince, President of the Council. 'I told him,' "says Mr. Ince, 'that I regretted with real concern the deficiency "'of our law, but that there was a penalty due to the king in "'such cases (11*l.* 4*s.*), and that I would order him to be "'committed till he paid the forfeiture, or a suit should be "'commenced against him.' 'Perhaps, my Lord,' added "Mr. Ince to me, 'it was a stretch of power in me to "'order him to be committed before a recovery of the fine; but "'the evidence of Mr. Harding, a man of unblemished character, "'the circumstances of the case so horrid, so wickedly deliberate "'and unprovoked, conspired to induce me to secure his person, "'until the only remedy of some punishment could be applied.'

"Lamentable indeed it is," observes Lord Seaforth, "that "our Assembly should look upon such things with cold in- "difference."—*Clarke's Letters and Sermon, London, October,* 1805, *Note, page* 96, *&c.*

I have thought it might not be superfluous to extract this one case, to show the state of the law and of the practice as to negro slaves in the British West Indies at the late period here spoken of.—J. B.

Portuguese at this period were chiefly for Brazil; and the slaves taken by the Americans at this time were partly for their own States of Carolina and Louisiana, and partly for the Spanish Colonies. The amount of the whole importation here referred to was computed at rather less than 100,000.*

On the 2nd March, 1807, the United States passed a law, prohibiting the importation of slaves into any place within the jurisdiction of the Union. They had, as has been already mentioned, prohibited their Foreign Slave Trade in 1794.

Thus, at the period to which the close of this section refers, namely, 1807, the Trade in Slaves from Africa had been formally abandoned by three of the great civilized Powers of Christendom—Denmark, Great Britain, and the United States of America; and Great Britain, through the voice of Parliament, had declared its resolution to use its efforts with other Powers, to produce the universal extinction of that Trade.

* See Papers on Slave Trade presented to Parliament Feb. 1819.

PART THE THIRD.

EFFORTS OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO EFFECT THE ENTIRE EXTINCTION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

Chapter the First.

Endeavours of the British Government to induce the Governments of other Powers to follow the example of England in abolishing the Slave Trade. Course taken by those Powers on this point. 1807 to 1814.

So soon as the British Legislature had passed the Act, forbidding all further Slave Trade on the part of British subjects, the British Government proceeded to carry into effect the ulterior wishes of Parliament on this subject, by instructing the British Ministers at foreign Courts, to enter into negotiations with the Powers to which they were accredited, for Treaties for the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

PORTUGAL.

Portugal was the first power, with which negotiations were entered into on this subject; and it would appear, that the British Minister was desired to adopt at once a very decided tone in the negotiation.

1807 On the 15th April, 1807, Mr. Secretary Canning instructed the British Minister at Lisbon, to "press the Government of Portugal to accede, to the fullest extent, to the "measure of the Abolition of the Slave "Trade."*

The British Minister was at the same time told, that "if from any contracted and "mistaken feeling, the Portuguese Government should persist in allowing their subjects to continue the traffic," he was to require, as "an undoubted right" on the part of His Majesty, that the commercial operations of Portuguese subjects "should be "confined to the territories in Africa which "they have been accustomed to frequent, "and should not be extended to the tract of "coast, which His Majesty has determined

* See Papers on Slave Trade, ordered to be printed 12th April, 1810, Paper No. 204, p. 2.

" to abandon, and to leave to the undisturbed
" possession of its native inhabitants."

The Portuguese Ministry did not contest the right advanced on the part of Great Bri-
tain in the latter part of this communication.

In April 1808, the British Minister was 1808
instructed by Mr. Canning to state to the Portuguese Government, that in any treaty of alliance to be concluded with Portugal, he should have " to propose an article, sti-
" pulating for the gradual disuse, and ulti-
" mate and not distant abolition of the Trade;
" and that Great Britain expected that, so
" long as it did continue, the Portuguese
" should at least abstain from furnishing
" slaves to other nations."*

Accordingly, by the 10th Article of the Treaty of Alliance, concluded on the 19th Feb., 1810
1810, between Portugal and Great Britain,† the sovereign of Portugal bound himself to
" co-operate with His Britannic Majesty in
" the cause of humanity and justice, by adopt-
" ing the most efficacious means for bringing
" about a gradual abolition of the Trade,

* Mr. Secretary Canning to Viscount Strangford, April 17, 1808. Paper as before, p. 3.

† Treaty of Alliance between Great Britain and Portugal, signed at Rio de Janeiro, 19th February, 1810, Art. 10.

"throughout the whole of his dominions;" and declared, that Portuguese "subjects should "not be permitted to carry on the Slave "Trade on any part of the coast of Africa, "not actually belonging to his dominions, in "which the trade has been discontinued and "abandoned by the powers and states which "formerly traded there."

The British Government, following up its negotiations with the Portuguese Government for the immediate restriction of Slave Trade, obtained, on the 24th November, 1813, the issue of an Alvara, by which Portuguese slave-vessels were not allowed to carry more than five negroes to each two tons, and were obliged to have a medical attendant attached to them; and were required to furnish to the negroes on board the quantity of provisions regulated by the Alvara. The Alvara also prescribed the kind of provisions with which the negroes were to be fed.*

The 10th Article of the Treaty of Alliance of 1810 was understood in Great Britain, as authorising British cruizers to capture Portuguese slave ships found trading in prohibited parts: and British cruizers in con-

* Hertslett's Treaties, vol. iii. p 330.

sequence captured a great many Portuguese trading vessels.

But the Portuguese Government having complained, that these captures had been wantonly and unjustly made, and having required compensation for the losses thus sustained by their trade, a negotiation ensued, for the purpose of removing the "doubts which "had accrued, as to the parts of Africa in "which Portuguese subjects might, under "Portuguese Law, *and the Treaty with Great* "*Britain, lawfully carry on the Slave Trade.*"* 1812 1813 1814

The conventions which were the result of that negotiation were not, however, concluded, until a period which belongs to a later section of this Paper.

SPAIN.

On the 7th October, 1808, Mr. Secretary Canning acquainted Mr. Frere, then His Majesty's Envoy at Madrid, with the Instructions which had been given to the British Envoy in Portugal on the subject of the Slave Trade; and enjoined him to "lose no favour- "able opportunity of explaining and en- "forcing the principles which had guided 1808

* Hertslett's Treaties, vol. ii. p. 71. Preamble to Treaty of the 21st January, 1815.

"the conduct of the British Government "upon the subject."*

1809 And on the 8th July, 1809, Mr. Canning sent to the Marquis Wellesley, who had been meantime appointed Ambassador at Madrid, a copy of the Article in the Treaty then under negotiation with Portugal.† Mr. Canning observed, that by the stipulations of that Article, Portugal consented and agreed "to "co-operate in the great work of abolishing "the trade in slaves;" and Mr. Canning added, that "such an admission would fur- "nish Lord Wellesley with new topics for "urging the adoption of a similar policy by "Spain."‡

The efforts of Mr. Frere and Lord Wellesley were, however, ineffectual to persuade the Government of Spain, to make any declaration in unison with these sentiments; and the disturbed state of Europe prevented England, from pressing at the time the negotiations further upon Spain.

But the earliest opportunity was taken to renew those negotiations.

* Papers presented to Parliament, April 12, 1810, p. 4.

† See page 127 of this Memoir on Article 10 in the Treaty of 1810 with Portugal.

‡ Papers as before, p. 5

It was not, however, until July, 1814, that 1814
the Spanish Government were induced to listen to proposals for the abolition. Sir H. Wellesley, then British Ambassador at Madrid, was instructed to offer to the Spanish Government £800,000, provided they would engage to abolish the trade at the end of five years; and would confine it in the mean time to the coast to the south of the Line.* The Spanish Government declined this offer: and the utmost which Sir H. Wellesley was able to obtain, was the conclusion of an Article,† stating that the King of Spain, "con-
" curred in the fullest manner in the state-
" ments of His Britannic Majesty, with re-
" spect to the injustice and inhumanity of
" the traffic in slaves; that he would take
" into consideration the means of acting in
" conformity with those sentiments; and that
" he promised to prohibit his subjects from
" engaging in the Slave Trade, for the pur-
" pose of supplying any islands or pos-
" sessions excepting those appertaining to
" Spain; and to prevent likewise, by effectual
" measures and regulations, the protection of

* Papers presented April, 1815, p. 39.

† Article signed August 28th, 1814, additional to Treaty of July 5th preceding. Hertslett's Treaties, vol. ii. p. 271.

" the Spanish Flag being given to foreigners " who may engage in the traffic, whether " subjects of His Britannic Majesty or of any " other State."

SWEDEN.*

1813 On the 3rd March, 1813, Great Britain obtained from Sweden a stipulation by Treaty, by which, in consideration of the cession of Guadaloupe to Sweden, His Swedish Majesty bound himself " to forbid the introduction of slaves from Africa into Guada- " loupe, and into the other possessions of His " Swedish Majesty in the West Indies; and " furthermore not to permit Swedish subjects " to engage in the Slave Trade."

DENMARK.†

1814 On the 14th January, 1814, Great Britain obtained from Denmark a Treaty, the 8th Article of which was as follows:—" His Ma- " jesty the King of the United Kingdom of " Great Britain and Ireland, and the British " nation, being extremely desirous of totally

* Papers presented April, 1815, p. 1. " An engagement," observed His Swedish Majesty, " which he was the more willing " to contract, as this traffic had never been authorized by him."

† Hertslett's Treaties, vol. i. p. 231.

abolishing the slave-trade, the King of Denmark engages to co-operate with His said Majesty for the completion of so beneficent a work; and to prohibit all his subjects, in the most effectual manner, and by the most solemn laws, from taking any share in such trade."

RUSSIA.*

On the 21st May, 1814, the Emperor of 1814
Russia, having been invited to co-operate with Great Britain for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, answered, through Count Nesselrode, that His Imperial Majesty's "wishes had long been in unison with those of the people of Great Britain; and that he will take such steps, as that the proposal concerning the general abolition of the Slave Trade, may be agreed to and supported at the ensuing Congress."

AUSTRIA.†

The Court of Austria, on being applied to 1814
on the subject, returned an answer to the same effect as that given by Russia.

* Papers on Slave Trade, presented to Parliament April, 1815, 3.

† Papers as above, p. 4.

PRUSSIA.

1814 The Court of Prussia was applied to a the same time with those of Austria and o Russia; and, in reply, Count Hardenber declared explicitly, on the 2nd June, 1814 by note, that at the ensuing Congres "Prussia will support all the steps, whicl "the British Government shall take, in orde "to the general abolition of the traffic."

HOLLAND.*

1814 On the 15th January, 1814, the British Am bassador at the Hague obtained the issue o a Decree by the King of the Netherlands by which, in consequence, as is there stated of the desire expressed on the part of Grea Britain, the Slave Trade on the Coast o Africa was entirely forbidden to the subject of the King of the Netherlands; and Hi Netherlands Majesty expressed "a desir "that, in the eventual restitution of the Dutc "Colonies, there should be inserted an articl "which should stipulate the abolition of th "Slave Trade in those Colonies for ever."†

* Papers on Slave Trade, presented to Parliament, April, 181 p. 5.

† Papers as above, p. 4.

On the 7th June, 1814, Lord Clancarty, British Ambassador at the Hague, presented a note to the Dutch Government, urging their prompt and effectual assistance in the measures, which Great Britain had already adopted, and earnestly recommended to other European powers, for the abolition of the Slave Trade: and, on the 17th of the same month, the King of the Netherlands issued a decree, in which he recited the desire expressed on the subject by Great Britain, and ordained, that henceforward no ships should be cleared out from Netherlands' ports for the conveyance of negroes from Africa; and that no inhabitants of the Dutch possessions in Guinea should be sold or exported as slaves. The decree ended by a declaration, that, in the ensuing negotiations relative to the restitution of the Dutch colonies, the Dutch Government would not object to inserting in the treaty such an article, as should continue to bind the Dutch Government, to the perpetual observance of the aforesaid measures, and the effectual suppression of the Slave Trade.*

* Papers relative to the Abolition of the Slave Trade by the Dutch Government, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed June 27th, 1814, pp. 2 and 3.

FRANCE.

1814 On the 30th May, 1814, France having concluded with Great Britain a definitive Treaty of Peace, the British Government obtained the annexation to it of an additional article, by which the King of France declared, that "concurring without reserve in the sentiments of His Britannic Majesty with respect to the Slave Trade, His most Christian Majesty engages, to unite all his efforts with those of His Britannic Majesty at the approaching Congress, to induce all the powers of Christendom to decree the abolition of the Slave Trade, so that the said Trade shall cease universally, as it shall cease definitively under any circumstances on the part of the French Government in the course of five years; and that during that period no slave merchant shall import or sell slaves except in the colonies of the state of which he is a subject."*

Aug. 1814 On the 6th August, 1814, Lord Castlereagh conveyed the Prince Regent's commands to the Duke of Wellington, then Ambassador at Paris, to take the earliest opportunity after his arrival in Paris to call

* Hertslett's Treaties, vol. i. p. 261.

the attention of the French Government to the Slave Trade. Lord Castlereagh stated, that he had "already pressed the im-"mediate abolition to the utmost in repeated "conferences with the Prince de Benevent," but added, "The voice of the nation will not "permit me to omit to instruct your Grace to "make another effort for the immediate "abolition." He continued by saying, "Should your Grace fail in this attempt, "you will try what can be effectuated in "reduction of the import into the French "colonies. . . . But the measure to which, "in failure of absolute abolition I am, above "all others, to direct your attention, is the "preventing the revival of the Trade on the "coast of Africa north of the Line. And "your Grace will urge the French minister "to take a decisive means, at least, for the "north-western coast, before he leaves Paris "for the Congress.*

At the same time, the Prince Regent wrote to the King of France, entreating him to "employ his powerful endeavours to hasten "the moment of the universal extinction of "the Trade;"† and, in a confidential letter to

* Papers showing the present state of the Slave Trade, presented to Parliament April, 1815, p. 8.

† Papers as above, p. 10.

the Duke of Wellington, Lord Castlereagh urged him to sound the Prince de Benevent on the propriety of an agreement among all the powers of Europe acting in concert for this object, "to prohibit the importation into "their respective dominions of colonial pro- "duce grown within the territories of powers "refusing to enter into the concert."*

On the 26th of the same month, the Duke of Wellington urged the King of France to prevent altogether the trade in slaves on the coast of Africa, between Cape Blanco and Capė Formoso; and to agree, that the cruizers of both parties should, within the northern tropic, and so far to the west as longitude 25° from Greenwich, have power to visit the merchant ships of both; and to send those found with Slaves on board home for trial, and to restrict the importation of Slaves into the French colonies, to the number necessary for the cultivation of the existing plantations.†

The King of France answered the Prince Regent's letter by stating, that he would not delay the abolition on the part of France, further than was necessary to prevent the effect of any precipitation of the measure.‡

* Papers as before, p. 10. † Ibid, p. 13. ‡ Ibid., p. 15.

On the 3rd September, the Duke of Wellingtou wrote to the Secretary of State, that he had opened to the Prince de Benevent the idea of a commercial system for suppressing illegal Slave Trade, and of a league against the import of colonial produce, grown by states dissentient from the system: to neither of which measures the Prince had expressed any objection. Sept. 1814

The Duke had then, by command of the Prince Regent, stated to the French Government, that Great Britain would either give to France a sum of money, or, if the French Government should prefer it, would cede to France an island in the West Indies; on condition of the immediate abolition of the trade on the part of France.

The offer, however, was declined: the answer given was, that the King of France would keep to his engagement: but that neither a sum of money, nor a West India island, would compensate France for an immediate abolition of the Trade.*

The Duke of Wellington† then endeavoured to induce the French Government, to consent to a reciprocal right of search for repressing illicit Slave Trade. He, however, stated that he found the proposal was so disagreeable to

* Papers as before, p. 17. † See Despatch, Nov. 5, 1814, p. 25.

the French Government, and likely to be so to the nation, that he saw no chance of its being at that time adopted; and that he therefore limited himself to pressing the French Government, to issue regulations for restricting the trade; and at length, in November, the Duke obtained an order from the French Government, that the Slave Trade, on the part of France, should be restricted to such parts of the African coast, as are situated south of Cape Formoso.*

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.†

1806 The following Article was inserted in the Treaty between Great Britain and the United States, signed on the 31st December, 1806, by Lords Holland and Auckland, and by Messrs. James Monroe and William Pinkney:—

Article 24.

The high contracting parties engage to communicate to each other, without delay, all such laws as have been, or shall be hereafter enacted, by their respective Legislatures, as also all such measures as shall have been taken for the abolition or limitation of the

* Papers as before, p. 23.

† Papers presented April, 1810, p. 6.

African Slave Trade; and they further agree to use their best endeavours to procure the co-operation of other Powers for the final and complete abolition of a Trade so repugnant to the principles of justice and humanity.

This treaty, however, was returned from America not ratified.

Although, in 1807, the United States 1807
of America had formally prohibited Slave Trading on the part of American citizens; it continued for some time afterwards under the flag of the Union, for importation partly into the United States, and partly into the Spanish possessions.

In December, 1809, an American slave-trading vessel, the Amedée, was captured by a British cruizer, carried to Tortola, and condemned. The American owner, claim- 1810
ing a restitution of the property he had thus lost, carried the case by appeal before the British Privy Council, where it was decided, on the 28th July, 1810. The judgment was delivered by Sir W. Grant. The court, referring to the Abolition of Slave Trade, both by Great Britain and by the United States, declared that a trade in human beings could no longer be recognised as having a legitimate existence in either of those countries: that

neither the law of the United States nor that of Great Britain, allowed a right of property such as the American claimed in this case; and that therefore there could be no right to restitution. The American claimant's case was, consequently, refused.

Edwards observes, vol. iv. p. 445, that in consequence of this decision, the American slave traders resorted to fictitious Spanish or Portuguese Papers; but that a subsequent decision in the Court of Admiralty greatly cramped their operations, by rendering the use of this last subterfuge a matter of no small difficulty and danger; and Slave Trade under the American flag is thenceforward said to have disappeared for some years from the coast of Africa.*

GREAT BRITAIN.

Notwithstanding the Act of 1807, some

* See annex B to Protocol of Conference between the Plenipotentiaries of the Five Powers. Papers presented to Parliament, February, 1819.

See also Edwards' West Indies, vol. iv., p. 448.

For the decisions passed on the Amedée and the Fortuna, see Dodson's Admiralty Reports, vol. i. p. 81, et seq. See also a note to Mr. Brougham's Speech on the Slave Trade, June 15, 1810, Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, vol. xvii. p. 666.

British Slave Traders were still found engaged in the traffic during the early part of the period treated of in this section; so that it became necessary to take further measures for rendering effectual the declared intention of the Act, that no Slave Trade should be carried on by British subjects. With this view Mr. Brougham,* on the 15th June, 1810, called the attention of the House of Commons to the subject. He quoted the addresses carried up by Parliament to the Throne for the general abolition of the Slave Trade. He recapitulated the provisions made by the Legislature for abolishing the Slave Trade; and then, referring to the present state of that trade, both Foreign and British, he concluded by moving a Resolution, "That this House has learnt "with great surprise and indignation, the "attempts which have been recently made "to evade the prohibitions of the Act "abolishing the Slave Trade; and that "this House will early in the next session "of Parliament take into its consideration "such measures, as may tend to prevent "such daring violations of the law."

The Resolution was unanimously carried;

* Parliamentary Debates—Journals of the House.

and on the 5th March, 1811, Mr. Brougham brought in a Bill for carrying into effect the intentions declared in the Resolution. The Bill passed both Houses without delay; it received the Royal assent on the 14th May, 1811. By this Act of the British Legislature, it was declared and enacted, that any British subject, or person residing in any British territory, or territory of the East India Company, who should, after the 1st June, 1812, be concerned in carrying away or removing from any place whatsoever, any person as a slave, or to be dealt with as a slave, or should be concerned in bringing into any place whatsoever a person as a slave, or to be dealt with as a slave; or should be concerned in taking or hiring, or using any ship for the purpose, should be declared to be a felon, and be transported beyond sea for a term not exceeding fourteen years, or kept to hard labour for a term not exceeding five years.*

But the prohibition contained in this Act against British Slave Trade did not extend to the removal of slaves from one British settle-

* Act 51 Geo. III. cap. 23. Four short Acts were afterwards passed in explanation and confirmation of this Act. They are the Acts 51 Geo. III. cap. 23; 53 Geo. III. cap. 92; 58 Geo. III. cap. 49; and 58 Geo. III. cap. 98.

ment to another British West India settlement. And the Act specially declared, that such transfer was still lawful, provided the slaves so to be transferred had been born in, or lawfully imported into the British colony, from which they were to be removed.

From 1807 to 1810 the African Slave Trade was carried on chiefly under the flags of America and Portugal; and in 1810, the place of the American flag was supplied by that of Spain. From that time to 1815 the trade was carried on chiefly under the flags of Spain and Portugal, and mostly for the supply of the colonies of those two Powers. The importation into them was computed at about 60,000, "of which half was carried off "under the Spanish, and half under the Por- "tuguese flag."* 1807 to 1815

In the meantime, Great Britain had obtained from Portugal an article, binding her to an immediate restriction of the Trade in some parts, and to a gradual abolition of the Trade throughout the whole of her dominions.

From Spain, Great Britain had obtained an

* Papers presented February, 1819, pp. 14 and 16.

acknowledgment of the injustice and inhumanity of the Trade, and a stipulation for restricting the Spanish Slave Trade to the supply of the Spanish colonies.

From Sweden and from Holland, Great Britain obtained a positive engagement to prohibit the Trade altogether; and from Denmark an agreement to co-operate for the purpose of universal abolition.

From Russia, from Austria, and from Prussia, Great Britain obtained a promise to support, at the ensuing Congress, measures for its general abolition.

From France, Great Britain obtained a Decree, restricting the French Slave Trade to the coast south of Cape Formoso.

In a Treaty with the United States of America, an article was inserted, by which Great Britain and those States agreed to join efforts for inducing other Powers to co-operate in abolishing the Trade. The Treaty was, however, returned unratified by the United States.

1807 By the Act of 1807, 47 Geo. III., cap. 46, for abolishing the traffic in Slaves, slave trading on the part of British subjects had been declared to be a misdemeanor, and punishable with a fine; but by the Act of

the 51 Geo. III., cap. 23, passed in the 1811
period treated of in this section, British Slave
Trade was now declared to be a felony, and
punishable with transportation for fourteen
years. The British Government, also, fol-
lowing up the object of the Legislature, em-
ployed cruisers on the Slave Trade stations
in suppressing any trade which might be
attempted to be carried on by British sub-
jects.

Meanwhile the small British colony formed
at Sierra Leone, by some benevolent indi-
viduals, with a view of stopping the ravages
of the Slave Trade in its vicinity, increased
so much, that though, in 1809, its population 1809
only amounted to 1,500 souls, it amounted
in 1815 to 10,000.* 1815

* Papers presented February, 1819, p. 19.

Chapter the Second.

Declaration of the Congress at Vienna in 1815 *denouncing the African Slave Trade. Steps taken by the British Government for carrying out into practice the principles advanced in that Declaration.* 1815 *to* 1830.

At the Congress of Vienna, on the 8th of
1815 February, 1815,* a Declaration against the Slave Trade was signed by the Plenipotentiaries of the following Powers:—

England,
Austria,
France,
Portugal,
Prussia,
Russia,
Spain,
Sweden.

That Declaration stated, that the "Trade is "repugnant to the principles of humanity "and of universal morality;" that "the "public voice in all civilized countries calls "aloud for its prompt suppression;" that by the Treaty of Paris in 1814, England and

* Hertslett's Treaties, vol. i. p. 9.

France had engaged to endeavour to induce "all the powers of Christendom to proclaim "the universal and definitive abolition of the "Trade:" that, in pursuance of the proceedings under that engagement, the Plenipotentiaries of the powers of Europe assembled in Congress "declare the wish of their Sove- "reigns to put an end to a scourge which "desolates Africa, degrades Europe, and "afflicts humanity:" that "this Declaration "is not to prejudge the period at which each "particular power may definitively abolish "the Trade:" that "the period for universal "cessation must be the subject of negotiation "between the powers concerned:" but that "no proper means of accelerating that period "are to be neglected."

At the Congress of Aix la Chapelle in 1818,* 1818
formed by the representatives of England, Austria, France, Prussia, and Russia, a letter was addressed by those Powers to the Sovereign of Portugal, urging him to fix a period for the final and entire abolition of the Slave Trade.

At the Congress of Verona on the 28th of November, 1822,† held by the same five Powers, 1822
a Declaration was issued, purporting that they

* Papers presented February, 1819, p. 55.

† Papers presented May, 1823, p. 24.

continued firm in the principles and sentiments manifested in the Declaration of 1815 at Vienna in denunciation of the Slave Trade; and that they will "eagerly enter "into the examination of any measure com- "patible with their rights and the interests "of their subjects to produce the result which "is the object of their common solicitude "upon this subject."

While these declarations were under discussion, the British Plenipotentiaries were negotiating separately with the several Powers of Europe, for obtaining from them some specific stipulation, for the immediate restriction and eventual abolition of the Trade.

PORTUGAL.

1815 On the 21st January, 1815,* the British Plenipotentiary concluded with the Portuguese Plenipotentiary at Vienna, a Convention, in which it was stated, that "doubts had "arisen as to the parts of Africa in which "Portuguese subjects might, under Portu- "guese laws and the Treaty with Great "Britain, lawfully carry on the Slave Trade;" and that "several Portuguese ships had been "taken, and condemned on the ground that

* Hertslett's Treaties, vol. ii. p. 71.

"they were engaged in illegal Slave Trade; "and Great Britain, therefore, in considera- "tion of Regulations to be made by the "Prince Regent of Portugal for avoiding "those doubts," would give a liberal indemnity to the parties whose property had thus been taken; and Great Britain on those grounds engaged by that Convention to give £300,000 in discharge of claims for Portuguese ships, detained by British cruizers, "previously to the 1st of June, 1814."

On the 22nd January, 1815,* Portugal, 1815
accordingly, signed with England a Treaty by which the Portuguese Slave Trade in all parts of Africa *north of the Equator* was declared to be thenceforward illegal, and Portugal engaged to "determine by a sub- "sequent Treaty the period at which Portu- "guese Slave Trade should cease univer- "sally;" and moreover declared that till such Treaty should be signed, it should not be lawful for the subjects or flag of Portugal to be used in Slave Trade, "*except for the pur- "pose of supplying the Transatlantic posses- "sions belonging to the Crown of Portugal.*"

In return for those stipulations, England also by the same Treaty remitted to Portugal† the

* Hertslett's Treaties, vol. ii. p. 72.
† About £480,000.

whole of what then remained due by Portugal to England out of a loan of £600,000, raised in London in 1809 for the service of Portugal; and, by a secret article of the Treaty, England engaged to give compensation for all Portuguese slave-vessels which might be wrongfully detained by British cruisers, from the 1st June, 1814, down to the time when, conformably to the Treaty, the trade to the north of the Line became illegal.

Although this Treaty was specific in its declarations, restricting the Slave Trade, it did not contain stipulations for enforcing the engagements contained in it.

Lord Castlereagh, therefore, negotiated with Portugal another Convention, which was
1817 concluded on the 28th July, 1817,* and which provided the means of giving effect to the intentions declared in the Treaty of 1815.

Under this Convention, first, the cruisers of each party were authorized to search the merchant vessels of the other party, in whatever latitude or longitude found, when suspected of Slave Trading: secondly, British slave-vessels might be detained by Portuguese cruisers, in whatever latitude or longitude found; and Portuguese vessels might be detained by British cruisers, when found north of

* Hertslet's Treaties, vol. ii. p. 81.

the Line with slaves actually on board: thirdly, 1817
Commissions, composed of individuals of the two nations, were to be established, for trying the detained vessels, and for condemning them if found concerned in the illegal Slave Trade; fourthly, Portugal engaged to make a law, attaching a punishment to Portuguese subjectswho should carry on any other branch of the Slave Trade than that allowed under the Treaty of 1815: fifthly, every Portuguese slave-vessel was to be furnished with a passport, countersigned by the Portuguese Minister of Marine, stating the number of slaves she might carry, the port she sailed from, and the port she was destined to, and binding her not to touch at any other port in the way to her ultimate destination: And the grant of compensation mentioned in the third secret article of the Treaty of 1815 was extended to Portuguese vessels captured from June 1, 1814, down to the time when the Mixed Commissions, provided for under this Convention, should be established.

Immediately on the conclusion of this Convention, the British Government dispatched armed cruisers, to carry into effect the stipulations of the Convention, as to searching and detaining slave-vessels; and sent out

Commissioners, to try the vessels which might be so detained.

But this Convention left free from molestation—first, all Portuguese Slave Trade *south of the Line*; and secondly, the Portuguese Slave Trade to any place north of the Equator, if the slaves were taken on board at any place in Africa south of the Equator.

During the negotiation of the Convention, Portugal, at the instance of Great Britain, issued an Alvarà, dated 17th February, 1817, prohibiting the equipment of Spanish vessels for the Slave Trade in the ports of Portugal and Brazil.

1817 On the 11th September, 1817,* Portugal concluded with Great Britain a separate Article, additional to the Convention of the 28th July; stipulating, that, "as soon as the "total Abolition of the Slave Trade for the "subjects of Portugal should have taken place, "the contracting parties should adapt, by "common consent, to that state of circum-"stances, the Convention of the 28th July, "1817; and in default of such alterations, "that Convention should remain in force "fifteen years longer."

The authorities of Portugal, with singular bad faith, had endeavoured, by every means

* Hertslett's Treaties, vol. ii. p. 121.

within their power, to frustrate the stipulations of the Convention of 1817. They allowed a greater number of slaves, than by the Alvarà of 24th November, 1813, and by the Convention of 28th July, 1817,* could legally be shipped on board the vessels otherwise legally trading in slaves. They permitted the chartering of slave-vessels to the north of the Line. They allowed the slave-vessels to go to other ports than those to which they were restricted by the passports under the Convention; and they instructed their Commissioners to award compensation to vessels detained when illegally trading in slaves, provided there had been any omission of regularity in the act of detention.

Mr. Secretary Canning directed remonstrances to be presented on all these points. But those remonstrances proving without avail, Mr. Canning directed the British Minister at Lisbon to express in strong terms the feelings of "disgust and indignation which "were growing up in England, at the apparent "determination of Portugal, not only to "foster the unprotected Slave Trade, but "to connive at every infraction of the treaties, "by which that abominable traffic has been "lessened or restrained."†

* See page 123 of this Memoir See also Hertslett's Treaties, vol. iii. p. 331.

† Papers presented July, 1823, Class A, p 94.

But this strong remonstrance having no effect, the British Government took into its own hands the remedy for these evils. Mr. Canning gave intimation to the Portuguese Government, that as the Convention of 1817* exempted from the protection of the Portuguese flag cargoes of slaves carried to any other colonies than those of Portugal, the British Government was resolved to exercise the right which had accrued under that Convention to prevent such trade: and Mr. Canning further declared, in the name of the British Government,† "that no compensation "could be held to be due for the detention of "Slave Traders, even when irregularly made, "in cases of traffic carried on under circum-"stances which constituted illegal Slave "Trade."

1823 On the 15th March, 1823, additional articles were obtained from Portugal, authorizing the condemnation of a ship taken without slaves on board, if it were proved that she had had slaves on board during the voyage on which she was taken.

But the Portuguese Government still refrained from fulfilling, through its colonial authorities, the stipulations it had contracted in relation to the Slave Trade.

* Papers presented to Parliament, July, 1823, Class A, p. 93.

† Papers presented 1824, Class A, p. 10.

By accounts * from Brazil it appeared, that in the year 1822 no less than 28,246 slaves 1822
were landed at Rio de Janeiro, and 7,656 at Bahia, besides those landed at Maranham, Pernambuco, and Parà, and in other parts along the Brazilian coast, which, reckoning according to the comparative number imported at those places in other yèars, would make the whole number imported into Brazil in 1822 about 56,000.

At length, early in the year 1824,† Count 1824
Palmella, then head of the Government in Portugal, seeing that Brazil had asserted her independence, and that there was no probability of her being again subjugated by Portugal, declared to Sir E. Thornton his disposition to consent at once to the total Abolition of the Trade, adding that Portugal could have no interest in the Trade in the event of the separation of Brazil.

Mr. Canning ‡ immediately instructed Sir E. Thornton to open a negotiation with the Portuguese Government, for a Treaty stipulating the Abolition of the Slave Trade by Portugal. But the Portuguese Minister then declined to enter into the negotiation; observ-

* Papers presented 1823, Class A, p. 107.
† Papers presented 1825, Class B, p. 35. ‡ Ibid., p. 39.

ing, that "to entertain it would be a virtual "acknowledgment by Portugal of the inde- "pendence of Brazil."*

1826 In 1826, the independence of Brazil having been recognized by Portugal, Mr. Canning instructed the British Minister to demand a written pledge,† to the effect contained in M. de Palmella's declaration of 1824; and on the 2nd October, 1826,‡ Sir W. A'Court obtained from M. D'Almeida, then Portuguese Minister, an official note, in which M. D'Almeida stated, that the Portuguese Government acknowledged, "that the moment was come to "put an end to that inhuman traffic;" and that it would consequently "insert in the "Treaty then about to be concluded with "Great Britain" an article, "binding Por- "tugal to abolish entirely the Portuguese "trade in slaves," and also "to co-operate "with Great Britain" in suppressing the trade on the part of other nations.

Still, however, Portuguese slave traders continued as usual the traffic; and the Portuguese authorities throughout her colonies in Africa abetted, encouraged, and supported the illegal slave ventures.

* Papers presented 1825, Class B, p. 46.

† Ibid., 1827, Class B, p. 41. ‡ Ibid., p. 45.

SPAIN.

It will have been seen, that by the additional Articles of the 28th August 1814, Spain had engaged to prohibit Spaniards from engaging in the Slave Trade, except for the supply of the Spanish possessions.

On the 23rd September, 1817, Great Britain obtained from Spain a further Treaty,* by which the latter agreed to put down immediately the African Slave Trade of Spain to the north of the Equator; and engaged to abolish entirely all Slave Trade throughout her dominions after the 30th of May, 1820. 1817

This Treaty gave also to British cruisers a limited right to search and detain Spanish vessels found trading illegally in slaves; and it provided for establishing Mixed Commissions, for the adjudication and condemnation of the slave vessels detained under the Treaty. But a Spanish ship could not by this Treaty be detained, unless it had *slaves actually on board*; neither could it be detained, until after 1820, unless the slaves on board had been taken from *some part of Africa north of the Equator*.

* Hertslett's Treaties, vol. ii. p. 273.

1817 By this Treaty, also, England paid over to Spain 400,000*l.*, to serve as compensation both for losses which she had sustained by the capture of her slave-ships prior to this Treaty, and for the losses which she might sustain by the intended total abolition of the Slave Trade.

On the 19th December, 1817,* the King of Spain issued a Decree, abolishing thenceforward the Spanish Slave Trade in all parts of Africa, *north of the Equator*; declaring further that from and after the 30th of May, 1820, no Spanish subject should engage in the Slave Trade from any parts of Africa, *south of the Equator*; and that, from the 30th of May, 1820, the Slave Trade should cease entirely in all the Spanish dominions, both in Europe and in America.

1822 On the 10th December, 1822,† an Explanatory Article was signed between England and Spain, by which Spanish slave-ships might be seized and condemned, though no slaves should be found on board at the time of detention; provided there should be "*clear* "*and undeniable proof*, that slaves had been "on board *for the purpose of illegal traffic* in "the particular voyage in which the vessel "was captured."

* Hertslett's Treaties, vol. ii. p. 370.

† Ibid., vol. ii. p. 380.

The Spanish Government, however, took no adequate steps to enforce the decree it had issued for the abolition of the Trade; and the Spanish slave traders found loop-holes whereby to escape the penalty, which, under the Treaty, was intended to fall on those engaged in the Trade. The Spanish authorities in Cuba aided the slave traders in this respect; and seemed to consider the Treaty as a dead letter; and Spain evaded giving to England, by an amended Treaty, any larger rights to search, seize, and condemn, Spanish slave-ships.

The British cruisers were active in detaining slave-ships apparently Spanish; but, with the limited authority given to the Mixed Courts of Commission for the condemnation of such ships, the Spanish Slave Trade was but nominally abolished; and the sea swarmed with slave-ships, carrying on the Slave Trade under the flag of Spain, and for account of the Spanish colonies.

The British Government repeatedly remonstrated strongly against this state of things; and, in April, 1825, the British Envoy at 1825
Madrid was furnished by Mr. Canning with a long list of cases, containing various instances, both where Spanish subjects had

infringed the Treaty, and also where the authorities in Cuba had neglected to enforce its engagements: and the Spanish Government were warned, that if they did not maintain the Treaty, and take care that the Spanish authorities in Cuba enforced it, the Spanish Government would vainly look to England, in case of emergency, for any assistance for the preservation of Cuba to Spain.*

The energetic remonstrances of Mr. Canning induced at length the Spanish Government to issue from Madrid a Royal Decree,
1826 dated 2nd January, 1826, enjoining the Governor-General of Cuba to inquire into and examine the case of every vessel arriving at that island from Africa; and delegating to him authority to punish all persons who, on such examination, should be found to have been concerned in Slave Trade.†

Even this order, however, proved of no effect; it became a mere dead letter; and

* Papers on Slave Trade, presented to Parliament, 1825, Class B, p. 16; and presented to Parliament, 1826, p. 9. Mr. Secretary Canning to Mr. Frederick Lamb, April 4, 1825. (The paragraph last recorded as to Cuba does not appear in the Despatch to Mr. Lamb, but was made public in the Note of Mr. Lamb to M. Zea Bermudez.

† Papers laid before Parliament in 1827, Class A, p. 111, and Class B, p. 4.

on the 10th November, 1826,* Mr. Canning directed the British Envoy at Madrid to state, that unless the Spanish Government adopted some step to enforce the execution of these Instructions, it was a mockery to allow British Commissioners to reside at the **Havana.**

On the 31st December, 1828,† Lord Aberdeen directed a strong representation to be made to the Government of Spain on the same subject; urging "that efficient "measures may at length be adopted, for "putting an end to a system, on the part of "the colonial authorities of Spain, equally "inconsistent with the obligations of the "Treaty, and the beneficent intentions of "His Catholic Majesty. 1828

HOLLAND.

On the 4th May, 1818,‡ the Netherlands concluded, with Great Britain, a Treaty for the Suppression of the Slave Trade. That compact gave the cruisers of both parties a mutual right of search all over the world, 1818

* Papers laid before Parliament, 1827, Class B, p. 17.

† Ibid., 1829, p. 25.

‡ Hertslett's Treaties, vol. i. p. 381.

except in the seas of Europe. It provided also, that Mixed Commissions should be established, to try the vessels taken under the Treaty.

The Netherland Government acted with the utmost good faith, in carrying into effect the stipulations of that Treaty; and the Slave Trade, under the Netherlands flag, gradually disappeared.

1822 On the 31st December, 1822,* the Netherland Government concluded additional articles; stipulating, that although no slaves should have been found on board a detained vessel, yet she should be condemned, if slaves had been put on board during the voyage on which she was captured.

1823 On the 25th January, 1823,† the British and Dutch Governments agreed, that ships equipped for the Slave Trade, though not found actually engaged in it, should be condemned when detained by the cruisers of either party.

Since that important stipulation, there has been no vestige of Slave Trade under the Netherland Flag.

* Hertslett's Treaties, vol. iii. p. 277.

† Ibid., p. 282.

BRAZIL.

The Government of Brazil, on declaring self independent of Portugal, professed to el itself bound by the Treaties which the other country had contracted with Foreign owers. The conduct, however, which its bordinate authorities pursued, with respect the Slave Trade, showed, that they were ent on its support. Among other acts emonstrative of this disposition, they gave, to essels trading in slaves, licenses contrary to e Convention.

Mr. Canning did not suffer that conduct 1825
pass without observation. He directed rong remonstrances to be made to the razilian Government; and, on its referring im to the Convention with Portugal, as ffording adequate power to prevent the ractices complained of, Mr. Canning* in- rpreted the answer into an admission, that ıe British Government might, under that onvention, prevent the Slave Trade for- idden by it; and, accordingly, orders were

* Papers presented to Parliament, 1826, Class A, p. 34, and , p. 72.

issued to the British cruisers to detain, and directions given to the Commissioners to condemu, vessels found trading with irregular licenses, although those licenses should have been given by Brazilian authorities, to enable the vessels so to trade.

Negotiations were, however, entered into, for inducing the Brazilian Government to consent to an entire abolition of the Trade.

1826 And on the 23rd November, 1826,* Brazil signed with Great Britain, a Convention, stipulating,—First, that three years after the exchange of the ratifications, it should not be lawful for the subjects of the Emperor of Brazil to be concerned in carrying on the African Slave Trade, under any pretext, or in any manner whatever; and that the carrying on of such Trade, after that period, by any person, a subject of Brazil, should be deemed and treated as piracy: Secondly, that the two parties should, in the meantime, adopt the provisions of the Slave Trade Convention concluded in 1817, between England and Portugal; and should apply them forthwith to the restriction of Brazilian Slave Trade.

Under the Convention of 1826 the Slave Trade of Brazil would have been suppressed, if

* Hertslett, vol. iii. p. 33.

the authorities of that country had acted with good faith in fulfilling its stipulations. But they still granted papers to vessels, intended to trade in slaves, to enable them to evade the stipulations of the Convention. They neglected to punish all persons who had, contrary to the Convention, imported slaves into Brazil: and, by their instructions to their Commissioners, acting under the Convention, they threw every impediment they could in the way of the fair working of the Mixed Commission established in Brazil to put down the Trade.

In 1828, the Brazilian Government even 1828
went so far, as to propose to the British Government, that the period of the abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade should be extended for three years longer.

Lord Aberdeen, however, then Secretary of State, in answer, stated, that "the very nature of an extension of the period for which "this abominable traffic is still permitted to "endure, could not fail to be most unwelcome to every friend of humanity; and he "could not hold out any expectation of an "extension of the term."*

* Papers presented 1829, Class B, p. 54.

1829 In 1829, the Brazilian Government ventured again on a proposal for an extension of the term fixed for the fulfilment of the Convention of 1826. But they received in reply only a reference to the answer given to them the preceding year.*

And in 1829 † Lord Aberdeen pressed the Brazilian Government to agree to an Article, by which Brazilian ships, when found equipped for Slave Trade, should be condemned on that ground alone.

The Brazilian Government, however, could not be brought to consent to this stipulation.

SWEDEN.

1824 On the 6th November, 1824,‡ Sweden concluded with Great Britain a Treaty, for the abolition of Slave Trade.

This Treaty gave to British cruisers a right to search, within the limits laid down in the Treaty with Holland, Swedish vessels met with suspected of Slave Trade. Secondly, it provided for establishing Mixed Commissions for the adjudication of such vessels. Thirdly, it

* Papers presented 1830, Class B, p. 34. † Ibid., p. 40.

‡ Hertslett's Treaties, vol. iii. p. 398.

authorized the condemnation of the vessels, upon the ground alone of their being found equipped for Slave Trade.

No Slave Trade has been seen under the flag of Sweden; so that it has not been necessary to establish the Commissions provided for by the Treaty.

FRANCE.

On the 29th March, 1815,* Napoleon, on his return from Elba, issued a Decree, abolishing thenceforward all French Slave Trade. 1815

When, after the battle of Waterloo, Louis XVIII. resumed the Throne of France, Lord Castlereagh pressed the Austrian, Prussian, and Russian Plenipotentiaries to join him in an urgent invitation to the King of France, to confirm the Decree of Napoleon for the immediate abolition of the Trade. These ministers accordingly, on the 27th July, 1815, united with Lord Castlereagh in a representation to Louis XVIII. to the effect above mentioned: and, on the 30th of the same month, Prince Talleyrand answered that the King had directed, that, on the part

* Hertslett's Treaties, vol. iii. p. 92, et seq.

of France, the traffic in slaves should cease from that time and for ever.

1817 On the 8th January, 1817,* the King of France issued a Decree, under which any vessel, from which it should be attempted to land negroes in a French colony, was to be confiscated; and the master, if a Frenchman, was to be interdicted from all command of a French vessel.

1818 In 1818,† at the Congress of Aix la Chapelle, Lord Castlereagh invited the Governments of France, Russia, Austria, and Prussia,—1st, to join England in a league for putting down Slave Trade, by measures similar to those agreed upon for that purpose by England with Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands; 2ndly, to urge, jointly with England, the Sovereign of Portugal to fix a period for the final abolition of the Trade; and, 3rdly, to consider the question of making Slave Trade piracy, as soon as that Trade should have been abolished by Portugal, the only Power which upheld it by law.

The French Government, stating, that its wishes were in unison with those of Great Britain for the abolition, expressed itself

* Hertslett's Treaties, vol. iii. p. 98.

† Papers presented February, 1819, p. 68, et seq.

reluctant to enter at that moment into the proposed league; and rested its objections on the ground, that the position of France at the close of the war was peculiar, and that the French nation might construe the concession into a sacrifice given for the evacuation of its territory.

The Government of France limited itself, therefore, to joining in an application to the Sovereign of Portugal to fix a period for the abolition.

In 1822,* at the Congress of Verona, the 1822
Duke of Wellington proposed to the Governments of France, Russia, Austria, and Prussia,—1st, to issue, jointly with Great Britain, a Declaration that Slave Trade should be considered piracy; 2ndly, to withdraw from slave traders the protection of their flag; and, 3rdly, to exclude the produce of slave-trading colonies from admission into the territories of the five Powers.

But the French Government could not, at that time, be induced to adopt any other steps towards the general abolition of the Slave Trade, than to join in a declaration of adherence to the principles and sentiments

* Papers presented May, 1823, p. 19.

manifested in the Declaration issued in 1815, at the Congress of Vienna.

1827 On the 25th April, 1827, a law was passed in France, by which Frenchmen concerned in Slave Trade were made liable to punishment by fine, imprisonment, and banishment.

In the meantime a considerable trade in slaves existed on the part of France; and the Port of Nantes was specially concerned in it. The British Government repeatedly remonstrated with that of France on the subject. The latter answered, that it would give directions for putting the trade down; but it still continued. The British Government endeavoured to induce the French Government to consent to an arrangement by which, under a mutual right of search, the British Government might be enabled to co-operate effectually with the French for the entire suppression of the Slave Trade of France.

But at this period, the prejudices of the French nation against such an arrangement were still, in the opinion of the Government, too strong to allow of their agreeing to it.

RUSSIA.

In 1818, Russia, in answer to the proposal made to her, as stated under the article France, joined in an application to the Sovereign of Portugal, to fix a period for the abolition of the Slave Trade; and expressed her readiness to make Slave Trade piracy, and to form part of a general league for putting down Slave Trade by force, and by consent of all civilized powers for that purpose, as soon as Portugal should have abolished it by law.

In 1822 Russia, expressing the same sentiments which she manifested in 1818, joined also in the general Declaration, confirmatory of the Declaration of 1815, against Slave Trade.

AUSTRIA.

In 1818 Austria agreed in the Address to the Sovereign of Portugal, but expressed a desire to defer the consideration of the remaining measures proposed, until Portugal should have abolished the Trade.

In 1822 Austria joined in the Declaration confirmatory of the Declaration of 1815.

PRUSSIA.

In 1818 Prussia joined in the Address to the Sovereign of Portugal, but deferred her expression of any opinion as to what measures should be adopted for the general abolition of the Trade, until it should be finally abolished by Portugal.

In 1822 Prussia joined in the general Declaration confirmatory of that of 1815.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Sir W. Grant, in his judgment on the American vessel "Amedée," had not touched on the question of the right of search.*

But in 1816 this question was mooted on the case of the vessel "Le Louis."

"Le Louis" had sailed from Martinique on the 30th January, 1816, on a slave-trading voyage to the coast of Africa. She was captured near Sierra Leone, by the colonial vessel, the "Queen Charlotte." Proceedings were instituted against her, in the Vice-Admiralty Court, at Sierra Leone, on the ground that she was fitted up and navigated for the Slave Trade, after it had been abolished by the laws of France and the

* Papers presented 21st March, 1822, p. 9.

Treaty between that country and Great Britain; and the ship and cargo were condemned, as forfeited to His Majesty.

Appeal from this sentence was then made to the High Court of Admiralty, and that Court reversed the judgment of the inferior Court, and ordered restitution of the property to the claimants.

In giving sentence on the case, Sir W. Scott said—"No doubt could exist that this "was a French ship intentionally engaged "in the Slave Trade." "But," he added, "this was a fact ascertained in consequence "of its seizure: before, therefore, the seizor "could avail himself of the discovery, it was "necessary to inquire, whether he possessed "any right of visitation and search; because, "if the discovery was unlawfully produced, "he could not be allowed to take advantage "of the consequence of his own wrong."

Sir W. Scott then discussed the question whether the right of search exists in time of peace: and he decided it, without hesitation, in the negative. "I can find," said he, "no "authority, that gives the right of interrup-"tion to the navigation of states, in amity, "upon the high seas, excepting that which "the rights of war give to both belligerents

"against neutrals." "If this right," he added, "is imported into a state of peace, it "must be done by convention: it will then "be for the prudence of states to regu- "late by such convention the exercise of "the right, with all the softenings of which "it is capable." *

The American slave traders who, as was stated, had been somewhat deterred from Slave Trade undertakings under the flag of the Union, by the decision given on the case of the "Amedée," now, seeing their way clear, unless they should be met by American cruisers, pursued their lawless courses with comparative freedom from restraint.

1819 But on the 11th November, 1819, Lord Castlereagh addressed Mr. Rush, the United States Envoy in London, upon the subject. He adverted to the compacts recently concluded between Great Britain, Portugal, Spain, and the Netherlands, by which the respective Powers concerned agreed mutually to give to each other a qualified permission to exercise a search upon merchant vessels of both parties suspected of Slave Trade, and to appoint a tribunal composed of individuals of both parties to try the cases

* Papers presented 21st March, 1822.

of vessels detained under such compacts. He sent to Mr. Rush copies of Addresses, recently presented by Parliament to the Throne, urging the prosecution of similar measures with other Powers for effecting the suppression of Slave Trade; and he requested Mr. Rush to intimate to the President the earnest desire of the Prince Regent, to enter, without delay, into discussion with the United States on the subject to which those Addresses referred.

Before any definite answer appears to have been given to this proposal, the United States' Legislature, on the 15th May, 1820, "believing,"* as the House of Representatives observed, "that the then existing "provisions for putting down Slave Trade "would not be sufficiently available," enacted a law, by which, if any American citizen, or person on board an American vessel, should seize or carry away any coloured person not being already a slave by the United States' law, in order to make such person a slave, he should be adjudged a pirate, and on conviction suffer death.

On the 20th December, 1820, Mr. Strat- 1820
ford Canning, then appointed Envoy to

* Papers presented March 21, 1822, p. 3.

America, following up the intimation given the preceding year by Lord Castlereagh, formally proposed to the United States' Government to open negotiations with them for a Convention between the two countries, for the suppression of Slave Trade.

But on the 30th of the same month Mr. Adams, on the part of the United States' Government, declined to enter into negotiations for the desired purpose.

He stated that the President objected to the proposal made, because a compact giving power to naval officers of one nation to search merchant vessels of another for offenders and offences against the laws of the latter, "backed by a further power to seize "and carry into a foreign port, and there "subject to a tribunal composed of one-half "foreigners, was an investment of power over "the persons, property, and reputation of "American citizens, adverse to the elemen-"tary principles, and indispensable securities "of individual rights, interwoven in the poli-"tical institutions of the country."

But, as a substitute for such an arrangement, the President proposed that instructions should be issued in concert, by the two Governments, to the commanders of their

cruisers employed in suppressing Slave Trade, to give each other every assistance which might be compatible with the performance of their own service, and adapted to the end which was the common aim of both parties.

The British Government expressed their disappointment and regret at this answer, but still agreed to give to their cruisers the instructions proposed;* and on the 1st June following, communicated those instructions to the United States' Government.

But now the House of Representatives in 1821 America took up the question; and referring the correspondence which had passed on the subject to a Committee of their own body to report upon, that Committee, on the 9th February, 1821, reported to Congress,† that

"experience had proved the inefficacy of the
"various and rigorous laws made in Europe
"and the United States to put down Slave
"Trade; for it was a lamentable fact, that
"the disgraceful practice was even then car-
"ried on to a surprising extent."

In proof of this assertion, the Committee

* Papers as before, p. 4; and Papers presented April 1, 1822, p. 45.

† Papers presented March 21, 1822.

stated, that an American cruiser, the "Cyane," had in the last year found the coast of Africa "lined with vessels engaged in Slave Trade: "that she examined many: and five, "which appeared to be fitted out on American "account, she sent into the jurisdiction of "the United States for adjudication."

The Committee then referred to the treaties concluded by Great Britain with Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands, in which the mutual right of visitation and search was exchanged.

They stated that the United States had been earnestly invited by Great Britain to join in "the same or similar arrangements."

They observed, it was now demonstrated by experience, that a practical abolition of the Slave Trade cannot be obtained by any system, except a concession by the maritime powers, to each other's ships of war, of a qualified right of search. They remarked, that such a right involves no commitment on the general question of search: nor is susceptible of any unfavourable inference on that subject: that its regulated exercise almost precludes the possibility of much inconvenience: and that, if the concession were generally made, it is confidently believed that

the Trade would without difficulty be suppressed. And they concluded by recommending to Congress that a Resolution should be passed, requesting the President to enter into arrangements with one or more of the maritime Powers of Europe,* for the effectual abolition of the Slave Trade. The Report was ordered to lie on the table.

The British minister,† however, wrote home that, on again urging the subject on the American Government, he had found the President decidedly hostile to the proposed concession of a right of search; and consequently the matter was not at that time further proceeded in.

Shortly afterwards,‡ the United States' schooner "Alligator," employed in suppressing Slave Trade on the African coast, "detained and sent home for adjudication four "vessels under French colours, suspected of "being engaged in Slave Trade."

"The commander of the 'Alligator' alleged "in his defence, that he had information "against the vessels, when he captured them,

* Papers as before, p. 6.

† Papers presented April 1, 1822. Mr. Stratford Canning, March 8, 1821, p. 44.

‡ Papers as before, p. 45.

" as being American bottoms trading under " false colours."

It appears that three of these prizes were afterwards retaken by their crews, and carried to French colonies.

But I do not find any account of the decision in the United States upon the case of the fourth vessel.

And here it may be remarked, both from the conduct of the commander of the " Alligator," and of the commander of the " Cyane," that at that period the American cruisers appear to have been in the habit of examining vessels met with on the high seas under other flags than those of the United States, for the purpose of ascertaining their nationality and occupation.

On the 15th August, 1821*, Mr. Adams, in answer to the note of the 1st of June from Mr. Canning, stated, in a formal explanatory note to the British minister, the objections of the President to concede, on the part of the United States, the practice of a right of search in time of peace. He objected, first, to the right of search as a right of war only, not of peace; and, secondly, to the trial of American citizens by a foreign tribunal, as

* Papers as before, p. 46.

contrary to the principle of the institutions of the United States; and he concluded by suggesting, that "each party had better "apply the means of its own choice, and "leave the other to pursue its own course, "without molestation and without reproach."

About this period the United States' sloop of war "Hornet" had captured the French slave ship "La Pensée," and a South American privateer "La Centinelle," to which she was a prize, and sent them in for adjudication to New Orleans.*

In the next year the question of suppressing the Slave Trade was again mooted in the American Chambers, and it was referred to "a committee of Congress" to report thereupon.

On the 12th April, 1822,† they reported, 1822 that after "consulting all the evidence within "their reach, they had arrived at a conclu-"sion, that the African Slave Trade now pre-"vails to a very great extent, and that its "total suppression can never be effected by "the separate and disunited efforts of one "or more states."

They then adverted to the question of a

* Papers presented July, 1823, Class A, p. 139.

† Ibid., p. 139.

remedy for the existing evils of the present system.

They referred to the Report of the House of Representatives of the preceding year, proposing "the concurrence of the United States "with one or all of the maritime Powers of "Europe, in a modified and reciprocal right "of search on the African coast, with a "view to the suppression of the Slave "Trade."

They confirmed, and repeated, that recommendation.

But as a modification of the proposal they suggested that the American vessels and citizens detained should be tried by national tribunals in the United States, instead of by Mixed Tribunals in a foreign country; and they ended their report, by expressing a confidence, that "the people of America have the "intelligence to distinguish between the right "claimed by some belligerents of searching a "vessel on the high seas in time of war, "and that mutual, restricted, and peaceful "concession by treaty, suggested by that "Committee, and which, they added, is de-"manded in the name of suffering huma-"nity."

The Report was ordered to lie on the

table;* and 2000 additional copies of it were directed to be printed for distribution.

Mr. Secretary Canning now instructed Her Majesty's Envoy at Washington† to present another formal note to the American Government, pressing for an arrangement between the two countries, on the principle so often proposed to them. Mr. Canning observed upon this point, that "there can be no dis-"paragement of national dignity in equal "and reciprocal concession."‡

On the 30th March, 1823, Mr. Adams 1823
made a counter proposal on the part of the United States. This proposal was, that in lieu of conceding the mutual right of search and trial by Mixed Commission, Great Britain should adopt the principle of the Act passed in the United States on the 15th May, 1820, for declaring Slave Trade to be piracy; and that Great Britain and the United States should, by a "mutual stipulation, annex the "penalties of piracy to the offence of partici-"pating in the Slave Trade, by the citizens "or subjects of the respective parties."

Mr. S. Canning having again urged in answer the adoption of the principle of a right of

* Papers as before, p. 139.

† Ibid., p. 143. ‡ Ibid. p., 150.

search;* and having suggested that the trial of the captured ships might take place in a Court of Admiralty instead of by Mixed Commission, Mr. Adams, on the 24th June, 1823, declared that the objections to the exercise of the right of search were, in a considerable degree, removed by the introduction of these principles into the proposal, combining also the principle that the detention and capture should be exercised under the responsibility of the captor to the tribunals of the captured party for damages and costs; but he still stated that the President had an "insuperable ob-" jection to the extension of the belligerent " right of search to a time of peace."†

At length, in August, 1823,‡ the United States' Government, acting on a Resolution which, the American Secretary of State observed, had been passed almost unanimously by the House of Representatives at the close of the preceding session, instructed every one of its ministers, both in Europe and in America, to propose to the several states to which they were accredited, to enter into negotiations with them for concluding conventions for

* Papers presented 1824, Class A. pp. 74 and 78.

† Ibid., p. 81.

‡ State Papers, vol. xi. p. 739.

declaring Slave Trade to be piracy, and for "authorizing the armed vessels of the one "nation to capture those of another engaged "in the Trade,"* on condition "that the "captor should deliver over the captured "party to the tribunals of his own country "for trial;" and "that the capturing officer "should be responsible for any abusive exer-"cise of his power."

And a draft of a Convention to this effect was sent by the American Government specially to the American Minister in London; and he was authorized to propose, and to conclude the same, with the British Government, provided the latter would treat upon this subject on the basis of a legislative prohibition of the Slave Trade by both parties under the penalties of piracy.

The draft of a Convention was accordingly proposed, together with the condition on which alone it was to be negotiated.

The British Government accepted that condition as the basis of negotiation, and, accordingly, submitted to Parliament a Bill declaring British Slave Trade to be piracy, and urged the Parliament to pass the Bill without difficulty or delay, on the ground of

* State Papers, vol. ii. p 739.

these negotiations with America on Slave Trade.

The Bill was passed: in the mean time the negotiations had proceeded. On the 13th
1824 March, 1824, Mr. Rush, on the part of the United States, signed a Convention upon this subject with Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Canning on the part of Great Britain.

It was stated in the preamble to this Convention, that the object of it was to make the Law of Piracy, as applied to Slave Trade, immediately and reciprocally operative on the vessels and subjects and citizens of both parties.

1. And it was stipulated: that the cruisers of each party on the coasts of Africa, America, and the West Indies, might detain, examine, capture, and deliver over for trial vessels concerned in Slave Trade, and carrying the flag of the other party: and that the vessels captured should be adjudged by the tribunals of the captured party, not by those of the captor.

2. That if vessels examined by the cruisers of either party on account of Slave Trade did not carry the flag, but were chartered by the subjects or citizens of either party, they should be delivered over for trial to the country

by whose subjects or citizens they were chartered.

3. That any person, subject or citizen of either party, but found on board a vessel of a third party trading in Slave Trade, should be delivered over for trial to the country to which he belonged.

4. That the proceeds of vessels condemned under the Convention should be paid to the captor.

5. That the boarding officer and captor should be personally responsible for any vexatious or abusive exercise of the right of examination and detention conceded by the Convention.

And, 6. Both parties to the Convention declared, that they conceded the right of detaining their vessels, solely and wholly on the ground and consideration, that Slave Trade was made piracy by their respective laws.

In the first instance, the Senate of the United States signified their readiness to ratify this Convention, with the exception of the word "America" in the stipulation marked 1, and with the omission of the whole of the stipulation marked 2, and also of the stipulation marked 3.

The British Government then agreed to omit the two last-mentioned stipulations, but urged the retention of the word America in the first-mentioned stipulation, on the ground that the provision included in it was essential to the purposes of the Convention. In the mean time a strong party in the United States manifested a distrustful jealousy of the contents of the Convention: and the United States' Government then declared to the British Minister at Washington, that the Senate had recently refused to ratify a Treaty upon the same subject with Columbia, even when the objectionable word "America" was omitted; and that they had thus virtually refused to ratify the Convention with Great Britain.

The President shortly afterwards communicated to the Senate the correspondence. The Senate did not express any direct decision on the subject; but on the British minister, Mr. Addington, requesting, in the year following, from the United States' Government a decided answer, whether or not the Convention would be ratified on the part of the United States, the Secretary of State, Mr. Clay, answered, that "under the cir-
"cumstances it would be inexpedient and
"unnecessary any longer to continue the

"negotiation, with a hope that it would be "made to assume a form satisfactory to both "parties." The British Government forbore to press for a more categorical reply, under the impression, that it could not be other than a decided refusal, which would render more difficult the re-opening of the negotiation at a future time. And thus the negotiation then terminated.*

SPANISH AMERICA.

1823 In 1823, Mr. Secretary Canning sent out Commissioners to Mexico and Columbia, with authority to make treaties, recognizing, on the part of Great Britain, these newly-created Spanish American States; and he inserted in the instructions to each of the Commissioners a clause, directing them to include, in the Treaty to be concluded by them, a stipulation, that the State thus recognised should abolish the Slave Trade.

MEXICO.

1826 On the 26th December, 1826,† Great Britain concluded with Mexico a Treaty of Amity and Commerce; by Article 15 of

* State Papers, 1824-25.

† Hertslett's Treaties, vol. iii. p. 254.

which it was stipulated, that the "Govern-
"ment of Mexico should co-operate with His
"Britannic Majesty for the total abolition of
"the Slave Trade; and should prohibit, in
"the most effectual manner, all persons inha-
"biting within the territory of Mexico from
"taking any share in such trade."

COLUMBIA.

1825 On the 18th of April, 1825,* Great Britain concluded with Columbia a Treaty, Article 13 of which contained a stipulation, that "the Government of Columbia engaged to "co-operate with His Britannic Majesty for "the total abolition of the Slave Trade; and "to prohibit, in the most effectual manner, "all persons, inhabiting within the territo-
"ries of Columbia, from taking any share
"in such trade."

Columbia has since been divided into three separate states, viz., New Granada, Venezuela, and Equator. The Treaty of 1825 with Columbia has been considered as applying to each of these three separate States; but, upon their separation from each other, negotiations were commenced with each state for a separate and effectual treaty.

* Hertslett's Treaties, vol. iii. p. 61.

The result of those negotiations belongs to a period, subsequent to that which is treated of in this section.

BUENOS AYRES.

By a law of the 15th November 1824,* the 1824
State of Buenos Ayres declared, that the African Slave Trade should be considered piracy, and that citizens of Buenos Ayres, trading in slaves, should be punished as pirates.

In February, 1825, Buenos Ayres con- 1825
cluded with Great Britain a Treaty of Amity and Commerce; by the 14th Article of which Buenos Ayres engaged "to co-operate with "His Britannic Majesty for the total abolition "of the Slave Trade; and to prohibit, in the "most effectual manner, and by the most "solemn laws, all persons inhabiting within "the said united provinces, from taking any "share in such trade."

GREAT BRITAIN.

During the period treated of in this section, the British Legislature was not unmindful to suppress every possible attempt at Slave Trade in British colonies.

* Hertslett's Treaties, vol. iii. p. 69.

1815 It having been stated in Parliament, in 1815, that grounds existed for suspecting that slaves were still introduced clandestinely into the British West Indies, Mr. Wilberforce, on the 13th June of that year,* introduced a Bill for preventing this illicit importation, by establishing a general registry of slaves throughout the islands, which registry should in future constitute the title of an owner to a slave.

The Bill did not, however, pass into a law; but a system of registry was introduced forthwith into some of the colonies immediately dependent on the Crown; and on the 12th July, 1819, a Bill finally passed the legislature, establishing a registry throughout the whole of the British West Indies upon the principle laid down in Mr. Wilberforce's Bill of 1815. This Act effectually stopped all importation of slaves into the British West Indies.†

1823 On the 10th April, 1823, Dr. Lushington moved for leave to bring in a Bill for the general consolidation of the Acts relating to the Slave Trade. This Bill contained the provisions of all former enactments against British Slave Trade; conveying their purport

* Hansard, vol. iii. p. 774.

† Act 59 Geo. III. c. 70.

according to the original intent with which they had been framed, but expressing their meaning and purpose in such an amended and more stringent form, as experience had shown to be necessary for ensuring the end intended to be effected by them. The Bill contained a further and new provision for preventing the inter-colonial Slave Trade, or the case of slaves sold in one British possession for removal to another.

This Bill passed through the Commons, but in the House of Lords, the decided opposition of Lord Eldon caused it to be put off for another session.

Sixteen years had now elapsed since the abolition of the Slave Trade in British Colonies; and accounts showed, that it had not produced that alteration in the treatment of slaves, that gradual alleviation of the state of servitude, which the supporters of the measure had held out as its natural and necessary consequence.

Those who had been advocates for the abolition of the Slave Trade now turned their views to a further measure; to the absolute extinction of slavery, as the only sure means whereby to effect the end they had at first proposed to themselves.

A sentiment to this effect rapidly pervaded England.

A Society for "the mitigation and gradual "abolition of slavery throughout the British "dominions" was formed; and among its members were Lord Lansdowne, Mr. Brougham, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Buxton, Dr. Lushington, Mr. Clarkson, Dr. Bunting, Mr. Stephen, Mr. Macaulay, Mr. Gurney, Mr. Allen, Mr. Sturge, and Mr. Forster.

Public meetings in favour of the abolition of Slavery were held at the principal towns throughout the country.

Petitions in great numbers were presented to Parliament, praying its interference for the accomplishment of this purpose.

A desire to see Slavery abolished throughout the British possessions became rapidly very prevalent.

On the 15th May, 1823,* Mr. Fowell Buxton addressed the House of Commons upon the subject. He began, by arguing on the inconsistency of the British laws, which permitted Slavery, while they proscribed Slave Trade. He observed, that the law had already made it a crime to go to Africa to steal a man and make him a slave; but it

* Parliamentary Debates—Journals of the House.

† Hansard's Parliamentary Debates.

was still lawful to take an infant new-born in the West Indies and make a slave of him. He contended, on the ground of consistency, that henceforth all children born in the British West Indies of negro slaves ought to be declared free. He urged, on the score of humanity, that regulations should be immediately enforced for modifying the state of slavery actually in existence in the Colonies; and he submitted to the House, as a matter of ultimate justice, that provision should be made for producing by degrees the entire extinction of Slavery; and he concluded by moving, "That the state of Slavery is re-
"pugnant to the principles of the British
"Constitution, and of the Christian religion;
"and that it ought to be gradually abolished
"throughout the British Colonies."

Mr. Secretary Canning, on the part of the Government, replied, that he concurred, heartily and entirely, in the general views of Mr. Buxton for the entire extinction of Slavery: that he was only desirous of ensuring the attainment of that object with safety and with propriety: and that, with this view, he would submit the following amendment to Mr. Buxton's resolution:—

"That it is expedient to adopt effective
"and decisive measures for ameliorating the

"condition of the slave population of His "Majesty's Colonies.

"That through such measures this House "looks forward to an improvement in the "character of the slave population, such as "may fit them for participating in the civil "rights and privileges which are enjoyed by "other classes of His Majesty's subjects.

"And that this House is anxious for the "accomplishment of this purpose at the "earliest period compatible with the well-"being of the slaves themselves, with the "safety of the colonies, and with a fair and "equitable consideration of the interests of "private property."

Mr. Canning proposed, that these wishes and intentions of the Parliament should be communicated to the colonies, with an earnest recommendation to them to remedy immediately the more severe oppressions practised upon the slave population; and in particular to abolish the use of the whip, and to forbid the sale of slaves apart from their families.

Mr. Canning's motion was concurred in unanimously.

But the accounts subsequently received from the West Indies, stated, that the colonists had strenuously opposed themselves to

all the recommendations of Parliament on the subject; that they had remonstrated, in no measured language, against the interference of Great Britain with their internal administration; and openly refused to carry into effect the projected meliorations in the state of the slaves.

But the determination of the Government, Parliament, and people of this country, upon the subject, was too firmly rooted, to be shaken by these appearances.

On the 16th March,* in the ensuing year, 1824 Mr. Secretary Canning, addressing the House of Commons, entered at length into a statement of the measures intended to be taken by His Majesty's Government, in pursuance of the resolutions of the last year for the general amelioration of the condition of the slave population in the British Colonies. These were to make provision for religious instruction; to do away with Sunday markets; to abolish the practice of flogging female slaves; to regulate the punishment of male slaves; to prevent the separation of man and wife, or children and mother, on the sale of slaves; to give security for the property of slaves; to establish facilities for the manu-

* Hansard's Parliamentary Debates.

mission of slaves, and to allow the evidence of slaves in courts of justice.

Mr. Canning laid before the House a Proclamation by the King upon this subject, and a draft of an Order in Council to the effect proposed. He said that the colonies were divided into two classes, one governed by the King without Colonial Assemblies; and one having Legislative Assemblies after the model of the mother country.

He stated, that the Government proposed to carry these measures of amelioration into immediate effect in the colonies first referred to. He observed, that in the other colonies the wishes and intentions of the Parliament had been received with a spirit any thing but conciliatory; yet he desired to trust to the slow and silent course of authoritative admonition, rather than have recourse to any other means except in case of absolute necessity, for the purpose of bringing these colonies to reason, and inducing them to adopt the views, and second the determinations of Parliament.

Mr. Buxton, Mr. Wilberforce, and Dr. Lushington declared their opinion, that the conduct of the Colonial Assemblies constituted a case of contumacy, and of resistance to the express and declared wishes of Parliament,

which called for further and more decisive steps for attaining the fulfilment of those intentions.

Mr. Secretary Peel strongly supported all that had been said by Mr. Canning, both as to the measures to be pursued for the amelioration of the slaves, and as to the course to be adopted for securing their completion. He stated, that the course intended proved the disposition of the Government, where there was no question as to the power of the Crown, and afforded in the other cases to the Colonial Legislatures the benefit of an example and a warning: and he earnestly implored the House to concur in that course, as the only practical, the only beneficial one.

On the same day, 16th March, 1824, Mr. Canning moved for leave to bring in a Bill for the more effectual suppression of the Slave Trade. The Bill was immediately introduced; it passed through all its stages in both Houses without demur or delay, and became an Act of the Legislature on the 31st of the same month. 1824

It enacted, that any British subject, or persons residing in British territory, or the territory of the East India Company, who subsequently to the 1st January, 1825, should, upon the high seas, or any where else within jurisdiction of the Admiralty, be concerned

in carrying away from any place, or bringing into any place, any person as a slave, should be adjudged guilty of piracy, felony, and robbery; and on being "convicted thereof, "should suffer death, without benefit of "clergy, and loss of lands, goods, and chat-"tels, as pirates, felons, and robbers on the "high seas ought to suffer."*

This Bill was passed through in haste, avowedly to meet the provisions of the Convention referred to in a previous part of this section, as then negotiating with the United States of America.

In this year Dr. Lushington again brought in a Bill similar to that already mentioned, for consolidating the several Acts relating to the abolition of the Slave Trade. This most valuable Bill, embodying in a clear and comprehensive manner the provisions of all former enactments on the subject, finally passed and became an Act of the Legislature on the 24th June, 1824.†

The Act, as finally passed, contains prohi-

* Act 5 Geo. IV., cap. 17. This punishment was afterwards modified, the punishment of transportation being substituted for that of death for this crime; but, although the penalty is modified, the term of piracy is still by law affixed to the crime of Slave Trade.—See the Act of 1 Vic., cap. 91.

† Act 5 Geo. IV., cap. 113. Among its details is a regulation for bounty on slaves captured, fixed by this Act at £20 a-head.

bitions not only against the purchase and sale, and the export and import of slaves by British subjects, but also against their making loans for the purpose, and effecting insurances on slave adventures, and against their serving on board ships for the purpose, and against their aiding, counselling, or abetting the same. It contains, also, the provisions of the Act of Piracy of Slave Trade;* it prohibits the inter-colonial Slave Trade; and it provides for carrying into effect the treaties with foreign Powers for the suppression of the Trade.

From time to time statements continued to be made in Parliament, that the appeal to the colonial legislatures had been in vain. It was said, that "it had not been "productive of any one real effective mea-"sure for the improvement of the condition "of the negro slaves in the British colonies."

Jamaica stood apparently the most steadfast in her adherence to the ancient system of administration over the slaves.

On the 1st March, 1826,† Mr. (now Lord) Denman brought before the House of Com- 1826

* In the year 1828 a short further Bill was passed, allowing the King in Council to permit the transportation of slaves from one British colony to another, under regulations, up to July, 1829. Act 9 Geo. IV., cap. 84.

† Hansard's Debates.

mons the subject of the oppression suffered in this respect by the slaves in that Island. He said that "judicial oppression is the "hardest of all evils to bear by civilized "man;" and that in Jamaica it had reached the highest pinnacle of its power. He related the case of a recent trial in that island, where, upon an idle tale of a projected insurrection forged by a boy to escape a punishment upon a slight neglect of duty, eight negroes had been taken up, summarily tried, convicted, and hanged, without even an attempt to confront them with their accuser. He then stated that, by a large majority, the Legislature of Jamaica had lately rejected a motion for admitting the evidence of slaves. He said that the most horrible atrocities were consequently perpetrated with impunity in open day. He adverted to one case, in which a female slave's head was absolutely twisted off in the presence of many persons; and the offender escaped conviction, because the witnesses were but slaves, and their evidence could not be legally taken. He adduced another case, in which a white man, on his return from shooting, met a female slave with a dog. The dog barked, perhaps snapped at him. The man threatened to shoot the dog. The

woman cried, "O, don't shoot my dog." The man rejoined, "I'll shoot you if you say much;" and he followed up his words by instantly discharging the contents of his gun into her side. This was done in the face of day, and many persons saw it; but they were slaves; their testimony could not be taken; and the monster could not be punished.

Mr. Denman appealed to the House whether something was not necessary to stop these enormities? Is there not, he said, a necessity for admitting the evidence of slaves? He owned there were objections to the measure. He felt, that fear of the master was likely to prevent in the slave a full and free and impartial disclosure of the truth. He saw one remedy only; "but," added Mr. Denman, "it is one just in principle, effective in "practice, simple in operation—it is the ex- "tinction of Slavery." Mr. Denman added, that he was not the advocate of hasty measures for this end; and that the consideration of the interest of all the individuals concerned should be the ground-work of the measure by which to effect this desired result. Meantime, he thought the House should record its sentiments on the facts related, by a Resolution, expressive of "the sorrow and indig- "nation with which they contemplate the

"perversions of law, and violations of justice, "displayed in the recent trials at Jamaica;" and declaring "their conviction of the ne- "cessity of an immediate reform in the "administration of justice affecting slaves "in that island," and he moved resolutions to this effect.

An animated debate ensued; the facts asserted by Mr. Denman were admitted. Other speakers brought forward further instances corroborating his general statement. Dr. Lushington adverted to the statement of Bryan Edwards, who himself saw two unhappy beings convicted in Jamaica, and sentenced to be suspended in chains, and starved to death. They were indulged with the luxury of a full meal before the irons were put on them. "I went," said Mr. Edwards, "to see them myself, and for six "days I saw them enduring their torments." Sir R. Wilson mentioned the case of one James Simpson, who, in 1822, was tried at Kingston for having chained down a girl only nine years old, in order to commit a rape on her. The counsel for the prisoner took an objection, that the girl being a slave could only be considered as a chattel, and her evidence could have no effect. The case was transmitted to England for the con-

sideration of the twelve Judges, who decided that in the then state of the law judgment could not be inflicted; and the villain was liberated accordingly.

The result of the debate was, that the expressions of Mr. Denman's motion were modified, but that the object of his address was obtained by the passing of a resolution, that "the House sees in the proceedings on the "late trial of slaves at Jamaica, further "proof of the evils inseparably attendant "upon a state of slavery; and derives in-"creased conviction of the propriety of the "resolutions passed on the 15th May, 1823."*

1826 On the 15th May, in the same year, Mr. Brougham called the attention of the House to the manner in which the suggestions of the King's Government had been complied with on the part of those Colonies which had Legislatures of their own. He began by alluding to what had actually been done by the seven colonies under the immediate control of the Government: 1. As to the admissibility of slave evidence. 2. The abolition of Sunday markets. 3. A prohibition to separate husbands and wives, and parents and children. 4. The moral and religious instruction of slaves.

* Hansard's Debates, and Journals of Commons.

Mr. Brougham then proceeded to speak of the thirteen Colonies which had Legislatures of their own.

He said that neither Antigua nor the Bermudas, Montserrat, St. Nevis, St. Kitt's, or the other Virgin Islands, had taken one step to give effect to the desires of Government and of Parliament. He proceeded to say, that in Jamaica, nothing, or next to nothing, had been done; and in Barbadoes, nothing, or rather worse than nothing; for in that island, the Addresses of the Colonial Assembly were remonstrances against the concessions expected of them. In the Bahamas they had contented themselves with consolidating the old laws. In Tobago they had, to be sure, abolished Sunday markets, but given the negroes no other day instead on which to work for themselves; and they had admitted slave evidence, but in cases only of murder or maiming. In St. Vincent's, Dominica, and Grenada, also, slave evidence was admitted, but only with qualifications which made the admission futile. And this was all that had been done on the great points recommended to them for the amelioration of the state of slavery. So that, in fact, there was not one single instance throughout the colonies in which the spirit of the Order in

Council had been embodied in the Acts of a Colonial Legislature.

Mr. Brougham concluded by moving, "That this House has seen with deep regret "that nothing effectual has been done by "the legislatures of His Majesty's colonies "in the West Indies, in compliance with the "declared wishes of His Majesty's Govern- "ment, and the Resolutions of this House of "the 15th May, 1823, touching the condi- "tion of the slaves; and that this House "will therefore, early in the next session of "Parliament, take into its most serious con- "sideration such measures as may appear to "be necessary for giving effect to the said "Resolutions."*

Mr. Secretary Canning agreed in the regret expressed in the first part of Mr. Brougham's resolution. He was reluctant, however, to pledge the House thus early to follow up in the next Session that sentiment of regret, by measures which were not defined. He besought the House to allow yet more time for the colonies to do themselves what, however, added Mr. Canning, "We are

* Mr. Brougham, in the course of this speech, adverting to the Foreign Slave Trade, estimated the importation of slaves into Brazil during the preceding twelve months, at 100,000.

"determined either to do, or to see done."
"But," continued he, "if, contrary to our
"hope, we should be met by the colonies with
"determined contumacious opposition, we
"shall then come to Parliament for aid,—an
"aid which Parliament will not then hesitate
"in granting, to carry into execution its own
"wholesome and holy determination."

On a division, the motion of Mr. Brougham was lost by a majority of 62.

Between the years 1815 and 1830 several Addresses had been carried up by the Parliament to the Throne, beseeching His Majesty to continue to instruct His Majesty's ministers abroad to endeavour to obtain the concurrence of Foreign Powers for the universal abolition of the Slave Trade.

In 1815 Great Britain obtained from the Congress of assembled Powers at Vienna, a general declaration, wherein they condemned, in the strongest terms, the principle of the Slave Trade; and engaged to concur together, and to assist each other, in producing the universal and definitive abolition of the Trade by all the Powers of Christendom.

In 1818 Great Britain obtained from Austria, France, Prussia, and Russia, a joint request to the Sovereign of Portugal, to fix a period for the abolition of the Trade.

And in 1822 Great Britain obtained from those four Powers a Declaration, confirmatory of the principles manifested in the Declaration of 1815.

During the early part of the period treated of in this section, Great Britain obtained also from Portugal, Treaties which restricted Portuguese Slave Trade thenceforward within narrow limits; and which stipulated for the entire abolition of the Trade under eventual circumstances. Those circumstances having occurred in 1826, England further obtained a pledge in writing, that in a Treaty then about to be concluded, Portugal should insert an article, binding herself to abandon at once the Slave Trade, and to co-operate with Great Britain in obtaining its suppression on the part of other nations.

From Spain, the Netherlands, Brazil and Sweden, Great Britain obtained Treaties; declaring, that all Slave Trade carried on by subjects of those countries, or under their National Flag, should be illegal; and with

all these four Powers, Great Britain concluded compacts, which gave means for carrying into effect the suppression of illegal trade under the flags of those powers.

Those means were,—first, an admission, that the cruisers of each party might search and detain vessels of the other party suspected of slave trading: and, secondly, provision for the establishment of Mixed Commissions, armed with power to try the detained vessels, and to condemn them if found to be concerned in Slave Trade.

With the Netherlands, and with Sweden, a further stipulation was contracted, by which ships were to be condemned, when found equipped for Slave Trade, although no slaves might be found on board of them, and that they did not appear otherwise actually engaged in Slave Trade.

A Treaty for a mutual limited right of search was signed with the Minister of the United States, but not ratified by the Senate of that Power.

Great Britain also obtained the insertion of an article in her Treaties with Mexico, Columbia, and Buenos Ayres; stipulating, that the Slave Trade of those States should be abolished, and that they should co-operate

ith Great Britain, for the total suppression f the trade by other Powers.

And Great Britain herself affixed the crime nd punishment of piracy to British Slave rade; and declared her determination to tinguish the state of slavery throughout the ritish West Indian colonies, and took im- ediate measures for ameliorating the con- itiou of the British slaves, preparatory to neir ultimate freedom.

Chapter the Third.

Efforts of the British Government to effect the entire Extinction of the African Slave Trade.

1830 to 1841.

PORTUGAL.

1830 For some time previously to and after 1830, the Government of Portugal was involved in great internal difficulties; and the British Government on that account abstained from pressing upon it the measures stipulated by the compacts of 1810, 1815, and 1817; according to which Portuguese Slave Trade, restricted immediately by those contracts, was eventually to be entirely suppressed by measures, in which Great Britain was to have a share conjointly with Portugal; those measures being regulated by treaty between the two powers.

1832 On the 13th February, 1832,* however, Lord Palmerston directed the British Agent at Lisbon (Mr. Hoppner) to draw the attention of the Portuguese Government to these

* Papers on Slave Trade, presented to Parliament 1833, p. 10.

stipulations; to point out to them, that the interests of Portugal were no longer connected with the traffic; and to call upon them to issue a Declaration, announcing "the final "and total abolition of the Portuguese Slave "Trade, and their determination to suppress "it according to the terms of the additional "article to the Treaty of 1817."

During a whole twelvemonth, Mr. Hoppner vainly pressed the Portuguese Government to take this step; addressing to them during that period, four official representations in writing on the subject, and speaking to them repeatedly. M. Sampayo verbally assured him, that the wishes of the British Government should be complied with. But nothing was done in accordance with that assurance; and Mr. Hoppner was never able to elicit a written answer.*

On the 26th December, 1832,† Mr. Hoppner was instructed by Lord Palmerston to press the Portuguese Government to agree to a stipulation, for breaking up condemned slave-vessels; the Portuguese Minister verbally

* See his Despatches of March 22nd, and June 23rd, 1832, and January 7th, 1833. Papers presented 1833, Class B., pp. 11 and 13. Papers presented 1834, Class B., p. 8.

† Papers on Slave Trade, presented to Parliament in 1833, p. 15.

offered no objection to the proposal; but on this point also he abstained from giving a written answer.

1834 At length, on the 8th September, 1834,* the difficulties of the Portuguese Government being so much lessened, as no longer of necessity to oppose an obstacle to the fulfilment of their engagements, His Majesty's Minister at Lisbon was instructed by Lord Palmerston to remind the Portuguese Government of the engagement contained in the Convention of 1815, to determine, by a separate Treaty with Great Britain, the time when the trade in slaves should universally cease and be prohibited throughout the Portuguese dominions.

The British Minister was directed also to remind the Portuguese Government, that the time was now come, when His Majesty's Government might fairly call upon them to fulfil that engagement: and he was instructed to propose to them, accordingly, a draft of a Treaty then sent out to him, having for its object the entire suppression of the Portuguese Slave Trade; and he was ordered to bring the negotiation to a conclusion without delay.

Lord Howard acquainted the Portuguese

* Papers on Slave Trade, presented to Parliament in 1835, Class B, p. 16.

Government with this instruction;* but nine months elapsed, before he was able to induce the Portuguese Government to open the negotiation.

The British Government then made the most active efforts, and continued them unremittingly, to procure a conclusion of the Treaty for the Suppression of the Slave Trade. These efforts, however, failed of success.

More than once the negotiation was nearly brought to a satisfactory conclusion; when a change in the Portuguese Ministry took place, and the negotiation was, for a time, suspended.

On the 30th April, 1836,† Lord Palmerston 1836
addressed to the Baron de Moncorvo, Portuguese Minister in London, a note, in which he recapitulated at length the several engagements which the Portuguese Government had contracted with Great Britain upon Slave Trade, from 1807 down to the date of that note, binding Portugal to restrict the trade immediately, and to co-operate with Great Britain in the ultimate abolition of it.

Lord Palmerston shewed in detail, that no single restriction which Portugal had bound herself to impose on the trade had been en-

* Papers on Slave Trade, presented to Parliament in 1836, Class B, pp. 31, 32.

† Ibid. p. 46.

forced by her. He brought forward facts, proving that down to the period when his note was written, the trade existed in all its enormity, under the Portuguese flag, and throughout the Portuguese dominions, even at the very spots where, so early as in 1807, Portugal had engaged to put it down. He stated instances, in which even the Governors of Portuguese settlements were known to be themselves largely concerned in the Slave Trade, and were, nevertheless, permitted by the Government at Lisbon to continue in the exercise of their authority. He reminded the Portuguese Government, that these statements were so incontrovertible, that they themselves had from time to time admitted the facts. He reminded them further, that Portuguese Slave Trade was no longer legal; that Portugal had promised to put it effectually down, in co-operation with Great Britain; and that no national interest could any longer be pleaded, as a motive to the sufferance of the offence, against treaty and against law.

Lord Palmerston, at the conclusion of the note, implored, in Her Majesty's name, the Government of Portugal to redeem the honour of their country, by concluding the long-promised Treaty.

In answer to this note, the Portuguese

Minister admitted, that the facts which Lord Palmerston had dwelt upon were correct.* The Portuguese Minister apologised for the conduct of Portugal, on the ground that the country had been involved in disturbances, and that the Government had been unsettled. He spoke of the Treaty as on the point of being concluded; and, finally, expressed a hope that it would be so effectual, as to take away these just subjects of complaint, on the part of the British Government.

Still, however, the Treaty remained unsigned; and at each successive change in the administration of Portugal, the new ministers, withdrawing from the concessions made by their predecessors as to the contested points of the Treaty, insisted on commencing the whole negotiation anew.

In the autumn of 1836 the negotiation had so far advanced, that one point only remained in dispute; namely, whether Portuguese colonists should be allowed to transport an unlimited number of slaves between the coast of Africa and the Portuguese islands on the coast. The Duke of Palmella, the Portuguese Minister, insisted, that the Portuguese colonists ought not to be limited

* Papers presented 1836, Class B, p. 54.

in the number of slaves they might transport.*

The British Government, however, on the contrary, were impressed with the conviction, that to allow the exportation of an unlimited number of slaves from Africa was but to legalize the Slave Trade.†

The negotiation then broke off by a change of ministry in Portugal; and in December, 1836, the new ministry issued a decree, declaring the final and entire abolition of Portuguese Slave Trade;‡ limiting the number of slaves to be transported by colonists, as previously proposed by the British Government; affixing a series of punishments to Portuguese subjects engaged in Slave trade; and authorizing Portuguese Courts to confiscate ships equipped for Slave Trade, though without slaves on board.§

The execution of that law was confined to Portuguese authorities. Experience had already shewn, how little they were to be depended upon, in enforcing any decree, even for restricting the Trade; and Lord Palmerston pressed therefore the treaty more urgently

* Papers presented 1836-37-38, Class B.

† Ibid.

‡ Hertslett's Treaties, vol. v. p. 415.

§ Papers presented 1836-37-38, Class B.

on Portugal, upon the ground that British cruisers might be enabled to carry into effect that principle which Portuguese law had laid down.* Subsequent events shewed the propriety of this course; and how indispensable such engagements were for the enforcement of the Portuguese law.

Although the decree of December 1836 had, as far as words would go, abolished the Slave Trade of Portugal, no step whatever was taken by its Government for carrying the law into effect. It was neglected in all the colonies; and the Portuguese Governor of Mozambique refused to make it public.†

The British Government remonstrated against these proceedings; and pressed again and again for the conclusion of a Treaty, authorizing British cruisers to put down the Slave Trade under the flag of Portugal. But the Portuguese Ministers could not be brought to conclude the negotiation.‡

Each Portuguese administration, on coming into power, put forward the excuse, that the feeling of the political clubs of Lisbon was in favour of the Slave Trade; and that the Government had not yet attained sufficient consistency to take any decisive step 1837

* Papers presented 1836-37-38, Class B.

† Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

in opposition to that feeling; and that it had to make itself master of the subject: thus the conclusion of the negotiation was delayed; and each administration was removed successively, before it could be brought to sign the Treaty.

In the mean while, the trade, carried on by miscreants of all nations under the fraudulent cover of the Portuguese flag, became a disgrace to Christendom.

Portugal had no colony out of Africa, where slave labour was employed. Portugal, therefore, could not carry on the Slave Trade for the supply of any Trans-Atlantic possessions of her own. Portugal had abolished the Trade throughout her own dominions, and had by law made it highly penal for any of her subjects to be engaged in Slave Trade. But in every one of her colonial dominions in Africa, ships were fitted out for the Trade, slaves were harboured for the traffic, and papers for slave vessels were sold by the authorities. Even in Portugal, and at Lisbon itself, ships were fitted out for Slave Trade; and the Government stood by, and took no step either for the prevention or punishment of those abuses.

The sea was crowded with slave-ships under the flag of Portugal. British cruisers knew

these ships to be owned and manned by the refuse of the most unprincipled adventurers of Europe and America; but the existing Treaties with Portugal did not permit British cruisers to seize such ships; and they pursued their lawless career with impunity

This was felt to be an evil of such magnitude, and such a breach of faith on the part of Portugal, as to call for some energetic course on the part of England, if the Portuguese Government should longer delay to give England, by an additional treaty, power to carry into practical effect that abolition of the Portuguese Slave Trade for which England had paid so large a sum of money, and which Portugal had already proscribed by her own law.

At length, in July 1838,* the British 1838
Government drew up a new draft of a Treaty, embracing such conditions as were absolutely necessary to make the stipulations for abolishing the Slave Trade efficient; and omitting or altering every one of the conditions which had been objected to by Portugal, and were not indispensable for the suppression of the Trade: and the British Government then, through its Minister at Lisbon, intimated to the Portuguese Government, that, after four

* Papers presented 1839, Class B, p. 218, et seq.

years' negotiation of this long-promised Treaty, it felt itself entitled to require a categorical answer, whether Portugal would sign such a Treaty as this or not?

Portugal declined to sign it. The British Government then declared, that if Portugal persisted in that refusal, Great Britain must take into its own hands the attainment of the end contemplated by the separate Article of the 11th September, 1817, namely, the suppression, by British co-operation, of the Portuguese Slave Trade, forbidden by Portuguese law.

The Portuguese Government persisted in its refusal to conclude the Treaty; insinuating at the same time, that Great Britain, in seeking to induce civilized nations to agree to a mutual right of search, and to persuade them to abolish the Slave Trade, aimed at interfering with the independence of their flag, and at paralysing their lawful commerce.

1839 A Bill was then brought into the British Parliament, and, on the 24th August, 1839,* it passed both Houses; authorizing British cruisers to detain all Portuguese vessels supposed to be concerned in Slave Trade; and also authorizing British Vice-Admiralty Courts to condemn such vessels when found guilty of

* Act 2 and 3 Vic. c. 73.

that act, on suspicion of which they had been detained.

That Act has accomplished the purpose intended by it; for its effect has been to sweep the sea almost entirely of Slave Traders under the Portuguese flag.

The Portuguese Government feel sore at the powers exercised under the Act; but are aware it is not merely justified, but was rendered indispensable, by their own conduct. They now, therefore, endeavour to make it appear, that the Act is become no longer needful, since at length they are really desirous to put down the Slave Trade. Within the last twelvemonth, instances have accordingly occurred, in which they have apparently given orders to their colonial authorities to suppress it: and they have more than once recently thrown out to the British Minister at Lisbon hints that they would now be inclined to conclude an efficient Treaty with this country, for the suppression of Portuguese Slave Trade: but their sincerity may still be doubted; for at most of the Portuguese settlements on the African coast, the Slave Trade is still openly carried on; and, although, on each overture of the Portuguese Government to renew the negotiation for a Treaty, the

British Ministry have evinced their readiness to conclude it; each time, as soon as Great Britain expressed that readiness, Portugal either has drawn back from the negotiation of the Treaty, or introduced conditions, which would make the compact utterly inefficient for its declared purpose.

Very recently, the Portuguese Government gave orders, that one of their colonial authorities, justly complained of by the British Government, should be displaced: and Her Majesty's Government, through Lord Aberdeen, has now once more proffered to Portugal to conclude a Treaty with her, with no other conditions in it, than are indispensable for ensuring the fulfilment of, what, in fact, the Portuguese Government state to be already the declared law of Portugal on the subject of Slave Trade: and the British Government has moreover expressed its willingness to submit to Parliament the propriety of repealing the Act of the 2nd and 3rd Vict., cap. 73, so soon as the Crown of Portugal shall have ratified an efficient Treaty, and the Portuguese legislature shall have passed an Act for carrying it into effect.

The negotiations have not as yet advanced towards any thing conclusive upon this subject.

SPAIN.

On the 29th June, 1830,* Lord Aberdeen 1830
instructed the British Envoy at Madrid, to press urgently, that ships fitted up for Slave Trade should be considered liable to capture and condemnation, and to express the disappointment of the British Government, that the orders of the Spanish Government for putting down illegal Slave Trade, were so loose and inefficient, as to give reason for a belief, that the Government was determined to wink at evasions of the Treaty with Great Britain.

On the 24th December, 1830,† Lord Palmerston informed His Majesty's Envoy at Madrid, that every arrival from the Havana brought fresh testimony of the impunity and activity, with which the Slave Trade was carried on in Cuba; and the British Envoy was instructed to press in the most urgent manner on the Spanish Government the conclusion of an Article, authorizing the condemnation of vessels equipped as slavers.

Mr. Addington, then British Envoy at Madrid, failed to obtain an anwser to this representation.

* Papers presented to Parliament, 1831, Class B, p. 8.

† Ibid., p. 14.

1831 On the 26th March, 1831,* Mr. Addington was instructed to state to the Spanish Government that information had reached His Majesty's Government, that the Slave Trade was carried on by Spaniards in an undisguised and lawless manner; and he was desired to press the Spanish Government for a law, declaring Slave Trade to be piracy, for an Article authorizing the condemnation of vessels on account of their equipment as slavers, and for orders to the Governor of Cuba, to enforce the stipulations for the suppression of Spanish Slave Trade.

Mr. Addington † could not obtain a written acknowledgment of the representations which he made on these several points.

On the 26th December, 1832,‡ he was instructed to press the Spanish Government, to allow condemned slave vessels to be broken up. He obtained no written answer to that proposal.

1833 On the 6th June, 1833,§ he was instructed to press again for an answer to all these proposals; and to add, that "His Majesty claims "as a right the faithful and complete fulfil-

* Papers presented to Parliament, 1832, Class B, p. 9.

† Ibid., p. 29.

‡ Ibid., 1833, Class B, p. 9.

§ Ibid., 1834, Class B, p. 2.

"ment of the engagement, entered into by "Spain, to abolish the Slave Trade throughout the entire dominions of the Spanish "Crown." And he was to add, that "hitherto "that engagement was notoriously and flagrantly violated."

No answer was returned to that remonstrance.

On the 9th September, 1833,* and on the 17th March, 1834, Mr. Villiers, then British Envoy in Spain, was desired to press these points on the attention of the Government of that country.

On the 9th September, 1834,† Mr. Villiers stated, that the Spanish minister had at length been brought to acknowledge the right of Great Britain, to claim the faithful execution of the Treaty of 1817; and would sign stipulations requisite for giving effect to that agreement. 1834

No time was lost in sending out a draft of Treaty for the accomplishment of this object. It was sent out to Mr. Villiers on the 6th of the ensuing month.‡

On the 31st December, 1834,§ the Duke of Wellington directed Mr. Villiers to press

* Papers presented to Parliament, 1834, Class B, p. 5; and Papers presented 1835, Class B, p. 9.

† Papers as before, p. 11. ‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid., p. 13, and Papers presented 1836, Class B, p. 2.

the subject on the immediate attention of the Spanish Government; and on the 27th Feb., 1835, the Duke of Wellington repeated that instruction.

1835 On the 10th June, 1835,* Lord Palmerston instructed Mr. Villiers to urge earnestly the conclusion of these negotiations.

At length, on the 28th June, 1835,† after the death of Ferdinand, and when a Constitutional Government had been established in Spain, She concluded with England a Treaty for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, the most efficient for its purpose of any of the Treaties yet concluded in reference to this subject.

First, it gave to the cruisers of each party a right to search and to detain the merchant vessels of the other party all over the world, except in the Mediterranean, the North Seas, and that part of the Atlantic which is adjacent to Europe.

Secondly, it established Mixed Courts of Justice for the adjudication of the detained vessels.

Thirdly, it gave a right to condemn any vessel which should be found with slaves on board, anywhere within the above-mentioned limits.

* Papers presented to Parliament, 1836, Class B, p. 8.

† Hertslett's Treaties, vol. ii., p. 440.

Fourthly, it gave a power to condemn vessels with no slaves on board, when such vessels were found equipped in a specified manner, indicating that they were destined for Slave Trading.

Fifthly, it declared, that vessels condemned shall be broken up and sold as old timber, to prevent their being again employed in Slave Trade.

Sixthly, it provided, that negroes liberated by the Mixed Courts shall be delivered over to the Government to whom the cruiser which made the capture belongs.

Seventhly, it contained stipulations that, within two months after its ratification, the Spanish Government should promulgate a penal law, affixing a severe punishment on all Spanish subjects concerned in infringing the Treaty.

And such are the stringency and efficacy of the several regulations contained in this Treaty, that, although ever since it was concluded, the ingenuity of the Slave Traders has been at work, to evade its operation, they have not, in any instance, been successful; and the consequence is, that since the middle of 1836, when it came into full effect, Slave Trade, under the Spanish flag, appears to have almost ceased.

The following statement will shew its immediate operation.

In the year 1834, the vessels which entered the Havana from Africa, after having landed their cargoes of slaves on the coast of Cuba, amounted to 33.

Of these, vessels having the Spanish flag amounted to - - - - - -	29
Those under the Portuguese flag to - -	3
And those under the French to - - -	1
	—33

1835 In 1835, the vessels thus entering Havana amounted to 50.

Of these vessels, the number which bore the Spanish flag were - - -	42
And those which bore the Portuguese -	8
	—50

1836 In 1836, the vessels entering the Havana under the Spanish flag had diminished again to - - - - - - - 29

While those under the Portuguese had risen to - - - - - - - - - -	14
	—43

1837 But in 1837, the vessels under the Spanish flag had diminished to - - 3

While those under the Portuguese flag had risen to - - - - - - - - -	48
	—51

1838 In 1838, the vessels under the Spanish

flag were only - - - - - - - -	4
The Portuguese - - - - - - - - -	44
The Brazilian - - - - - - - - -	1
And the Russian - - - - - - - -	1
	—50

In 1839, the vessels under the Spanish		1839
flag were but - - - - - - - - -	2	
The Portuguese - - - - - - - - -	29	
And the American - - - - - - - -	6	
	—37	
In 1840, the vessels under the Spanish		1840
flag were - - - - - - - - - -	7	
The American - - - - - - - - -	5	
And the Portuguese - - - - - - -	29	
	—41	

It is to be borne in mind, that the importation of slaves into Cuba still continues; for the Treaty with Spain could only touch vessels under the Spanish flag: and vessels under other flags import surreptitiously slaves into Cuba. The Spanish authorities neglect to carry the Treaty into effect. The Spanish Government has even abstained as yet from promulgating the penal law which, under the 2nd Article of the Treaty, Spain engaged to issue, affixing a severe punishment on Spanish subjects who should infringe it. The execution of the Treaty remains, therefore, with the Mixed Courts of Justice established under the Treaty. Those Courts can only judge the ships which are captured by cruisers acting under the Treaty; yet even under these disadvantages, such is its efficacy, that from year to year the slave-traders of Spain have had more and more difficulty, in carrying on their

illegal operations, for supplying Cuba with slaves: and the rate of insurance on Slave Trade undertakings becomes yearly higher in Cuba, so that now it amounts to no less than 40 per cent.

By the Treaty of the 23rd September, 1817, with Spain, the negroes, taken in vessels captured under that Treaty, were to be located in the colony to which the captured vessel was carried; and the respective Governments gave to each other assurances, that the negroes thus confided to their care should have their liberty. But the Spanish Government did not secure to the negroes in Cuba the liberty intended for them: for those negroes were apprenticed out to individuals, who treated them as slaves; and the British Government vainly remonstrated against this infraction of the Treaty. Lord Palmerston, therefore, on the 30th March, 1840,* urged Spain to agree, that authority should be given to the Mixed Court of Justice at the Havana to summon before them those negroes, to ascertain whether they are substantially free, and to liberate them entirely if they are not, and to send them to a British colony, if they shall desire it.

The Spanish Government, however, have

* Papers presented, 1840, Further Series, Class B, p. 15.

not yet consented to open negotiations for such an arrangement.

The negroes in question amounted originally to about 8,000.

It will be recollected, that by the Treaty of 1835, all the negroes, captured since that Treaty came into operation, are to be delivered over to the Government whose cruiser made the capture: and as the cruisers which have made captures under that Treaty have hitherto invariably been British, the negroes have, in each case, been delivered over to the British Government, and they have uniformly been sent to a British colony; and their liberty has been secured.

But as, contrary to these Treaties, many negroes have been imported clandestinely into Cuba, and sold as slaves, Lord Palmerston further proposed to the Spanish Government, that the Mixed Court of Justice at the Havana should have authority to inquire into the case of these negroes also, and to declare that the negroes so imported, who are slaves, should be set at liberty.

The Spanish Government has not consented to this proposal.

Since Her Majesty's present Ministers have come into administration, Lord Aberdeen has again pressed the Spanish Government

earnestly to do justice to Great Britain, by faithfully executing the stipulations for the suppression of the Slave Trade, and for the protection of the emancipated negroes.

HOLLAND.

1837 On the 7th February, 1837,* Great Britain concluded with Holland an article, stipulating that ships condemned for Slave Trade should be broken up before sale.

Holland has always acted with good faith towards Great Britain in her stipulations on Slave Trade; and though her language as to the question of ultimate emancipation is cautious, it at the same time bespeaks kind sentiments upon the subject, and there is no reason for doubting its sincerity. The stipulations concluded with her have been entirely successful; and no Slave Trade is carried on under the Dutch flag.

The Dutch Government † has, however, recently been engaged in obtaining recruits for their army, by purchases from among the slaves in and near their African settlements. The British Government earnestly pressed the Dutch Government to give up

* Hertslett's Treaties, vol. v. p. 334.

† Papers presented to Parliament, 1840, Class B.

this practice, because the recruits are negro slaves, purchased and carried away from Africa; and because, although the Dutch Government assert, that these negroes are not taken away without their own consent, still the practice is open to abuse, and if abused, deviates into a species of Slave Trade. The Dutch Government expressed much reluctance to abandon the plan; against the abuse of which they gave the strongest assurances that they had provided security. At length, after a protracted correspondence on the subject, the Dutch Government, in the present month of December, 1841, have declared their intention of abandoning the plan altogether, and have confirmed that declaration by a formal Decree to the effect signified.

The British Government* likewise pressed the Dutch Government to authorize the Mixed Commission at Surinam to summon before them negroes already liberated by sentence of the Commission; and to ascertain whether those negroes are substantially free; and if not, to liberate them, and to send them, if they wish it, to a British colony. These negroes amounted originally to 49.

* Papers presented to Parliament, 1840, Further Series, Class B.

The Dutch Government have declined to accede to this proposal, but have promised to order their colonial authorities to take care that the negroes shall be made substantially free.

BRAZIL.

1831 On the 7th November, 1831,* Don Pedro published a Decree, in which he declared that all slaves brought into Brazil should be free; that all persons concerned in the Slave Trade should be liable to fine and corporal punishment, and that slave ships should be confiscated.

1832 On the 12th April, 1832,† Don Pedro published a further Decree, enjoining, that ships arriving at Rio should undergo searches and examinations in order to the due enforcement of the preceding Decree of 1831.

1835 On the 27th July, 1835,‡ Brazil also signed with Great Britain two additional Articles, one authorizing the condemnation of vessels equipped for Slave Trade, and the other authorizing the breaking up of condemned slave vessels.

* Hertslett's Treaties, vol. iv. p. 64. † Ibid. p. 66.

‡ Papers presented to Parliament 1836, Class B., p. 77, and 1839, Further Series, Class B, pp. 14, 361, et seq.

These Articles have not yet been ratified by the Brazilian Legislature.

In spite of the Decrees of Brazil to put down Slave Trade, individual interest has proved in that country stronger than law; and slaves to a great amount have been and continue to be imported into Brazil, by connivance of the subordinate authorities: and every account received from Brazil of the state of the negroes, who had been nominally emancipated by sentence of the Mixed Commission Courts, shows, that in reality they have continued to be slaves. The British Government has repeatedly remonstrated against these practices; but the Brazilian Administrations, partly from a want of authority, partly, as has been alleged, from a disposition to uphold the Trade, omitted to remedy either of the evils complained of down to the end of 1839; when the Government of that time showed a sincere desire to fulfil the existing compacts of Brazil against the Trade, and took measures to enforce its laws against the importation of slaves.

Meantime the British cruisers on the Brazilian coast have within the last few years been more than usually active in efforts to put down the Slave Trade.

Recently the administration of Brazil has

again fallen into other hands. It remains to be seen, whether they will follow up the measures of their predecessors for the suppression of the Slave Trade.

The number of vessels entering Rio from Africa in 1839, was 66.

Since that period the importations have declined. In the half-year ending July, 1840, only four vessels entered Rio from Africa, being not more than one-sixth part of the number which had entered it during the same period in the preceding year.

In the outports the importation may have been extensive, although perhaps not as great as at Rio de Janeiro; but the importation has also decreased at those ports as well as at the capital.

The slaves are chiefly brought in Portuguese ships, and are landed on the coast, without being brought into any port.

1839 On the 27th May, 1839,* the British Government proposed to Brazil additional articles, stipulating, first, that the negroes already taken under the Convention of 1826 should be placed under the direction of a Curator selected by the Mixed Commission, who, under their direction, should see that the negroes receive the real liberty in-

* Papers presented, 1839, Further Series, Class B. p. 141.

tended for them by the Treaty: and, secondly, that the negroes who may be hereafter taken should be consigned to that Government whose cruiser made the capture.

On the 31st December, 1839,* a draft of a short Treaty was proposed to Brazil, under which the suppression of Brazilian Slave Trade within the territories of Brazil was to be left to Brazilian authorities; and the suppression of Brazilian Slave Trade without the territories of Brazil, was to be left to British cruisers.

The Emperor of Brazil having attained his majority, and assumed the reins of Government, the sanction of the Chambers is no longer necessary to the ratification of Treaties: and Her Majesty's Government, in the year 1840, took advantage of that circumstance to press the Brazilian Government to ratify the additional articles† agreed upon in 1835.

The Brazilian Government was not induced to take any one of these steps.

But since Her Majesty's present ministers 1841
have come into administration, the Brazilian Government have made overtures for the conclusion of additional Articles, containing a modification of those signed in 1835; and negotiations are now on foot for providing

* Papers on Slave Trade, presented 1840, Class B, p. 376.

† Papers presented 1840, Further Series, Class B, p. 141.

more effectual means for suppressing Brazilian Slave Trade through the co-operation of Great Britain; and for securing to the negroes who shall be taken, as well as those already captured and emancipated under this Treaty, entire and inalienable freedom.

SWEDEN.

1835 On the 15th June, 1835,* Great Britain signed with Sweden an additional article, stipulating that ships condemned for Slave Trade shall be broken up before sale.

FRANCE.

1831 Notwithstanding the severe Decrees issued in France against the Slave Trade, French subjects carried it on to a large extent down to 1831, when the British Government succeeded in overcoming the jealous feeling which had hitherto prevented the Government of France from conceding to British cruisers a right to search French merchant vessels suspected of Slave Trade. In consequence, on the 30th November, 1831,† France concluded with Great Britain a Convention for the suppression of the Slave Trade, conceding the right of search so long contended
1833 for; and on the 22nd March, 1833,‡ France

* Hertslett's Treaties, vol. iv. p. 481.

† Ibid., p. 109. ‡ Ibid., p. 115.

concluded a Convention, supplementary to that just mentioned, containing the necessary stipulations in detail for the carrying the first mentioned Convention into effect.

By the Convention of 1831 a reciprocal right of search was conceded within certain geographical limits.

These were: — On the north coast of Africa, from 15° north of the equator, to 10° south of the equator; and westward to the 30th degree of longitude west from Paris. Twenty leagues from the coast all round Madagascar; and the same distance round Cuba and Porto Rico, and along the coast of Brazil.

That Convention did not establish Mixed Commissions. The French Government objected to allow its subjects, or their property, to be liable to the jurisdiction of any tribunal not purely French.

Ships and crews, seized under these Conventions, were to be handed over to the Courts of the country under whose flag they had sailed.

By the Convention of 1831, the High Contracting Parties agreed to invite the other maritime Powers to accede to it.

By the Convention of 1833, ships equipped for Slave Trade were to be condemned, and condemned ships to be broken up.

Since those Conventions came into operation, Slave Trade, under the French flag,

entirely disappeared until the present year; when it again showed itself in covering ships fitted out for slaves from Brazil.*

1841 On the 20th December, 1841, however, Lord Aberdeen, on the part of Great Britain, signed a further Treaty with the Plenipotentiaries of France, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, for the more effectual suppression of the Slave Trade. This Treaty extends the right of search, from latitude 32° north to latitude 45° south, and from the longitude of the east coast of America to the 80th degree of longitude east of Greenwich, admitting thus a right of search through the Atlantic, and on the eastern as well as on the western coast of Africa. The ships, as in the Conventions of 1831 and 1833 with France, are to be tried by tribunals of the country to which they belong. They may be condemned on the ground of equipment only, and all condemned ships are to be broken up, unless either of the Governments should take them into its national navy. By the Treaty of 1841, Austria, Prussia, and Russia have declared that Slave Trade is to be considered piracy; and all the maritime Powers of Europe who have not yet concluded treaties in relation to the Trade are, under this Treaty, to be invited to accede to it.

* Despatches from Her Majesty's Envoy and Consuls in Brazil, 1841.

In the early part of this year also, the French Government instituted a Commission for reforming the administration of the colonies with reference to the eventual abolition of slavery, and for preparing a project of law for its abolition throughout the colonies of France. M. Guizot* has declared publicly that he will give the proposed measures his decided support.

Under such circumstances it may be hoped, that the important objects intended to be secured by the Treaty, and to be furthered by the appointment of this Commission, will both be fulfilled. The French Government, with the enlightened minister now at its head, is known to entertain the most liberal views on the subject treated of in this Memoir.

DENMARK.

On the 26th July, 1834,† Denmark concluded with Great Britain and France a Treaty, by which she acceded to the Conven- 1834

* See Moniteur, 7th March, 1841. M. Guizot, "La Commission a deux grandes questions à examiner. Comment on peut parvenir à l'Abolition de l'Esclavage; et comment la réforme du régime économique et de l'administration des colonies doit se lier à l'Abolition de l'Esclavage. . . . Elle continue ses travaux; et il est dans l'intention du Cabinet d'y donner suite. Quand elle aura accompli son travail, le Gouvernement prendra sur les deux questions une resolution qui sera efficace."

† Hertslett's Treaties, vol. iv. p. 87.

tions of 1831 and 1833, between Great Britain and France, in relation to the Slave Trade.

No Slave Trade appears under the Danish flag: and Denmark, which, of all the Powers of Europe, was the first to abandon the Slave Trade, appears to be preparing the way, by wise and liberal regulations in her colonies, for the gradual extinction of slavery in them.

SARDINIA.

1834 On the 8th August, 1834,* Sardinia concluded with Great Britain and France a Treaty, by which she acceded to the Conventions of 1831 and 1833, between Great Britain and France, on Slave Trade.

HANSE TOWNS.

1837 On the 9th June, 1837,† the Hanse Towns concluded with Great Britain and France a Treaty, by which they acceded to the Conventions of 1831 and 1833, between Great Britain and France, on Slave Trade.

TUSCANY.

1837 On the 24th November, 1837,‡ Tuscany concluded with Great Britain and France

* Hertslett's Treaties, vol. iv. p. 384.

† Ibid., vol. v. p. 303.

‡ Ibid., p. 553.

a Treaty, by which she acceded to the Conventions of 1831 and 1833, between Great Britain and France, on Slave Trade.

No vessel under the Tuscan flag has hitherto been found trading in slaves outside the Mediterranean; but the Tuscan flag has of late been used more than once to cover the transport of slaves from Barbary to Constantinople. The Tuscan Government has been urged to give directions for preventing a recurrence of this practice, and has promised to do so.

NAPLES.

On the 14th February, 1838,* Naples concluded with Great Britain and France, a Treaty, by which she acceded to the Conventions of 1831 and 1833, between Great Britain and France, on Slave Trade. 1838

AUSTRIA.

Vessels under the Austrian flag have recently been employed in the carrying of negroes as slaves from Barbary to Turkey; and the British Government has urged the Austrian Government to direct their Consuls to abstain from giving papers to Austrian vessels engaged in this trade.

* Hertslett's Treaties, vol. v. p. 439.

As the slave traders on the southern coast of Africa are now reduced to great straits for a cover to their nefarious practices, it was thought, that they might probably have recourse to the flags of Austria and Prussia, and also, in other instances than had already occurred, to that of Russia. These three Powers were, therefore, invited to accede to the Conventions between Great Britain and France. They declined to do so. But having declared their readiness to enter into a special Treaty with England and France, to the same effect as the Conventions already concluded between these powers, a Treaty was with this view drawn up, based upon the same principles as the Conventions in question, but altered somewhat in its details, with the view of making it more effective.

1840 Conferences on this subject were held between Great Britain and Austria, France, Prussia, and Russia in the year 1840, and again in the summer of 1841. The draft of a Treaty was then submitted for consideration; some alterations were suggested and adopted: the negotiations were not however concluded.

1841 Since Her Majesty's present Government have come into office, the conferences have been renewed, the negotiations on these points followed up, and at length, under the

head of France, this important Treaty was signed on the 20th December, 1841, as already stated.

RUSSIA.

In December, 1835,* the Russian Government issued a circular instruction to Russian Consuls, declaring that slave vessels bearing the flag of Russia, and detained by any cruiser whatever, should in no case have the power to appeal for protection to that flag by which they attempted to cover themselves. 1835

Since that period, however, one vessel, the "Goloubtchick," has been detected carrying on the Slave Trade under the Russian flag. Advantage was taken of that circumstance to invite the Court of Russia to join the general league of civilized Europe against this Trade. But for a considerable time, Russia declined and hesitated. At length, on the 20th December, 1841, she was induced to join the other great Powers of Europe in the union for the suppression of the Trade. 1841

ROME.

On the 3rd December, 1839,† the Pope issued a Bull, containing an eloquent appeal 1839

* Hertslett's Treaties, vol. v. p. 431.

† Papers presented to Parliament 1840, Class C, p. 19.

to the Christian world in favour of the great principles of humanity and justice involved in the subject of the suppression of the Slave Trade. It adverts to the various papal decrees issued from time to time by the predecessors of his Holiness in condemnation of the Slave Trade, and for the mitigation of Slavery. It calls upon Roman Catholics to obey those decrees. It pronounces the carrying of people into bondage to be an act disgraceful to humanity; and it earnestly admonishes all Christians not to be concerned in that baleful practice.

This Bull* has been widely disseminated, by British agency, in all Roman Catholic countries. It is said to have produced in some places a very beneficial effect in inducing men of pious and liberal minds to become decided opponents of the Trade; and to have induced many Roman Catholics, previously engaged in the traffic, to abandon it.

PRUSSIA.

1841 On the 20th December, 1841, Prussia formed one of the High Contracting Parties in the league already mentioned among the five great Powers of Europe for the suppression of the African Slave Trade.

* Papers, Further Series, Class C, pp. 4, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, and Class D, pp. 25, 30, &c.

GREECE.

Within the last year the flag of Greece 1840
has been prostituted to the purpose of carrying slaves for traffic; and Lord Palmerston, on being made aware of the fact, addressed the strongest remonstrances on the subject to the Government of Greece, urging them to take effectual steps for putting down the practice.

The Greek Government was in consequence induced to issue a Decree, forbidding Greek subjects, under a heavy penalty, from engaging in the Slave Trade.

That Government will now, however, be invited to accede to the Treaty concluded by Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, and Russia, for the extinction of the Trade; and it is to be hoped, that it will afford means for effectually preventing any Greek subject or Greek vessel from being in future mixed up with the Trade.

BELGIUM.

The Government of Belgium will likewise be invited, on the part of Her Majesty, to accede to the same Treaty.

HANOVER.

An invitation will also be sent to the King of Hanover to accede to the Treaty.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Upon the conclusion of the Conventions of 1831 and 1833, between Great Britain and France, those Powers joined in a pressing invitation to the United States to unite with them in the league for putting down Slave Trade.*

The United States' President deferred the answer, "until he could ascertain the opinions "of the leading Members of the Legislature." But it was then stated verbally that "the "Government were apprehensive of aggra- "vating the excited feelings of the southern "States;" and that "the jealousy of all the "slave-holders throughout the Union was "roused upon the Government touching in "any shape the question of the Slave Trade:"

1834 and at length, on the 4th October, 1834, a formal reply came from the American Minister for Foreign Affairs, "that an opinion "had been definitely formed, not to make "the United States a party to any Convention "on the subject of the Slave Trade;" and that "it is believed that, by a faithful exer- "tion of its own means of detecting and "punishing those American citizens who "should violate its laws on the subject, "the Government will best perform its duties

* Papers presented 1835, Class B, pp. 84, 87, 91.

" to the people of the United States, and its " obligations to the interests of the world."

But, giving to the United States' Government the credit which is justly due to it, for a faithful exertion of those means, it may here be observed, that they have hitherto failed in putting down entirely American Slave Trade.* And again; if happily, under present circumstances, those means should prove ade-

* See cases in United States' Courts, in 1840, of vessels tried on charges of Slave Trade.

In the case of the United States' vessel, the "Butterfly," the decision of Judge Betts was as follows:—" Upon a careful con- " sideration of the case, I am of opinion, that it is satisfactorily " proved, that the 'Butterfly,' at the time of her arrest, was em- " ployed in the transportation or carrying of slaves from one " foreign place to another within the meaning of the Act of Con- " gress of May 10, 1800. And accordingly I pronounce a decree " of condemnation against her."

In the case of the "Catharine," Judge Betts observed, " The ownership of the vessel is admitted to be in citizens of the United States, the vessel is claimed on the part of those owners, and the vessel was chartered, fitted out, and laden with intent to be employed in Slave Trade, prohibited by the Act of Congress, of May 10, 1800." But the Judge further observed, that, " subsequently to this equipment, and previous to her departure, a contract was made between the American owner and another person, a foreigner, by which the vessel was to be delivered up to that person in Africa. And an 'arrangement' in writing took place on the same day between the American charterer and that third person, by which the vessel was to wear her American character to the coast of Africa, with a view," observed the Judge, "probably to avoid the application of the Treaty between Great Britain and Spain; and that when there she should become Spanish, before her return voyage, lest the officers and crew might be declared pirates, under the Act of Congress of the 15th May, 1820."

The vessel was taken in her outward voyage; and under that circumstance, taking into consideration the character which be-

quate to their declared purpose, they will still apparently leave room for regret, that they do not prevent the unprincipled foreign adventurer from wrongfully using the United States' flag for the purpose of this piratical trade. The Spanish slave traders, being constrained to give up the flag of Spain, have now resorted to the flag of the Union for protection to their traffic: and since the flag of Portugal no longer affords a cover for the Trade, that of the United States has been still more frequently abused to shelter the slave traders from the penalty due to their crimes.

United States' Consuls have also been careless, if not culpable, in giving American papers to vessels destined for the Slave Trade.

1839 Information upon these subjects has repeatedly been communicated by the British

longed to the vessel at that particular time under the arrangement before mentioned, and taking into consideration also the contract for sale, Judge Betts declared his opinion to be, that it was the case of an American vessel built and fitted out for Slave Trade, but actually sold to a foreigner, and employed by him, and that the American statutes did not reach the case; and that the vessel must, therefore, be delivered up to the (American) claimant. But Judge Betts added that the points were of importance and difficulty, and would probably be submitted to the review of the Appellate Courts.

The case having been so submitted, Judge Thompson stated his opinion that the ownership of the vessel on her outward voyage was certainly American, the vessel not having yet arrived at the place where the title was to be transferred: that the vessel became therefore forfeited under the Act of Congress; that the decree of the district court must be reversed; and that a decree of condemnation must be entered: and a decree was entered accordingly.

Government to the Government at Washington; who have expressed their readiness to act upon it. They have sent cruisers 1840
to intercept American slave traders on the African coast, and have instituted in- 1841
quiries into the conduct of their Consular authorities in relation to this subject. But they evince great jealousy in regard to British cruisers interfering with vessels bearing their flag; and unless they devote additional force to the putting down of the traffic, or give other Powers a conditional permission of search and detention, it is to be feared, that it will still be partially carried on under the flag of the Union.

Under this impression Lord Palmerston, on 1839
the 25th June, 1839, instructed the British Minister at Washington to make to the United States' Government a formal representation* on the subject; expressing "a hope "that the United States' Government may "be induced to admit, under certain restric- "tions, a mutual right of search, or else to "devise some other effectual mode of pre- "venting the flag of the Union from being "prostituted to the iniquitous purpose of "Slave Trade."

After Her Majesty's present Ministers came

* Papers on Slave Trade, presented to Parliament, 1840, Class C, p. 122.

into Administration, Lord Aberdeen took the earliest proper opportunity to represent earnestly to the United States' Government the necessity of their adopting a line of conduct, which shall vindicate the Republic from the charge of allowing her flag to cover a trade which her legislature has denounced as piracy.

In the course of correspondence which ensued upon this subject, a misapprehension apparently took place in the conception of Mr. Stevenson, the American Minister, as to what was the extent of the present practice, and what was the nature of the concession proposed, in respect to the conduct of ships of war, meeting on the high seas vessels of a suspicious character.

1841 On this, Lord Aberdeen,* in an official statement to Mr. Everett, the new American Minister, explained the view maintained by the British Government.

He separated the right of visit from the right of search.

He stated, that it was a usual practice for ships of war to "ascertain by visit the real "character of every vessel on the high seas "against which there should exist reasonable "ground of suspicion."

He added, that "we concede this right "as freely as we exercise it;" that it was exer-

* Lord Aberdeen to Mr. Everett, December 20, 1841.

cised by other nations aswell as by ourselves, and " notoriously by American cruisers in the " Gulf of Mexico, upon all suspicious vessels, " whether sailing under the English flag or any " other."

In respect to the exercise of this practice by British ships, when meeting with vessels of a doubtful and suspicious character bearing the American flag, Lord Aberdeen observed, that it was limited to ascertaining, by papers or otherways, the nationality of the vessel visited; and if the vessel visited were ascertained to be American, the vessel visiting her was immediately to quit her, to leave her to pursue her own object, and not to interfere in any manner with her destination, whether that destination were one for Slave Trade or otherwise.

But the right of search was distinct and additional: it " extended," as Lord Aberdeen apprehended, " to the object of the voyage," and " extended" also " to the nature of the cargo;" and Lord Aberdeen " renounced, as he had " already done, in the most explicit terms, any " right on the part of the British Government " to search American vessels in time of peace. " The right of search, except when specially " conceded by Treaty," said Lord Aberdeen, " is a purely belligerent right, and can have " no existence on the high seas during peace."

With reference to the immediate subject of the negotiation, Lord Aberdeen observed, that it had been for the United States to decide, whether or not they would enter into an agreement for a mutual concession of a qualified right of search, for the sole purpose of putting down the unhallowed Trade in Slaves; and in conclusion upon this point, Lord Aberdeen observed he could only say, he should rejoice to see the United States in an alliance for that purpose assume their proper place among "the great powers of Christendom, foremost in "power, wealth, and civilization, and connected "together in the cause of mercy and justice."

HAYTI.

1839 On the 23rd December, 1839, Hayti concluded with Great Britain a Treaty, by which she acceded to the Conventions of 1831 and 1833, between Great Britain and France, on Slave Trade: and she has expressed herself anxious to concur with Great Britain in any measures which may conduce to the abolition of the Trade.

TEXAS.

1840 On the 16th November, 1840, the Plenipotentiary of Texas signed a Treaty with Great Britain respecting the Slave Trade, containing stipulations nearly similar to those which were concluded with France in 1831 and 1833.

This Treaty has not been ratified by the State of Texas, although the time within which the ratifications were to be exchanged has passed by. The term has, however, been extended to August next.

MEXICO.

On the 14th February, 1841, the Plenipo- 1841
tentiaries of Great Britain and Mexico signed a Treaty by which the Slave Trade of Mexico was stamped with the character of piracy, and right was given to British cruisers to search Mexican vessels suspected of being slavers, and to send them to Mexican tribunals, by which they are to be condemned if concerned in or fitted up for the Slave Trade; the vessels condemned are to be broken up before sale, and the negroes are to be consigned to the Government whose cruiser made the capture.

This Treaty has not yet been ratified by the Legislative Chambers of Mexico; but Lord Aberdeen has instructed Her Majesty's minister in Mexico to press its ratification.

NEW GRENADA.

A Treaty in relation to the Slave Trade, 1841
nearly the same as that with Spain, has been

proposed to the Government of New Grenada.

The civil wars in that country have prevented the prosecution of the negotiation; but Lord Aberdeen has now urged the conclusion of the Treaty.

VENEZUELA.

1839 On the 15th March, 1839,* Great Britain concluded with Venezuela a Treaty, by which right was given to British cruisers to search and detain Venezuelan vessels suspected of being engaged in the Slave Trade. The detained vessels are to be tried by national tribunals, and if found with slaves on board, or equipped for the Trade, are to be condemned. Vessels condemned are to be broken up before sale, and the negroes on board are to be delivered over to the British Government.

THE EQUATOR.

1841 A Treaty† similar to that concluded with Spain, in relation to the Slave Trade, was some time ago proposed to the Government

* Hertslett's Treaties, vol. v. p. 564.

† See Papers on Slave Trade presented to Parliament, 1840, Class D, p. 45.

of the Equator. It was favourably received. Circumstances have, however, created a delay and interruption in the negotiations, but the British Chargé d'Affaires has recently been directed to resume them.

PERU AND BOLIVIA.

On the 5th June, 1837,* a Treaty was 1837
concluded between Great Britain and the Confederation of Peru-Bolivia, the 14th Article of which contained the following stipulation:

"The Government of the Peru-Bolivian
"Confederation engages to co-operate with
"His Britannic Majesty for the total abolition
"'of the Slave Trade, and to prohibit all per-
"sons inhabiting within the territories of
"the Peru-Bolivián Confederation, and subject
"to their jurisdiction, in the most effectual
"manner, and by the most solemn laws, from
"taking any share in such trade."

Since Peru separated from Bolivia, the British agent in the former has been directed to open a negotiation for a Treaty with that republic, on the basis of the Treaty of 1835 with Spain: but the Peruvian Government, alleging that the constitution of Peru does not authorize Treaties with any other

* Hertslett, vol. v. p. 390.

States than those of America, declined to enter into the proposed negotiation.

By an account from Peru, it appears that an effort is making in that country to obtain once more the formal admission of slaves into the republic with a legalized Slave Trade. Upon receiving that information, the British minister lost no time in remonstrating in strong language against the adoption of the intended measure, urging at the same time the Peruvian Government to negotiate with Great Britain the proposed Treaty: and Lord Aberdeen, in desiring that this remonstrance shall be repeated, and that the Government of Peru shall again be urged to conclude the proposed Treaty, has signified the expectation of Great Britain, that at any rate, until such Treaty is completed, Peru shall adhere strictly to the stipulations to which she is bound by the Treaty of 1837 with the Peru-Bolivian Confederation, to prohibit the Slave Trade in the most effectual manner, and by the most solemn laws.

BOLIVIA.

On the 25th September, 1840, Bolivia signed with Great Britain a Treaty on the subject, nearly to the same effect as that between Great Britain and Spain.

CHILE.

On the 19th January, 1839, Great Britain concluded with Chile a Treaty nearly similar to that with Spain; but the Chilian Chambers declined to ratify the Treaty, because it was not limited as to duration; and the British Plenipotentiary subsequently signed with the Chilian Government a Convention, limiting its duration to ten years. The British Government, however, declined to ratify that Convention; and pressed the Chilian Government to ratify the original Treaty without affixing a limit to its duration. 1839

By a communication recently received, it appears that the British Plenipotentiary has at length succeeded in inducing the Chilian Government to agree to the unlimited duration of the Treaty, and its principal stipulations; and that a Convention to that effect was signed on the 7th August, 1841, and has received the approval of the Chilian Legislature.

THE ARGENTINE CONFEDERATION.

On the 24th May, 1839, the State of Buenos Ayres, now called the Argentine Confederation, concluded with Great Britain a Treaty for the suppression of Slave Trade, 1839

containing stipulations similar to those contained in the Treaty of 1835 with Spain.

URUGUAY.

1839 On the 13th July, 1839, the Plenipotentiary of Great Britain signed with the Plenipotentiary of the State of Monte Video, now called the Republic of Uruguay, a Treaty for the suppression of the Slave Trade, having stipulations in it similar to those contained in the Treaty of 1835 between Great Britain and Spain.

But a delay occurred in the ratification of this Treaty on the part of the legislature of Uruguay. Lord Palmerston, therefore, and subsequently Lord Aberdeen, directed the British Plenipotentiary to press for the completion of this act. By accounts very recently received, the Uruguay Government have promised to ratify it; and it is to be expected, that by this time the Uruguay ratification has been exchanged against that of Great Britain.

GREAT BRITAIN.

During the period treated of in this Section many Addresses were carried up by the Parliament to the Throne, urging the prosecution of negotiations with Foreign Powers for

the general and total abolition of the Slave Trade.

Petitions * also crowded the tables of both Houses, praying the entire emancipation of the negroes throughout the British West Indian colonies.

And numerous Associations † sprang up throughout the kingdom, earnest for the completion of those objects.

On the 13th July, 1830,‡ on the eve of 1830 a dissolution of Parliament, Mr. Brougham called the attention of the House of Commons to the subject of the petitions before the House. He stated cases of cruelties and oppression practised by the planters on their negro slaves. He showed the little protection as yet afforded to the negroes by the laws. He proved, by papers before the House, the lax and reluctant execution even of those few protecting laws. He besought the House not to separate without a solemn pledge which should bind their successors to do their duty to this helpless portion of their fellow-subjects. He called to the recollection of

* Journals of Lords and Commons.

† Among the more recent of these, composed of individuals the most eminent in advocating those objects, are a "Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade and Civilization of Africa;" and a "British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, for the Abolition of Slavery and Slave Trade throughout the World."

‡ Hansard's Parliamentary Debates.

the House the memorable warning given thirty years ago by Mr. Canning:—"Have "a care how you leave to the owners of "slaves the task of making laws against "Slavery. While human nature remains "the same, they never can be trusted with "it." He said, the axiom had been proved to be true by the experience of every day, since Mr. Canning uttered it. He brought forward the fact, that in six years, between 1818 and 1824, the slave population of the British West Indies had decreased five per cent., while the free black population, in the same space of time, had increased eighteen per cent.: he attributed the decrease to the evils of slavery; and he concluded by moving, "That this House will, "at the earliest practicable period in the "next Session, proceed to take into consi-"deration the state of slavery in the colonies "of this country, with a view of mitigating "and abolishing the same, and more especi-"ally with a view to amending the adminis-"tration of justice in the said colonies."*

Lord Morpeth seconded the motion.

Mr. Peel, now Sir R. Peel, observed in answer, that the proposed Resolution pledged the House to a final step, first, without

* Parliamentary Debates—Journals of the House.

stating the manner in which that final step was to be brought about; and, secondly, without saying anything as to compensation for the losses which might be sustained in consequence of it. He said, that he looked upon the existence of slavery in the British colonies, as a blot which still rested on the national character: and arguing with the slave, as to the right by which we held him, he had no reply to give: but arguing with the West India proprietor, as to the effect which the abolition of Slavery must have upon his property, he felt the proprietor had a claim to compensation. When, therefore, slavery should be put down in the British colonies, he trusted the Legislature would show that, in its zeal for humanity, it did not forget the interests of proprietors, or omit to consider the effect which the step would have upon the condition of the slaves themselves. In so thin a House (there were only 83 members present), at the close of the Session, on the eve of dissolution, and with no particulars of the proposed measure before them, he hoped, while he concurred in the great principle involved in the Resolution, that Mr. Brougham would see, this was not a proper occasion to press the House to a division upon the subject.

Mr. Brougham persisting in his motion, it was lost by a majority of 29, the number for it being 27 and against it 56.

1831 On the 15th April, 1831, Mr. Fowell Buxton called the attention of the House to the same subject; and, marking the decrease in the slave population, as compared with the free-coloured population in the West Indies, he brought forward facts to prove that the forced labour in the sugar colonies was the cause of it. He concluded by moving that, "in the Resolutions of the 15th May, 1823, "this House recognised the evils of colonial "slavery, and the duty of taking measures "for its ultimate abolition; that during the "eight years which have since elapsed, the "Colonial Legislatures have not taken those "measures, and that this House will proceed "forthwith to consider and adopt the means "of effecting its abolition throughout the "British empire."

A debate ensued; but it was adjourned without coming to any decision in that session.

At this period, a large majority of the thinking part of the people of England appear to have been desirous to see the entire abolition of slavery in the British dominions; though a certain number of persons, partly from interest, partly on the ground of expediency,

were still in favour of a state of mitigated slavery in the colonies. There seemed, however, to be an universal conviction that the colonies could not be brought to undertake voluntarily the course which had been impressed upon them in the Parliamentary Resolutions of 1823, and that if Parliament were determined to carry them into effect, it must itself adopt measures adequate to the end in view.

On the 4th May, 1832, Mr. Buxton again addressed the House on the subject. He dwelt on the oppression which under law and practice was suffered by the negroes in the British West Indies; and he moved for a select committee to consider and report on the measures, which it might be expedient to adopt for effecting the extinction of slavery throughout the British dominions. 1832

Mr. Macaulay seconded the motion; observing that Mr. Fox, who of all British statesmen was perhaps the most ardent for political liberty, had observed on this question, that all political liberty was as a mere shadow compared with personal liberty.

The committee was appointed; Mr. Buxton was one of it.

On the 11th August, in the same year, the Report was presented.

1833 On the 19th March, 1833, Mr. Buxton rose again to address the House; but he was answered, that the Government itself was preparing a plan to compass the intended and decided object of the extinction of slavery throughout the British West Indian colonies.

On the 14th May,* following, Mr. Secretary Stanley, now Lord Stanley, rose to submit to the House that plan. He prefaced it with a comprehensive speech, in which he referred to the sentiments of the distinguished statesmen, who had originally in that House proposed the Abolition of the Slave Trade; showing that "The "gradual abolition of slavery remained upon "their minds, and was distinguishable in the "expression of their feelings in the debates "of that day, as necessarily and inseparably "connected with that preliminary step of the "abolition of the Slave Trade." He quoted on this point the words of Mr. Canning, Mr. Burke, Mr. Fox, Mr. Wilberforce, and Lord Grenville. He alluded to the Resolutions of Mr. Canning in May, 1823. To the passage in Mr. Burke's letter to Mr. Dundas, that "He "was convinced the true origin of the Slave "Trade was not in the place it began at, but "in the place of final destination." To the declaration of Mr. Fox in 1806, "that the abo-

* Hansard's Debates.

" lition of Slave Trade would lead to the aboli-
" tion of Slavery." To the sentiment uttered by Lord Grenville, in the House of Lords, in 1807, showing that he also looked forward to the same result.

He said the Resolutions of Mr. Canning in 1823 were warnings to the colonies to do their part towards this object. That the warning had been disregarded by the Colonial Legislatures; that they had not done their part. " They had done nothing which
" could give to their enactments the remotest
" possibility of being calculated to work out
" the freedom of a single slave."

He observed that Mr. Canning had expressed regret at their conduct; anxiety at it; indignation at it; but had urged " the adoption of
" the slow and silent course of authoritative
" admonition, until, every other remedy fail-
" ing to stay the evil, real and demonstrable
" necessity should justify the Government to
" moot the awful question of the transcen-
" dental power of the British Parliament over
" every dependency of the British Crown."

Mr. Stanley then, reminding the House that recommendation, advice, exhortation, and warning had been used in vain, declared the general conviction, that it was now become the duty of the British Legisla-

ture no further to suffer the evil; no longer to defer the hope; but to take the task into its own hands, and itself to apply the remedy.

He then moved, that immediate and effectual measures be taken for the entire abolition of Slavery throughout the British colonies, under such provisions for regulating the condition of the negroes as may combine their welfare with the interests of the proprietors. Fifteen millions sterling were to be granted by way of loan to provide against the losses of proprietors; and the slaves were to be in a state of apprenticeship for twelve years, during three-fourths of which they were to work for their masters without wages. A protracted debate in committee ensued. Some of the details were modified; the fifteen millions loan was converted into twenty millions gift; the term of apprenticeship was shortened; and the conditions of it made more favourable to the slave. The Resolutions were adopted; and, on the 5th July, Lord Stanley brought in a Bill for carrying them into effect. The Bill passed through both Houses, and on the 28th August, 1833,* received the Royal sanction.

This Act was intituled "An Act for the "Abolition of Slavery throughout the British

* Act 3 and 4 Will. IV. cap. 73.

"Colonies; for promoting the industry of the "manumitted slaves; and for compensating "the persons hitherto entitled to the services "of such slaves." It declared, that from the 1st day of August, 1834, all persons held in slavery in any British Colony should be free; and that from that period slavery should be "utterly and for ever abolished "throughout the British Colonies, Plantations, "and Possessions abroad." By special provisions in that Act the prædial slaves in British colonies were to remain as free apprenticed labourers four years, and the non-prædial slaves six years, previously to receiving entire manumission; and four months longer in each case, if at the Cape of Good Hope, and six months, if at the Mauritius: and twenty millions sterling were granted by the House of Commons "towards compensating the per-"sons entitled to the services of the slaves to "be set free by virtue of that Act."

The territories of the East India Company, the Island of Ceylon, and St. Helena, were entirely exempted from the operations of this Act.

But in the same Session of Parliament, al- 1833
lusion was made to the state of slavery in the British East Indies; and in an Act, called the

New Charter Act* for the East India Company, brought in by Mr. Charles Grant, now Lord Glenelg, a provision was introduced, prescribing to the Governor-General to take forthwith into consideration the means of mitigating the state of slavery, of ameliorating the condition of slaves, and of extinguishing slavery throughout His Majesty's Indian territories, so soon as such extinction should be practicable and safe.

In the period between 1830, and 1841, Great Britain obtained from Spain an efficient Treaty for the suppression of the Slave Trade under the Spanish flag. Under that Treaty, ships are condemned on account of equipment only, and are broken up when condemned; and the negroes, who, under the former Treaty, were in reality continued slaves, though nominally freed, are now delivered over to the care of the British Government; and their freedom is secured. Hence the flag of Spain no longer affords a shelter to the criminal undertakings of her slave-traders.

Great Britain likewise in this period contracted with the Netherlands, and with

* Act 3 and 4 Will. IV. c 85. s. 88. August 28, 1833.

Sweden, stipulations for breaking up condemned slave-vessels.

Great Britain in that period also obtained from France, three Conventions, one in 1831, one in 1833, and one on the 20th December, 1841, giving right of search and detention. The vessels detained under these Conventions are tried by tribunals of the country to which the detained vessel belongs; and the detained vessels may be condemned, on the ground of equipment only; and condemned vessels are to be broken up. The last of these Conventions extends the exercise of the right of search to ample limits. The carrying on of any Slave Trade under the flag of France may now, therefore, be considered as nearly impracticable.

Austria, Prussia, and Russia, conjointly with France, have signed a Treaty with Great Britain, declaring, on the part of the three first-mentioned Powers, Slave Trade to be piracy, stipulating the mutual co-operation of the five Powers for the suppression of the Trade, and embracing provisions for the exercise of the right of search, for the condemnation of vessels on the ground of equipment only, and for the breaking up of condemned vessels.

Great Britain also during this period con-

cluded Treaties with Denmark, Sardinia, the Hanse Towns, Tuscany, and Naples, by which these Powers have acceded to the Conventions of 1831 and 1833 between Great Britain and France respecting the Slave Trade; and thus an effectual check is put to the attempts of slave-traders to shelter themselves under the flags of these several Powers.

With Hayti a Treaty of accession has been concluded to the same effect; and Texas has signed with Great Britain a Convention similar to those between Great Britain and France.

In this period Great Britain also concluded Treaties for the suppression of the Slave Trade with Mexico, Venezuela, Bolivia, Chile, and the Argentine Confederation: and under these Treaties Great Britain is armed, for the suppression of the trade, with nearly the same powers conceded to her by Spain under the recent efficient Treaty.

And Great Britain herself finally extinguished Slavery throughout her West Indian and other colonies, granting twenty millions sterling to the proprietors, for the loss of the use of their slaves: at the same time that she farther provided for the amelioration of the condition of slaves, and the gradual extinction of Slavery, throughout her East Indian possessions.

SUMMARY.

Result of Proceedings stated in the preceding Sections.

1841.

THE present state of the African Slave Trade, as exhibited in this Memoir, is as follows:—

Every Power in Europe, and every civilized Power in America, has now denounced the Slave Trade as criminal, and has formally interdicted the practice thereof within its dominions by its subjects, and under its Flag.

EUROPE. TREATIES.

Great Britain has concluded Treaties with every Power in Europe having a maritime Flag, except Belgium, Greece, and Hanover, giving means for suppressing entirely the Trade, already condemned by the contracting parties. And Belgium, Greece, and Hanover, will now be invited to accede to the Treaty recently concluded by the five great Powers of Europe; and there are no grounds for supposing, that any of the three Powers to be invited will decline to give the proposed accession.

The Treaties which Great Britain has concluded for this purpose with Spain, Holland, and Sweden, give British cruisers authority to search and detain, within large limits, the vessels of those Powers suspected of being engaged in the Trade. Provision is made by these Treaties for the establishment of Tribunals,* composed of

* Since the year 1819, Mixed Tribunals have been established at Surinam under Treaty with the Netherlands, at Rio de Janeiro under Conventions with Portugal and Brazil, at the Havana under the Treaties with Spain, and at Sierra Leone under the Treaties and Conventions with all those four Powers.

At Surinam, under the Treaty with the Netherlands, one vessel only has been tried; it was condemned in the year 1823, but since that period no instance of Dutch Slave Trade has occurred.

At Rio de Janeiro, under the Conventions, first, with Portugal, and afterwards with Brazil, 23 vessels have been tried up to the end of the year 1840—10 of them in the year 1840; and of these 23 vessels, 16 have been condemned, and 7 have been liberated.

At the Havana, under the Treaties with Spain, 48 vessels have been tried, up to the end of the year 1840—one of them only in the year 1840. Of these 48 vessels, 43 have been condemned, and 5 have been liberated.

At Sierra Leone, under Treaties with all the four Powers just mentioned, there have been 425 vessels judged up to the end of the year 1840. Of these vessels 403 have been condemned, and 22 have been liberated.

Up to the end of the year 1840 there have been only 49 negroes brought in to be adjudged by the Mixed Court of Justice established at Surinam. These 49 negroes were all liberated. 2,700 negroes have been liberated by sentence of the Mixe Tribunals at Rio de Janeiro; 10,164 negroes have been liberated

subjects of both the contracting parties, to try the vessels detained under the Treaties; and they contain stipulations, that the detained vessels shall be condemned, whether engaged in the Trade or equipped for it only, and shall be broken into pieces as soon as condemned.

The Treaties which Great Britain has concluded with France, Austria, Prussia, Russia, Denmark, Sardinia, Tuscany, Naples, and the Hanse Towns, give authority to British cruisers to search and detain vessels of these Powers, within narrower limits, and contain stipulations for condemning vessels engaged

by the Mixed Tribunal at the Havana; and 59,351 negroes have been liberated by the Mixed Tribunals at Sierra Leone. The total of the negroes emancipated by the Mixed Tribunals under the Treaties between Great Britain and those four Powers is 72,264.

The Returns from the Vice-Admiralty Courts established in 1839, by the Act 2nd and 3rd Victoria, c. 73, for the Suppression of Portuguese Slave Trade, have not yet been completed. But from the accounts received, it appears that in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Sierra Leone 10 vessels were condemned under that Act in the year 1840, and 15 in the year 1841. That at St. Helena, up to August 24th, 1841, there had been 19 vessels condemned; at the Cape, up to December, 1840, there had been 20 vessels condemned; at Barbadoes, up to the 25th June, 1841, there had been one vessel condemned, making a total of 65 vessels; and that from these vessels 41 slaves had been emancipated at Sierra Leone, 1172 at St. Helena, and one at Barbadoes, making a total of 2955 slaves emancipated.

in or equipped for the Trade, and for breaking up condemned slave-vessels; but instead of Mixed Tribunals, these Treaties stipulate, that the ordinary tribunals of each country shall try the vessels belonging to it detained under the Treaties.

The Treaty, which Great Britain concluded with Portugal, gives British cruisers the right to search and detain Portuguese vessels suspected of being engaged in the Trade, and provides for the establishment of Mixed Commissions for trying the vessels detained: but the right of detention is so confined, as to space and circumstance, and the authority to condemn is so restricted by conditions, that the Treaty is inefficient to its end.

Portugal engaged to conclude a Treaty with Great Britain, giving powers adequate to the entire suppression of the Portuguese Slave Trade, which had already been declared illegal by the Portuguese Government: but she has declined to fulfil the engagement she contracted to this effect; and the British Parliament has passed an Act, under which British cruisers are authorized to capture, and British Courts of Admiralty to condemn, Portuguese vessels found anywhere engaged in the Slave Trade, "in the same

"way, as if such vessels and the cargoes "thereof were the property of British "subjects."

Negotiations have again, however, been renewed between Great Britain and Portugal, with a view to effect, by mutual and friendly co-operation, the entire and final suppression of the Portuguese African Slave Trade.

With Spain also, and with the Netherlands, Great Britain is pursuing a negotiation, for ensuring, beyond power of evasion, liberty to negroes emancipated by the Mixed Commissions: and with Spain a further negotiation for obtaining liberty for negroes which slave traders may have succeeded in importing into Spanish Colonies, contrary to the professions of Spain, and to the laws existing in the Colonies.

AMERICA. TREATIES.

Great Britain has signed Treaties with every Power in America, excepting the United States, the Equator, New Grenada, and Peru, giving to her the authority, necessary for suppressing the Slave Trade, under the flags of the Contracting Parties to the Treaties.

Of the four Powers in America with which Great Britain has not yet signed Treaties for the suppression of the Slave Trade, the United States have declared Slave Trade to be piracy, and are themselves taking means to suppress it: with the other three Powers Great Britain is endeavouring to negotiate Treaties, giving means for the effectual suppression of the Trade which might be carried on under their Flag. And it is earnestly to be hoped, that the United States also will at length waive so much of their ancient jealousy on the subject of their Flag, as to allow them to become a party to the now almost universal league against this Trade.

The Treaties, which Great Britain has concluded with Brazil, with Bolivia, and with the Argentine Confederation, and the Treaties signed with Chile and with the Republic of Uruguay, give to British cruisers a right to search and to detain, within a space sufficiently extensive, the vessels of those Powers suspected of carrying on the Trade, and provide for the establishment of Mixed Tribunals for trying the vessels detained. The Treaties with the last four Powers contain also stipulations for condemning vessels on account of

their equipment, and for breaking up the vessels when condemned. But these two last-mentioned stipulations, though agreed to by the Brazilian Plenipotentiaries in 1835, have not been ratified by the Brazilian Legislature.

The Treaties with Bolivia, Uruguay, Chile, and the Argentine Confederation further contain a stipulation, that the negroes captured are to be confided to the Power whose cruiser captured them; and a negotiation is carrying on with Brazil for a provision to the same effect.

The Treaties, which Great Britain has concluded with Venezuela and Hayti, and the Treaties signed with Mexico and Texas, give to British cruisers a right to search and detain, within sufficient space, the vessels of those Powers suspected of being engaged in the Trade; and contain stipulations for condemning vessels on account of their equipment, and for breaking up the vessels when condemned.

The vessels, detained under these Treaties, are to be tried by tribunals of their own country.

The Treaties with Mexico and Venezuela further contain a stipulation, that the negroes taken are to be sent to a British colony; and

the Treaties with Texas and Hayti contain a stipulation that the negroes taken are to be confided to the Government whose cruisers made the capture.

IMPORTATION OF SLAVES.

Fifty years ago the Trade in Slaves constituted an open and acknowledged branch of the traffic of all maritime powers; their ships might carry negroes, as slaves, into any place throughout the vast continent of America, from north to south, and into every island in the West Indies, without any limitation as to the supply, other than what the demand might suggest; and they obtained negroes, as slaves, from whatever part of Africa their vessels chose to frequent, without any restriction on their undertakings, excepting what a computation of expectant profits might produce.

At present every maritime power in Europe and America has renounced the Trade. Slaves are not allowed by law to be imported from Africa into any civilized state of Christendom.

Slaves are no longer imported even clandestinely from Africa, into any part of the

United States of North America, nor into any of those States which formerly belonged to Spain, either in North or South America, excepting, perhaps, as yet, to a small degree, in Texas. They are no longer imported either into English, or French, or Dutch Guyana; or into any of the English, French, Dutch, Swedish, or Danish possessions in the West Indies.

The only parts of the Western World where they still, though illegally, continue to be imported, are the Spanish Islands of Cuba and Porto Rico; and those Provinces of South America which formerly belonged to Portugal; and the Islands of Cape Verd, St. Thomas, and Princes, belonging to Portugal, on the Coast of Africa.

For the purpose of this illicit importation of slaves, the flags of Spain, Brazil, Portugal, and the United States, are used; and there is at present no African Slave Trade towards the western parts of the globe, under any other flag than those four, excepting a few recent instances under the French flag from Brazil. Most of the vessels under these flags are really the property of Spaniards and Brazilians, who obtain, through the corruption of Portuguese authorities or the laxity of American agents, papers which enable them

to assume the flag of Portugal or of the United States.

Not only has humanity gained by the entire cessation of Slave Trade for the supply of large and numerous colonies where negro labour is still employed, but it has benefited by a great diminution in the number of slaves imported into countries where their importation is still connived at.

This is strikingly proved by the recent Reports from those countries.

CUBA.

It appears from returns of the custom-house of Cuba, that during the period of the late war, from 1791 to 1816, the number of slaves legally imported into Cuba amounted to 138,000. The number illegally imported was supposed rather to exceed that amount, making a total of 300,000 for the whole period, or about 11,000 a year. After the general Peace, the importations became greater, partly from the revival of commerce in Cuba, and partly from the apprehensions produced by the Article concluded in 1814, that the Spanish Government would shortly conclude a definitive Treaty for the prohibition of the Trade.*

* See Report of the Council of the Indies to the King of Spain on the question of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, 1816.

In 1817-18-19, and 20, there were 79,084 legally imported, and it is supposed at least the same number smuggled.*

This would give 156,178 for the four years, or 39,000 a year.

In 1821, on the imperfect Treaty coming into operation, a momentary check took place in the importation.*

But the slave traders contrived to evade the operation of that compact; and the number of slaves imported for the next fifteen years was still nearly 40,000 a year.*

But ever since the Treaty of 1835 came into operation, the diminution of slaves imported has been marked and gradual, and is become more striking every year.

By a particular and detailed Report from Her Majesty's Commissioners at the Havana, for the year 1840, it appears that although in Cuba new sugar plantations are yearly laid down for cultivation, and although the sugar trade of Cuba has increased, so much that more sugar is exported from that island than would supply the whole demand of Great Britain, still the number of slaves imported into Cuba is yearly and strikingly decreasing.

* See Report from the Havana Commissioners in Papers presented to Parliament.

In 1838, the number of slaves imported had decreased to 28,000.

In 1839, the number imported was only 25,000; and in 1840, the number had further diminished to 14,470, which were thus divided:—

To the Havana	10,104	
Matanzas - -	1,650	
St. Jago - - -	500	
Smaller Ports -	2,200	
		14,470

So that the number of slaves imported into Cuba in 1840 was only half the number imported in 1838, and only about one-third the number imported before the Treaty of 1835 came into operation.

BRAZIL.

In Brazil the recent diminution in the importation of slaves appears to be still more striking than in Cuba.

By returns from the British functionaries in Brazil, it appears that in 1838 the importation of slaves into Rio de Janeiro and the immediate neighbourhood was reported to have been 47,000.

It is estimated that the number of slaves imported at Pernambuco, Bahia, Pará, and

other places along the coast, equals in the whole the number of slaves imported into the capital and its neighbourhood; so that the total of slaves supposed to be imported into Brazil in 1838 amounted to 94,000.

In 1839, according to the same authority, 28,000 slaves only were imported into Rio de Janeiro. Following up the same calculation as before for the out-ports, the whole amount of slaves imported into Brazil in 1839 may be estimated at 56,000.

But, in the year 1840, by accounts from the same quarter, it appears that only 7122 were imported into Rio; and the diminution at the out-ports was even still more marked; for at Pará, during the last half-year of 1840, not one slave was imported. So that taking for the out-ports the same importation as for the capital, too much will probably be taken; and yet, upon this calculation, only 14,244 slaves were imported into Brazil during the year 1840; so that in 1839 the importation of slaves had diminished upwards of one-third since the preceding year, and in 1840 the number imported was only rather more than one-fourth part of those imported in 1839, and not one-sixth of the number imported in 1838.

The diminution in the importation of

slaves does not, however, arise from a slackening in the demand for them, for in Porto Rico a newly-imported negro used to sell for 200 dollars; the price now is 450 dollars. In Cuba such negroes sold in 1821 for 100 dollars; the price now varies from 425 to 480 dollars. In Brazil a newly-imported negro used to sell for 100 milreis; the price now is 400 milreis.

The returns which the British Commissioners have given of importations of Slaves into Cuba and Brazil can only be looked on as the nearest approximations which could be obtained as to the truth of facts, of which, being contrary to the laws, no official relation could be procured; and the diminution marked in the recent importation of slaves into Brazil and Cuba, though to be viewed with satisfaction, cannot be taken as certain indications of the progressive and ultimate suppression of the Trade, till the Governments of those countries become strenuously earnest in putting down that Trade, or till its extinction be forced upon them by more imperious circumstances.

But this is not all. A voice is rising up even in Cuba against slave labour and the slave trade, in favour of free labour and of humanity.

The slave dealers, the local merchants, and the Government, it is true, are yet in favour of the trade: they all profit by it. But the old planters are averse to it, because they wish not to have new rivals in new estates. The Creoles, who are in large numbers, are universally against it; and the liberal part of the community, who form a very considerable portion of the higher class of society among the whites, are loud against it.*

Free labour is encouraged. A body of 660 free labourers were imported in 1840 from Catalonia.

* According to a recent report from Her Majesty's Commissioners at the Havana, the population of Cuba consists at present of 1,100,000.

Of these the coloured part are . .	660,000
The white part are . . .	440,000
Total . .	1,100,000
Of the coloured part there are slaves .	498,000
Free	162,000
	660,000
Whites	440,000
Free coloured	162,000
Total free . .	602,000

So that the proportion of coloured to white is as 3 to 2; and of free to slaves as 6 to 5; and of free coloured to slave coloured as 1 to 3. And the Creoles are loud in their exclamations against the Slave Trade.

The public press in the island advocates the cause of liberty; and "a spirit increasingly "hostile to the Slave Trade is growing up "in the Island."*

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

The opponents to the measure of 1833 for fixing a period, when Slavery should be abolished throughout British possessions, foretold, that riot and disorder would accompany its accomplishment in the West Indies, and waste and misery would follow as its consequences there.

But the final termination of servitude, even in the shape of apprenticed labour, took place throughout the British West Indies on the 1st August, 1838, two years previously to the time when, by the Act of 1833, it had been originally contemplated; and the accounts of that event transmitted by the highest authorities, and carefully collated by the Government, concur in stating, that the emancipation took place throughout the whole of the colonies without the occurrence of a single instance of tumult or disturbance, or the employment of military force.

* Expression of the Havana Commissioners.

These accounts state, that the joy of the negroes on the 1st August, 1838, was orderly, sober, and religious. It was manifested throughout the colonies by their assembling in the churches, to offer up thanksgivings to God for his goodness.

The accounts received further state, that since the emancipation, the negroes have been thriving and contented; that they have raised their manner of living, and multiplied their comforts and enjoyments; that their offences against the laws have become lighter and less frequent; that their morals have improved; that marriage has been substituted for concubinage; that they are eager for education, and rapidly advancing in knowledge; and that religion powerfully influences their feelings and their conduct.

It is not denied that the exports from the islands have been less: and that the owners of large estates have suffered by a diminution of their produce; but it should be borne in mind, that in the grant of twenty millions compensation, such eventual loss to the proprietors was taken into consideration by the mother country for the sake of kindness to the slave. The accounts of the state of *all* the colonies are not, of course, equally favourable.

They agree in observing, however, that the negroes are not become idle, but prefer at present working for themselves on small freehold properties, which they aim at purchasing with their earnings. In this way the number of small freeholds in Jamaica, which in 1838 amounted to 2014, had in 1840, according to official returns, increased to 7848.*

In Barbadoes, after Jamaica the most important of the British West India Islands, the cultivation of land, and the value of property, are stated to remain undiminished. The prosperity of Antigua is represented as unimpaired; and Trinidad is spoken of in the same favourable terms.†

The emancipation of the negroes has also proved favourable to population. The excess of deaths over births has already diminished from five to two per cent., and on this experience of so short a time the most favourable hopes may be entertained of the eventual increase and prosperity of the colonies.

England, however, is not the only power that is now taking up the cause of the negroes,

* See Returns on Emancipation in the West Indies, in Papers presented to Parliament in 1838, 1840, and 1841.

† See Papers as above: also Report of Commissioners appointed by the French Government to inquire into the subject.

with a view of conferring on them eventually freedom.

France, Denmark, Sweden, and Holland appear to be contemplating a gradual amelioration in the state of their slaves, tending all to ultimate emancipation.

A better treatment of slaves in other Foreign Colonies has also taken place of late years, and may be traced back to that beneficent law, passed by the British Parliament in 1833, by which any slave coming into a British Possession, wherever that possession may be, instantly becomes free.

For the slaves in the Foreign Colonies know that, if they escape to a British Colony, they become free; and their masters know it likewise. And as the slaves in Foreign Colonies, when ill-treated, frequently escape, it becomes the interest of the masters not to drive them to that state of desperation in which they would attempt their escape.

The effect, indeed, of the law of 1833 towards the universal extinction of slavery, is not yet fully appreciated. It will, perhaps, through its many ramifications, produce more towards that most desirable end, than any other measure as yet adopted on the subject. But notwithstanding the success of one or

more, or most of the means for putting down the Slave Trade and Slavery, no other means, no other possible help that may be devised or offered, should, or can safely, be neglected.

It is not, however, in the West Indies and in America only, that the effect of the efforts of Great Britain for extinguishing the African Slave Trade, are at length becoming manifest. In Africa also the zealous and able exertions of the British Naval Officers employed in this object, and the earnest and judicious manner in which the Governors of the British Colonies have seconded the views of Her Majesty's Government, have had their natural effect in repressing the Trade.

AFRICA, WEST.

If we turn to the west of Africa, the source whence slaves for the European Trade have chiefly been supplied, we see that whole districts have recently given up the business; various prisons in these districts have been opened; and numerous outlets for the export of slaves have been closed.

These results have arisen partly from the active measures of Her Majesty's Government against the trade; partly from a spirit hostile to the trade growing up among those

natives who have hitherto practised it; and partly from a spirit of liberty which has grown up among the slaves themselves.

Her Majesty's naval forces have recently followed up with much success a system of constantly stationing cruisers at the principal mouths of rivers, and other outlets of the Trade, to watch the slave-traders in their immediate haunts, along the west coast of Africa. This measure has proved ruinous to the slave-dealers, by obliging them to maintain slaves a long time, and therefore at a great expense; and many of them, from this circumstance alone, have been induced to abandon the trade, and turn their attention to some more innocent commerce.*

At the Islands of Bulama, at the Coriscos, and at several other places along the Western Coast, the baracoons, or slave-warehouses of the slave-factories of the Europeans, have been destroyed, and the natives have readily given up the slave trade, anxious to have, instead of it, a commerce in commodities.*

At Gallinas, the native chiefs recently aided, and principally acted, in the destruction of the slave factories of the Europeans upon those islands.*

* Report of Sierra Leone Commissioners for 1840.

The River Nunez, once the great resort of slave-dealers, is no longer visited by them.*

Within these two years past a determined spirit of freedom has shown itself among the slaves in Africa; and this is the more worthy of notice, because many persons have held that slavery is interwoven with the nature of the African, and that the feeling of a free man does not exist in the breast of a negro.

The accounts from Her Majesty's Commissioners at Sierra Leone state, that in the River Pongos, a large body of slaves, who belonged to the late King, declared themselves free when he died, in the year 1839, and they remain free; and that in 1840 a large body of slaves, belonging to a slave-dealer named Osmond, took the advantage of his death to follow the example of the slaves of the King of Pongos. They declared themselves free, retired to the borders of the Foulah country, established themselves there, built a village, dug a trench, erected a stockade, and there remain free.

The British Governors in the several settlements in Africa, and the commanders of the British naval forces there, have Her Majesty's commands to take advantage of every favour-

* Report of Sierra Leone Commissioners for 1840.

able opportunity for entering into negotiations with the several native chiefs having power or influence in Africa, to secure the suppression of the Slave Trade in places within their influence, and to propose to them, instead thereof, legitimate commerce; and provision is to be made, that the advantages, to be secured conditionally to the native chiefs, shall be withholden, if the agreements as to Slave Trade are not carried into effect: and that Great Britain shall be authorized to take more stringent measures, where necessary, for ensuring the fulfilment of the contracts entered into.

Agreements* stipulating the entire suppression of the Slave Trade on the part of African chiefs, and on that of their subjects, have accordingly been already concluded with several of the most influential chiefs—viz., those of the River Bonny, the chiefs of the River Cameroons, the King of Car-

* The date of the agreements recently made with the African Chiefs are as follows:—

February 13th, 1841,	with the	Chiefs of the Timmanees.
April 8th, 1841	„	Chiefs of the Bonny.
April 23rd, 1841	„	King of Cartebar.
May 7th, 1841	„	Chiefs of the Cameroons.
August 28th, 1841	„	King of Aboi or Ybo.
September 6th, 1841	„	King of Egarra Country at Idda

tebar on the Gambia, and the chiefs of the Timmanees; and from the accounts received, and facts which appear, there is every reason to believe, that the natives in these districts and elsewhere are sick at heart of the miseries which the Slave Trade heaps on their country and on themselves, and are willing to embrace every practicable opportunity of having their occupations turned to branches of peaceable and useful trade.

In the spring of this year, the Government, with the approbation of Parliament, sent out an expedition to the River Niger, in order, by kindly communication and friendly agreements with the natives near that river, to induce them to leave off the traffic in slaves, and in its stead to employ themselves in the arts of peace, and in bartering ordinary articles of commerce. And accounts have been received from them, stating, that in the two principal states between the mouth of the Niger and its confluence with the Chadda, the states of Aboh and Egarra, the chiefs have eagerly met their advances, and expressed a willingness to put down Slave Trade immediately. Those chiefs expressed at the same time to the Commander of the expedition an earnest desire to substitute for that

Trade a commerce in legitimate articles with the English; and urged this the more, lest, as they observed, their subjects, for the want of innocent occupation in such commerce, should relapse into the practice of Slave Trade.

From very many places on the coast of Africa, and at the Portuguese settlements on the African coast, Slaves are still exported to the Spanish and Brazilian possessions; but the British Government are using every means in their power to put it down at these places; and at length, as has been seen, the Portuguese Government seem shamed into something like a co-operation for this object.

The benevolent efforts of Great Britain have not been confined to producing the abandonment of the African Slave Trade in Europe and in America, nor to stopping the exportation of slaves from the west coast of Africa, the grand scene of the European Slave Trade.

AFRICA, NORTH AND EAST.

The efforts of Great Britain have also been applied to bring about the extinction of the Slave Trade on the northern side of Africa, and on its eastern coast.

In the present year, 1841, the Bey of

Tunis, at the instance of Great Britain, has abolished the Slave Trade throughout his possessions, has forbidden the exportation of slaves from his Regency, has abolished the slave-market at Tunis: and, furthermore, in the spirit of humanity, as well as of deference to Great Britain, which actuated him in taking those steps, the Bey has conferred freedom on all the slaves belonging to his establishment; and has urged his subjects to follow his example in this respect.*

Within these two last years, at the instigation of the British Government, the Pacha of Egypt has abolished the Slave Trade throughout the Provinces governed by him,† and under his influence, in Egypt, and on the borders of Abyssinia, and Sennaar.

ASIA.

The subject of the Asiatic Slave Trade in general does not come within the scope of the present Memoir: but as connected with the efforts of Great Britain to put down the Slave Trade of Africa, it may properly be mentioned here, that the efforts of the British

* Sir Thomas Beade's Despatches of 1841.

† See Consul-General Campbell's Despatches, in Papers laid before Parliament on Slave Trade, 1840–1841.

Government have recently been extended to suppress it in those parts of Asia, to which slaves are exported from any part of Africa.*

* Upon recent inquiry into the subject of Slave Trade and of Slavery in British India, it has appeared, that they both still exist to a very great extent on that continent.

Orders have repeatedly been sent from the British Government in England to the Government of India, to carry out in India the provisions of the 5 Geo. IV. c. 113, for abolishing the Slave Trade throughout the British dominions; and to take some immediate steps for fulfilling the intentions declared by the Legislature in 1833, for ameliorating the condition of the slaves in India, and extinguishing as soon as may be the state of slavery there

The Indian Government have replied, that they have given directions to stop the exterior Slave Trade. That they discourage the sale of slaves in the interior; that they are anxiously considering regulations for mitigating the immediate condition of slaves, and by degrees abolishing slavery throughout British India. They find great difficulties surrounding the subject; they state that without endangering the tranquillity of British possession in India, it is impossible to declare at present that slavery shall be abolished in India within a prescribed time. They are preparing to pass a law, declaring "that any act which would be an offence, if done to a free man, shall be equally an offence if done to a slave;" and further, "that no rights claimed as arising out of an alleged state of slavery shall be enforced by a magistrate." They express a hope, that by these means the strength and sting of slavery will by degrees disappear in British India; and they add, that they look to the effect of time and of these measures, for bringing about a state of things, at which the Indian Government may fulfil the designs of the British legislature, by declaring the entire extinction of slavery.*

* Papers on Slavery in East Indies, printed for Parliament, 31 July, 1838 (697), and April, August, and October, 1841 (139, 233, 238, 218.)

The export of slaves from the dominions of the Imaum of Muscat, which are partly in Africa and partly in Asia, used to amount to upwards of 20,000 annually; but in the year 1840 he concluded a Treaty with Great Britain, by which he bound himself to forbid all exportation of slaves from his dominions for the future.

Great Britain also, by agreements with native Arabian chiefs, by using the moral effect of her influence over them, and by promoting innocent commerce, is engaged in stopping the Slave Trade all along the coasts on each side the Red Sea, and also up the Persian Gulf.*

And in those greater empires of the East, in Turkey and in Persia, into which human beings are imported as articles of commerce, Great Britain is also endeavouring to procure the suppression of the practice, and thus to ameliorate at least in one respect the lot of suffering humanity, and clear the way for that kindly feeling of Man to Man, which experience has shown to be deadened, wherever the curse of Slave Trade exists.

But while this Memoir will have shown, that much has already been accomplished for

* Papers on Slavery in India, 7th October, 1841, p. 287.

the entire extinction of the Trade in Slaves from Africa; it must never be forgotten, that much yet remains to be done; and that in many places the Trade is liable to spring up again, if Great Britain should slacken her exertions, before it shall be put down, wholly and every where.

It may well indeed be doubted, whether mankind can be held to be entirely safe from the miseries of this cruel Trade, until the state of Slavery itself shall be finally extinguished: for the experience of ages has shown, that the one practice is a natural parent to the other.

December, 1841.

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