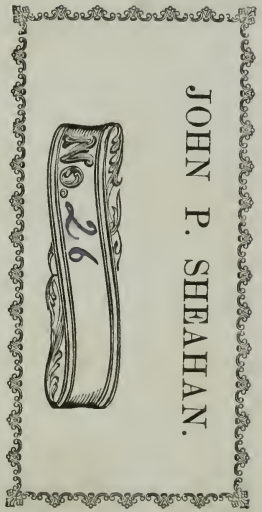

THE

AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

BY

THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON, Esq.

"This is a people robbed and spoiled; they are all of them snared in holes, and they are hid in prison houses; they are for a prey, and none delivereth; for a spoil, and none saith, Restore."—*Isa.* xlii. 22.

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PREFACE TO THE AMERICAN EDITION.

The Executive Committee of the Eastern Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society have been induced to republish this work,—the production of a distinguished philanthropist, and member of the British Parliament,—from a conviction that its afflicting details of the extent and augmented atrocities of the traffic in human flesh, should be laid before the American public, in order that the nature of the evil may be fully comprehended, and the proper remedy applied. It must be obvious to all our readers, that some more efficient measures should be adopted for the suppression of a traffic which seems heretofore to have increased in very nearly an exact ratio with the efforts of the civilized world against it. The existence of a ready market for human chattels on the American continent, and its adjacent islands, has maintained the Slave Trade in vigorous life, in despite of the dead-letter prohibitions of the United States, and the naval activity of England. The gains of the traffic have been sufficiently large to counter-balance the trifling risk of capture.

The United States, Texas, Brazil, and Cuba furnish, it will be seen, the great markets for this trade. The high prices of slave-labor products have, for some years past, rendered the demand for laborers so urgent, that, in despite of all the risk of the enterprise, the average profit of the trade has been 180 per cent. on the capital invested in it. It is vain to think of arraying against the cupidity of those engaged in so lucrative a traffic, the empty terrors, the *bru-*

tem fulmen, of the laws which stamp it as piracy. Even if our own country exerted her utmost power in good faith to enforce those laws, the temptation to their violation would be strong enough to counteract the increased danger and difficulty; and with the incentives of enormous gain before him, the slave-trader would continue his hateful traffic, if the entire African sea-board were lined with the navies of all Christendom.

What then remains to be done? Shall the traffic go on? "Shall the sword devour for ever?" Shall Africa, torn and bleeding, for ever lift up her hands imploringly for protection from Christian cupidity?

The plan proposed by Thomas Fowell Buxton, viz., commercial intercourse with Africa, appears to us more ingenious than effectual. He believes much may be done for the suppression of this monstrous traffic by a vigorous effort on the part of the British Government to open a trade with Africa, and make it the interest of the African kings and slave traders to turn their attention to more honest branches of trade and industry. A long time must necessarily elapse before this could have any sensible influence on the traffic, even under the most favorable circumstances. The natives of Africa now engaged in this horrible commerce, unsettled, restless, and warlike, could not be easily persuaded to abandon the savage excitements of their predatory excursions and horrible man-hunts, for the dull routine of an agricultural life, and the details of a petty traffic. At best it is a doubtful expedient,—for amelioration, not for abolition. The market for slaves is still left open, and it needs no vision of prophecy to foresee that that market, while it continues, *must be supplied*. Let the market then be broken up. Strike at the parent, the fosterer, the sole supporter of the Slave Trade—SLAVERY itself. Let the moral and political power of England

be directed upon the slave system, wherever it exists. Let her Government impose heavy duties upon slave-grown products. The abolitionists of Great Britain have it in their power to induce the government to adopt such a measure. They have now a controlling political influence. At their demand, the apprenticeship system was abandoned; and more recently, the importation of the *Hill Coolies* of British India to the West India Colonies, under the express sanction of the government, was prohibited in consequence of their remonstrances. By a vigorous and united effort, the slave-cursed cotton and rice of America might be excluded from British ports, to give place to the rice of Patna, and the cotton of Bengal. Our friends on the other side of the water have been reminded of their power and responsibility in this matter by one of their bitterest enemies, the slave-proprietor Gladstone, who resisted, in the British Parliament, to the last, every measure of Emancipation. In his speech on the 30th of the Third month, 1838, against the abolition of the apprenticeship system, he thus taunted his zealous opponents:

"*You* (said the honorable gentleman) who are so sick with apprenticeship in the West Indies—*you* who cannot wait for twenty-four months, when the apprentices will be free, are you aware what responsibility lies upon *every one of you* at this moment, with reference to the cultivation of cotton in America? There are 3,000,000 of slaves in America. America does not talk of abolition, nor of the amelioration of slavery. It is a domestic institution, which appears destined to descend to the posterity of that free people; and who are responsible for this enormous growth of what appears to be ETERNAL SLAVERY? Is it not the demand that creates this supply, and is it not the consumption of cotton from whence that demand arises? You consume 318,000,000 lbs. of cotton which proceed from slave-labor, and only 45,000,000 lbs. which proceed from free labor; *and that too while you have the means in India, at a very little expense, of obtaining all you require from free labor.*"

That this might be done without any detriment to the commer-

cial and manufacturing interests of the country, we cannot doubt. A late number of the London Morning Herald, makes the following remarks on this subject:—

"England might (if the proper degree of care were bestowed upon its cultivation) be supplied with a SUFFICIENCY OF COTTON FOR ALL HER MANUFACTURING ESTABLISHMENTS;—DAY, when regard is had to the character of the cotton manufacture, and to the claims of her colonies upon England, it may be doubted, whether the cotton trade might not be transferred gradually and most beneficially to the shores of India. India yields the raw material of the manufacture.

There can at all events, exist no question as to the expediency of procuring from India those supplies of raw cotton which we have hitherto drawn from the United States. India bids fair soon to supply us with tea—why not with cotton?"

It is to be hoped that the readers of the painful facts detailed in the following pages, will feel themselves summoned, as by a voice from the suffering millions of Africa, to engage at once in the efforts now making to destroy the Slave Trade, by annihilating its CAUSE;—and that, instead of looking to temporizing expedients for the mitigation of the evil, they will, from henceforth, lay the axe at the root, until that poison tree of lust and blood, and of all abominable and heartless iniquity, shall fall before them, and Law, and Love, and God, and Man, shout VICTORY over the ruin.

Philadelphia, Eighth month, 1839.

INTRODUCTION.*

We attempt to put down the Slave Trade "by the strong hand" alone; and this is, I apprehend, the cause of our failure. Our system, in many respects too feeble, is in one sense too bold. The African has acquired a taste for the productions of the civilized world. They have become essential to him. The parent,—debased and brutalized as he is,—barters his child; the chief his subject; each individual looks with an evil eye on his neighbor, and lays snares to catch him—because the sale of children, subjects, and neighbors, is the only means as yet afforded by European commerce, for the supply of those wants which that commerce has created. To say that the African, under present circumstances, shall not deal in man, is to say that he shall long in vain for his accustomed gratifications. The tide, thus pent up, will break its way over every barrier. In order effectually to divert the stream from the direction which it has hitherto taken, we must open another, a safer, and a more convenient channel. When we shall have experimentally convinced the African that it is in his power to obtain his supplies in more than their usual abundance, by honest means, then, and not till then, we may expect that he will be reconciled to the abolition of the Slave Trade.

This work does not fully carry into effect the design with which it was commenced. To a description of the extent and horrors of the Slave Trade, the failure of our efforts for its suppression, and the capabilities of Africa for legitimate commerce, I had intended to add some practical suggestions for calling forth the latent energies of that quarter of the globe, and for exhibiting to its inhabitants where their true interest lies.

Upon consideration it appeared that a premature disclosure of these suggestions might be inconvenient; I therefore withhold that part of my subject for the present, with the intention of resuming it hereafter; but, although I am disabled from entering into detail, and consequently from rendering this work as practically useful as I had hoped, it may not be altogether without benefit to expose, to the public eye, the atrocities which to this day are in full operation

* We have omitted a part of the introduction, which in our view was not essential to a fair understanding of the motives and sentiments of the author. *Ed.*

in that land of misery, and to point out the source from which, as I believe, a remedy can alone be hoped for.

The principles of my suggestion are comprised in the following proposition:—

1. That the present staple export of Africa renders to her inhabitants, at infinite cost, a miserable return of profit.

2. That the cultivation of her soil, and the barter of its productions, would yield an abundant harvest, and a copious supply of those articles which Africa requires.

3. That it is practicable to convince the African, experimentally, of the truth of these propositions, and thus to make him our confederate in the suppression of the Slave Trade.

I despair of being able to put down a traffic in which a vast continent is engaged, by the few ships we can afford to employ: as auxiliaries they are of great value, but alone they are insufficient. I do not dream of attempting to persuade the African, by appealing merely to his reason or his conscience, to renounce gainful guilt, and to forego those inhuman pursuits which gratify his cupidity, and supply his wants. But when the appeal we make is to his interest, and when his passions are enlisted on our side, there is nothing chimerical in the hope that he may be brought to exchange slender profits, with danger, for abundant gain, with security and peace.

If these views can be carried into effect, they have at least thus much to recommend to them.

They will not plunge the country into hostility with any portion of the civilised world, for they involve no violation of international law. We may cultivate intercourse and innocent commerce with the natives of Africa, without abridging the rights or damaging the honest interests of any rival power.

They require no monopoly of trade; if other nations choose to send their merchantment to carry on legitimate traffic in Africa, they will but advance our object, and lend their aid in extinguishing that which we are resolved to put down.

They involve no schemes of conquest; our ambition is of another order. Africa is now torn to pieces. She is the victim of the most iron despotism that the world ever saw: inveterate cruelty reigns over her broad territory. We desire to usurp nothing,—and to conquer nothing,—but the Slave Trade.

Finally, we ask of the Government only that which subjects have a right to expect from their rulers, namely, *protection to person and property* in their lawful pursuits.

Here I must pause; for I feel bound to confess, much as it may tend to shake the whole fabric of my views, that there is a great danger to which we shall be exposed, unless it be most carefully

guarded against at the outset: the discovery of the fact that man as a laborer on the soil is superior in value to man as an article of merchandise may induce the continuance, if not the increase, of that internal slavery which now exists in Africa.

I hope we shall never be so deluded as to give the slightest toleration to anything like constrained labor. We must not put down one iniquity by abetting another. I believe implicitly that free labor will beat all other labor; that slavery, besides being a great crime, is a gross blunder; and that the most refined and sagacious policy we can pursue is common honesty and undeviating justice. Let it then be held as a most sacred principle that, wherever our authority prevails, slavery shall cease; and that whatever influence we may obtain, shall be employed in the same direction.

I have thus noticed several of the negative advantages which attach to these views, and I have frankly stated the danger which, as I conceive, attends them. I shall now briefly allude to one point, which, I own, weighs with me beyond all the other considerations, mighty as they are, which this great question involves.

Grievous, and this almost beyond expression, as are the physical evils endured by Africa, there is yet a more lamentable feature in her present condition. Bound in the chains of the grossest ignorance, she is a prey to the most savage superstition. Christianity has made but feeble inroads on this kingdom of darkness, nor can she hope to gain an entrance where the traffic in man pre-occupies the ground. But were this obstacle removed, Africa would present the finest field for the labors of Christian missionaries which the world has yet seen opened to them. I have no hesitation in stating my belief that there is in the negro race a capacity for receiving the truths of the Gospel beyond most other heathen nations; while, on the other hand, there is this remarkable, if not unique, circumstance in their case—that a race of teachers of their own blood is already in course of rapid preparation for them; that the providence of God has overruled even slavery and the Slave Trade for this end; and that from among the settlers of Sierra Leone, the peasantry of the West Indies, and the thousands of their children, now receiving Christian Education, may be expected to arise a body of men who will return to the land of their fathers, carrying Divine truth and all its concomitant blessings into the heart of Africa.

One noble sacrifice in behalf of the negro race has already been made. In the words of the most eloquent citizen of another nation, "Great Britain, loaded with an unprecedented debt, and with a grinding taxation, contracted a new debt of a hundred million dollars to give freedom, not to Englishmen, but to the degraded African. I know not that history records an act so disinterested, so sublime. In the progress of ages England's naval triumphs will

shrink into a more and more narrow space in the records of our race. This moral triumph will fill a broader, brighter page."*

Another, it may be a more inveterate evil, remains,—an evil which for magnitude and malignity stands without a parallel. One thousand human victims (if my facts will bear sifting) are daily required to feed this vast and devouring consumer of mankind. In Vain has nature given to Africa noble rivers; man is the only merchandise they carry. In vain a fertile land;—lavish in wild and spontaneous productions, no cultivating hand calls forth its riches. In vain has she placed it in the vicinity of civilization and Christianity; within a few weeks' voyage of the Thames there is a people who worship the shark and the snake, and a prince who imagines the agency of an evil spirit in the common properties of the loadstone.† Africa is indeed encircled by an effectual barrier against the entrance of commerce, cultivation, and Christianity. That barrier is the Slave Trade.

It may be thought wild extravagance to indulge the hope that evils so rank are capable of cure. I do not deny that it is, of all tasks, the most arduous, or that it will require the whole energy of Great Britain; but if it shall be made a capital object of British policy, for the accomplishment of which our whole strength, if necessary, shall be put forward, and if it shall be, as I am sure it is, a cause in which we may look for Divine countenance and help, I see no reason for despair. What has been done, may be done again; and it is matter of history, that from superstitions as bloody, from a state of intellect as rude, and from the Slave Trade itself, a nation has been reclaimed, and now enjoys in comparison with Africa, a blaze of light, liberty, religion, and happiness. That nation is Great Britain. What we find the African, the Romans found us; and it is not unreasonable to hope that, in the language of Mr. Pitt, "even Africa will enjoy, at length, in the evening of her days, those blessings which have descended so plentifully upon us in a much earlier period of the world."

* Dr. Channing. † Laird, vol. i. p. 219.

THE SLAVE TRADE.

"You will perceive that this horrid traffic has been carried on to an extent that almost staggers belief."

Commodore Sir Robert Mends, Sierra Leone.

In preparing this work, my chief purpose has been to offer some views which I entertain of the most effectual mode of suppressing the Slave Trade; but before I enter upon these, I must state the extent to which that traffic is now carried on, and the sacrifice of human life which it occasions.

Extent.

My *first* proposition is, that upwards of 150,000 human beings are annually conveyed from Africa, across the Atlantic, and sold as slaves.

It is almost impossible to arrive at the exact extent to which any contraband trade, much more a trade so revolting, is carried on. It is the interest of those concerned in it to conceal all evidence of guilt; and the Governor of a Portuguese colony is not very likely, at once to connive at the crime, and to confess that it is extensively practised. By the mode of calculation I propose to adopt, it is very possible I may err; but the error must be on the right side; I may underrate, it is almost impossible that I can exaggerate, the extent of the traffic. With every disposition on the part of those who are engaged in it to veil the truth, certain facts have, from time to time, transpired, sufficient to show, if not the full amount of the evil, at least, that it is one of prodigious magnitude.

I commence with what appears to be the most considerable slave market, viz.—that of

Brazil.

In the papers on the subject of the Slave Trade annually presented to Parliament, by authority of his Majesty (and entitled, "Class A" and "Class B",) the following official information is given by the British Vice Consul at Rio de Janeiro, as to the number of slaves imported there:—

From 1 July to 31 Dec. 1827 . . .	15,481*
From 1 Jan. to 31 March, 1828 . .	15,483†
From 1 April to 30 June, 1828, say .	11,532‡
From 1 July to 31 Dec. 1828 . . .	24,488§
From 1 Jan. to 30 June, 1829 . . .	25,179‖
From 1 July to 31 Dec. 1829 . . .	22,813¶
From 1 Jan to 30 June, 1830 . . .	33,964**
	148,940

That is in the twelve months preceding the 30th June,		1828 . .	42,964
"	"	1829 . .	49,667
"	"	1830 . .	56,777
			148,940

Thus it stands confessed, upon authority which cannot be disputed, that from the 1st of July, 1827, to the 30th of June, 1830 (three years,) there were brought into the single port of Rio de Janeiro, 148,940 negroes, or, on an average, 49,643 annually. It appears also,

* Class B, 1828, p. 105. † Class B, 1828, p. 107.

‡ No returns. These numbers are given on the average of the three months previous to, and three months subsequent to the dates here mentioned.

§ Class B, 1829, pp. 80, 81. ‖ Class B, 1829, p. 89.

¶ Ditto, 1830, p. 71. ** Ditto, 1830, p. 78.

that, in the last year, the number was swelled to 56,777 per annum.*

Caldcleugh, in his Travels in South America, speaking of the Slave Trade at Rio, (which however, was not then so extensive as it now is,) states, "that there are *three* other ports in Brazil trading *to the same extent.*"† If this be correct, the number of negroes annually imported vastly exceeds any estimate I have formed; but it is more safe to rely on the authority of the British Commissioners,‡ scanty as it necessarily is. They reside in the capital; and their distance from the three outports of itself might render it difficult for them to obtain full information. But when to the distance is added the still greater difficulty arising from the anxiety on the part of almost all the Brazilian functionaries to suppress information on the subject, it is clearly to be inferred that the number stated by the Commissioners must fall materially below the truth. They tell us, however, that in a year and a-half, from 1st of January, 1829, to 30th of June, 1830, the numbers imported were, into

Bahia	22,202
Pernambuco	8,079
Marenham	1,252
	31,533

*I see in the *Patriot* newspaper of the 25th June last (1838) the following statement:—"A Brazil mail has brought advices from Rio to the 22d April. That fine country appears to be making rapid strides in civilization and improvement; the only drawback is the inveterate and continued encouragement of the slave trade. The Rover corvette had just captured two slavers, having 494 negroes on board; and the traffic is said to amount to 60,000 annually, into Rio alone, almost entirely carried on under Portuguese colors.

† Caldcleugh's Travels, London, 1825, vol. ii. p. 56.

‡ By the treaties with foreign powers for the suppression of the Slave Trade, Commissioners are appointed to act as Judges, in a Court of Mixed Commission for the adjudication of captured slave-vessels.

To these we must also add those imported into the port of Para .	799
Total in eighteen months . .	32,332*
Or annually	21,554
To which add Rio, as before stated†	56,777
And we have for the annual number landed in Brazil . . .	78,331

So many, *at least*, were landed. That number is undisputed. The amount, however, great as it is, probably falls short of the reality. If the question were put to me, what is the number which I believe to be annually landed in Brazil? I should rate it considerably higher. I conceive that the truth lies between the maximum as taken from Caldcleugh, and the minimum as stated in the Official Returns; and I should conjecture that the real amount would be moderately rated at 100,000, brought annually into these five Brazilian ports. But as the question is, not how many I suppose, but how many I can show, to be landed, I must confine myself to what I can prove; and I have proved that 78,331 were landed at five ports in Brazil, in the course of twelve months, ending at the 30th June, 1830.

But is it easy to believe, while Brazil receives so vast a number into five of her principal ports, that the trade is confined to them, and that none are introduced along the remaining line of her coast, extending over 38 degrees of latitude, or about 2,600 miles, and abounding in harbours, rivers, and creeks, where disembarkation can easily be effected?

It may safely be assumed, that the slave-trader would desire to avoid notoriety, and to escape the duty which is paid upon all imports; either of these motives may induce him to smuggle his negroes ashore. That num-

* Class B, 1829, 1830. † P. 3.

bers are so smuggled, is established by the fact, that most vessels from the coast of Africa report themselves in ballast on arriving at Bahia. In the last Parliamentary Papers,* more than half the vessels are found to have reported themselves in ballast, and the remainder to have come from Prince's Island, Ajuda (Wydah,) and Angola, the very places where the Slave Trade most prevails,† The Commissioners interpret these returns in ballast thus :—"In the six months ending 30th June, 1836, twenty vessels entered this port (Rio) from the coast of Africa; they came in ballast, and, upon the usual declaration, that the master or pilot had died on the voyage, were stopped, with scarcely an exception, by the police, on suspicion of having landed slaves on the coast; but as usual also, were, after a few days detention, released."‡ The Juiz di Direito, of Ilha Grande, one of the few functionaries who appears to have done his duty with respect to the Slave Trade, and whose activity has been rewarded, on the part of the populace, by attempts on his life, and on the part of the Brazilian Government, as I have been informed, by dismissal from his office,) confirms this view of the Commissioners in a Report, dated 12th November, 1834, in which he says :—"I see that in the trade in Africans brought to this district, are committed almost the whole population of this place, and of the neighboring district." "Here, since I have been in the district, there have been twenty-two disembarkations, which I can remember; and I can assure your Excellency, that an equal, or even a greater number, have called off this port; and it is certain that they did not return to Africa."§

It is, then, clear that, over and above the number annually introduced into the five ports, negroes are landed along the line of the Brazilian coast; but as we

* Class B, 1837, and Class B, Farther Series, 1837.
† Class B, 1837, p. 83. ‡ Class A, 1836, p. 251.
§ Class B, 1834, p. 233.

have no facts to guide us to the precise number, I will assume that the trading in slaves is confined to these five places, and that not a single negro was landed in Brazil beyond the 78,331 negroes in twelve months, ending in June, 1830.

I admit that this proves little, as to the Slave Trade at the present time. It is very possible that it raged at a former period, but that it has now ceased; and it may be argued that the facts stated were prior to the treaty with Great Britain, and that the operation of that treaty has considerably reduced the number. If we are to believe the official reports made to our Government, it is just the reverse. The Slave Trade has increased since that time. The Brazilian minister of Marine recommends to his government the formation of a "*cordon sanitaire*, which may prevent the access to our shores of those swarms of Africans that are continually poured forth from vessels engaged in so abominable a traffic."* This, be it observed, was on the 17th of June, 1833, three years after the treaty had come into operation.

The Ministers of Foreign Affairs and of Justice, in their report of the Chamber of Deputies, in 1835, speak "of the continuance of the traffic, to an extent at once frightful to humanity, and alarming to the best interests of the country." "The fury of this barbarous traffic continues every day to increase with a constantly progressing force." "Sixteen hundred new blacks are openly maintained on an estate in the neighborhood of Ilha Grande." "The continued—we might almost say the uninterrupted—traffic in slaves is carrying on, on these coasts."† On the 17th June, 1836, Mr. Gore Ouseley, British resident at Rio Janeiro, states in his despatch, that "The Slave Trade is carried on in Bra-

* Class A, 1833, p. 58.
† Class A, 1835, p. 265.

zil with more activity than ever."* In the preceding May, in a despatch to Viscount Palmerston, he speaks of "an association of respectable persons who were going to use steamboats for the importation of Africans."†

In March, 1836, the President of Bahia observed, in a speech to the assembly of that province, "That the contraband in slaves continues with the same scandal."‡ In the following September the British Commissioners say, "At no period, perhaps, has the trade been ever carried on with more activity or daring."§ And again, in November, 1836, "The traffic in slaves is every day becoming more active and notorious on this coast."‖

Thus, then, not only by the reports of our Commissioners and our Resident, but by the admission of the Brazilians themselves, it appears that the Slave Trade has increased since the treaty was formed. It seems hardly necessary to add, that I have received letters to the same effect from gentlemen on whom I have entire reliance. A naval officer, in a letter dated 16th September, 1835, says, "For the last six months the importation of new slaves is greater than ever remembered." A gentleman writes to me, of date 7th April, 1837, "It may be well to acquaint you, that the Slave Trade has now got to an unprecedented pitch."

The Parliamentary Papers presented in 1838, remarkably confirm the two positions which I have laid down; first, that the Slave Trade is enormous; and, secondly, that so far from abating, it has increased since the period when the treaty was formed.

By a private letter from a highly respectable quarter, I learn that in the month of December, 1836, the im-

* Class B, 1836, p. 68. † Class B, 1836, p. 67.
‡ Class A, 1836, p. 231. § Class A, 1836, p. 250.
‖ Class A, 1836, p. 260.

portation of slaves into the province of Rio alone was not less than 4,831

Our Minister at Rio states that there arrived

in the following month of January, 1837,	4,870*
February	1,992†
March	7,395‡
April	5,596§
May	2,753‖
	27,437

Thus, within six months, in the province of Rio, or the vicinity, there were known to have been landed this vast number. This is hardly disputed by the Brazilian authorities. Our Minister at Rio, in a letter to Lord Palmerston, dated 18th April, 1837, speaking of 7,395 negroes landed in the preceding month, says: "As a satisfactory proof of the general accuracy of these reports, it may be observed here, that the Government has excepted two only of the numerous items they comprehend."¶

It would be an error to suppose that these reported numbers comprehend anything like the whole amount of the importations: conclusive evidence to the contrary appears in a variety of passages of the same reports. I shall take but one as an instance. Mr. Hamilton, in his enclosure of 1st March, 1837, states as follows: "Brig *Johovah* from Angola. This vessel, since she left this port, thirteen months ago, has made three voyages without entering any port. The first voyage she landed 700 slaves, very sickly, at Ponta Negra, about half way betwixt this port and Cape Frio; on the second voyage, 600 slaves at the island of St. Sebastian; and on the present voyage, 520 slaves at Tapier, close to the entrance of this port. The greater number

* Class B, 1837, p. 58.
† Ibid. —— 60.
‡ Ibid. —— 64.
§ Class B, 1837, p. 65.
‖ Ibid. —— 71.
¶ Class B, 1837, p. 63.

of these last were put into boats and fishing canoes, and brought to town."* The last number, namely 520, only, are reported in the return for the month of February preceding; but the remaining 1300 have not appeared in any returns. It is evident from this, as well as many other passages, that vessels land their negroes on the coast, and return direct to Africa; and all who do so, escape notice, and are not included in the account. If these 1300 are added to the returns for the first six months in the year 1837, the importations into Rio alone for this year will exceed those of 1830.

So much for the province of Rio. I would next observe as to Pernambuco. In a letter from Mr. Watts, the British Consul, to Lord Palmerston, of date 5th May, 1837, he says, "I have just received directions to furnish Mr. Hamilton with a monthly return of vessels arriving from the coast of Africa, at any port within my consulate," &c.; and he adds, "the supineness, not to say connivance, of the Government of Brazil in general on the subject in reference, the gross venality of subordinate officers, the increasing demand of hands for the purposes of husbandry, the enormous profits derivable from this inhuman traffic, which is rapidly increasing at this port in the most undisguised manner, combined with the almost insuperable difficulty of procuring authentic information through private channels *from the dread of the assassin's knife or bullet, even in the* OPEN *day, and in the public gaze;* and the dark and artful combinations of the dealers in slaves, their agents, and the agriculturists, to mask and facilitate the disembarkation of imported slaves;—all these glaring and obstructive facts combine to render the attainment of authentic data on which to ground effective official representation on the subject of the unprecedented increase of the Slave Trade all along the coast of Brazil, an almost insurmountable obstacle."†

* Class B, 1837, p. 60. † Class B, 1837, p. 84.

The case then may be stated thus: prior to the treaty, the annual importation of negroes into *five* ports of Brazil, was 78,333, to which might be added the indefinite but considerable number smuggled into other places in Brazil. Since that time the trade has, by general testimony, increased. Notwithstanding the difficulty thrown in the way of obtaining information, the facts which we have been enabled to glean, demonstrate what the Marquis of Barbacena stated in the Senate of Brazil on the 30th of June, 1837, namely, "*That it may be safely asserted, without fear of exaggeration, that during the last three years, the importation has been much more considerable, than it had ever before been when the commerce was unfettered and legal.*"* On these grounds we might be entitled to make a considerable addition. It is enough for us to know, that, at the *very least*, 78,333 human beings are annually torn from Africa, and are imported into Brazil.

Cuba.

It is scarcely practicable to ascertain the number of slaves imported into Cuba: it can only be a calculation on, at best, doubtful data. We are continually told by the Commissioners, that difficulties are thrown in the way of obtaining correct information in regard to the Slave Trade in that Island. Everything that artifice, violence, intimidation, popular countenance, and official connivance can do, is done, to conceal the extent of the traffic. Our ambassador, Mr. Villiers, April, 1837, says, "That a privilege (that of entering the harbor after dark) denied to all other vessels, is granted to the slave-trader; and, in short, that with the servants of the Government, the misconduct of the persons connected in this trade finds favor and protection. The crews of captured vessels are permitted to purchase

* Class B, 1837, p. 69.

their liberation; and it would seem that the persons concerned in this trade have resolved upon setting the Government of the mother country at defiance."* Almost the only specific fact which I can collect from the reports of the Commissioners, is the statement, "that 1835 presents a number of slave vessels (arriving at the Havana) by which there must have been landed, at the very least, 15,000 negroes."† But in an official letter, dated 28th May, 1836, there is the following remarkable passage:—"I wish I could add, that this list contains even one-fourth of the number of those which have entered after having landed cargoes, or sailed after having refitted in this harbor."‡ This would give an amount of 60,000 for the Havana alone; but is Havana the only port in Cuba in which negroes are landed? The reverse is notoriously true. The Commissioner says, "I have every reason to believe that several of the other ports of Cuba, more particularly the distant city of St. Jago de Cuba, carry on the traffic to a considerable extent." Indeed, it is stated by Mr. Hardy, the consul at St. Jago, in a letter to Lord Palmerston, of the 18th February, 1837, "That the Portuguese brig, *Boca Negra*, landed on the 6th inst. at Juragua, a little to windward of this port, (St. Jago,) 400 Africans of all ages, and subsequently entered this port."§ But in order that we may be assuredly within the mark, no claim shall be made on account of these distant ports. Confining ourselves to the Havana, it would seem probable, if it be not demonstrated, that the number for that port, *à fortiori*, for the whole island, may fairly be estimated at 60,000.‖ I have many strong

* Class B, 1837, p. 2. † Class A, 1835, p. 206.
‡ Class A, 1836, p. 153. § Class B, 1837, p. 29.

‖ The Slave Trade.—"It has occurred to us now that the Spaniards and Portuguese are pushing the inhuman traffic with so much zeal and energy, whether it would not be preferable to employ steamers than sailing vessels in cruising about that grand re-

grounds for believing that this is no exaggeration, one of which I will name. At a meeting which I had with several merchants and captains of vessels trading to the coast of Africa, I inquired what was the proportion of the slave trade with Cuba compared with that of Brazil? Captain M'Lean, governor of Cape Coast Castle (than whom no one has better opportunities of information, as all the vessels, from the Bight of Benin, in their way to St. Thomas, pass his fort,) stated that, as far as he could judge, there were three for Cuba, to two for Brazil, and in this opinion every person present on the occasion concurred.*

Having proved that there are landed in Brazil at least 78,000, this would give to Cuba more than 100,000. But let the minor number be taken as deduced from the reports of the Commissioners, and the account will stand thus:—

ceptacle of stolen Africans, the island of Cuba. *We have heard it stated that upwards of sixty vessels per month arrive in Cuba from the coast of Africa with slaves.* Supposing that each vessel, on an average, carries two hundred of these, and that the number of arrivals continue the same for one year certain, we should have the incredible number of one hundred and forty-four thousand slaves imported into that colony in twelve months! Although we cannot believe that the trade is carried on to this extent, still we think the Government is called upon to resort to prompt and vigorous measures to repress, if not put a stop to it. Whether steamers would be preferable to schooners, such as were previously employed, we are not seamen enough to decide; certainly the slavers would have less chance of escape from the former than the latter."—*Watchman, February* 21, 1838.

* Since the above went to press, I have learnt on good authority, "that there have been about 100,000 boxes of sugar, of 400 lbs. each, exported from Cuba during the season just closed, (July, 1838,) more than in any preceding;" and that a very intelligent merchant in that island had declared, "that he knew of no fewer than forty new estates that had been lately opened, remembering that it will take about two years to make them productive."

Cuba, ...	60,000
Brazil, ...	78,333
	138,333
To this number of slaves actually landed, must be added those who have been captured, which on the average of the years 1836 and 1837, was at Sierra Leone, .	7,852
	146,185
And at Havana in 1837, . . .	442

I cannot find that any have been adjudicated at Rio.

Further than this I cannot go by actual proof; but there can be no doubt that the Slave Trade has other victims than those included in this table. For example, we know that several slave vessels are annually wrecked or founder at sea;* though it is impossible to arrive at anything like exact numbers. Many negroes also are thrown overboard, either during a chase, or from dearth of provisions and water.†

For these I will assume, . . .	3,373
Total,	150,000

I have no authority for this assumption of 3,373; it is merely a guess; it may be excessive. I only take this number to make a round sum. And if in this trivial point I have gone beyond the mark, I shall give abundant compensation for it hereafter.

I will next take the case of the island of

Porto Rico.

In regard to Porto Rico, I learn, from the valuable

* See Wrecks, &c., page 139, &c.

† See p. 130, Captain Wauchope, R. N. See also the Paris Petition, at p. 118.

work of Colonel Flinter, entitled 'Present State of the Island of Porto Rico,' some important facts; the exports from that island were:

In 1814	. . .	500,840 dollars.
1830	. . .	3,411,845

The amount of sugar produced has increased
from 37,969 arrobas in 1810
to 414,663 " 1830

He calculates that there are only 45,000 slaves in the island; but he tells us that the landed proprietors conceal the real number of their slaves in order to escape a tax.

From the Parliamentary Papers of 1837, it appears, as stated by Mr. Courtenay, the British Consul at Port-au-Prince, Haiti, "that a slaving schooner, under the Brazilian flag, called Pacquette de Capo Verde, was wrecked on the Folle reefs near Aux Cayes, on the 28th February, 1837, having previously landed his cargo at Ponce, in the island of Porto Rico."* It appears, also, that one-ninth part of all the vessels condemned at Sierra Leone in 1837 were bound for Porto Rico, and that one of them, at least, the Descubierta, belonged to the island, and was built there.†

In a Report by the Commissioners at Sierra Leone, of date 20th March, 1837, it is stated that the Temerario had been captured with 352 slaves on board, bound for the island of Porto Rico;‡ the Commissioners, on the 25th of April following, report the case of the Cinco Amigos, "belonging to the Spanish island of Porto Rico, where slaving adventurers have latterly been fitted out with increasing activity."§

A gentleman, on whom I can rely, has informed me that in November, 1836, he saw two slave vessels fitting out in the harbor of Porto Rico, and on his return

* Class B, 1837, p. 140,
† Class A, (Farther Series,) 1837, pp. 5, 13.
‡ Class A, 1837, p. 50. § Class A, 1837, p. 28.

in March, 1837, he saw a slaver entering the harbor, and he learned on the spot from good authority, that about 7000 negroes had been landed in the space of the preceding year.

From the above facts, especially from the increased production of sugar; from the constant smuggling communication which is known to exist with the slave-mart of St. Thomas; from the circumstance that apprentices have been kidnapped by their masters in the British settlement of Anguilla,* for the purpose of being carried to Porto Rico,—and from the fact, that there is some Slave Trade with that island, it is not difficult to come to the conclusion, that there has been a traffic in slaves to a considerable amount. Upon the same principle, however, which has led me to wave all additions to which any shade of doubt may attach, I will not claim any increase on the sum of slaves exported from Africa in respect of Porto Rico.

Buenos Ayres, etc.

I am afraid that some addition might too justly be claimed with regard to Buenos Ayres, Rio de la Plata, and the United Provinces of the Uruguay.

In a letter from Mr. Hood to Lord Palmerston, dated from Buenos Ayres, 1833, it is stated, "that the dormant spirit of Slave Trading has been awakened;" that "the Aguila Primera, a schooner belonging to this place, and under this flag, was fitting, and in a forward state, to proceed to the coast of Congo, for a cargo of slaves; and that other fast-sailing vessels were in request for the same service." The Uruguese minister did not deny that the Government were cognisant of the proceedings, and confessed that "they had given their concurrence to import 2000 colonists from the coast of Africa, which he considered a fair and legitimate trade." Nor is it to be wondered at, that he had

* Class B, 1837, p. 10.

arrived at so extraordinary a conclusion ; for it appears by the same letter that the same " minister had received a bribe of 30,000 dollars to permit a company of merchants to import 2000 slaves, under the denomination of colonists."*

In September, 1834, Lord Palmerston, in a letter to Mr. Hamilton, states, that " the Slave Trade is now increasing in the river Plata, supported by the capital of Monte Video citizens, and covered by the flag of the United Provinces of the Uruguay," and that the Abolition law is wholly without effect.†

How unavailing were the remonstrances then made, appears by the fact of the seizure, on the 10th November, 1834, of the Rio da Prata, a slave brig of 202 tons, under the flag of Monte Video, with license from the authorities to import 650 colonists, with 521 slaves on board, men, women and children."‡

" We may form some idea," says Mr. M'Queen, " of the numbers imported into the Argentine Republic, from the fact that, in 1835, (see Porter's Tables,) twenty Portuguese vessels departed for Africa, and as many arrived from it in the port of Monte Video, after landing their cargoes of slaves from Africa on the adjacent coasts."

It is most disheartening to find, that, in spite of all our efforts, the Slave Trade, instead of ceasing where it has long prevailed, is spreading over these new and petty states ; and that the first use they make of their flag, (which but for us they never would have possessed,) is to thwart Great Britain, and to cover the Slave Trade ; and, farther, to learn that their slave-traffic is attended with even more than the usual horrors. It must not be forgotten that, as we have just seen, for a voyage from the southern coast of Africa to Monte Video, (a voyage of some thousands of miles,) the space allowed is less than one ton for three slaves.

* Class B, 1833, pp. 55 and 56. † Class B, 1834, p. 81.
‡ Class B, 1835, p. 141.

Lists are given in the Parliamentary Papers of many vessels employed in the Slave Trade, which are continually arriving at, or sailing from Monte Video ;* but it seems hardly necessary to pursue the subject further. We know there is a Slave Trade with these states ; but as we have no data to compute the extent of it, I cannot avail myself of the fact, however certain it may be. I must, therefore, in regard to these countries, as I have done in the case of Porto Rico, wave extending my calculations. I will next advert to

The United States.

In the Report of the Commissioners at Havana, for 1836, dated 25th October, 1836, I find these words :— "During the months of August and September, (1836,) there arrived here for sale, from the United States, several new schooners, some of which were already expressly fitted for the Slave Trade.

"The Emanuel and Dolores were purchased, and have since left the port (we believe with other names) on slaving expeditions, under the Spanish flag."

"But to our astonishment and regret, we have ascertained that the Anaconda and Viper, the one on the 6th, and the other on the 10th, current, cleared out, and sailed from hence for the Cape de Verde Islands, under the American flag.

"These two vessels *arrived in the Havana, fitted in every particular for the Slave Trade ;* and took on board a cargo which would at once have condemned, *as a slaver*, any vessel belonging to the nations that are parties to the equipment article."†

The Commissioners farther observe, that the declaration of the American President "not to make the United States a party to any convention on the subject of the Slave Trade, has been the means of inducing American citizens to build and fit, in their own ports,

* Class B, 1835, pp. 141—143. † Class A, 1836, p. 191.

vessels only calculated for piracy or the Slave Trade, to enter this harbor, and, in concert with the Havana slave-traders, to take on board a prohibited cargo, manacles, &c.; and proceed openly to that notorious depôt for this iniquitous traffic, the Cape de Verde Islands, under the shelter of their national flag:" and, we may add, that, while these American slavers were making their final arrangements for departure, the Havana was visited more than once by American ships of war, as well as British and French."

The Commissioners also state, that "two American vessels, the Fanny Butler and Rosanna, have proceeded to the Cape de Verde Islands and the coast of Africa, under the American flag, upon the same inhuman speculation."* A few months afterwards they report that—"We cannot conceal our deep regret at the *new and dreadful impetus* imparted to the Slave Trade of this island (Cuba) by the manner in which some American citizens impunibly violate every law, by embarking openly for the coast of Africa under their national flag, with the avowed purpose of bringing slaves to this market.† We are likewise assured that it is intended, by means of this flag, to supply slaves for the vast province of Texas; agents from thence being in constant communication with the Havana Slave Merchants."‡

This "new and dreadful impetus" to the Slave Trade, predicted by our commissioners, has already come to pass. In a list of the departure of vessels for

* Class A, 1836, pp. 191, 192.

† Class A, 1836, p. 218, and Class B, 1836, pp. 123, and 129.

‡ While preparing this work for the press, I received a communication from Major M'Gregor, late Special Magistrate at the Bahamas, in which he notices the wreck of the schooner Invincible, on the 28th October, 1837, on one of these islands; and he adds, "the captain's name was Potts, a native of Florida. The vessel was fitted out at Baltimore, in America, and three-fourths of the crew were natives of the United States, although they pretended to be only passengers.

the coast of Africa, from the Havana, up to a recent date, I find that, "in the last four months," no other flags than those of Portugal and the United States have been used to cover slavers.*

The list states that vessels, fitted for the Slave Trade, sailed from Havana for the coast of Africa, bearing the American flag, as follows:—

	American
During the month of June, 1838,	2
" July,	2
" August	5
" September	1
	10

No symptom in the case is so alarming as this. It remains to be seen, whether America will endure that her flag shall be the refuge of these dealers in human blood.

I confidently hope better things for the peace of Africa and for the honor of the United States.

This leads me to the province of

Texas.

I have been informed, upon high authority, that "within the last twelve months† 15,000 negroes were imported from Africa into Texas." I have the greatest reliance on the veracity of the gentleman from whom this intelligence comes; but I would fain hope that he

*The Venus, said to be the sharpest clipper built vessel ever constructed at Baltimore, left that place in July, 1838, and arrived at Havana on the 4th of August following. She sailed from thence, in September, for Mozambique; there she took in a cargo of slaves, being all this time under the flag of the United States. On the 7th January, 1839, she landed 860 negroes near Havana, under Portuguese colors; and on the 9th these blacks, with 1200 more, were seen at one of the Barracoons, within two miles of that city, "exposed for sale, and presenting a most humiliating and melancholy spectacle."—Private Letters.

† Referring to 1837 and 1838.

is in error. I can conceive no calamity to Africa greater than that Texas should be added to the number of the slave-trading states. It is a gulf which will absorb millions of the human race. I have proof quite independent of any statements in this work, that not less than four millions of negroes have in the last half century been torn from Africa for the supply of Brazil. Texas, once polluted with the Slave Trade, will require a number still more appalling.

In the case of Texas, as I have not sufficient proof to adduce in support of the numbers which it is reported have been carried into that country, I shall, as I have already done in similar instances, wave my claim for increasing my general estimate.

Summary.

I have, then, brought the case to this point. There is Slave Trading, although to an unknown and indefinite amount, into Porto Rico; into Texas; and into some of the South American Republics.

There is the strongest presumptive evidence, that the Slave Trade into the five ports of Brazil which have been noticed, is "much more considerable" than my estimate makes it; and that I have also underrated the importation of negroes into Cuba. There are even grounds for suspicion that there are other places (besides Porto Rico, Texas, Cuba, Monte Video, &c., and Brazil,) where slaves are introduced; but for all these presumptions I reckon nothing, I take no account of them; I limit myself to the facts which I have established, viz., that there are, at the present time, imported annually into Brazil . . . 78,333
That the annual importations into Cuba amount to 60,000
That there have been captured . . 8,294
And I assume that the casualties amount to 3,373

Making together 150,000

Corroborative Proofs of the Extent of the Slave Trade.

I confess there is something startling in the assertion that so vast a number are annually carried from Africa to various parts of the New World.

Such a statement may well be received with some degree of doubt, and even suspicion. I have not been wholly free from these feelings myself, and I have again and again gone over the public documents, on which I have alone relied, in order to detect any inaccuracy which might lurk in them, or in the inferences deduced from them. No such mistake can I discover; but my conviction that the calculation is not excessive, has been fortified by finding that other persons, who have had access to other sources of information, and who rest their estimates on other data than those on which I have relied, make the number of human beings torn from Africa, still greater than I do.

For example:—Captain M'Lean, Governor of Cape Coast Castle for many years, who estimates the extent of the Slave Trade by the vessels which he has seen passing along the coast, rates the number of slaves annually taken from the Bights of Benin and Biafra alone at 140,000.

In a letter from that gentleman dated June 11, 1838, he says:—

Sir,—In compliance with your wishes, I beg leave to state to you, in this form, what I have already mentioned to you verbally; namely, that "in the year 1834, I have every reason to believe that the number of Slaves carried off from the Bights of Benin and Biafra amounted to 140,000. I have not beside me the *particular data* whereon I grounded this calculation; but I can state generally, that I founded it upon the number of slave-vessels which actually passed the forts on the Gold Coast during that year, and of those others, of whose presence on the coast I had certain information from her Majesty's cruisers or otherwise. When I say that I have rather under than over-stated the number, I ought at the same time to state that, in the years 1834–5, more slavers appeared on the coast than on any previous year within my

observation; and this was partially, at least, accounted for (by those engaged in the traffic) by the fact of the cholera having swept off a large number of the slaves in the Island of Cuba. The Ports of Bahia, also, were opened for the introduction of slaves, after having been shut for some time previous, on account of an insurrection among the negro population in that country.

This does not include the slaves embarked from the many notorious slave-ports to the northward of Cape Coast, nor those carried from the eastern shores of Africa, nor those who are shipped at Loango, and the rest of the south-western coast. I confess that I have not any very clear grounds for calculating or estimating the number shipped from these three quarters. Along the south-eastern coast, we know that there are a great many ports from whence slaves are taken. With respect to the majority of these, we are left in the dark, as to the extent to which the Slave Trade is carried on; but in a few cases we have specific information. For example:—in the letters found on board the Soleil, which was captured by Commodore Owen, H. M. S. Leven, we have the following statement:—"From the port of Mozambique are exported every year upwards of 10,000 blacks."* Commodore Owen, in the account of his voyage to the eastern coast, informs us, that from eleven to fourteen slave-vessels come annually from Rio Janeiro to Quilimane, and return with from 400 to 500 slaves each, on an average, which would amount to about 5500.†

Captain Cook‡ has informed me that, during the year 1837, 21 slave vessels sailed from Mozambique, with an average cargo of 400 slaves each, making 8400. These, added to 7200 exported from Quilimane in eighteen vessels, also in 1837, according to Captain Cook, give a total of 15,600 slaves conveyed to Brazil

* Class B, 1828, p. 84.

† Owen's Voyage, &c., London, 1833, vol. i., p. 293.

‡ Captain Cook commanded a trading vessel, employed on the east coast of Africa, in 1836, 7, and 8.

and Cuba from these two ports alone. Of all the vessels, in number about thirty-eight, which sailed from the eastern coast in that year, Captain Cook believes that only one was captured. He adds,—"Some slaves are shipped from Inhambane, and other places along the coast;" but having no accurate information, he has altogether omitted them.

Lieutenant Bosanquet, of H. M. S. Leveret, in a letter addressed to Admiral Sir P. Campbell, dated 29th September, 1837, says :—"From my observations last year, and from the information I have since been able to obtain, I conceive that upwards of 12,000 slaves must have left the east coast of Africa in 1836, for the Brazils and Cuba; and I think, from the number of vessels already arrived,* and there being many more expected, that that number will not be much decreased this year."†

We now turn to the south-western coast :—

In 1826 the Governor of Benguela informed Commodore Owen, that "Some years back that place had enjoyed greater trade than St. Paul de Loando, having then an annual averaged export of 20,000 slaves."‡ Owen also informs us that "From St. Paul de Loando 18,000 to 20,000 slaves are said to be annually exported, in great part to Brazil; but that the supply had considerably decreased on account of the dishonesty of the black agents in the country."

Commodore Owen shortly afterwards (in 1827) visited Kassenda, near the river Congo, which place, he says, "is principally resorted to by slavers, of whom five were at anchor, in the harbor, on our arrival, one French, and the rest under the Brazilian flag."§

On looking over the Slave Trade papers presented

* The letter is dated at the close of the rainy season on the eastern coast.

† Class B, Farther Series, 1837, p. 25.

‡ Owen's Voyage, &c., vol. ii., p. 272. § Ditto, p. 292.

to Parliament in 1838,* I find it stated in monthly lists, that in the course of the year 1837 seventy vessels were reported by the British authorities to have imported into the vicinity of Rio Janeiro 29,929 slaves, from Angola, Benguela, and Loando. All these vessels came in ballast to the port of Rio Janeiro, after having landed their slaves on the coast.

The reader will see, vide pp. 15, 16, that there are other points in Brazil at which slaves are disembarked. To say nothing of these, though the consul at one of them reports the arrival of the Portuguese brig Aleide, from Angola, on the 10th July, 1837, having previously landed 460 slaves in the neighborhood; though the consul at another states that "the frequent disembarkation of negroes imported from the Coast of Africa in the vicinities of this port, is the common public talk of the day; and though the vice consul at a third, notices the arrival of three vessels from Angola in the months of November and December, 1836, I only claim from Angola 29,929 negroes landed in Brazil in 1837.

Then, as to the ports and rivers to the north of Cape Palmas, I find that General Turner, late Governor of Sierra Leone, in a despatch dated the 20th December, 1825, states that the exports of slaves from that part of the coast amounts annually to 30,000.†

From these extracts it appears that we have satisfactory evidence that the exports of slaves from the south-eastern coast of Africa to America amounts annually to, say, ... 15,000
From Angola, &c., to America, . . 29,929
From the ports to the northward of Cape Coast to America, . . . 30,000

Amounting in all to . 74,929

Thus then stands the case. We have information

* Class B, 1837, and Class B, Farther Series, 1837.
† Extracted from the Records of the Colonial Office for 1825.

that the Slave Trade prevails in a variety of ports and rivers besides those in the Bights of Benin and Biafra. This information, though conclusive as to the fact that the Slave Trade prevails, is vague as to the extent to which it is carried on; but we have specific authority to this extent that from a limited number of these ports there is an annual draft of about . . 75,000
To these we must confine ourselves, and these added to 140,000
given by Mr. M'Lean for the export from the Bights of Benin and Biafra, make the total annual Slave Trade between Africa and America amount to . . . 215,000

If we deduct from this number the usual amount of mortality, it will leave a remainder not very different from, though somewhat exceeding, the estimate of 150,000 landed annually in America.

With another gentleman, Mr. M'Queen, whose authority I have already quoted, I did not become acquainted till after the time that I had completed my own estimate. His channels of information are totally distinct from mine. Besides being conversant with all the information which is to be found in this country, he has recently returned from a visit to Brazil, Cuba, and Porto Rico, where he went on the business of the Colonial Bank, and where he availed himself of opportunities of collecting information relative to the Slave Trade.

He rates the Slave Trade of Brazil at	90,000
Cuba and Porto Rico, . .	100,000
Captured in the year 1837, .	6,146
	196,146

Besides Texas, Buenos Ayres, and the Argentine Republic, into which he believes there are large importations, though to what extent he has no means of judging.

I now resort to a mode of proof totally different from all the foregoing. I have had much communication

with African merchants engaged in legitimate trade; and it was suggested by one of them that a very fair estimate of numbers might be formed, from the amount of goods prepared for the Slave Trade, (and absolutely inapplicable to any other purpose than the Slave Trade,) manufactured in this country. At my request, they furnished me with the following very intelligent summary of the argument, prepared, as I understood, by Captain M'Lean:

It is necessarily impossible, from the very nature of the Slave Trade, to ascertain directly, or with any degree of precision, the number of slaves actually exported from the coast of Africa for the Transatlantic slave-markets, in any given year or space of time. But it is very possible, by instituting careful and minute inquiries into the several ramifications into which that traffic branches, to obtain results, by the combination of which we may arrive at an approximation to the truth, sufficiently accurate for all the purposes of the main inquiry. And if we find that the *data*, thus obtained from the most opposite sources, and from parties upon whose judgment and veracity the most implicit reliance may be placed, bring us to the same general result, it may, we think, be fairly taken for granted, that that result is substantially correct.

Among the various sources to which we have applied ourselves, in order to ascertain the present actual extent of the Slave Trade, not the least important or satisfactory in its results has been a careful inquiry as to the quantity and value of goods manufactured expressly and exclusively for the purchase of slaves. The grounds upon which we instituted and carried on this investigation were these:—

1. We ascertained, by the concurrent testimony of competent and unimpeachable authority, that the merchandise chiefly, if not exclusively, given in exchange for slaves, consisted of cowries, Brazilian tobacco in rolls, spirits, and Manchester piece-goods.

2. That the *proportions* of the goods thus paid might be taken generally to be,—one-third cowries, a third tobacco and spirits, and a third Manchester cotton goods.

3. We ascertained that the *average* sum paid for each slave, (taking the goods at cost prices,) was about £4 sterling.

Lastly, we ascertained that all, or nearly all, the cotton goods purchased for the Slave Trade, were manufactured in Lancashire; and that the description of goods so manufactured were altogether unsuitable for any other market, save that traffic alone.

Assuming these premises to be correct, and we verified them

with much care, and by the most strict investigation, it of course followed that, if by any means, we could ascertain, even proximately, the value and quantity of the cotton goods manufactured in, and exported from Lancashire, for the Slave Trade, during any one of the last few years, we should arrive at a proximate (but, in the main, correct) estimate of the number of slaves actually purchased on the coast of Africa.

To some, this indirect *modus probandi*, as to an important fact, may appear far-fetched; but we are assured by those who are most conversant with the African trade generally, as well as with the Slave Trade and its operations in particular, that it is much more conclusive than, to those unacquainted with that peculiar trade, it would appear. As corroborative of other proofs, at least, it must certainly be regarded as very valuable.

From returns with which we have been furnished by parties whose names, were we at liberty to mention them, would be a sufficient guarantee for their correctness, we have ascertained that the entire quantity of cotton goods manufactured in Lancashire, for the African trade (including the legitimate, as well as the Slave Trade,) was, in the year 1836, as follows:—

Value of Manchester goods manufactured exclusively for the African legitimate trade, . . . £150,000

Value of goods manufactured in Lancashire, and shipped to Brazil, Cuba, United States, and elsewhere, intended for the Slave Trade, and adapted *only* for that trade, ... £250,000

Thus showing an excess in the quantity of goods manufactured for the Slave Trade, over that intended for legitimate trade, during the year 1836, of £100,000, or two-fifths of the whole amount.

Calculating by the *data* already given, we shall find that the number of slaves to the purchase of which the above amount of goods (manufactured and exported in one year, 1836) was adequate, would amount to the large number of 187,500,—a number which we have strong reason to believe, according to information derived from other sources, to be substantially correct.

Assuming the data on which the merchants calculate to be correct, some considerable addition must be made to the number of 187,500.

1. Goods only suited to the Slave Trade are manufactured at Glasgow as well as in Lancashire.

2. Specie, to a very considerable extent, finds its way through Cuba and Brazil to Africa, and is there employed in the purchase of slaves. To the number then pur-

chased by goods must be added the number purchased by money.

3. Amunition and fire arms to a large amount, and, like the goods, of a quality only fit for the Slave Trade, are sent from this country to Africa. The annual amount of such exports is stated in the Official Tables,* No. 6, of 1836, to be 137,698*l.* This item alone would give an increase of 34,174.

4. The Americans also furnish Cuba and Brazil with arms, ammunition, and goods.

5. East Indian goods also are employed in the Slave Trade.

It is superfluous to quote authority for the facts just enumerated, as they are notorious to commercial men. Thus, by the aid of this circumstantial evidence, of scarcely inferior value to direct and immediate proof, we show that the Slave Trade between Africa and the West cannot be less than 200,000, and probably reaches 250,000, annually imported.

There is also another mode of looking at the same question, though under an aspect quite distinct.

From an examination of the number of slave ships which left Brazil, Cuba, &c., in the year 1829,† as compared with the number captured in the same year, it appears that on the average, one in thirty, only, is taken; now, on the average of the years 1836 and 1837, we have 7,538 negroes as the number captured, which being multiplied by 30, gives a total, 226,140.

Thus, then, the estimate of 150,000 at which, on the authority, principally, of the British Commissioners, I have myself arrived, with the number which perish on the passage,‡ make together an amount which corresponds with, and is confirmed,

* Tables of revenue, &c. published by authority of Parliament.

† Mr. M'Queen communicated this to me, last year.

‡ See Summary—Mortality, Middle Passage.

1st, by the actual observation of the Governor of Cape Coast Castle, coupled with other authorities, by which the number must amount to . . . 200,000

2dly, by Mr. M'Queen's researches, by which the number must amount to . 196,000

3dly, by the estimates founded on the quantity of goods exported for the Slave Trade, by which it must amount to from 200,000 to 250,000

4thly, by a comparison between the proportion captured with those who escape, by which it must amount to . . . 226,000

I have now to consider the

MOHAMMEDAN SLAVE TRADE.

Hitherto, I have confined my observations to the traffic across the Atlantic, from the east and west coasts of Africa; there is yet another drain upon this unhappy country, in the immense trade which is carried on for the supply of the Mohammedan markets of Morocco, Tunis, Tripoli, Egypt, Turkey, Persia, Arabia, and the borders of Asia.

This commerce comprises two distinct divisions, 1st, the maritime, the victims of which are shipped from the north-east coast, in Arab vessels; and 2nd, the Desert, which is carried on, by means of caravans, to Barbary, Egypt, &c.

The maritime trade is principally conducted by the subjects of the Imaum of Muskat; and this is a branch of our subject, heretofore but little known, I will make a few remarks as to its extent, the countries which it supplies, and the amount of its annual export.

Captain Cogan, of the Indian Navy, who, from his frequent intercourse with the Imaum, and from having been his accredited agent in England, had the best opportunities of becoming acquainted with this Prince and his subjects, has informed me that the Imaum's African dominions extend from Cape Delgado, about 10° S. Lat., to the Rio dos Fuegos, under the Line;

and that formerly this coast was notorious, for its traffic in slaves, with Christians as well as Mohammedans; the River Lindy, and the Island of Zanzebar, being the principal marts for the supply of the Christian market.

In 1822, a treaty was concluded by Captain Moresby, R. N., on behalf of the British Government, witht he Imaum, by which the trade with Christian countries was declared abolished for ever throughout his dominions and dependencies; but this arrangement, it must be remembered, does not in any way touch upon the Slave Trade carried on by the Imaum's subjects, with those of their own faith.

By means of this reserved trade, slaves are exported to Zanzebar; to the ports on both sides of the Arabian Gulf; to the markets of Egypt, Cairo, and Alexandria; to the south part of Arabia; to both sides of the Persian Gulf; to the north-west coasts of India; to the island of Java, and to most of the Eastern islands. The vessels which convey these negroes are in general the property of Arabs, or other Mohammedan traders.

Both Sir Alexander Johnston, who was long resident at Ceylon in a judicial situation, and Captain Cogan, have heard the number, thus exported, reckoned at 50,000 per annum; but Captain Cogan admits 20,000 to be the number legally exported from Africa, upon which the Imaum derives a revenue of so much per head; and he also admits that there is, besides, an illicit trade, by which 10,000 more may be smuggled every year.

All travellers, who have recently visited the chief seats of this traffic, agree in describing it as very considerable.

"At Muskat," says Lieutenant Wellsted,* "about 4000 slaves, of both sexes, and all ages, are disposed of annually."

Captain Cook, (to whom I have already referred,) who returned, in 1838, from a trading voyage to the

* Wellsted's Travels in Arabia, &c., vol. i., p. 388.

eastern coast of Africa, informs me that he was at Zanzebar at several different periods, and that he always "found the slave-market, held there daily, fully supplied. He could not ascertain the number annually sold, but slaves were constantly arriving in droves, of from 50 to 100 each, and found a ready sale; they were chiefly," he understood, "purchased by Arab merchants, for the supply of Egypt, Abyssinia, Arabia, and the ports along the Arabian Gulf, to the markets of which countries hundreds were carried off and sold daily."

Many, however, are kept in Zanzebar, where there are sugar and spice plantations, and where, according to Ruschenberger,* the population amounts to 150,000, of which about two-thirds are slaves.

I also find, from Lieutenant Wellsted,† that there is a Slave Trade carried on with the opposite coast of Arabia by the Somaulys, who inhabit the coast of Berbera, between Cape Guardafui and the Straits of Babel Mandel.

I am therefore warranted in taking Captain Cogan's estimate, viz., 30,000 per annum, as the number of negroes annually drained off by the Mohammedan Slave Trade from the east coast of Africa.‡

* Ruschenberger's Voyage, 1835, 6, 7, vol. i., p. 40.

† Wellsted's Travels in Arabia, &c., vol. ii., p. 363.

‡ There seems also to be an export of slaves from the Portuguese settlements on the east coast of Africa, to their possessions in Hindustan, which, as appears from the accounts of travellers, commenced towards the close of the seventeenth century, and has continued to the present time. In a despatch to the Court of Directors from the Bombay Government, dated 12th May, 1838, Mr. Erskine, resident at Kattywar, (in the province of Guzerat,) states, that "a considerable importation of slaves takes place at Dieu, both directly from the Arabian Gulf, and from Goa, and Dumaun, from whence they are brought into the province. For this I may confidently say, I see no remedy whatever, as it rests entirely with the British Government to say how far they consider it politic to interfere with their allies, the Portuguese, on this important question."

I now come to the other division, that of the Desert, or caravan Slave Trade; and here I shall briefly notice the countries which furnish its victims, so that we may see how vast a region lies under its withering influence.

By the laws of the Koran, no Mohammedan is allowed to enslave one of his own faith. The powerful Negro Moslem kingdoms, south of the desert, are thus, in a great measure, freed from the evils of this commerce; and countries from which it is supplied are almost entirely Pagan, or only partially Mohammedan, and comprehend, in addition to the Pagan tribes (chiefly Tibboos) which are scattered over parts of the Desert, and lie intermixed among the Moslem kingdoms, all the northern part of Pagan Negroland, reaching, in a continuous line, from the banks of the Senegal to the mountains of Abyssinia and the sources of the Nile. The negro Mohammedans, though not themselves sufferers from this Slave Trade, are active agents in carrying it on.

The Mohammedan towns of Jenné, Timbuctoo; Kano and Sackatoo, in Houssa; Rouka and Angornou, in Bornou; Wawa, or Ware, the capital of Waday; and Cobbe, the capital of Darfour,—are so many large warehouses, where the stores of human merchandise are kept for the supply of the Arab carriers or traders, who convey them in caravans across the Desert. The Soudan* negroes, so conveyed, and by many different routes,† are not only intended for the supply of Barbary and Egypt, and the banks of the Nile, from its mouth to the southern frontiers of Abyssinia, but, as I have learnt from a variety of authorities, they are ex-

* The term "Soudan" is chiefly applied to the countries lying to the south of the Saharra or Great Desert.

† The great posts on the northern side of the Desert, where the traders collect, appear to be Wednoon, Tafilet, Fez, and Ghadanies; Mourzouk, the capital of Fezzan; and Siout and Shendy, on the Nile.

ported to Turkey, Arabia, Syria, Persia, and Bokhara.*

With regard to the number thus annually exported, the absence of official documents, the imperfect evidence afforded by the statements of African travellers, and the immense extent of the subject itself, in its geographical relations, render it extremely difficult to obtain anything approaching to a correct estimate.

For these reasons, and as I have no wish to go beyond the bounds of producible proofs, I shall not estimate the Mohammedan Slave Trade at a greater extent than that which I am fairly entitled to assume, from the observations of African travellers.

Jackson, in his Travels in Africa,† speaks of a caravan from Timbuctoo to Tafilet, in 1805, consisting of "2000 persons, and 1800 camels."

Riley tells us,‡ that the Moor, Sidi Hamet, informed him, that in one yearly caravan with which he travelled (1807) from Timbuctoo to Morrocco, there were 2000 slaves.

Captain Lyon§ gives 5000 or 5500, as the annual import into Fezzan; and Ritchie,‖ who travelled with him, says, that in 1819, 5000 slaves arrived at Mourzouk from Soudan.

Ritter,¶ in his observations on the Slave Trade, tells us, that the Darfour Caravans, arrive yearly at Cairo, from the interior, varying in their numbers according to time and circumstances; the smaller caravans, consisting of from 5000 to 6000, (according to Browne,**

* The Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, in his account of Caubul, (London, 1839, vol. i., p. 318,) says, "there are slaves in Afghanistan: Abyssinians and Negroes are sometimes brought from Arabia."

† Jackson's Travels, 1809, p. 239. ‡ Riley's Narrative, p. 382.

§ Lyon's Narrative. London, 1821, pp. 188, 189.

‖ Ritchie, quoted in the Quarterly Review, 1820, No. 45, p. 228.

¶ A German, who published a geographical work in 1820, p. 380.

** Browne's Travels, 1793, p. 246.

only 1000;) the larger, which, however, do not often arrive, of about 12,000.* Far fewer come down the Nile with the Senaar caravan, and only a few from Bornou through Fezzan, by the Maugraby caravan, although hunting parties are fitted out in Bornou, against the negroes in the adjoining highlands.

Browne, who resided in Darfour three years, about the end of the last century, says, that in the caravan with which he travelled through the Desert to Cairo, there were 5000 slaves.†

Burkhardt, who travelled in Nubia, &c., in 1814, informs us,‡ that 5000 slaves are annually sold in the market of Shendy, "of whom 2500 are carried off by the Souakin merchants, and 1500 by those of Egypt; the remainder go to Dongola and the Bedouins, who live to the east of Shendy, towards Akbara and the Red Sea;" and he afterwards says,§ "Souakin, upon the whole, may be considered as one of the first Slave Trade markets in eastern Africa; it imports annually, from Shendy and Senaar, from 2000 to 3000 slaves, equalling nearly, in this respect, Esne and Siout, in Egypt, and Massouah in Abyssinia, where, as I afterwards learnt at Djidda, there is an annual transit from the interior of about 3500 slaves. From these four points, from the southern harbours of Abyssinia, and from the Somauly and Mozambique coast, it may be computed, that Egypt and Arabia draw an annual supply of 15,000 or 20,000 slaves, brought from the interior of Africa."‖

* Mémoires sur L'Egypte, tom. iii., p. 303. Lapanouse, iv., p. 77.

† Pinkerton's Voyages, &c., vol. xv., p. 155.

‡ Burkhardt's Travels, p. 324. § Ib., p. 442.

‖ In the "Times" newspaper of the 14th February, 1839, I find that on the evening of the 11th, at the meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, "the paper read was, an account of the survey of the south-east coast of Arabia, by Captain Haines, of the Indian Navy." After describing Aden, he says, "the next town of importance is Mokhara, containing about 4500 inhabitants, with a

Colonel Leake, who was in Egypt a few years ago, has informed, that besides the supply from Shendy, noticed by Burkhardt, Cairo derives an additional number of 5000 annually, which are brought to the market there, from Soudan, by other routes.

Dr. Holroyd, who has lately returned from travelling in Nubia and Kordofan, has stated that the Pacha of Egypt's troops bring into Kordofan captives from his northern frontiers, to the amount of 7000 or 8000 annually; that about one-half so introduced are retained for the use of the army and the inhabitants, while the other half are sold to the merchants of Shendy and Siout: that 5000 negroes annually reach Cairo by Es Souan, but that others also are brought there from Abyssinia by the Red Sea, and from Darfour, by the Desert; and that slaves are conveyed from Senaar, by three separate routes, in daily caravans, varying in extent from 5 to 200. Dr. Holroyd visited the governor of Kordofan in 1837; he had then just returned from a "gasoua," (slave-hunt,) at Gibel Nooba, the product of which was 2187 negroes. From these, "the physician to the forces was selecting able-bodied men for the army; but so repeatedly has the Pacha waged war against this chain of mountains, that the population has been completely drained, and from the above number, only 250 men were deemed fit for military service."*

Dr. Bowring, who visited Egypt in 1837, has informed me, that he estimates the annual importation of slaves into Egypt, at from 10,000 to 12,000; that the arrivals in Kordofan amount to about the same number: that in 1827, a single caravan brought 2820

very considerable trade, particularly in slaves. The writer has seen exposed for sale in the market, at one time, no less than 700 Nubian girls, subject to all the brutality and insults of their masters; the prices which they fetch varying from 7*l.* to 25*l.*

* Statement by Dr. Holroyd, yet unpublished.

slaves to Siout, but that, in general, the annual arrivals there fluctuate between 500 and 5000; and that such is the facility of introducing slaves, that they "now filtrate into Egypt by almost daily arrivals."

From the authorities which I have now given, I think I may fairly estimate the northern or Desert portion of the Mahommedan Slave Trade at 20,000 per annum.

I am aware that this amount is far below the numbers given by others who are well acquainted with the subject; for example, the eminent eastern traveller, Count de Laborde, estimates the number that are annually carried into slavery from east Soudan, Abyssinia, &c., at 30,000. He also tells us that, in the kingdom of Darfour, an independent Slave Trade is carried on;* and Burkhardt states that Egypt and Arabia together, draw an annual supply of from 15,000 to 20,000 from the same countries; but having no desire to depart from the rule I have laid down, of stating nothing upon conjecture, however reasonable that conjecture may be, I shall not take more than

For the Desert trade, . . .	20,000†
which, added to the the annual export from the eastern coast, proved to be . .	30,000
gives the number of	50,000

* Chasse aux Nègres. Leon de Laborde. Paris, Dupont et Cie., 1838, pp. 14 and 17.

† The following are some of these authorities:—

1st. For the number exported annually from Soudan to Morocco, &c., I take Jackson and Riley at . . .	2000
2d. From Soudan to Mourzouk, Lyon and Ritchie give .	5000
3d. From Abyssinia to Arabia, &c., Burkhardt says about .	3500
4th. From Abyssinia, Kordofan, and Darfour, to Egypt, Arabia, &c., I take Browne, Burkhardt, Col. Leake, Count de Laborde, Dr. Holroyd, and Dr. Bowring, at	12,000
Total for Desert trade,	22,500

as the annual amount of the Mohammedan Slave Trade.*

Summary.

Such, then, is the arithmetic of the case; and I earnestly solicit my reader, before he proceeds further, to come to a verdict in his own mind, upon the fairness and accuracy of these figures. I am aware that it re-

* It ought to be borne in mind, that I have not taken into the account the number of slaves which are required for the home slavery of the Mohammedan provinces and kingdoms in Central Africa. These are very extensive and populous, and travellers inform us that the bulk of their population is composed of slaves. We have therefore the powerful nations of Houssa, (including the Felatahs,) Bornou, Begarmi, and Darfour, all draining off from Soudan annual supplies of negroes, for domestic and agricultural purposes, besides those procured for the foreign trade. On this head, Burkhardt says,* "I have reason to believe, however, that the numbers exported from Soudan to Egypt and Arabia, bear only a small proportion to those kept by the Mussulmen of the southern countries themselves, or, in other words, to the whole number yearly derived by purchase or by force from the nations in the interior of Africa. At Berber and Shendy there is scarcely a house which does not possess one or two slaves, and five or six are frequently seen in the same family; the great people and chiefs keep them by dozens. As high up the Nile as Senaar, the same system prevails, as well as westwards to Kordofan, Darfour, and thence towards Bornou. All the Bedouin tribes, also, who surround those countries, are well stocked with slaves. If we may judge of their numbers by those kept on the borders of the Nile, (and I was assured by the traders that slaves were more numerous in those distant countries than even at Shendy,') it is evident that the number exported towards Egypt, Arabia, and Barbary, is very greatly below what remains within the limits of Soudan." He then states that, from his own observation, the slaves betwixt Berber and Shendy, amount to not less than 1200, and that, probably, there are 20,000 slaves in Darfour; "and every account agrees in proving, that as we proceed further westward, into the populous countries of Dar Saley, Bornou, Bagarme, and the kingdoms of Afnou and Houssa, the proportion of the slave population does not diminish."

* Burkhardt, p. 340.

quires far more than ordinary patience to wade through this mass of calculation; I have, however, resolved to present this part of the subject in its dry and uninviting form, partly from utter despair of being able, by any language I could use, to give an adequate image of the extent, variety, and intensity of human suffering, which must exist if these figures be true; and partly from the belief that a bare arithmetical detail, free from whatever could excite the imagination or distress the feelings, is best fitted to carry conviction along with it. I then ask, is the calculation a fair one? Some may think that there is exaggeration in the result, and others may complain that I have been too rigorous in striking off every equivocal item, and have made my estimate as if it were my object and desire, as far as possible, to reduce the sum total. It signifies little to the argument, whether the error be on the one side or the other; but it is of material importance that the reader, for the purpose of following the argument, should now fix and ascertain the number which seems to him the reasonable and moderate result from the facts and figures which have been produced. To me, it seems just to take, annually,

For the Christian Slave Trade, . . .	150,000
For the Mohammedan, ...	50,000
Making a total of . .	200,000

MORTALITY.

Hitherto, I have stated less than the half of this dreadful case. I am now going to show that, besides the 200,000 annually carried into captivity, there are claims on our compassion for almost countless cruelties and murders growing out of the Slave Trade. I am about to prove that this multitude of our enslaved

fellow men is but the remnant of numbers vastly greater, the survivors of a still larger multitude, over whom the Slave Trade spreads its devastating hand, and that for every ten who reach Cuba and Brazil, and become available as slaves,—fourteen, at least, are destroyed.

This mortality arises from the following causes:—

1. The original seizure of the slaves.
2. The march to the coast and detention there.
3. The middle passage.
4. The sufferings after capture, and after landing. And
5. The initiation into slavery, or the "seasoning," as it is termed by the planters.

It will be necessary for me to make a few remarks on each of these heads; and 1st, As to the mortality incident to the period of

Seizure.

"The whole, or the greater part of that immense continent, is a field of warfare and desolation; a wilderness, in which the inhabitants are wolves to each other."—*Speech of Bryan Edwards.*

On the authority of public documents, parliamentary evidence, and the works of African travellers, it appears that the principal and almost the only cause of war in the interior of Africa, is the desire to procure slaves for traffic; and that every species of violence, from the invasion of an army, to that of robbery by a single individual, is had recourse to, for the attainment of this object.

Lord Muncaster, in his able historical sketches of the Slave Trade,* in which he gives us an anylysis of the evidence taken before the Privy Council and the House of Commons, about the year 1790, clearly demonstrates the truth of my assertion, at the period when he published his work, (1792;) and the authorities

* Lord Muncaster's Historical Sketches. London, 1792.

from that time down to the present day, as clearly show that the most revolting features of the Slave Trade, in this respect, (at least, as regards the native chiefs and slave-traders of Africa,) have continued to exist, and do now exist.

Bruce, who travelled in Abyssinia in 1770, in describing the slave-hunting expeditions there, says: "The grown-up men are all killed, and are then mutilated, parts of their bodies being always carried away as trophies; several of the old mothers are also killed, while others, frantic with fear and despair, kill themselves. The boys and girls of a more tender age, are then carried off in brutal triumph."*

Mr. Wilberforce, in his letter to his constituents in 1807,† has described the mode in which slaves are usually obtained in Africa, and he quotes several passages from the work of the enterprising traveller, Mungo Park, bearing particularly on this subject. Park says, "The king of Bambarra having declared war against Kaarta, and dividing his army into small detachments, overran the country, and seized on the inhabitants before they had time to escape; and in a few days the whole kingdom of Kaarta became a scene of desolation, this attack was soon retaliated; Daisy, the king of Kaarta, took with him 800 of his best men, and surprised, in the night, three large villages near Kooniakary, in which many of his traitorous subjects had taken up their residence; all these, and indeed all the able men who fell into Daisy's hands, were immediately put to death."‡ Mr. Wilberforce afterwards says: "In another part of the country, we learn from the most respectable testimony, that a practice prevails, called 'village-breaking.' It is precisely the 'tegria' of Mr. Park, with this difference, that, though often termed

* Bruce's Travels in Abyssinia.

† Wilberforce's Letter on the Abolition of the Slave Trade. London. 1807, p. 392.

‡ Park's Travels, London, 1817, vol. i., p. 164.

making war, it is acknowledged to be practised for the express purpose of obtaining victims for the slave-market. The village is attacked in the night; if deemed needful, to increase the confusion, it is to set on fire, and the wretched inhabitants, as they are flying naked from the flames, are seized and carried into slavery." "These depredations are far more commonly perpetrated by the natives on each other, and on a larger or smaller scale, according to the power and number of the assailants, and the resort of ships to the coast; it prevails so generally as throughout the whole extent of Africa to render person and property utterly insecure."* And in another place, "Every man who has acquired any considerable property, or who has a large family, the sale of which will produce a considerable profit, excites in the chieftain near whom he resides, the same longings which are called forth in the wild beast by the exhibition of his proper prey; and he himself lives in a continual state of suspicion and terror."†

The statements of Mr. Wilberforce have been corroborated by Mr. Bryan Edwards, (from whom I have already quoted,) himself a dealer in slaves, and an able and persevering advocate for the continuance of the traffic. In a speech delivered in the Jamaica Assembly, he says, "I am persuaded that Mr. Wilberforce has been very rightly informed as to the manner in which slaves are very generally procured. The intelligence I have collected from my own negroes, abundantly confirms his account; and I have not the smallest doubt that in Africa the effects of this trade are precisely such as he represents them to be."

But it may be said, admitting these statements to be true, they refer to a state of things in Africa which does not *now* exist. A considerable period of time has indeed elapsed since these statements were made; but it clearly appears, that the same system has obtained,

* Wilberforce's Letter, &c., p. 23. † Ibid, p. 28.

throughout the interior of Africa, down to the present time; nor is it to be expected that any favorable change will take place during the continuance of the slave-traffic.

Professor Smith, who accompanied Captain Tuckey in the expedition to the Congo in 1816, says, "Every man I have conversed with acknowledges that, if white men did not come for slaves, the wars, which nine times out of ten result from the European Slave Trade, would be proportionally less frequent."*

Captain Lyon states that when he was at Fezzan, in 1819, Mukni, the reigning Sultan, was continually engaged in these slave-hunts, in one of which 1800 were captured, all of whom, excepting a very few, either perished on their march before they reached Fezzan, or were killed by their captor.†

Major Gray, who travelled in the vicinity of the River Gambia and Dupuis, who was British Consul at Ashantee about the same period, 1820, both agree in attributing the wars, which they knew to be frequent in the countries where they travelled, to the desire of procuring slaves for traffic.‡ Dupuis narrates a speech of the king of Ashantee. "Then my fetische made me strong, like my ancestors, and I killed Dinkera, and took his gold, and brought more than 20,000 slaves to Coomassy. Some of these people being bad men, I washed my stool in their blood for the fetische. But, then, some were good people, and these I sold or gave to my captains; many, moreover, died, because this country does not grow too much corn, like Sarem, and what can I do? Unless I kill or sell them, they will grow strong, and kill my people. Now, you must tell my master (the king of England) that these slaves

* Tuckey's Expedition, &c., p. 187.
† Lyon's Travels, p. 129.
‡ Gray's Travels in Western Africa. London, 1825, p. 97.

can work for him, and if he wants 10,000 he can have them."*

Captain Moresby, a naval officer, who was stationed on the eastern coast in 1821, and who had peculiar opportunities of learning the mode in which slaves were obtained, informed me that "The Arab Traders, from the coast of Zanzebar, go up the country, provided with trinkets and beads, strung in various forms; thus they arrive at a point where little intercourse has taken place, and where the inhabitants are in a state of barbarism; here they display their beads and trinkets to the natives, according to the number of slaves they want. A certain village is doomed to be surprised; in a short time the Arabs have their choice of its inhabitants—the old and infirm are either left to perish, or be slaughtered."

In 1822 our Minister at Paris thus addressed Count de Villele: "There seems to be scarcely a spot on that coast (from Sierra Leone to Cape Mount) which does not show traces of the Slave Trade, with all its attendant horrors; for the arrival of a ship, in any of the rivers on the windward coast, being the signal for war between the natives, the hamlets of the weaker party are burnt, and the miserable survivors carried off and sold to the slave-traders."

We have obtained most valuable information as to the interior of Africa, from the laborious exertions of Denham and Clapperton. They reached Soudan, or Nigritia, by the land-route through Fezzan and Bornou, in 1823, and the narrative of their journey furnishes many melancholy proofs of the miseries to which Africa is exposed through the demands for the Slave Trade. Major Denham says: "On attacking a place, it is the custom of the country instantly to fire it; and, as they (the villages) are all composed of straw huts only, the whole is shortly devoured by the flames.

* Dupuis' Residence in Ashantee. London, 1824, p. 164.

The unfortunate inhabitants fly quickly from the devouring element, and fall immediately into the hands of their no less merciless enemies, who surround the place; the men are quickly massacred, and the women and children lashed together and made slaves."* Denham then tells us that the Begharmi nation had been discomfited by the Sheik of Bornou "in five different expeditions, when at least 20,000 poor creatures were slaughtered, and three-fourths of that number, at least, driven into slavery."† And, in speaking of these wars, he uses this remarkable expression—"The season of the year had arrived (25th November) when the sovereigns of these countries go out to battle." He also narrates the terms of an alliance betwixt the Sheik of Bornou and the Sultan of Mandara. "This treaty of alliance was confirmed by the Sheik's receiving in marriage the daughter of the Sultan, and the marriage-portion was to be the produce of an immediate expedition into the Kerdy country, by the united forces of these allies. The results were as favorable as the most savage confederacy could have anticipated. Three thousand unfortunate wretches were dragged from their native wilds, and sold to perpetual slavery, while probably *double that number were sacrificed to obtain them.*"‡

Denham, himself, accompanied an expedition against Mandara, one of the results of which was, that the town, Darkalla, was quickly burnt, and another smaller town near it, and the few inhabitants who were found in them, chiefly infants and aged persons, were put to death without mercy, and thrown into the flames."§

Commodore Owen, who was employed in the survey of the eastern coast of Africa, about the years 1823 and 1824, says: "The riches of Quilimane consisted, in a trifling degree, of gold and silver, but principally

* Denham and Clapperton's Travels, &c., in Africa. London, 1826, p. 164.

† Ib. p. 214. ‡ Ib. p. 116. § Ib. p. 131.

of grain, which was produced in such quantities as to supply Mozambique. But the introduction of the Slave Trade stopped the pursuits of industry, and changed those places, where peace and agriculture had formerly reigned, into the seat of war and bloodshed. Contending tribes are now constantly striving to obtain, by mutual conflict, prisoners as slaves for sale to the Portuguese, who excite these wars, and fatten on the blood and wretchedness they produce."

In speaking of Inhambane, he says: "The slaves they do obtain are the spoils of war among the petty tribes, who, were it not for the market they thus find for their prisoners, would in all likelihood remain in peace with each other, and probably be connected by bonds of mutual interest."*

Mr. Ashmun, agent of the American Colonial Society, in writing to the Board of Directors, from Liberia, in 1823, says, "The following incident I relate, not for its singularity, for similar events take place, perhaps, every month in the year, but it has fallen under my own observation, and I can vouch for its authenticity:—King Boatswain, our most powerful supporter, and steady friend among the natives, (so he has uniformly shown himself,) received a quantity of goods on trust from a French slaver, for which he stipulated to pay young slaves—he makes it a point of honor to be punctual to his engagements. The time was at hand when he expected the return of the slaver, and he had not the slaves. Looking around on the peaceable tribes about him for his victims, he singled out the Queaks, a small agricultural and trading people of most inoffensive character. His warriors were skilfully distributed to the different hamlets, and making a simultaneous assault on the sleeping occupants in the dead of the night, accomplished, without difficulty or resistance, in one hour, the annihilation of the whole tribe; every adult,

* Owen's Voyage, &c., vol. i., p. 287.

man and woman, was murdered—every hut fired! Very young children, generally, shared the fate of their parents; the boys and girls alone were reserved to pay the Frenchman."*

The Commissioners at Sierra Leone, in a despatch of April 10, 1825, speaking of a great increase in the Slave Trade, which had then lately taken place on the coast between that colony and the Gallinas, state that the increased demand for slaves, consequent thereon, was "the cause of the destructive war which had raged in the Sherbro' for the last eighteen months, between the 'Cassoos,' a powerful nation living in the interior, and the Fi people, and Sherbro' Bulloms, who live near the water-side, and are completely under the influence of the slaving chiefs and factors settled in the neighborhood."† The Cassoos are represented as having carried fire, rapine, and murder throughout the different villages through which they passed, most of the women and children of which, together with the prisoners, were immediately sold to the slave factors, who were at hand to receive them.

We have also, on this head, the more recent testimony of Lander and Laird. Lander accompanied Clapperton from Badagry to Sockatoo, and on the death of Clapperton he returned to Badagry, with little variation, by the same route. In 1830 he was sent out by the British Government to Africa, and succeeded in navigating the Niger from Boosa, where Park was drowned, to the sea, in the Bight of Benin. In his journal, he observes that slavery has "produced the most baleful effects, causing anarchy, injustice, and oppression to reign in Africa, and exciting nation to rise up against nation, and man against man; it has covered the face of the country with desolation. All these evils, and many others, has slavery accomplished; in return for

* Ashmun's Life. New York, 1835, p. 160.
† Class A, 1826, p. 7.

which the Europeans, for whose benefit, and by whose connivance and encouragement it has flourished so extensively, have given to the heartless natives ardent spirits, tawdry silk dresses, and paltry neck laces of beads."*

Laird ascended the Niger and its tributary the Tschadda, in 1832, and was an eye-witness of the cruelties consequent on the Slave Trade, while in the river near to the confluence of the two streams. He says, speaking of the incursions of the Felatahs, "Scarcely a night passed, but we heard the screams of some unfortunate beings that were carried off into slavery by these villainous depredators. The inhabitants of the towns in the route of the Felatahs fled across the river on the approach of the enemy." "A few days after the arrival of the fugitives, a column of smoke rising in the air, about five miles above the confluence, marked the advance of the Felatahs; and in two days afterwards the whole of the towns, including Addah Cuddah, and five or six others, were in a blaze. The shrieks of the unfortunate wretches that had not escaped, answered by the loud wailings and lamentations of their friends and relations (encamped on the opposite bank of the river,) at seeing them carried off into slavery, and their habitations destroyed, produced a scene, which, though *common enough in the country*, has seldom, if ever before, been witnessed by European eyes, and showed to me, in a more striking light than I had hitherto beheld it, the horrors attendant upon slavery." †

Rankin, in the narrative of his visit to Seirra Leone in 1833, says: The warlike Sherbros had recently invaded the territories of the Timmanees, and had fallen on the unguarded Rokel, which became a prey to the flames. "The inhabitants who could not escape across

* Lander's Records. London, 1830, vol. i., p. 38.

† Laird and Oldfield's Narrative. London, 1837, vol. i, pp. 149, 247.

the river to Magbelly perished, or were made slaves, and the town was reduced to ashes." *

Colonel Nicolls, late Governor at Fernando Po, has informed me, that when he visited the town of Old Calebar, in 1834, he found the natives boasting of a predatory excursion, in which they had recently been engaged, in which they had surprised a village, killed those who resisted, and carried off the remainder as slaves. In alluding to this excursion, Colonel Nicolls heard an African boy, who had formed one of the party, declare that he had killed three himself!

The Rev. Mr. Fox, a Wesleyan missionary at the Gambia, in a letter dated 13th March, 1837, addressed to the Secretary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, says,—"I visited Jamalli a few weeks ago, and also Laming, another small Mandingo town, on the way: at the latter place I counted twelve huts that had been destroyed by fire, and at the former about forty. Proceeding to the Foulah town, about half a mile eastward, I found it was not in the least injured, but, like the other two, was without inhabitants, not a soul was to be seen."

"Foolokolong, a large Foulah town in Kimmington's dominions, has lately been attacked by Wooli, and, I believe, nearly the whole of it destroyed, the cattle driven away, and many of the inhabitants killed, and many others taken prisoners. On Wednesday evening last, I returned from a hasty visit to the upper river. I went as far as Fattatenda. At Bannatenda, not quite half the way, I found a poor aged Foulah woman in irons, who, upon inquiry, I found was from Foolokolong, one of the many who were captured in the recent war, and that she was to be sent to the south side of the river to be sold for a horse; I immediately rescued the half-famished, and three-parts naked female from the horrors of slavery, by giving a good horse, broke off

* Rankin's Sierra Leone. London, 1836, vol. ii., p. 259.

her chains, and brought her to this settlement, where, by a singular but happy coincidence, she met with her own brother, (who lives upon Hattaba's land,) who, hearing that she, her daughter, and daughter's children, had been taken in the war, had been a considerable way up the river to inquire after them, but heard nothing of them, and had consequently returned. I, of course, gave the woman up to her brother, from whom, as well as herself, and several Foulahs who came to see her, I received a number of blessings."

In another part of the same letter he writes,—"From the king himself I learned that they brought 350 Foulahs from Foolokolong, (Kimmington's largest Foulah town,) besides 100 whom they killed on the spot."

In another letter, dated 5th January, 1838, Mr. Fox says, "The Bambarras have proceeded a considerable distance down the north bank of the river, (Gambia,) have pillaged and destroyed several small towns, taken some of the inhabitants into slavery, and a few people have been killed."

"The neighborhood of M'Carthy's Island is again in a very disturbed state. Scarcely are the rains over, and the produce of a plentiful harvest gathered in, ere the noise of battle and the din of warfare is heard at a distance, with all its attendant horrors; mothers, snatching up their children with a few necessary articles, flee for their lives; towns, after being pillaged of as much cattle, &c., as the banditti require, are immediately set on fire; columns of smoke ascend the heavens; the cries of those who are being butchered may be more easily conceived than expressed; and those who escape destruction are carried into the miseries of hopeless slavery. A number of Bambarras are again on the north bank of the river, not far from this place, and the poor Foulahs at Jamalli have consequently fled to this island for protection, bringing with them as many of their cattle, and other things, as they could."

The Rev. Mr. M'Brair, another Wesleyan missionary,

who has seen much of the interior of Africa, in the vicinity of the Gambia, from which he has recently returned to this country, makes the following observations, in a letter also to the Secretary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society:

"On other occasions a party of men-hunters associate together, and, falling suddenly upon a small town or village during the night, they massacre all the men that offer any resistance, and carry away the rest of the inhabitants as the best parts of their spoil. Or, when a chieftain thinks himself sufficiently powerful, he makes the most frivolous excuses for waging war upon his neighbor, so that he may spoil his country of its inhabitants. Having been in close connexion with many of the liberated Africans in M'Carthy's Island, 250 miles up the Gambia, and also in St. Mary's, at the mouth of that river, we had many opportunities of learning the various modes in which they had been captured; from which it appeared that the wholesale method of seizure is by far the most frequent, and that, without this plan, a sufficient number of victims could not be procured for the market; so that it may be called the prevailing way of obtaining slaves."

"Whilst I was in M'Carthy's Island, a capture took place at the distance of half a day's journey from my abode. The king of Woolli, on a very slight pretence, fell upon a village during the night, slew six men, and carried off forty captives. The inhabitants also of a neighboring place were destined to the same fate, but having had timely notice of his approach, they saved themselves by a precipitous flight, and M'Carthy's Island was filled for a time with refugees from all the country round about."

The Rev. Mr. Morgan, another Wesleyan missionary, lately from the Gambia, writes to the Secretary as follows:—"I feel confident that the Slave Trade has established feuds among them (the African tribes around the Gambia,) by which they will be embroiled in war

for generations to come, unless the disposition be destroyed by the Christian religion, or their circumstances be changed by civilization."

I must not leave this part of my subject without calling attention to the extraordinary facts which have recently been made public, regarding the practices of the Pacha of Egypt, and the chiefs in Nubia and Darfour. There has been revealed to us a new feature in the mode of procuring negroes for slaves; and we find that troops regularly disciplined are, at stated seasons, led forth to hunt down and harry the defenceless inhabitants of Eastern Nigritia.

In a despatch from Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, Her Majesty's Consul at Cairo, of date 1st December 1837,* we are informed that the Consul waited on Mahomed Ali, and communicated to him "that statements had gone home to the Government and people of England, from eye-witnesses, that slave-hunts (*gazoua*) had been carried on by the officers and troops of the pacha; that large numbers of negroes had been taken, and had been distributed among the soldiers, in liquidation of the arrears of their pay; that on one occasion the gazoua had collected 2700 slaves, of whom 250 had been forced among the ranks of his army, and the remainder had been divided among the officers and soldiers at fixed prices, according to the state of their arrears."

The pacha professed not to know that his army had been employed in slave-hunts for the purpose of discharging arrears of pay; but he admitted he was aware that his officers had carried on the Slave Trade for their own account, "a conduct of which he by no means approved." We have no farther particulars in this important despatch: but the enterprise of a traveller, Count De Laborde, who has lately returned from Nubia and Egypt, will enable me to introduce those of my readers who

* Class B, Farther Series, 1837, p. 69.

have not seen his work,* to the scenes of cruelty and devastation perpetrated by the pacha's troops, which he has graphically described.

The narrative, of which I can only give a brief outline, was communicated to him by a French officer, who went to Cairo in 1828, and resided ten years in Egypt.

M. ——— there learnt that four expeditions, called gaswahs, annually set out from Obeid, the capital of Kordofan, towards the south, to the mountains inhabited by the Nubas negroes. The manner and object of their departure are thus described: "One day he heard a great noise; the whole village appeared in confusion; the cavalry were mounted, and the infantry discharging their guns in the air, and increasing the uproar with their still more noisy hurras. M. ———, on inquiring the cause of the rejoicing, was exultingly told by a follower of the troop, "It is the gaswah." "The gaswah! for what—gazelles?" "Yes, gazelles; here are the nets, ropes, and chains; they are to be brought home alive." On the return of the expedition, all the people went out, singing and dancing, to meet the hunters. M. ——— went out also, wishing to join in the rejoicing. He told Count Laborde he never could forget the scene presented to his eyes. What did he see? What gain did these intrepid hunters, after twenty days of toil, drag after them? Men in chains; old men carried on litters, because unable to walk; the wounded dragging their weakened limbs with pain, and a multitude of children following their mothers, who carried the younger ones in their arms. Fifteen hundred negroes, corded, naked, and wretched, escorted by 400 soldiers in full array. This was the gaswah. These the poor gazelles taken in the Desert. He himself afterwards accompanied one of these gaswahs. The expedition consisted of 400 Egyptian soldiers, 100 Be-

* Chasse aux Negres, Leon de Laborde, Paris, 1838.

douin cavalry, and twelve village chiefs, with peasants carrying provisions. On arriving at their destination, which they generally contrive to do before dawn, the cavalry wheel round the mountain, and by a skilful movement form themselves into a semi-circle on one side, whilst the infantry enclose it on the other. The negroes, whose sleep is so profound that they seldom have time to provide for their safety, are thus completely entrapped. At sunrise the troops commence operations by opening a fire on the mountain with musketry and cannon; immediately the heads of the wretched mountaineers may be seen in all directions, among the rocks and trees, as they gradually retreat, dragging after them the young and infirm. Four detachments armed with bayonets, are then despatched up the mountain in pursuit of the fugitives, whilst a continual fire is kept up from the musketry and cannon below, which are loaded only with powder, as their object is rather to dismay than to murder the inhabitants. The more courageous natives, however, make a stand by the mouths of the caves, dug for security against their enemies. They throw their long poisoned javelins, covering themselves with their shields, while their wives and children stand by them, and encourage them with their voices; but when the head of the family is killed, they surrender without a murmur. When struck by a ball, the negro, ignorant of the nature of the wound, may generally be seen rubbing it with earth till he falls through loss of blood. The less courageous fly with their families to the caves, whence the hunters expel them by firing pepper into the hole. The negroes, almost blinded and suffocated, run into the snares previously prepared, and are put in irons. If after the firing no one makes his appearance, the hunters conclude that the mothers have killed their children, and the husbands their wives and themselves. When the negroes are taken, their strong attachment to their families and lands is apparent. They refuse to stir, some clinging

to the trees with all their strength, while others embrace their wives and children so closely, that it is necessary to separate them with the sword; or they are bound to a horse, and are dragged over brambles and rocks until they reach the foot of the mountain, bruised, bloody, and disfigured. If they still continue obstinate, they are put to death.

Each detachment, having captured its share of the spoil, returns to the main body, and is succeeded by others, until the mountain, "de battue en battue," is depopulated. If from the strength of the position, or the obstinacy of the resistance, the first assault is unsuccessful, the General adopts the inhuman expedient of reducing them by thirst; this is easily effected by encamping above the springs at the foot of the mountain, and thus cutting off their only supply of water. The miserable negroes often endure this siege for a week; and may be seen gnawing the bark of trees to extract a little moisture, till at length they are compelled to exchange their country, liberty, and families, for a drop of water. They every day approach nearer, and retreat on seeing the soldiers, until the temptation of the water shown them becomes too strong to be resisted. At length they submit to have the manacles fastened on their hands, and a heavy fork suspended to their necks, which they are obliged to lift at every step.

The march from the Nuba mountains to Obeid is short. From thence they are sent to Cairo. There the pacha distributes them as he thinks proper; the aged, infirm, and wounded, are given to the Bedouins, who are the most merciless of masters, and exact their due of hard labor with a severity proportioned to the probable short duration of the lives of their unhappy victims.

At Obeid alone 6000 human beings are annually dragged into slavery, and that at the cost of 2000 more, who are killed in the capture. The king of Darfour also imports for sale yearly 8000 or 9000 slaves, a fourth

of whom usually die during the fatigues of a forced march: they are compelled, by the scarcity of provisions, to hurry forward with all speed. In vain the exhausted wretches supplicate for one day's rest; they have no alternative but to push on, or be left behind a prey to the hungry jackals and hyænas. "On one occasion," says the narrator, "when, a few days after the march of a caravan, I rapidly crossed the same desert, mounted on a fleet dromedary, I found my way by the newly-mangled human carcasses, and by them I was guided to the nightly halt."

Dr. Holroyd, whom I have already mentioned, in a letter to me, of date 14th January, 1839, says, in reference to these "gazouas" of the Egyptian troops, "I should think, if my information be correct, that, in addition to 7000 or 8000 taken captive, at least 1500 were killed in defence or by suffocation at the time of being taken; for I learnt that, when the blacks saw the troops advancing, they took refuge in caves; the soldiers then fired into the caverns, and, if this did not induce them to quit their places of concealment, they made fires at the entrance, and either stifled the negroes, or compelled them to surrender. Where this latter method of taking them was adopted, it was not an uncommon circumstance to see a female with a child at her breast, who had been wounded by a musket-ball, staggering from her hiding-place, and dying immediately after her exit."*

* In the same letter, dated January 14, 1839, Dr. Holroyd having mentioned that he had "brought from Kordofan, at his own request, a negro (an intelligent boy) about twelve years of age, who had been seized by Mahomed Ali's troops from Gebel Noobah, and from whom all particulars can be obtained in reference to that inhuman method of taking the blacks," I asked that the boy might be questioned as to what he had seen of the slave-hunts. Dr. Holroyd has favored me with the following "Statement of Almas, a negro boy taken in the gazzua of Gebel Noobah, three years ago, by the troops of Mahomed Ali Pacha. Almas is a native of Korgo, a very

I could add, were it necessary, a thousand other instances of the scenes of cruelty and bloodshed which are exhibited in Africa, having their origin in the Slave Trade; but enough has been said to prove the assertion with which I set out, that the principal and almost the only cause of war in the interior of Africa is the desire to procure slaves for traffic; and that the only difference betwixt the former times and the present day is this—that the mortality consequent on the cruelties of the system has increased in proportion to the increase of

considerable district on the south side of Gebel Noobah; it is governed by a sheik, who is under the command of a local sultan. He was living at Korgo at the time of his capture, and says that the pacha's troops made the attack during the night, whilst the negroes were sleeping; that they fired repeatedly upon the district with cannon and muskets, both loaded with shot; and that they burnt the straw huts of the negroes. As they escaped from their burning huts they were seized by the troops: many, especially the children, were burnt to death, and many were killed. Those who ran away, and were pursued by the soldiers, defended themselves with stones, spears, and trombashes; the latter, an iron weapon in common use among the natives of these mountains.

"The negroes retreated to the caves in the sides of the mountains, from whence they were eventually obliged to come forth, from fear of suffocation from the fires made at the entrances, or from want of food and water. He never heard of pepper, mentioned by Laborde, as having been used in loading the guns, or of firing it into the caves to blind or stifle the negroes. Pronged stakes were fastened round the throats of the men, and their hands were fixed in blocks of wood nailed together. Boys, of twelve or fourteen years, had their hands only manacled, and the young children and women were without any incumbrance. Two or three times Almas saw a stubborn slave drawn (to use his expression) like a carriage, by a horse across the rocks, until he was dead. He cannot say how many were killed in the attack; he thinks 500 were taken along with him from Korgo, but many of these died of thirst, hunger, and fatigue, on their march to Kordofan. Almas's father and brother were captured along with him, and the former was compelled to wear the pronged stick from Gebel Noobah to Kordofan. They are both soldiers at Sobeyet. His mother was seized by the sultan of Baggarah, who makes expeditions continually against the inhabitants of Gebel Noobah."

the traffic, which, it appears, has doubled in amount, as compared with the period antecedent to 1790.

I shall now estimate, as nearly as I can, the probable extent of mortality peculiarly incident to the period of seizure; but the difficulty of this is great, because our authorities on this point are not numerous. Lord Muncaster notices a statement of an African Governor to the Committee of 1790 :—"Mr. Miles said, he will not admit it to be war, only skirmish-fighting; and yet," Lord Muncaster adds, "Villault, who was on the Gold Coast in 1663, tells us, that in one of these 'skirmishes' above 60,000 men were destroyed; and Bosman says that in two of these 'skirmishes' the outrage was so great, that above 100,000 men were killed upon the spot. Mr. Devaynes also informs us that, while he was in the country, one of these 'skirmishes' happened between the kings of Dahorney and Eyo, in which 60,000 lost their lives."*

The Rev. John Newton, rector of St. Mary's Woolnooth, (who at one period of his life was engaged in slave-traffic on the coast of Africa,) observes, "I verily believe that the far greater part of the wars in Africa would cease, if the Europeans would cease to tempt them by offering goods for slaves; and, though they do not bring legions into the field, their wars are bloody. I believe the *captives reserved for sale* are FEWER than *the slain.* I have not sufficient data to warrant calculation, but I suppose that not less than 100,000 slaves are exported annually from all parts of Africa. *If but an equal number* are killed in war, and if many of these wars are kindled by the incentive of selling their prisoners, what an annual accumulation of blood must

* Lord Muncaster on the Slave Trade, p. 42.

there be crying against the nations of Europe concerned in this trade!"*

I have no *modern* authority to support the specific statement of Newton and Lord Muncaster, excepting that of Denham, who says, "That in one instance *twenty thousand* were *killed*, for *sixteen thousand* carried away into slavery;"† and in another case, that "probably *more than double*" the number of those captured for slaves, fell a sacrifice in the onset of the captors.‡

The second head of mortality, arising from the March and Detention, before being embarked, comes next in order; and first as to the

March.

"The Begarmese," says Browne, in his journey to Darfour in 1793, "attack on horseback the Kardee, Serrowa, Showa, Battah, and Mulgui tribes, and, seizing as many captives as possible, drive them like cattle to Begarmi."§ Mungo Park informs us that, "by far the greater number of slaves purchased by Europeans on the coast are brought down in large caravans from the inland countries, of which many are unknown, even by name to the Europeans.

"I was met," he says, "by a coffle (caravan) of slaves, about seventy in number, coming from Sego. They were tied together by their necks, with thongs of bullocks' hide twisted like a rope, seven slaves upon a thong, and a man with a musket between every seven. Many of the slaves were ill-conditioned, and a great number of them women; they were going to Morocco, by the way of Ludamar and the Great Desert."‖

* Newton on the Slave Trade. London, 1788, p. 30.
† Denham's Narrative, p. 214. ‡ Ibid, p. 116.
§ See Leyden's Discoveries, vol. i., p. 413.
‖ Park's Travels, vol. i., pp. 438, 290.

In another part of his journal, Park says that, on his route to Pisania, (a distance of 500 miles,) he joined a coffle, under a slattee, (slave-merchant,) Kaarfa, who was particularly kind to him, and whom he describes as "a worthy negro, with a mind above his condition—a good creature," and therefore not likely to be among the most cruel in the treatment of his slaves. While this slattee was collecting the coffle, Park arrived at his house. Kaarfa liberally offered to keep him there till the country should be fit for travelling. On the third day after his arrival, Park fell ill with the fever, and he bestows great praise on his "benevolent landlord," for his kindness and attention.* We are afterwards informed of the treatment of the slaves during the journey, which, be it remembered, was performed under the direction of this "worthy, good, and benevolent negro." It appears that "The slaves are commonly secured by putting the right leg of one, and the left of another into the same pair of fetters. By supporting the fetters with a string, they can walk, though very slowly. Every four slaves are likewise fastened together by the neck, with a strong pair of twisted thongs; and in the night an additional pair of fetters is put on their hands, and sometimes a light iron chain passed around their necks."

"Such of them as evince marks of discontent are secured in a different manner; a thick billet of wood is cut about three feet long, and, a smooth notch being made upon one side of it, the ancle of the slave is bolted to the smooth part by means of a strong iron staple, one prong of which passes on each side of the ancle. All these fetters and bolts are made from native iron. In the present case they were put on by the blacksmith as soon as the slaves arrived from Kancaba, and were not taken off until the morning when the coffle departed for Gambia."

* Park's Travels, vol. i., p. 388, &c.

He goes on to say, "Even to those who accompanied the caravan as a matter of choice, the toil was immense; and they travelled sometimes from morning till night without tasting a morsel of food." And afterwards—"During this day's travel, two slaves, a woman and a girl, were so much fatigued that they could not keep up with the coffle. They were severely whipped and dragged along, until about three o'clock in the afternoon, when they were both affected with vomiting, by which it was discovered that they had eaten clay." He then narrates a case of great cruelty: one of the female slaves had become quite exhausted, and every exertion was made by the whip to cause her to keep up with the coffle. When every effort failed, "the general cry of the coffle was 'kang-tegi,' (cut her throat.) I had not walked forward a mile, when one of Kaarfa's domestic slaves came up to me with poor Nealee's garment upon the end of his bow, and exclaimed, 'Nealee is lost;' he afterwards said, he had left her on the road."* A few days after this took place, a party of Serawoolie traders joined the coffle, and one of their male slaves became also completely exhausted; he was whipped and tortured to no purpose, and then left in charge of another slave, who, it was generally believed, put him to death.

It appears that there is also great suffering when these poor victims are conveyed to the coast, by the rivers. Falconbridge says, "While I was on the coast, during one of the voyages I made, the black traders brought down in different canoes from 1200 to 1500 negroes, which had been purchased at one fair." They consisted of all ages. Women sometimes form a part of them who happen to be so far advanced in their pregnancy as to be delivered during their journey from the fairs to the coast. And there is not the least room to doubt, but that, even before they can reach the fairs,

* Park's Travels, vol. i., p. 507, &c.

great numbers perish from cruel usage, want of food, travelling through inhospitable deserts, &c. They are brought in canoes, at the bottom of which they lie, having their hands tied, and a strict watch is kept over them. Their usage, in other respects, during the passage, is equally cruel. Their allowance of food is so scanty as barely to support nature. They are, besides, much exposed to the violent rains which frequently fall here, being covered only with mats that afford but a slight defence; and, as there is usually water at the bottom of the canoes, from leaking, they are scarcely ever dry."*

Here, again, it may be rejoined, "But these were the practices of the last century." Riley informs us that Sidi Hamet, the Moor, narrated to him, as an instance of the sufferings consequent on the route by the Desert, that the caravan which he accompanied from Wednoon to Timbuctoo, in 1807, consisted on its setting out of 1000 men and 4000 camels; but only twelve camels and twenty-one men escaped alive from the Desert.† Let us examine whether these cruel sufferings have been mitigated in our own times; and whether we may flatter ourselves that Africa is no longer the scene of such atrocities. Burkhardt, in 1814, accompanied a caravan from Shendy in Nubia, across the Desert, to Suakin on the Red Sea. There were slaves with the caravan on their way to Arabia. In the middle of the journey the caravan was alarmed by a threatened attack of robbers; they "moved on," we are told, "in silence; nothing was heard but the groans of a few infirm female slaves, and the whips of their cruel masters."‡ He also says that the females are almost universally the victims of the brutal lusts of their drivers.

Major Gray, while travelling in the country of Galam in 1821, fell in with a part of the Kaartan force, which

* Falconbridge on the Slave Trade. Lond. 1788, pp. 12, 13, 19, &c.
† Riley's Narrative, p. 361.
‡ Burckhardt's Travels, pp. 381, 336.

he said had taken 107 prisoners, chiefly women and children. "The men were tied in pairs by the necks, their hands secured behind their backs; the women by their necks only, but their hands were not left free from any sense of feeling for them, but in order to enable them to balance the immense loads of pang, corn, or rice, which they were forced to carry on their heads, and the children (who were unable to walk, or sit on horseback) behind their backs. They were hurried along at a pace little short of running, to enable them to keep up with the horsemen, who drove them on as Smithfield drovers do fatigued bullocks. Many of the women were old, and by no means able to endure such treatment." On a subsequent day he says, "The sufferings of the poor slaves during a march of nearly eight hours, partly under an excessively hot sun and east wind, heavily laden with water, of which they were allowed to drink but very sparingly, and travelling bare foot on a hard and broken soil, covered with long dried reeds, and thorny underwood, may be more easily conceived than described."

In the course of his journey Major Gray fell in with another detachment of slaves, and he says, "The women and children (all nearly naked, and carrying heavy loads) were tied together by the neck, and hurried along over a rough stony path, that cut their feet in a dreadful manner. There were a great number of children, who, from their tender years, were unable to walk, and were carried, some on the prisoners' backs, and others on horseback behind the captors, who, to prevent their falling off, tied them to the back part of the saddle with a rope made from the bark of the baoball, which was so hard and rough that it cut the back and sides of the poor little innocent babes, so as to draw the blood. This, however, was only a secondary state of the sufferings endured by those children, when compared to the dreadfully blistered and chafed state of their seats, from constant jolting on the bare back of the horse, seldom

going slower than a trot, or smart amble, and not unfrequently driven at full speed for a few yards, and pulled up short."*

In speaking of the route by the Desert, Lyon says:† "Children are thrown with the baggage on the camels, if unable to walk; but, if five or six years of age, the poor little creatures are obliged to trot on all day, even should no stop be made for fourteen or fifteen hours, as I have sometimes witnessed." "The daily allowance of food is a quart of dates in the morning, and half a pint of flour, made into bazeen, at night. Some masters never allow their slaves to drink after a meal, except at a watering-place." "None of the owners ever moved without their whips, which were in constant use. Drinking too much water, bringing too little wood, or falling asleep before the cooking was finished, were considered nearly capital crimes; and it was in vain for these poor creatures to plead the excuse of being tired,—nothing could avert the application of the whip." "No slave dares to be ill or unable to walk; but, when the poor sufferer dies, the master suspects there must have been something 'wrong inside,' and regrets not having liberally applied the *usual* remedy of burning the belly with a red-hot iron; thus reconciling themselves to their cruel treatment of these unfortunate wretches."

This description is confirmed by Caillie, who, in his account of his journey from Timbuctoo through the Desert, gives the following case of barbarity, which he says he had the misfortune to see too often repeated:— "A poor Bambara slave of twenty-five years was cruelly treated by some Moors, who compelled him to walk, without allowing him to halt for a moment, or to quench his burning thirst. The complaints of this unfortunate creature might have moved the hardest heart. Sometimes he would beg to rest himself against the

* Gray's Travels in Africa, pp. 290, 295, and 323.
† Lyon, p. 297.

crupper of a camel; and at others he threw himself down on the sand in despair. In vain did he implore, with uplifted hands, a drop of water; his cruel masters answered his prayers and his tears only with stripes."*

In another part of his work, Caillie says—

"Our situation was still the same; the east wind blew with violence; and, far from affording us any refreshment, it only threatened to bury us under the mountains of sand which it raised; and, what was still more alarming, our water diminished rapidly from the extreme drought which it occasioned. Nobody suffered more intensely from thirst than the poor little slaves, who were crying for water. Exhausted by their sufferings and their lamentations, these unhappy creatures fell on the ground, and seemed to have no power to rise; but the Moors did not suffer them to continue there long when travelling. Insensible to the sufferings which childhood is so little fitted to support, these barbarians dragged them along with violence, beating them incessantly till they had overtaken the camels, which were already at a distance."†

In 1824, Denham and Clapperton penetrated to Nigritia by the Desert from Fezzan, the route usually taken by slave-caravans going to the north of Africa. In narrating his excursion to Munga, Major Denham speaks of a caravan which he met at Kouka, consisting of ten merchants from Soudan with nearly 100 slaves, and he observes, "If the hundreds, nay thousands, of skeletons that whiten in the blast between this place and Mourzouk, did not of themselves tell a tale replete with woe, the difference of appearance in all slaves here, (where they are fed tolerably,) and the state in which they usually arrive in Fezzan, would but too clearly prove the acuteness of the sufferings which commence on their leaving the negro country; going as they do, poor creatures, nearly naked, the cold of Fezzan, in the

* Caillie's Travels, vol. ii. p. 89. † Ibid., p. 114.

winter season, kills them by hundreds."* This fact, as to the change of climate, is also noticed by Captain Lyon, who, speaking of the passage across the mountains of Fezzan, says, "Feb. 12th, Ther. 30° below 0°. Water freezes, and the poor negroes in great distress from the cold."†

When the travellers arrived at the well of Meshroo, Denham says: "Round this spot were lying more than one hundred skeletons: our camels did not come up till dark, and we bivouacked in the midst of those unearthed remains of the victims of persecution and avarice, after a long day's journey of twenty-six miles, in the course of which one of our party counted 107 of these skeletons." Shortly afterwards, he adds: "During the last two days we had passed on an average from sixty to eighty or ninety skeletons each day; but the numbers that lay about the wells at El Hammar were countless."‡ Jackson informs§ us that in 1805 "a caravan from Timbuctoo to Tafilet was disappointed at not finding water at the usual watering-place, and entirely perished; 2000 persons and 1800 camels."

Dr. Holroyd, in the letter to me which I have already quoted, in speaking of the "gaswah" in Kordofan, says: "These slave-hunts have produced a great depopulation in the districts where they are practised; there is not only a terrible waste of life in the attempts to capture the negroes, but after they are seized there is so much of ill-usage and brutality, that I have been assured that *no less than thirty per cent. perish* in the first ten days after their seizure."

Dr. Bowring stated to me, that "in conversations which I have had with the domestic slaves in the towns of Egypt, they talk with the greatest horror of the sufferings connected with their first experience of the bit-

* Denham, pp. 172, 280. † Lyon, p. 298.
‡ Denham, p. 12.
§ Jackson's Travels in Africa, 1809, p. 239.

terness of slavery. And these are but the beginning of sorrows. In the progress across the Desert, many perish from thirst and from fatigue. I have often heard their miseries described on their way, from the poverty of the fellahs and insufficiency of the caravans, which are often charged with an excessive number of slaves. An estimate being made of the greatest number which it is possible to preserve with the supply of water that remains, all the rest are abandoned, and die of starvation in the sandy wilderness."

"I will give you from the mouth, and nearly in the words, of a female slave at Cairo, her account of the journey across the Desert to Siout. 'We had a long, long journey, and we suffered very much. We had not food enough to eat, and sometimes we had no drink at all, and our thirst was terrible. When we stopped, almost dying for want of water, they killed a camel, and gave us his blood to drink. But the camels themselves could not get on, and then they were killed, and we had their flesh for meat and their blood for water. Some of the people were too weak to get on, and so they were left in the Desert to die. The fellahs were some of them good people, and when we were tired allowed us to ride upon the camels; but there were many who would never let the negroes ride, but forced them always to walk, always over the sand—but when we had been days without water, many dropped down and were left upon the sand; so that, when we got to the end of our journey, numbers of those that had been with us were with us no longer.'"

Dr. Holroyd says that "These unfortunate individuals (those selected for the army) were marched down to Kartoom, fourteen days' journey, completely naked; and, to add to their misery, a wooden stake, six or seven feet long, and forked at one extremity, was attached to the neck of one by means of a cross bar, retained in its position by stripes of bull's hide; to the other end of the stake an iron ring was fastened, which

encircled the throat of another of the poor harmless creatures. They were then unmercifully driven to Kartoom, with scarcely anything to eat on the way, and compelled to traverse a burning desert with a very sparing and scanty supply of water. They were despatched in companies of fifties, and so great were their privations and fatigue on the journey, that a letter arrived at Kordofan, addressed to Mustapha Bey, from Shorshid Pacha, of Kartoom, Governor General of Soudan, and which was read during a visit I made to the divan of the former, in which the latter stated, that of fifty slaves who left Kordofan some days before, only thirty-five were living on the arrival of the caravan at Kartoom."

Richard Lander, in his account of Captain Clapperton's last journey in 1826, in which he attended that traveller, speaking of the state of the slaves whom he saw on their journeys, observes: "In their toilsome journeyings from one part of the country to another, it must be admitted that the captured slaves undergo incredible hardships." He left Socatoo, with a party of traders, and the "king of Jacoba," who had fifty slaves, whom he was conducting (with heavy loads on their heads) to his own country. Two days afterwards Lander was informed that the whole of these slaves were missing; and on search being made, it was ascertained that they *had all perished from excessive fatigue and want of water.**

Mr. Oldfield, who accompanied Laird in the expedition up the Niger, in 1833, in giving a description of Bocqua market, says: "Under the mats and in the enclosures, are to be seen male and female slaves, from the age of five up to thirty. Some of these children of misfortune, more intelligent than others, are to be seen sitting pensive and melancholy, apparently in deep thought, while their poor legs are swelled from confine-

* Lander's Records, vol. i., p. 301; and vol. ii., p. 95.

ment in irons, or being closely stowed at the bottom of a canoe; and, he adds, "It is painful to contemplate the number of slaves annually sold at this market, most of whom are forwarded to the sea-side."*

Many more extracts might have been taken, from the remarks of modern travellers, on this branch of the subject; but enough has been adduced to prove that the cruelties and consequent mortality arising from *the march after seizure* have not *decreased* since the time of Falconbridge and Park.

I shall only further add, on the authority of Dr. Meyen, (a German who, a few years ago, published an account of a Voyage round the World,) that "M. Mendez, the author of a very learned treatise on the Causes of the great Mortality of the Negro Slaves, estimates the number of those who die, merely on the journey from the interior to the coast, *at five-twelfths of the whole.*"†

Detention.

The next cause of mortality arises from the detention of the slaves on the coast, before they are embarked, and this occurs, for the most part, when the vessel for which they may be destined has not arrived, or is not ready to sail, or may be in dread of capture after sailing.

A gentleman resident at Senegal in 1818, stated to his correspondent at Paris, that "No one in the town is ignorant that there are here 600 wretched creatures shut up in the slave yards, waiting for embarkation. The delay which has occurred causing a serious expense, they receive only what is sufficient to keep them alive, and they are made to go out for a short space of time, morning and evening, loaded with irons.†

When Commodore Owen visited Benguela in 1825,

* Laird and Oldfield, vol. i., p. 409.

† Dr. Meyen, German edition, vol. i. p. 77.

‡ 13th Report of the African Institution, Ap. G. p. 99.

he says, "We had here an opportunity of seeing bond slaves of both sexes chained together in pairs. About 100 of these unhappy beings had just arrived from a great distance in the interior. Many were mere skeletons, laboring under every misery that want and fatigue could produce. In some, the fetters had, by their constant action, worn through the lacerated flesh to the bare bone, the ulcerated wound having become the resort of myriads of flies, which had deposited their eggs in the gangrenous cavities."*

Oiseau, commanding the brig Le Louis, on completing his cargo of slaves at the Old Calebar, thrust the whole of the unfortunate beings between decks, a height of nearly three feet, and closed the hatches for the night. When morning made its appearance, fifty of the poor sufferers had paid the debt of nature. The wretch coolly ordered the bodies of his victims to be thrown into the river, and immediately proceeded on shore to complete his execrable cargo.†

Richard Lander tells us that the Brazen, in which he went to Africa in 1825, captured a Spanish brigantine which was waiting off Accra, for a cargo of slaves. A few days after this capture, the commander of the Brazen landed at Papoe, and demanded the slaves which were to have been embarked in the brigantine. They were ultimately given up, and Lander says, "The slaves at length made their appearance, and exhibited a long line of melancholy faces, and emaciated frames, wasted by disease and close confinement, and by their having suffered dreadfully from scantiness of food, and the impure air of their prison-house. They were in a complete state of nudity, and heavily manacled; several of them were lamed by the weight of their irons, and their skin sadly excoriated from the same cause.‡

At the close of this journey, Lander says:—"I saw

* Owen, vol. ii. p. 234. † Class B, 1825, p. 123.
‡ Lander's Records, vol. i. p. 31.

400 slaves at Badagry in the Bight of Benin, crammed into a small schooner of eighty tons. The appearance of these unhappy human beings was squalid and miserable in the extreme ; they were fastened by the neck in pairs, only one-fourth of a yard of chain being allowed for each, and driven to the beach by a parcel of hired scoundrels, whilst their associates in cruelty were in front of the party pulling them along by a narrow band, their only apparel, which encircled the waist." "Badagry being a general mart for the sale of slaves to European merchants, it not unfrequently happens that the market is either overstocked with human beings, or no buyers are to be found ; in which case the maintenance of the unhappy slaves devolves solely on the Government. The king then causes an examination to be made, when the sickly, as well as the old and infirm, are carefully selected, and chained by themselves in one of the factories, (five of which, containing upwards of one thousand slaves of both sexes, were at Badagry during my residence there;) and next day the majority of these poor wretches are pinioned and conveyed to the banks of the river, where having arrived, a weight of some sort is appended to their necks, and being rowed in canoes to the middle of the stream, they are flung into the water, and left to perish by the pitiless Badagrians. Slaves, who for other reasons are rejected by the merchants, undergo the same punishment, or are left to endure more lively torture at the sacrifices, by which means hundreds of human beings are annually destroyed."*

Mr. Leonard informs us, "that about 1830, the king of Loango told the officers of the Primrose that he could load eight slave-vessels in one week, and give each 400 or 500 ; but that, having now no means of disposing of the greater part of his prisoners, he was obliged to kill them. And, shortly before the Primrose arrived, a

* Lander's Records, vol. ii. pp. 241, 250.

great number of unfortunate wretches, who had been taken in a predatory excursion, after having been made use of to carry loads of the plundered ivory, &c., to the coast, on their arrival there, as there was no market for them, and as the trouble and expense of their support would be considerable, they were taken to the side of a hill, a little beyond the town, and coolly knocked on the head."*

In 1833, Mr. Oldfield found several dozen human skulls lining the bank of the river Nunn, (one of the mouths of the Niger,) at a barracoon or slave-house, which he discovered were the remains of slaves who had died there.†

An intelligent master of a merchant vessel, who, for many years past, has been engaged in the African trade, informs me, that after the slave-dealing captains have made their selections of the slaves brought on board for sale, the unfortunate creatures who may be rejected, " are sent immediately on shore, and marched down to the barracoon, chained together, a distance of five miles. I have seen the most piteous entreaties made by the poor rejected creatures to the captain to take them, for they knew that to be returned on shore was only to encounter a worse fate by starvation." He is speaking of the river Bonny, and he goes on to say, " Ju Ju town contains about twelve barracoons: they are built to contain from 300 to 700 slaves each. I have seen from 1500 to 2000 slaves at a time, belonging to the several vessels then in the river."

" I have known disease to make dreadful havoc in these places, more especially in the year 1831, when the small-pox carried off 200 in one barracoon. Great numbers are carried off annually by diarrhœa and other diseases."

Colonel Nicolls has stated to me that, during his

* Leonard's Voyage to Western Africa, p. 147.
† Laird and Oldfield's Journal, vol. i., p. 339.

residence at Fernando Po, he visited the river Cameroons, where he saw a number of slaves in a barracoon; "they were confined in irons, two and two, and many of them had the irons literally grating against their bones through the raw flesh."

It is stated by a naval officer sailing in the Preventive Squadron, in a letter to a relative, dated about a year ago, and communicated to me, that in 1837, having been employed in Blockading a Portuguese brig, up one of the rivers in the Bight of Biafra, "On arriving at my station, I had positive information that the Portuguese had bought upwards of 400 slaves, and was about to sail. By some means or other she got information that a British boat was blockading her, consequently she postponed her sailing for several weeks. Shortly afterwards, on my inquiring into her state, I found 300 of her slaves had died, chiefly of starvation, and a few were shot by the Portuguese whilst attempting to escape. A few days afterwards the brig sailed without any slaves, all with the exception of about a score, having fallen victims to the system pursued."

Captain Cook has informed me that he saw many blind negroes in Quilimane, (1837,) who subsisted by begging; they were the remains, he was informed, of a cargo landed from a Monte Videan vessel, which had been attacked by ophthalmia. If they lived, they were left to starve.

He also says, that in September, 1837, a number of slaves were suffocated on board the brig Generous, at Quilimane. The boatswain had, it appeared, shut the hatches close down after the slaves had been put below in the evening; it was his duty to have kept the hatch uncovered, and to have placed guards over them; but this would have required his own vigilance, and he considered a sound sleep was to him worth all the slaves on board, especially as they cost him nothing." This case came to Captain Cook's knowledge in consequence of a quarrel between the captain and the boatswain.

"The pecuniary loss was all that was regretted by the captain."

Captain Cook adds, that slaves who "die on board, in port, are never interred on shore, but are invariably thrown overboard, when they sometimes float backward and forward with the tide for a week, should the sharks and alligators not devour them. Should a corpse chance to be washed on shore at the top of high-water, it is permitted to remain until the vultures dispose of it." "I have known one to be near the Custom-house upwards of a week, during which time the stench was intolerable."

In a letter addressed by Captain Cook to the editor of the Standard, dated 16th July, 1838, he says that instances have been known of slaves having been buried alive in Quilimane for some trifling offence, and that the consequent punishment (if there was any at all,) was a mere trifle, as imprisonment for a month, and he adds,—

"The fact, however, which I am now about to state, occurred in August, 1837, and came under my own observation, and to all of which I am ready to bear testimony on oath, if required. Slaves to the number of 250, or thereabouts, male and female, adults and children, were brought in canoes from Senna, a Portuguese settlement at some distance in the interior of Africa, to be sold at Quilimane, there being at that time several slavers lying in the river. These unfortunate beings were consigned to a person holding a high civil appointment under the Portuguese Government, (the collector of customs:) these poor creatures were from a part of the country where it is said that the natives make bad slaves; consequently, as there was abundance of human flesh in the market, they did not meet with a ready sale. The wretch to whom they were consigned actually refused them sustenance of any kind. Often have I been compelled to witness the melancholy spectacle of from twelve to twenty of my fellow creatures,

without distinction of age or sex, chained together, with a heavy iron chain around the neck, wandering about the town in quest of food to satisfy the cravings of nature, picking up bones and garbage of every description from the dung heaps, snails from the fields, and frogs from the ditches, and, when the tide receded, collecting the shell-fish that were left on the bank of the river, or sitting round a fire roasting and eagerly devouring the sea-weed.

"Again and again have I seen one or more of these poor creatures, when unable from sickness to walk, crawling on their hands and knees, accompanying the gang to which they were chained when they went in search of their daily food .... for one could not move without the whole. In consequence of this treatment, they soon became so emaciated that the slave-dealers would not purchase them on any terms; in this state, horrid as it must appear, the greater part were left to perish, without food, medicine, or clothing, for the little piece of coarse cotton cloth worn by a few of the females, did not deserve the name, and could answer no other purpose than to lodge the vermin with which they were covered; their bones protruding through the skin, they presented the appearance of living skeletons, lingering amidst hunger and disease, till death, their best friend, released most of them at once from suffering and bondage."

From these extracts, it is evident that this branch of the case furnishes an item of no small magnitude in the black catalogue of negro destruction.

I now proceed to the

Middle Passage.

"The stings of a wounded conscience man cannot inflict; but nearly all which man can do to make his fellow creatures miserable, without defeating his purpose by putting a speedy end to their existence, will still be here effected: and it will still continue true, that never can so much misery be found condensed into so small a space as in a slave-ship during the middle passage."—*Wilberforce, Letter*, 1807.

It was well observed by Mr. Fox, in a debate on the Slave Trade, that "True humanity consists not in a squeamish ear; it consists not in starting or shrinking at such tales as these, but in a disposition of heart to relieve misery. True humanity appertains rather to the mind than to the nerves, and prompts men to use real and active endeavors to execute the actions which it suggests."

In the spirit of this observation, I now go on to remark that the first feature of this deadly passage, which attracts our attention, is the evident insufficiency, in point of tonnage, of the vessels employed, for the cargoes of human beings which they are made to contain.

In 1788 a law passed the British Legislature, by which it was provided that vessels, under 150 tons, should not carry more than five men to every three tons; that vessels above 150 tons should not carry more than three men to every two tons; and that the height of slave-vessels, between decks, should not be less than five feet. In 1813 it was decreed by the government of Portugal and Brazil that two tons should be allowed for every five men; and the Spanish "Cedula," of 1817, adopted the same scale. It is understood that the Spanish and Portuguese ton bears the proportion of one and a half to the British ton. The allowance in British transports is three men to every two tons.

	Men.		Tons.
The lowest rate then allowed by the British was - - - - -	5	to	3
And by Spain, Portugal, and Brazil, it should be - - - - - -	5	to	3
But for British soldiers the regulation is	3	to	2

and, although this allowance in the transport of troops seems to be liberal, when compared with the space afforded for slaves, even here complaints have often been made of the insufficiency.

Let us then keep in view these rates of tonnage, as we proceed to ascertain the accommodation which has been, and is now, afforded to the negroes on the middle passage; and here, at least, one reason will be apparent for the increase of suffering and mortality which have recently occurred, viz. that the extent of accommodation, limited as it was, has been *greatly curtailed.*

We have a faithful description of the miseries of the middle passage, from the pen of an eye-witness, Mr. Falconbridge. His account refers to a period antecedent to 1790. He tells us, that "The men negroes, on being brought aboard ship, are immediately fastened together two and two, by handcuffs on their wrists, and by irons riveted on their legs." "They are frequently stowed so close as to admit of no other posture than lying on their sides. Neither will the height between decks, unless directly under the grating, permit them the indulgence of an erect posture, especially where there are platforms, which is generally the case. These platforms are a kind of shelf, about eight or nine feet in breadth, extending from the side of the ship towards the centre. They are placed nearly midway between the decks, at the distance of two or three feet from each deck. Upon these the negroes are stowed in the same manner as they are on the deck underneath." After mentioning some other arrangements, he goes on to say, "It often happens that those who are placed at a distance from the buckets, in endeavoring to get to them,

tumble over their companions, in consequence of their being shackled. These accidents, although unavoidable, are productive of continual quarrels, in which some of them are always bruised. In this distressed situation they desist from the attempt, and . . . . This becomes a fresh source of broils and disturbances, and tends to render the situation of the poor captive wretches still more uncomfortable."

"In favorable weather they are fed upon deck, but in bad weather their food is given to them below. Numberless quarrels take place among them during their meals; more especially when they are put upon short allowance, which frequently happens. In that case, the weak are obliged to be content with a very scanty portion. Their allowance of water is about half a pint each, at every meal.

"Upon the negroes refusing to take sustenance, I have seen coals of fire, glowing hot, put on a shovel, and placed so near their lips as to scorch and burn them, and this has been accompanied with threats of forcing them to swallow the coals, if they any longer persisted in refusing to eat. These means have generally the desired effect. I have also been credibly informed that a certain captain in the Slave Trade poured melted lead on such of the negroes as obstinately refused their food." Falconbridge then tells us that the negroes are sometimes compelled to dance and to sing, and that, if any reluctance is exhibited, the cat-o'-nine tails is employed to enforce obedience. He goes on to mention the unbounded license given to the officers and crew of the slavers, as regards the women; and, speaking of the officers, he says, they "are sometimes guilty of such brutal excesses as disgrace human nature." "But," he continues, "the hardships and inconveniences suffered by the negroes during the passage are scarcely to be enumerated or conceived. They are far more violently affected by the sea-sickness than the Europeans. It frequently terminates in death, espe-

cially among the women. The exclusion of the fresh air is among the most intolerable. Most ships have air-ports; but, whenever the sea is rough and the rain heavy, it becomes necessary to shut these and every other conveyance by which air is admitted. The fresh air being thus excluded, the negroes' rooms very soon grow intolerably hot. The confined air, rendered noxious by the effluvia exhaled from their bodies, and by being repeatedly breathed, soon produces fevers and fluxes, which generally carry off great numbers of them. During the voyages I made I was frequently a witness to the fatal effects of this exclusion of the fresh air. I will give one instance, as it serves to convey some idea, though a very faint one,* of the state of these unhappy beings. Some wet and blowing weather having occasioned the port-holes to be shut, and the gratings to be covered, fluxes and fevers among the negroes ensued. My profession requiring it, I frequently went down among them, till at length their apartments became so extremely hot, as to be only sufferable for a very short time. But the excessive heat was not the only thing that rendered their situation intolerable. The deck, that is, the floor of their rooms, was so covered with the blood and mucus which had proceeded from them in consequence of the flux, that it resembled a slaughter-house. It is not in the power of the human imagination to picture to itself a situation more dreadful or more disgusting.

* One circumstance has struck me very forcibly. I have received communications, both by letter and in conversation, from many naval officers who have boarded slave-ships, and I have observed that, without an exception, they all make this observation—"No words can describe the horrors of the scene, or the sufferings of the negroes." I have recently shown these pages to a naval officer, now a captain in the service, who had long been employed in the preventive squadron, requesting him to point out any error into which I might have fallen. He replied, "Your statement is true as far as it goes; but it is, after all, only a faint picture of the reality."

"Numbers of the slaves having fainted, they were carried on deck, where several of them died; and the rest were with great difficulty restored. It had nearly proved fatal to me also; the climate was too warm to admit the wearing of any clothing but a shirt, and that I had pulled off before I went down; notwithstanding which, by only continuing among them for about a quarter of an hour, I was so overcome by the heat, stench, and foul air, that I had nearly fainted; and it was not without assistance that I could get upon deck. The consequence was, that I soon after fell sick of the same disorder, from which I did not recover for several months. A circumstance of this kind sometimes repeatedly happens in the course of a voyage, and often to a greater degree than what has just been described; particularly when the slaves are much crowded, which was not the case at that time, the ship having more than 100 short of the number she was to have taken in; yet, out of 380, 105 died on the passage,—a proportion seemingly very great, but by no means uncommon."

He proceeds to notice the case of a Liverpool vessel, which took on board at the Bonny river nearly 700 slaves (more than three to each ton!); and Falconbridge says,—"By purchasing so great a number, the slaves were so crowded, that they were even obliged to lie one upon another. This occasioned such a mortality among them, that, without meeting with unusual bad weather, or having a longer voyage than common, nearly one-half of them died before the ship arrived in the West Indies." He then describes the treatment of of the sick as follows:—"The place allotted for the sick negroes is under the half-deck, where they lie on the bare plank. By this means, those who are emaciated frequently have their skin, and even their flesh, entirely rubbed off, by the motion of the ship, from the prominent parts of the shoulders, elbows, and hips, so as to render the bones in those parts quite bare. The excruciating pain which the poor sufferers feel from

being obliged to continue in so dreadful a situation, frequently, for several weeks, if they happen to live so long, is not to be conceived or described. Few indeed are ever able to withstand the fatal effects of it. The surgeon, upon going between decks in the morning, frequently finds several of the slaves dead, and, among the men, sometimes a dead and a living negro fastened by their irons together."

He then states that surgeons are driven to engage in the "Guinea Trade" by the confined state of their finances; and that at most the only way in which a surgeon can render himself useful is by seeing that the food is properly cooked and distributed to the slaves: "when once the fever and dysentery get to any height at sea, a cure is scarcely ever effected." "One-half, sometimes two-thirds, and even beyond that, have been known to perish. Before we left Bonny River, no less than fifteen died of fevers and dysenteries, occasioned by their confinement."* Falconbridge also told the Committee of 1790, that, "in stowing the slaves, they wedge them in, so that they had not as much room as a man in his coffin; that, when going from one side of their rooms to the other, he always took off his shoes, but could not avoid pinching them, and that he had the marks on his feet where they bit and scratched him; their confinement in this situation was so injurious, that he has known them to go down apparently in good health at night, and found dead in the morning."

Any comment on the statement of Falconbridge must be superfluous; he had been a surgeon in slave-ships, he was a respectable witness before the Committee of Inquiry in 1790, and gave the substance of this statement in evidence. And it ought to be borne in mind that he was an eye-witness of the scenes which he has described. His evidence is the more valuable, when it is considered that we have long been debarred from

* Falconbridge, p. 19, &c.

testimony equally credible and direct; as, since 1807, Britain has taken no part in the slave-traffic: and it has been the policy of the foreign nations who have continued the trade to conceal, as far as they could, the horrors and miseries which are its attendants.

Mr. Granville Sharpe (the zealous advocate of the negro) brought forward a case which aroused public attention to the horrors of this passage. In his Memoirs we have the following account taken from his private memoranda:

"March 19, 1783. Gustavus Vasa called on me with an account of 130 negroes being thrown alive into the sea, from on board an English slave-ship.

"The circumstances of this case could not fail to excite a deep interest. The master of a slave-ship, trading from Africa to Jamaica, and having 440 slaves on board, had thought fit, on a pretext that he might be distressed on his voyage for want of water, to lessen the consumption of it in the vessel by throwing overboard 132 of the most sickly among the slaves. On his return to England, the owners of the ship claimed from the insurers the full value of those drowned slaves, on the ground that there was an absolute necessity for throwing them into the sea, in order to save the remaining crew, and the ship itself. The underwriters contested the existence of the alleged necessity; or, if it had existed, attributed it to the ignorance and improper conduct of the master of the vessel. This contest of pecuniary interest brought to light a scene of horrid brutality which had been acted during the execution of a detestable plot. From the trial, it appeared that the ship Zong, Luke Collingwood, master, sailed from the island of St. Thomas, on the coast of Africa, September 6, 1781, with 440 slaves and fourteen whites on board, for Jamaica, and that in the November following, she fell in with that island; but, instead of proceeding to some port, the master, mistaking, as he

alleges, Jamaica for Hispaniola, run her to leeward. Sickness and mortality had by this time taken place on board the crowded vessel; so that, between the time of leaving the coast of Africa, and the 29th of November, sixty slaves, and seven white people, had died, and a great number of the surviving slaves were then sick and not likely to live. On that day the master of the ship called together a few of the officers, and stated to them that, if the sick slaves died a natural death, the loss would fall on the owners of the ship; but, if they were thrown alive into the sea on any sufficient pretext of necessity for the safety of the ship, it would be the loss of the underwriters, alleging, at the same time, that it would be less cruel to throw sick wretches into the sea, than to suffer them them to linger out a few days under the disorder with which they were afflicted.

"To this inhuman proposal the mate, James Kelsel, at first objected; but Collingwood at length prevailed on the crew to listen to it. He then chose out from the cargo 132 slaves, and brought them on deck, all, or most of whom were sickly, and not likely to recover, and he ordered the crew by turns to throw them into the sea. 'A parcel' of them were accordingly thrown overboard, and on counting over the remainder the next morning, it appeared that the number so drowned had been fifty-four. He then ordered another parcel to be thrown over, which, on a second counting, on the succeeding day, was proved to have amounted to forty-two.

"On the third day the remaining thirty-six were brought on deck, and, as these now resisted the cruel purpose of their masters, the arms of twenty-six were fettered with irons, and the savage crew proceeded with the diabolical work, casting them down to join their comrades of the former days. Outraged misery could endure no longer; the ten last victims sprang disdainfully from the grasp of their tyrants, defied their power,

and leaping into the sea, felt a momentary triumph in the embrace of death."*

The evidence taken before the Parliamentary Committees of 1790 and 1791, abounds with similar cases of enormity. I should be entitled, if it were necessary to quote every one of them, because the middle passage, at that time, when the traffic was legal, was less horrible than now, when it is contraband. But I have limited myself to two extracts; the one, because it is the narrative of a surgeon,† a class of officers now scarcely to be met with in a slave-ship, and because it gives, in a brief and continuous narrative, the chief features of the voyage across the Atlantic; the other, because every fact was proved in a court of justice.

Such were some of the cruelties of the middle passage towards the end of the last century; and it might have been expected, that since that time, some improvement should have taken place; but it is not so: the treatment of slaves by the British, subsequent to the Slave Regulation Act, and down to 1808, was mildness itself, when compared with the miseries consequent on the trade, and the system which has been pursued in the vain attempt to put it down, since that period to the present time.

Mr. Wilberforce, in his letter to his constituents in 1807, observes, "Many of the sufferings of these wretched beings are of a sort for which no legislative regulations can provide a remedy. Several of them, indeed, arise necessarily out of their peculiar circumstances, as connected with their condition on shipboard. It is necessary to the safety of the vessel to secure the men by chains and fetters. It is necessary

* "Memoirs of Granville Sharp," edited by Prince Hoare. London, 1820, pp. 236–238.

† Captain Cook, from whose communication to me I have already given extracts, narrating some of the cruelties of the middle passage, says, "With all this probability, or rather certainty, of disease, I never knew but one slaver that carried a surgeon."

to confine them below during the night, and in very stormy weather during the day also. Often it happens that with the numbers still allowed to be taken, especially when some of those epidemic diseases prevail, which, though less frequent than formerly, will yet occasionally happen; and when men of different countries and languages, or of opposite tempers, are linked together, that such scenes take place as are too nauseous for description. Still in rough weather their limbs must be excoriated by lying on the boards; still they will often be wounded by the fetters; still food and exercise will be deemed necessary to present the animal in good condition at the place of sale; still some of them will loathe their food, and be averse to exercise, from the joint effect, perhaps of sea-sickness and mental uneasiness; and still, while in this state, they will probably be charged with sulkiness; and eating, and dancing in their fetters, will be enforced by stripes; still, the high netting will be necessary, that standing precaution of an African ship against acts of suicide; but more than all, still must the diseases of the mind remain entire, nay, they may, perhaps, increase in force, from the attention being less called off by the urgency of bodily suffering; the anguish of husbands torn from their wives,—wives from their husbands, and parents from their children; the pangs arising from the consideration that they are separated for ever from their country, their friends, their relations and connexions, remain the same."*

Such is the statement of Wilberforce as to the middle passage in its mildest form. This truly great man had the satisfaction shortly afterwards to witness the abolition of the traffic on the part of Britain,—a triumph on the side of humanity, which his unceasing and strenuous efforts were mainly instrumental in obtaining.

Since 1808, the English Government has, with vari-

* Wilberforce's Letter, p. 99, &c.

ous success, been indefatigably engaged in endeavoring to procure the co-operation of foreign powers for the suppression of the Slave Trade. In virtue of the treaties which have been entered into, many vessels engaged in the traffic have been captured; and much information has been obtained, which has been regularly laid before Parliament. A few of the cases which have been detailed, will now be noticed, for the purpose of ascertaining whether the miseries which have been narrated have ceased to exist; or whether they do not *now* exist in a more intense degree than at any former period.

The first case I notice is that of the Spanish brig Carlos, captured in 1814. In this vessel of 200 tons, 512 negroes had been put on board (nearly 180 *more* than the complement allowed on the proportion of five slaves to three tons.) The captor reported that "they were so miserably fed, clothed, &c., that any idea of the horrors of the Slave Trade would fall short of what I saw. Eighty were thrown overboard before we captured her. In many instances I saw the bones coming through the skin from starvation."*

In the same year (1814) the schooner Aglae, of 40 tons, was captured with a cargo of 152 negroes (nearly four to each ton.) "The only care seemed to have been to pack them as close as possible, and tarpaulin was placed over tarpaulin, in order to give the vessel the appearance of being laden with a well-stowed cargo of cotton and rice."†

In 1815 a lieutenant of the navy thus describes the state of a Portuguese slaver, the St. Joachim: he says, "That within twenty-two days after the vessel had left Mosambique, thirteen of the slaves had died; that between the capture and their arrival at Simon's Bay, the survivors of them were all sickly and weak, and ninety-two of them afflicted with the flux; that the slaves

* African Institution Report, 1815, p. 17.
† Ib., Appendix, p. 86.

were all stowed together, perfectly naked, and nothing but rough, unplaned planks to crouch down upon, in a hold situated over their water and provisions, the place being little more than two feet in height, and the space allowed for each slave so small, that it was impossible for them to avoid touching and pressing upon those immediately surrounding. The greater part of them were fastened, some three together, by one leg, each in heavy iron shackles, a very large proportion of them having the flux. Thus they were compelled," &c. (here a scene of disgusting wretchedness is described.) "The pilot being asked by Captain Baker how many he supposed would have reached their destination, replied, 'about half the number that were embarked.' "*

We have next the case of the Rodeur, as stated in a periodical work, devoted to medical subjects, and published at Paris. This vessel, it appears, was of 200 tons' burden. She took on board a cargo of 160 negroes, and after having been fifteen days on her voyage, it was remarked that the slaves had contracted a considerable redness of the eyes, which spread with singular rapidity. At this time they were limited to eight ounces of water a day, for each person, which quantity was afterwards reduced to the half of a wine-glass. By the advice of the surgeon, the slaves who were in the hold were brought upon deck for the advantage of fresh air; but it became necessary to abandon this expedient, as many of them who were affected with nostalgia threw themselves into the sea, locked in each other's arms. The ophthalmia which had spread so rapidly and frightfully among the Africans, soon began to infect all on board, and to create alarm for the crew. The danger of infection, and perhaps the cause which produced the disease, were increased by a violent dysentery, attributed to the use of rain-water. The number of the blind augmented every day. The vessel reached Guadaloupe

* Afr. Inst. Report, 1818, p. 27.

on June 21, 1819, her crew being in a most deplorable condition. Three days after her arrival, the only man who during the voyage had withstood the influence of the contagion, and whom Providence appeared to have preserved as a guide to his unfortunate companions, was seized with the same malady. Of the negroes, thirty-nine had become perfectly blind, twelve had lost one eye, and fourteen were affected with blemishes more or less considerable.

This case excited great interest, and several additional circumstances connected with it were given to the public. It was stated that the captain caused several of the negroes who were prevented in the attempt to throw themselves overboard, to be shot and hung, in the hope that the example might deter the rest from a similar conduct. It is further stated, that upwards of thirty of the slaves who became blind were thrown into the sea and drowned, upon the principle that had they been landed at Guadaloupe, no one would have bought them, while by throwing them overboard the expense of maintaining them was avoided, while a ground was laid for a claim on the underwriters by whom the cargo had been insured, and who are said to have allowed the claim, and made good the value of the slaves thus destroyed.

What more need be said in illustration of the extremity of suffering induced by the middle passage, as demonstrated by the case of the Rodeur? But the supplement must not be omitted. At the time when only one man could see to steer that vessel, a large ship approached, "which appeared to be totally at the mercy of the wind and the waves. The crew of this vessel, hearing the voices of the crew of the Rodeur, cried out most vehemently for help. They told the melancholy tale as they passed along; that their ship was a Spanish slave-ship, the St. Leon; and that a contagion had seized the eyes of all on board, so that there was not one individual sailor or slave who could see. But alas!

this pitiable narrative was in vain; for no help could be given. The St. Leon passed on, and was never more heard of!"*

In the African Institution Report for 1820, I find the following case stated. Captain Kelly, of H. M. S. ship Pheasant, captured on July 30, 1819, a Portuguese schooner, called the Novo Felicidade, belonging to Princes Island, having on board seventy-one slaves, and a crew, consisting of one master and ten sailors. This vessel measured only eleven tons. She was carried by Captain Kelly to Sierra Leone, for adjudication, and his judicial declaration contains the following statement:—

"I do further declare, that the state in which these unfortunate creatures were found is shocking to every principle of humanity;—seventeen men shackled together in pairs by the legs, and twenty boys, one on the other, in the main hold,—a space measuring eighteen feet in length, seven feet eight inches main breadth, and one foot eight inches in height; and under them the yams for their support."

The appearance of the slaves, when released from their irons, was most distressing; scarcely any of them could stand on their legs, from cramp and evident starvation. The space allowed for the females, thirty-four in number, was even more contracted than that for the men, measuring only nine feet four inches in length, four feet eight inches main breadth, and two feet seven inches in height; but not being confined in irons, and perhaps allowed during the day to come on deck, they did not present so distressing an appearance as the men."†

We have next another instance of the varied cruelties of this part of the subject. La Jeune Estelle, captured by Admiral Collier in 1820, after a chase of some

* Afr. Inst. Report, 1820, p. 7. † Ibid., p. 11.

hours, during which several casks were observed to be floating in the sea; but no person could be spared at the time to examine them. On boarding the Estelle, the captain denied that he had any slaves on board; but from the very suspicious appearances around, the officer ordered a strict search to be made. An English sailor, on striking a cask, heard a faint voice issue from it, as if of some creature expiring. The cask was immediately opened, when two slave girls, about twelve or fourteen years of age, were found packed up in it; a prisoner on board the captor's ship recognised the girls as two out of fourteen, whom the slaver had carried off from a village on the coast. Admiral Collier, on this, ordered another search to be made, in hopes of discovering the other twelve; but they were nowhere to be found. The painful suspicion then arose that the slaver had packed up the twelve girls in casks, and had thrown them overboard during the chase; but it was too late to ascertain the truth of this conjecture, as the chase had led the English frigate many leagues to leeward of the place where they had observed casks floating in the sea.*

Some of the following extracts are also taken from the Reports of the African Institution:—

A Spanish schooner, the Vicua, when taken posession of, in 1822, had a lighted match hanging over the open magazine hatch. The match had been placed there by the crew before they escaped. It was seen by one of the British seamen, who boldly put his hat under the burning wick, and removed it. The magazine contained a large quantity of powder. One spark would have blown up 325 unfortunate victims, lying in irons in the hold. These monsters in iniquity expressed their deep regret, after the action, that their diabolical plan had failed. Thumbscrews were also found in this vessel. From confinement and suffering the slaves often injured

* Afr. Inst. Report, 1821, p. 15.

themselves by beating, and vented their grief upon such as were next them, by biting and tearing their flesh.*

Les Deux Sœurs was of forty-one tons; the Eleanor of about sixty; the first had crammed 132 negroes, the last 135, into a space capable of containing about thirty, at full length.†

In the Report of 1823, we have an account of a gallant feat achieved by the boats of a man-of-war, commanded by Lieutenant Mildmay, on the 15th of April, 1822. The action took place in the river Bonny. On the one side were six sail of slavers, three of which opened a heavy fire upon "the English boats as they advanced. When the latter were near enough for their shots to take effect, the firing was returned. They advanced, and in a short time took posession of all the vessels.

"Many of the slaves jumped overboard during the engagement, and were devoured by the sharks. On board the Yeanam, the slaves suffered much; four were killed, and ten wounded. Of the wounded, three were females; one girl, of about ten years old, lost both her legs, another her right arm, and a third was shot in the side. Even after the vessel had been surrendered, a number of the Spanish sailors skulked below, and arming the slaves with muskets, made them fire upwards on the British. On board this ship Lieutenant Mildmay observed a slave girl, about twelve or thirteen years of age, in irons, to which was fastened a thick iron chain, ten feet in length, that was dragged along as she moved."‡

Commodore Bullen writes, of date September 5, 1825, that the Brazen, last October, overtook L'Eclair. "She belongs to Nantz. The master stated that he had lost a third of his cargo in embarking them. She measured three feet one inch between decks; the men chained; many of them unable to sit upright."§

* Afr. Inst. Report, 1823, p. 29.
† Ib., 1826, p. 55.
‡ Ibid, 1823, p. 28.
§ Ibid, 1826, p. 60.

A resident at Freetown thus writes in the Sierra Leone Gazette of the 11th of December, 1823:—"Having gone off to the slave-vessels lately sent into this harbor, I was struck by the appearance of some very fierce dogs, of the bloodhound species, natives of Brazil, and, on inquiry, found that they had been taken on board for the purpose of assisting their inhuman masters in coercing the unfortunate victims of their lawless cupidity. They had been trained, it appears, to sit watch over the hatches during the night, or whenever the wretched beings were confined below, and thus effectually precluded them from coming up. This abominable system is, I understand, pretty generally practised on board the slavers from Bahia and Cuba.

In the Sierra Leone Advertiser of November 20, 1824, we have some striking instances of the frauds practised by the Portuguese slavers in carrying on their trade. Of three vessels captured, it appeared that the Diana had a royal license to carry 300 slaves, as being a vessel of 120 tons; and this in accordance with the law allowing five slaves to every two tons (equal to three tons British;) but in fact she admeasured only sixty-six tons, which would give a rate of five slaves to *one* ton. She had shipped at Badagry, for Brazil, 156 slaves, besides her crew, eighteen in number.

The Two Brazilian Friends, licensed to carry 365 slaves, as being of 146 tons, proved to be of only 95 tons; and the platform for the men only two feet six inches in height; yet she had on board 260 slaves, besides a crew of eighteen persons.

The Aviso, asserted to be 231, found to be only 165 tons; 465 slaves were stowed in this vessel, with a crew thirty-three in number.

A great many deaths had occurred in these vessels, and the survivors were in a very emaciated state.*

* "'Of all the vessels I was on board of,' says Captain Woolcombe, 'this (the Diana) was in the most deplorable condition; the

The Paris petition of — February, 1825, states, "That it is established, by authentic documents, that the slave captains throw into the sea, every year, about 3000 negroes, men, women, and children; of whom more than half are thus sacrificed, whilst yet alive, either to escape from the visits of cruisers, or because, worn down by their sufferings, they could not be sold to advantage."*

In the Appendix (G) to the Report of the African Institution for 1827, we have the case of the schooner L'Espoir, as narrated by General Milius, governor of Bourbon. "In the month of September, 1826, the schooner left the Mauritius under English colors, shaping its course towards the coasts of Madagascar. The Sieur Lemoine was the master; he fell in with a Portuguese vessel laden with negroes and gold-dust. An eagerness and thirst of gain seized upon his soul; he ran alongside of the Portuguese vessel, and immediately killed the mate by a musket-shot; having boarded her, he soon obtained possession of the vessel attacked, and

stench from the accumulation of dirt, joined to that of so many human beings packed together in a small space (the men all ironed in pairs,) was intolerable. To add to the scene of misery, the small-pox had broken out among them.'

"Commodore Bullen, who visited the Two Brazilian Friends, says, 'Its filthy and horrid state beggars all description. Many females were far advanced in pregnancy, and several had infants from four to twelve months of age; all were crowded together in one mass of living corruption; and yet this vessel had not her prescribed complement by nearly 100.'

"Commodore Bullen found the Aviso in a most crowded and wretched condition, although she had on board 120 less than directed in her passport. Such were the filth and crowd, that not one-half could have reached the Brazils alive. At the date of her capture she had scarcely 20 days' provisions for the slaves, and less water. 'How they intended to subsist them till their arrival at Bahia,' says the Captain, 'is to me a problem, unless they could have calculated on a great decrease from death.' "†

* Afr. Inst. Report for 1826, pp. 62, 63.

† Afr. Inst. Report for 1825, pp. 27, 28.

his first questions were addressed to a Portuguese colonel, aged fifty, of whom he inquired where the money and gold-dust were deposited. After this short interrogatory, Lemoine purposely stepped aside, and a man named Reineur, who was behind him, with a pistol blew out the unfortunate colonel's brains. The master of the captured vessel, alarmed by the rapid succession of these massacres, threw himself overboard, in order to escape a more immediate death. Vain hope! the fury of Lemoine and his accomplices was not yet allayed. They pursued him in a boat, and, having soon overtaken him, they cut him on the head with a sabre. The unfortunate man, feeling himself wounded, caught hold, in order to support himself, of the boat in which his murderers were, who, profiting by this last effort of despair, had the dastard cruelty to run a sword into his throat, the point of which came out at his side: the body disappeared, and they returned on board, fatigued but not satiated with murder. They shut up in the hold the remaining Portuguese sailors, and, after taking off the rich cargo, they scuttled the ship, and sunk her with the crew they had thus shut up.

"This is one of many proofs of the piratical habits and cruelty produced by the Slave Trade."*

In the evidence before the Committee on Sierra Leone, &c., in 1830, we find it stated, by Lieutenant Tringham, that, about 1825, the vessel in which he sailed captured a slave-schooner of seventy or eighty tons, bound for Brazil, with 280 slaves on board. There were about 100 on deck and 180 below. They were so crowded on deck, that (as the witness says) "We were not able to work the vessel without treading on them." As to their provisions, he remarked that the "jerked beef" was very salt, and that there was always a scarcity of water: "the allowance was about a pint

* Afr. Inst. Report, 1827. App. G., p. 144.

a-day; they had two meals in the day, and about half a pint at each meal was their full allowance."*

In the despatches of Sir Charles MacCarthy, dated the 3d of August, 1822, I find the case of the San José Hallaxa, a schooner under seven tons burden, which was captured, by H. M. B. Thistle, in the river Calabar; and it appears, by the acknowledgment of the master, that he shipped at Duke Ephraim's Town, on that river, thirty slaves; that he had gone to sea with that number on board, intending to proceed to Princes Island, but, not having been able to make that port, he had returned to Calabar, having his provisions and water nearly expended, after having been at sea five or six weeks.

During this voyage, ten unfortunate objects of his avarice, not being able to procure sufficient nourishment to satisfy the cravings of nature, had been released from further sufferings by starvation! One poor female, in the absence of food, had existed on salt water until her faculties were destroyed, and she became raving mad; but even the deplorable and affecting state of insanity did not shield her from the brutal outrage of her oppressors, who, with a view of stifling her cries by frequent repetition of the lash, literally flogged her to death. The owner of this vessel, and the purchaser of these human beings, is a woman!—Donna Maria de Cruz, daughter of the notorious Gomez, formerly governor of Princes Island, and now holding the appointment of fiscal, and member of council. This woman is known to the Mixed Commission Court, having been under their cognizance some time since as proprietor of the "Conceigao," condemned by the British and Portuguese judges.†

Sir John Barrow, in his able observations on the Slave Trade in 1826, says:—"We have also discover-

* Parl. Report. Sierra Leone, &c., 1830, p. 33.
† Parl. Paper, 11th July, 1823, p. 9.

ed among the papers before us (those laid before Parliament,) that the amiable Donna Maria de Cruz, daughter of the governor of Princes Island, of whom we had occasion once before to make honorable mention, is still engaged in carrying on the traffic, though in a small way. The Victor sloop-of-war fell in with and captured a schooner-boat belonging to this paragon of her sex, called the Maria Pequina. Her burden was five tons. She had taken on board in the river Gamboon, besides her crew, water, and provisions, twenty-three slaves, six of whom had already died; they were stowed in a space between the water-casks and the deck, of eighteen inches in height; and Lieutenant Scott reports that, when he seized her, the remaining negroes were in a state of actual starvation."*

Commodore Bullen, in his despatch of 26th November, 1826, describing the capture of *Le Daniel*, says, "in consequence of the heavy rain which commenced shortly after I brought him to, the slaves quarrelled among themselves regarding the right of precedence of those below to get on deck for fresh air, and those who had already the possession of it, when, shocking to relate, 19 fell victims."† The Commissioners at Havana, in their despatch of the 28th August, 1828, mention the case of the "Intrepido," which, out of a cargo of 343, lost 190 in her passage, and 18 after capture, making a total of 208. They attribute a certain portion of this mortality to two insurrections of the negroes on board, but principally to the horrible confinement of so great a number on board so small a vessel.‡

"The Invincible had on board a cargo of 440 negroes, a number, it seems, sixty-three short of her full complement; but these so crowded together that it became absolutely impossible to separate the sick from the healthy; and dysentery, ophthalmia, and scurvy

* Edinburgh Review, No 44, 1826.
† Class A, 1829, p. 138. ‡ Ib., p. 153.

breaking out among them, the provisions and water being of the worst kind, and the filth and stench beyond all description, 186 of the number had perished in less than sixty days."*

The Maria, 133 Spanish tons burden, captured by H. M. B. Plumper, 26th December, 1830, was found to contain 545 persons, including the crew,—thus allowing only the unprecedented small space of one ton for the accommodation of four persons; the consequence was, that though she was out only eleven days, the small-pox, dysentery, and other diseases had broken out with great virulence.†

Captain Wauchope, R. N., late of the Thalia, has stated to me, that while on service with the preventive squadron in 1828, H. M. S. Medina, in which he sailed, captured the Spanish brig El Juan, with 407 slaves on board. It appeared that, owing to a press of sail during the chase, the El Juan had heeled so much as to alarm the negroes, who made a rush to the grating. The crew thought they were attempting to rise, and getting out their arms, they fired upon the wretched slaves through the grating, till all was quiet in the hold. When Captain Cassel went on board, the negroes were brought up, one living and one dead shackled together; "it was an awful scene of carnage and blood; one mass of human gore: Captain Cassel said he never saw anything so horrible in his life."

Dr. Walsh, in his "Notices of Brazil," gives a most animated picture of the state of a Spanish slaver, detained by the vessel of war, in which he returned from Brazil, in May, 1829. He says, "When we mounted her decks we found her full of slaves; she had taken on board 562, and had been out seventeen days, during which she lost fifty-five. The slaves were all enclosed under grated hatchways between decks. The space

* Afr. Inst. Report, 1827, pp. 4, 5.
† Class A. 1832, p. 13.

was so low that they sat between each other's legs, and stowed so close together that there was no possibility of their lying down, or at all changing their position by night or day. As they belonged to, and were shipped on account of different individuals, they were all branded like sheep, with the owners' marks of different forms. These were impressed under their breasts, or on their arms; and, as the mate informed me with perfect indifference, 'burnt with the red-hot iron.'"

After many other particulars, the statement of which my limits will not admit, Dr. Walsh continues: "The poor beings were all turned up together. They came swarming up like bees from the aperture of a hive, till the whole deck was crowded to suffocation from stem to stern. On looking into the places where they had been crammed, there were found some children next the sides of the ship. The little creatures seemed indifferent as to life or death, and when they were carried on deck, many of them could not stand. Some water was brought; it was then that the extent of their sufferings was exposed in a fearful manner. They all rushed like maniacs towards it. No entreaties, or threats, or blows could restrain them; they shrieked and struggled and fought with one another for a drop of the precious liquid, as if they grew rabid at the sight of it. There is nothing which slaves during the middle passage suffer from so much, as want of water. It is sometimes usual to take out casks filled with sea-water as ballast, and when the slaves are received on board, to start the casks, and refill them with fresh. On one occasion a ship from Bahia neglected to change the contents of the casks, and on the mid-passage found, to their horror, that they were filled with nothing but salt-water. All the slaves on board perished! We could judge of the extent of their sufferings, from the sight we now saw. When the poor creatures were ordered down again, several of them came and pressed their heads against our knees with looks of the greatest anguish, at the

prospect of returning to the horrid place of suffering below. It was not surprising that they had lost fifty-five, in the space of seventeen days. Indeed, many of the survivors were seen lying about the decks in the last stage of emaciation, and in a state of filth and misery not to be looked at."

"While expressing my horror at what I saw, and exclaiming against the state of this vessel, I was informed by my friends, who had passed so long a time on the coast of Africa, and visited so many ships, that this was one of the best they had seen. The height sometimes between decks was only eighteen inches, so that the unfortunate beings could not turn round, or even on their sides, the elevation being less than the breadth of their shoulders; and here they are usually chained to the decks by the neck and legs. After much deliberation, this wretched vessel was allowed to proceed on her voyage."

"It was dark when we separated; and the last parting sounds we heard from the unhallowed ship were the cries and shrieks of the slaves, suffering under some bodily infliction."*

In the same year, 1829, the Commissioners at Havana reported, that "The Fama de Cadiz came into port, having previously landed 300 slaves at Santa Cruz. It is said that this notorious slave-trader and pirate had plundered other slave-vessels on the coast of Africa of about 980 slaves, and had scarcely sailed for Cuba, when the small-pox and other contagious diseases broke out, which reduced the crew of 157 to 66, and her slaves to about 300; of whom the greatest part are in so wretched a state that her owners have been selling them as low as 100 dollars."

They also report the arrival of the schooner Constantia in ballast, after having landed seventy slaves on the coast. She is said to have left Africa with 438 ne-

* Walsh's Notices of Brazil. London, 1830. Vol. ii., p. 475, &c.

groes, who have been reduced by the small-pox to the above small number. And they add, "The mortality on board the slave-vessels this year has been truly shocking."*

In 1829 we have the case of the Midas. This vessel left the Bonny with a cargo of 560 slaves, and had only 400 on board at the time of detention. Of these, after the surrender, about thirty threw themselves into the sea. Before she arrived at Havana, nine other negroes had thrown themselves overboard, sixty-nine had died of the small-pox and other diseases. After their arrival ten more died. The remainder, 282, were then in a most dreadful state; so ill and so emaciated, that "It has hitherto been impossible," says the medical officer, "to make out the descriptions of their persons and marks that are inserted in their certificates of emancipation."†

In 1831, Captain Hamilton thus writes to the Commissioners:—"On our getting into Bahia, on the afternoon of the same day, I sent two officers on board the Destimida to search. They, after some time, and with much difficulty, discovered fifty male negro slaves concealed in the bottom of the vessel."‡ "Five young men were extricated from one water-butt; but the greater part had been stowed or forced into the small or close spaces between the water-casks under the false decks."§

Captain Hayes, R. N., mentions the case of a slaver, having a large cargo of human beings, chained together: "The master of the vessel, with more humanity than his fellows, permitted some of them to come on deck (but still chained together) for the benefit of the air, when they immediately commenced jumping overboard, hand in hand, and drowning in couples." He explains the cause of this circumstance by saying, "they were just brought from a situation between

* Class A, 1829, p. 156.
† Ibid., p. 148.
‡ Ibid., 1831, p. 127.
§ Class B, 1831, p. 117.

decks, and to which they knew they must return, where the scalding perspiration was running from one to the other, covered also with their own filth, and where it is no uncommon occurrence for women to be bringing forth children, and men dying by their side, with, full in their view, living and dead bodies chained together, and the living, in addition to all their other torments, laboring under the most famishing thirst, (being in very few instances allowed more than a pint of water a-day.) He goes on to say, "I have now an officer on board the 'Dryad,' who, on examining one of these slave-vessels, found not only living men chained to dead bodies, but the latter in a putrid state; and we have now a case which, if true, is too horrible and disgusting to be described."*

In the same year (1831) the Black Joke and Fair Rosamond fell in with the Rapido and Regulo two slave vessels off the Bonny River. On perceiving the cruisers, they attempted to regain the port, and pitched overboard upwards of 500 human beings chained together before they were captured. From the abundance of sharks in the river their track was literally a blood stained one."†

The master of an English merchant-vessel, who happened to be in the Bonny, at the time, witnessed the whole affair. He lately told me, that "The chase was so vigorous, and the slavers so anxious to escape, that the four vessels came flying into the creek, nearly all together, and ran aground in the mud, where the slavers threw overboard what remained of the negroes, very few of whom, from their being shackled together, reached the shore; and that he and his crew helped to get the vessels again afloat, which was accomplished with much difficulty. He afterwards met the captain of one of the slavers, who justified what he had done as an act which

* Class B, 1831, p. 170.
† Laird, vol. ii. p. 372.

necessity compelled him to adopt, for the preservation of his property."

Captain Ramsay, who at the time commanded the Black Joke, has stated to me, that during the chase he and his men distinctly saw the sharks tearing the bodies of the negroes who were thrown overboard by the slavers; and that had it not been for the fortunate rescue of two of the slaves of the Rapido, who had been flung into the sea shackled together, and who were brought up from under water by a boat-hook, that vessel would have escaped condemnation, as all her slaves had been thrown overboard or landed in canoes, before they came up with her.*

Captain Wauchope has informed me, that on the voyage out to Africa, about three years ago, his vessel captured a Portuguese slaver, and that when the prize officer went on board, the Portuguese captain asked him, if no slaves had been on board, could he have been taken? The officer answered, "No." "Then," said the Portuguese, "if I had known it, I would have thrown every one overboard."

In a letter which I received from Captain Wauchope, of date 13th August, 1838, he says, "In February, 1836, I was informed by Commander Puget, that the Spanish slaver, Argus, three months before this date, was chased by the Charybdis, Lieutenant Mercer; that during the chase ninety-seven slaves had been thrown overboard, and that a Spanish captain he had captured, declared he would never hesitate to throw the slaves overboard, to prevent being taken."

Were it not that the evidence on these cases is unexceptionable, we could not believe that there did exist human beings capable of uttering such sentiments, or of performing such infamous deeds.

Captain Wauchope in the same letter informs me, that on the 18th September, 1836, the Thalia captured

* See an account of this case in the United Service Journal for 1833, part i., p. 505, &c.

the Portuguese brig Felix, 590 slaves on board. "After capture," he says, "I went on board, and such a scene of horror it is not easy to describe; the long-boat on the booms, and the deck aft, were crowded with little children, sickly, poor little unhappy things, some of them rather pretty, and some much marked and tattooed; much pains must have been taken by their miserable parents to ornament and beautify them.

"The women lay between decks aft, much crowded, and perfectly naked; they were not barred down, the hatchway, a small one, being off; but the place for the men was too horrible, the wretches, chained two and two, gasping and striving to get at the bars of the hatchways, and such a steam and stench as to make it intolerable even to look down. It requires much caution at first, in allowing them to go on deck, as it is a common practice for them to jump overboard to get quit of their misery.

"The slave-deck was not more than three feet six in height, and the human beings stowed, or rather crushed as close as possible; many appeared very sickly. There was no way of getting into the slave-room but by the hatchway. I was told, when they were all on deck to be counted, that it was impossible for any of our people to go into the slave-room for a single minute, so intolerable was the stench. The color of these poor creatures was of a dark squalid yellow, so different from the fine glossy black of our liberated Africans and Kroomen. I was shown a man much bit and bruised; it was done in a struggle at the gratings of their hatchways for a mouthful of fresh air."

It is fearful to contemplate the increase, of late years, in the mortality during the middle passage. The chief reason, as it appears, is well given by Laird in his journal of the recent expedition to the Niger. He says:— "Instead of the large and commodious vessels which it would be the interest of the slave-trader to employ, we have, by our interference, forced him to use a class of

vessels, (well known to naval men as *American Clippers*,) of the very worst description that could have been imagined, for the purpose, every quality being sacrificed for speed. In the holds of these vessels the unhappy victims of European cupidity are stowed literally in bulk."*

It ought also to be kept in view, that there is this material difference betwixt these "clippers" and other merchant-vessels: that while the latter usually carry far more than their registered tonnage would seem to permit, the former invariably exhibit a capacity for a cargo greatly below the tonnage by registration.

As a proof of the increase in the mortality on the middle passage, I may adduce the evidence of Mr. Jackson, (who had been a judge in the Mixed Commission Court at Sierra Leone,) before the Committee on Sierra Leone, &c., in 1830. In answer to a question, he said, "I think the sufferings of those poor slaves are greatly aggravated by the course now adopted; for the trade is now illegal; and therefore whatever is done, is done clandestinely; they are packed more like bales of goods on board than human beings, and the general calculation is, that if in three adventures one succeeds, the owners are well paid."†

Were it not that I feel bound to substantiate my case up to the present time, I would gladly pass over the numberless instances of cruelty and mortality connected with this branch of the subject, which are made known to us by the papers laid before Parliament within the last few years. But I shall notice some of these instances, as briefly as can be done, without suppressing the main facts which are established by them.

The Carolina, captured in 1834, off Wydah.‡ "This vessel was only seventy-five tons burden, yet she had

* Laird, vol. ii., p. 369.
† Sierra Leone Report, 1830, p. 55.
‡ Class A, 1834, p. 17.

350 negroes crammed on board of her, 180 of whom were literally so stowed as to have barely sufficient height to hold themselves up, when in a sitting posture. The poor creatures crowded round their deliverers, with their mouths open and their tongues parched for want of water, presenting a perfect spectacle of human misery."

The Patacho, reported by the Commissioners at Rio de Janeiro in 1835. This "vessel was in the first instance detained only on suspicion, and the capturing party had had possession forty-eight hours, and had made every possible search, as they supposed, before it was discovered that there were any slaves concealed on board. What the state of these wretched beings, to the number of forty-seven, must have been, deprived for so long a time of air and food, and packed in the smallest possible compass, like so many bales of goods, we need not pain your Lordship by describing."*

In a letter from the Cape of Good Hope, of date 20th January, 1837, we find it stated that her Majesty's brig Dolphin had lately captured the corvette Incomprehensible; and that, on taking possession of her, "the scene presented on board was harrowing in the extreme. One hundred had died from sickness, out of the 800 embarked; another 100 were lying nearly lifeless on her decks, in wretchedness and misery, and all the agony of despair; the remaining 600 were so cramped from the close manner in which they were packed (like herrings in a barrel,) and the length of time they had been on their voyage, and the cold they had endured in rounding the Cape, in a state of nudity, that it took the utmost exertions of the English sailors, favored by a hot sun, to straighten them."†

In the Shipping and Mercantile Gazette of 2d June, 1838, is the following paragraph: "A letter from the

* Class A, 1835, p. 286.

† From a correspondent of the Times newspaper.

'Snake' sloop of war, dated 31st March, 1838, says, 'We have captured a very fine schooner, called the Arogan, off Cape Antonio, having 350 slaves of both sexes, under the age of twenty, and have sent her into the Havana for adjudication. She cleared out from Gallinas, and lost fifty on her passage by death, owing to the crowded manner in which they were packed, resembling goods in a draper's shop.'"

In the parliamentary papers printed last year by the House of Commons, I observe the following cases reported:—"The brig Don Manuel de Portugal, from Angola, embarked 600 slaves; of these seventy-three died on the voyage."

"Brig Adamastor, from Quilimane, embarked 800 slaves; of these 304 died on the voyage!"

"Brig Leao, from Quilimane, embarked 855 slaves; of these 283 died, or were thrown overboard alive, during the voyage. The small-pox having appeared among the slaves, thirty of them were immediately thrown overboard alive; afterwards the measles made its appearance, of which 253 died. The remaining slaves, 572 in number, were landed on the coast of Brazil at Mozambayo, near to Ilha Grande, but in so miserable a state that the greater part could not walk, but were carried on shore."*

"The brig Flor de Quilimane, from Quilimane, embarked 850 slaves; of these 163 died on the passage, and 697 were landed at Campos in a very sickly state."†

In a letter from a member of the Society of Friends, dated Havana, July 14th, 1836, and published in the Colonization Herald, Philadelphia, Aug. 15th, 1838, I find the following passage:—"In company with an English naval officer, I made a visit across the bay to several of these slave-vessels. We were permitted to walk over them, but no particular attention was paid to

* Class B, 1837, p. 53. † Ibid., p. 60.

us; on the contrary, we were looked upon with suspicion, and received short and unsatisfactory answers to our questions in general; all attempts to enter into conversation with those on board appeared useless. With one, however, we were more successful: an old weather-beaten Spaniard was walking the deck; although an old pirate, his expression of countenance was fine: taking a seat under the awning on the quarter-deck, offering him a bundle of cigaritas, and lighting one ourselves, by degrees induced him to enter into conversation, and, in the course of one hour or more, I learned from him some horrid truths. He told us that, in four voyages, he had brought in the vessel in which we were, 1600 human beings; his was a fortunate vessel, and seldom lost more than half a dozen a-voyage; once, however, he told us, he was not so lucky; a malignant disease broke out on board soon after leaving the coast, and, of 300 taken in in Africa, but ninety-five were landed, more dead than alive, on the island.

"The materiel, such as handcuffs, chains, and even the lower decks, are taken out, and are fitted up on the coast of Africa. We saw the apertures in the decks, to admit the air, and, as we were leaving the brig in our boat alongside, the captain exultingly told us that he knew we were officers of the British sloop of war, pointing to the Champion, which was riding at anchor at a little distance from us; 'but,' added he, 'you are welcome. I yesterday showed your captain (meaning of the Champion) all over my trim vessel. I have nothing to conceal—you dare not touch me here; and, once outside, (with an expressive shrug of the shoulders,) you may catch me if you can.'"

We have little authentic information as to the transport of the slaves from one part of the coast to another in south-east Africa, or from that coast to Arabia, and the other countries northwards, to which they are conveyed. But Captain Moresby, to whom I have already alluded, described to me the passage coastways, in the

following terms:—"The Arab dows, or vessels, are large, unwieldy, open boats, without a deck. In these vessels temporary platforms or bamboos are erected, leaving a narrow passage in the centre. The negroes are then stowed in the literal sense of the word, in bulk; the first along the floor of the vessel, two adults, side by side, with a boy or girl resting between or on them, until the tier is complete. Over them the first platform is laid, supported an inch or two clear of their bodies, when a second tier is stowed, and so on until they reach the gunwale of the vessel."

"The voyage, they expect, will not exceed twenty-four or forty-eight hours; it often happens that a calm, or unexpected land-breeze, delays their progress: in this case a few hours are sufficient to decide the fate of the cargo; those of the lower portion of the cargo that die cannot be removed. They remain until the upper part are dead, and thrown over, and, from a cargo of from 200 to 400 stowed in this way, it has been known that not a dozen, at the expiration of ten days, have reached Zanzebar. On the arrival of the vessels at Zanzebar, the cargo are landed; those that can walk up the beach are arranged for the inspection of the Imaum's officer, and the payment of duties—those that are weak or maimed by the voyage, are left for the coming tide to relieve their miseries. An examination then takes place, which, for brutality, has never been exceeded in Smithfield."

In immediate connexion with the mortality incident to the middle passage, I come now to the subject of

Wrecks, etc.

In Appendix D, of the African Institution Report for 1820, we are told that a "Spanish brig, on arrival at Point à Petre, experienced a severe squall, and, on the captain opening the hatches, (which were let down during the squall,) he found fifty of the poor Africans dead."

In Appendix B, of the same report we find in a statement of Sir G. Collier, December 27, 1821, that the schooner Carlotta embarked, off Cape Palmas, "260 slaves; and the very next day, in a tornado off St. Ann's, for want of timely precaution, upset, and, dreadful to relate, the whole of these wretched people, confined in irons sank with her."

In the parliamentary papers for 1822 we find, "The schooner Yeanam was separated from the other vessels in a dreadful storm, as they were proceeding to Havana, and sank, with 380 slaves on board."*

The Accession, an English brig, brought into Bahia thirty-nine negroes, whom she had rescued from a wreck abandoned by its crew. Thirty-one were found holding by the top of a mast. On cutting the side of the vessel open, they took out ten more from an almost pestilential atmosphere, and saw a number lying dead. The crew, and 138 of the slaves, had been previously taken out by the Viajante; but, as that vessel was herself carrying 622 negroes, she had left these others to perish in the waves.†

I find by an extract from the Sierra Leone Gazette of the 12th of June, 1824, that, "on the appearance of H. M. S. Victor, a boat full of men was seen to leave the lugger (l'Henrietta Aime,) after which she got under weigh, but instead of attempting to escape, run on shore in a heavy surf, where she immediately went to pieces; and from the number of blacks observed on her decks, there can be no doubt she had her cargo of slaves on board, all of whom perished."

By the despatch of the Commissioners at Havana, of 26th February, 1826, it appears that "the Magico was fallen in with and chased by H. M. S. Union, and, having been brought to action in the course of the 21st January she was finally run on shore on the morning of the 22d, and shortly after taken possession of. The crew

* Parl. Papers, 11th July, 1823, p. 7.
† Afr. Inst. Report, 1826, pp. 37, 38.

had previously escaped to land with (it is supposed) about 200 negroes; many, however, were left behind, severely wounded, some were hanging on at different parts of the vessel, and from twenty to thirty of their dead bodies were seen in the sea, evidently the consequence of the endeavors made to force them to jump overboard and swim to the shore. The crew even carried their barbarity so far as to leave a lighted match in the powder-magazine.*

In the parliamentary papers of 1827 I find the case of the "Teresa," a Spanish schooner, which was suddenly laid on her beam-ends by a tornado, and almost immediately went down, with 186 slaves on board.†

We have also the account of a wreck of a Portuguese slave-schooner, the Piombeter, at the Bahamas, on the 20th of January, 1837, communicated to me by Major M'Gregor, a special justice. He states that the vessel was under fifty tons burden, and that 180 slaves had been embarked in her; "they were chiefly fine young lads under fifteen years of age." About twenty had died before the wreck took place.

In another letter, dated Nov. 1, 1837, he states that several wrecks of slavers had taken place in his vicinity. As to one of these he says, "Last Friday, the 27th ult., a schooner vessel, under the Portuguese flag, was totally wrecked on the shore of Harbor Island, where I now reside in my official capacity, having upwards of 200 African slaves on board at the time, only fifty-three of which were saved; the greater part of the ablest men, being chained together below at the time, were consequently drowned in the hold of the vessel. Sixty bodies have since been washed ashore, which I got interred; upwards of twenty were drifted yesterday to the mouth of the harbor, who seem to have been fettered upon the deck, and grouped together in one heap. It is supposed that from fifty to sixty bodies are

* Class A, 1827, p. 99. † Class A, 1827, p. 30.

still remaining in the hold of the hull, now almost imbedded in the sand. Attempts have been made to dive for the bodies, but without success, they being found so fast chained and crowded together, it was found impossible to remove them.

"I shall not shock your feelings by entering into the details of the abominable conduct of the captain and crew of this vessel during the passage, towards some of the most youthful and best-looking on board; this was brought to my knowledge by two of the Africans, who speak Portuguese, and one who speaks a litttle broken English. They appear to have conducted themselves more like demons than human brings.

"This slaver, named the Invincible, took in the Africans at Port Prague, Cape de Verd Islands, and was bound for Matanzas in the island of Cuba."

In a letter from Colonel Nicolls, at the Bahamas, of date 1st August, 1837,* it is stated that "the Esperanza, a Spanish slave-schooner, had been wrecked on one of these islands during the preceding month. It was ascertained that this vessel had embarked 320 negroes on the coast of Africa; of these only 220 were landed at the time of the wreck. It appears that between sixty and seventy murders had been committed during the voyage on the helpless Africans; and in this manner:—When any of the slaves refused their food or became sick, the boatswain's mate, with a weighty club, struck them on the back of the neck, when they fell, and were thrown overboard."

I make the following extract from the Jamaica Watchman, of 29th May, 1838:—"A report having reached Port Royal, that a Spanish schooner, having on board upwards of 300 Africans, had been stranded off the Pedro shoals, H. M. ship Nimrod, and the Hornet schooner, sailed yesterday morning for the purpose of taking her cargo, and bringing them into port." "The vessels of

* Communicated to me by his brother, Col. Nicolls, R. M.

war humanely sent to seek the unfortunate Africans on board the slaver lately wrecked on the Pedro reefs, have returned, bringing the melancholy information that no traces of them could be found. The vessel had gone to pieces, and 300 human beings consigned to a watery grave. The crew had taken to their boats and landed at Black River."*

Captain Wilson, R. N., in a letter on this subject, dated 9th January, 1839, says: "I have overhauled many slave-ships, and freely confess that it is impossible to exaggerate the horrors they exhibit; they are all very much alike, the greater or less misery depending, usually, upon the size of the vessel, and the time they might have been embarked, as every day brings with it a fearful increase of disease, desperation, imbecility, and death."

Passing over hundreds of cases of a description similar to those which I have noticed, I have now done with these heart-sickening details; and the melancholy truth is forced upon us, that, notwithstanding all that has been accomplished, the cruelties and horrors of the passage across the Atlantic have increased; nay, more, they have been aggravated by the very efforts which we have made for the abolition of the traffic.

"Facts, too, like these just mentioned, are not extraordinary incidents, selected and remembered as such. They are hourly occurrences of the trade; and as they are found in every instance where detection affords an opportunity of inquiry, it is absurd to suppose that the undetected slave-vessel is exempted from scenes of simi-

*I lately learnt that the "Aguila Vengadora," had arrived at Havana, under the name of the "Esplorador," on the 30th of June, 1838, with 200 negroes, the remnant of a cargo of 560. During her passage from Mozambique, she encountered a storm, which compelled the crew to close the hatches on the negroes for two days. When the storm abated, it appeared that about 300 had perished from hunger and suffocation.

lar cruelty. It may fairly be assumed, that greater cruelty does not obtain in the one vessel which is captured, than in the one hundred which escape. Some of these have made eleven, some thirteen, successful voyages, and there is little doubt that similar acts of atrocity have been perpetrated in all—that all have been marked by the same accumulation of human agony, and the same waste of human life."*

I will endeavor to give a

SUMMARY

of the extent of the mortality incident to the middle passage. Newton states that, in his time, it amounted to one-fourth, on the average, of the number embarked.†

From papers presented to the House of Lords, in 1799, it appears that, in the year 1791, (three years after the passing of the Slave Carrying Regulation Act,) of 15,754 negroes embarked for the West Indies, &c., 1378 died during the passage, the average length of which was fifty-one days, showing a mortality of 8¾ per cent.

The amount of the mortality in 1792 was still greater. Of 31,554 slaves carried from Africa, no fewer than 5413 died on the passage, making somewhat less than 17 per cent., in fifty-one days.‡

Captain Owen, in a communication to the Admiralty, on the Slave Trade with the eastern coast of Africa, in 1823, states—"That the ships which use this traffic, consider they make an excellent voyage if they save one-third of the number embarked;" "some vessels are so fortunate as to save one-half of their cargo alive."§

Captain Cook says, in the communication to which I have before alluded, as to the east coast traffic, "If they meet with bad weather, in rounding the Cape, their sufferings are beyond description; and in some instances, one-half of the lives on board are sacrificed.

* Afr. Inst. Report for 1825, p, 31. † Newton, p. 36.
‡ Debates in Parliament, 1806, Ap. p. 191.
§ Class B, 1825, p. 41.

In the case of the 'Napoleon,' from Quilimane, the loss amounted to two-thirds. It was stated to me by captains and supercargoes of other slavers, that they made a profitable voyage if they lost fifty per cent.; and that this was not uncommon."

Caldcleugh says, "scarcely two-thirds live to be landed."*

Governor M'Lean, of Cape Coast, who has had many opportunities of acquiring information on the subject, has stated to me that he considers the average of deaths on the passage, to amount to one-third.

Captain Ramsay, R. N., who was a long time on service with the Preventive Squadron, also stated to me that the mortality on the passage across the Atlantic must be greater than the loss on the passage to Sierra Leone, from the greater liberty allowed after capture, and from the removal of the shackles. He believes the average loss to be one-third.

Rear-Admiral Sir Graham Eden Hamond, Commander-in-Chief on the South American station, in 1834, thus writes to the British Consul at Monte Video: "A slave-brig of 202 tons was brought into this port with 521 slaves on board. The vessel is said to have cleared from Monte Video in August last, under a license to import 650 African colonists.

"The license to proceed to the Coast of Africa is accompanied by a curious document, purporting to be an application from two Spaniards at Monte Video, named Villaca and Barquez, for permission to import 650 colonists, and 250 *more—to cover the deaths on the voyage.*"†

Here we have nearly one-third given, apparently for the average loss on the passage, and this, estimated by the slave-dealers themselves on the American side of the Atlantic.

I come next to consider the loss after capture.

* Vol. i., p. 56. † Class B, 1835, p. 141.

Loss After Capture.

It is melancholy to reflect, that the efforts which we have so long and so perseveringly made for the abolition of the Slave Trade, should not only have been attended with complete failure, but with an increase of negro mortality. A striking example of the truth of this remark is afforded, when we consider the great loss of negro life which annually takes place subsequently to the capture of the slave vessels, on their passage to South America and the West Indies.

I do not intend, in this part of my subject, to discuss the merits of the construction of the Mixed Commission Courts, or their forms of proceeding; nor do I propose, here, to say anything as to the preference which, it appears to me, ought to be given to Fernando Po, over Sierra Leone, as a station for a Commission Court, and a depôt for liberated Africans; my purpose for the present is, merely to state the facts which have come to my knowledge, with the requisite evidence, bearing on the mortality after capture.

Admiral Hamond, in a despatch to the Admiralty on this subject, in the year 1834, puts the case of a slaver overloaded with negroes, many of them in a sickly or dying state, captured and brought into Rio Janeiro, (as in the case of the 'Rio de la Plata,') where the miserable slaves to the vessel, confined in a hot and close port, must await the tardy process of the Mixed Commission Court: and he goes on to say, that in such a case, "the stopping of the slave-vessel is only exposing the blacks to greater misery, and a much greater chance of speedy death, than if they were left to their original destination of slavery."*

In the 21st report of the African Institution, we have the case of the Pauleta, captured off Cape Formosa, in

* Class B, 1835, p. 66.

February, 1826, by "Lieutenant Tucker, H. M. Ship Maidstone, with 221 slaves on board. Her burden was only 69 tons, and into this space were thrust 82 men, 56 women, 39 boys, and 44 girls. The only provision found on board for their subsistence, was yams of the worst quality, and fetid water. When captured, both small-pox and dysentery had commenced their ravages; 30 died on the passage to Sierra Leone, and the remainder were landed in an extreme state of wretchedness and emaciation."*

In 1830, a Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to consider the relative merits of Sierra Leone and Fernando Po. Captain Bullen stated in evidence before the Committee, that the Aviso, captured near Fernando Po, took five weeks to reach Sierra Leone, during which time forty-five of the slaves died: and that in the case of the Segunda Rosalia, the passage occupied eleven weeks, during which more than 120 of the slaves were lost.†

Lieutenant Tringham informed the committee that he carried a Spanish schooner up to Sierra Leone as prize master. She had 480 slaves on board at the time of capture. The voyage to Sierra Leone occupied six weeks, and 110 slaves died on the passage. In answer to the question "If you had had to have taken the vessel to Fernando Po for adjudication, instead of Sierra Leone, the lives of those persons would have been saved?" he replied, "I think so." He afterwards said, that the average voyage of the vessels he had taken from the Bights of Benin and Biafra to Sierra Leone was five weeks.‡

Mr. Jackson stated to the Committee, that the condition of the slaves, at the time of capture, was "most deplorable, as to disease, and as to the mortality which has ensued: in one instance, 179 out of 448 slaves, on

* Afr. Inst. Report for 1827, p. 9.
† Sierra Leone Report, 1830, p. 8.
‡ Ib. p. 32.

board of one vessel, died in their passage up; in another, 115 out of 271. In all, with only one exception, the numbers have been considerable."*

Mr. John McCormack, in his evidence, said, that on going aboard slave-vessels after capture and the passage to Sierra Leone, he generally found the slaves who had been any length of time on the voyage, "in a most miserable state of debility." And he adds, "They unavoidably must, from the description of the vessels, suffer very greatly; many of these vessels have not more than three feet between decks, and no air can get to them except what comes down the hatchways. They are so low in the water, no airports can be cut in their sides."†

In the Appendix to the Report of this Committee, a return is given for the period between 10th August, 1819, and 11th October, 1829,

Of slaves captured	25,212
Landed at Sierra Leone, or Fernando Po	21,563
Loss on the passage .	3,649‡

Being nearly one-seventh, or about 14 per cent: and this almost entirely on the passage to Sierra Leone.

Mr. Rankin, in his Visit to Sierra Leone, tells us of a Portuguese schooner, the Donna Maria da Gloria, which he saw there, with a cargo of slaves on board. She had embarked them at Loando, in August, 1833, and was captured by H. M. B. Snake. The captor took the vessel to Rio; but the Brazilian Mixed Commission Court would not entertain the case; he was therefore obliged to send her to Sierra Leone, where she arrived on February 4, 1834. On her arrival, it was ascertained that she had lost 95 out of 430 slaves. A long process ensued before the Mixed Commission Court, the result of which was the liberation of the vessel; and at this period, her state is thus described: "Notwithstand-

* Ib., p. 52. † Ib., p. 66. ‡ Ib., Ap. p. 122.

ing the exertions of Mr. Thomas Frazer, assistant-surgeon of the capturing ship, who continued to administer to them while himself in a state of extreme suffering and danger, before reaching Sierra Leone, 104 had died, and 64 more (in a state that moved the heart even of the slave-crew) were voluntarily landed by the master, and taken charge of by the liberated African department. The miserable remnant, in a state impossible to describe, afflicted with ophthalmia, dysentery, and frightful ulcers, and showing, also, some symptoms of small-pox, left the harbor of Sierra Leone; the slaves having been then on board 165 days, 137 having elapsed since her capture: and of her original cargo of 430, 240 alone remained."*

Dr. Cullen, of Edinburgh, who lately returned from Rio de Janeiro, after a five years' residence there, thus writes to Lord Glenelg, of date 28th February, 1838, in reference to the Donna Maria having been released at Sierra Leone: "Some months after this, they were met by a Brazilian ship of war, near Bahia, in distress; and their numbers reduced to 170."†

Mr. Rankin visited La Pantica, another vessel which had been brought into Sierra Leone, "The ship," he says, "was thronged with men, women, and children, all entirely naked, and disgusting with disease: 274 were at this moment in the little schooner. When captured, 315 had been found on board, forty had died during the voyage from Old Calebar. Of the remainder, 8 or 10 died in the first week after liberation. The majority of the survivors were miserably persecuted by ophthalmia and dysentery, and 50 were sent to the hospital, for fever, at Kissey."‡

In a report of the Sierra Leone Commissioners, dated 4th of February, 1835,§ it is stated that "the Sutil arrived in this harbor on the 23d ult., with 228 slaves

* Rankin's visit, &c., vol. ii. p. 96.
† Class A (Further Series,) 1837, p. 91.
‡ Rankin, vol ii. p. 1 § Class A. 1835, p. 48.

on board, 79 having died on the passage to this port, whilst the vessel was in charge of the captors, in addition to a frightful loss of life which had previously occured on the first night of the voyage, owing to a ferocious scramble for room, amongst the densely-crowded negroes, and by which many were suffocated and killed. The surgeon to the courts immediately visited the slaves, and reported that there were 21 men and boys, and 8 girls, sick with dysentery, many of them being in an advanced stage of the disease."

In the Falmouth Packet of the 8th of December last, I find the following statement: "The Brilliant, captured by H.M.S Rover, on the 11th April, 1838, had 289 negroes on board; but, owing to the delays which kept them in their horrible state of imprisonment on board, were daily dying, and from that time to the 16th of September, 119 of these miserable creatures had died. When the Buffalo left, the small-pox and dysentery had broken out, and was sweeping them at the rate of 8 and 10 per day."

The following list of seventeen vessels, most of which were captured in the Bights of Benin and Biafra, and brought for adjudication to Sierra Leone, will serve to exhibit the loss after capture in a forcible manner:—

Where condemned.	Vessel's Name.	Nation.	Number on board	Died before Adjudication.	Reference. Class A	Page.
Sierra Leone.	Emelia	Spanish	282	107	1828	39
	Invincival	Portuguese	440	190	„	59
	Clementina	Brazilian	471	115	1829	82
	Ceres	do.	279	151	1830	64
	Arcinia	do.	448	179	„	38
	Mensageira	do.	353	109	„	58
Sierra Leone. Havana.	Midas	Spanish	562	281	„	148
	Constancia*	do.	438	368*	„	162
	Fama da Cadiz†	do.	980	680†	„	156
Sierra Leone.	Christina	do.	348	132	1831	21
	Tentadora	Brazilian	432	112	„	54
	Umbellina	do.	377	214	„	65
	Formidable	Spanish	712	304	1835	50
	Sutil	do.	335	124	„	48
	Minerva	do.	725	208	„	56
Havana.	Marte	do.	600	197	„	163
	Diligencia	do.	210	90	„	200
			7992	3561		

*This vessel was not brought before the Court. The numbers are given on the authority of Mr. Commissary Judge Macleay.

†The same of the Fama da Cadiz.

Showing a loss on these selected cases of 44 per cent.!

In 1830, the Committee of the House of Commons came to the following resolution: that captured vessels are, "on an average, upwards of five weeks on their passage from the place of capture to Sierra Leone, occasioning a loss of the captured slaves amounting to from *one-sixth to one-half* of the whole number, while the survivors are generally landed in a miserable state of weakness and debility."*

I have not adverted to Rio de Janeiro, or the Havana, on this head, because there are very few captures on

*Sierra Leone Report, 1830, p. 4.

the American side of the Atlantic, and when captures do occur, the time consumed in the passage to either of these ports is little, if at all, more than what would have been required for completing the voyage.

But it appears to be demonstrated, by evidence which cannot be impugned, that the loss *after capture* on the African side of the Atlantic, varies from *one-sixth to one-half the whole number.*

Loss after Landing and in the Seasoning.

The last head of mortality, is that which occurs after landing from the slave vessel, and in the seasoning.

We are here again obliged to go back, for information, to the evidence at the end of the last century; but in this branch of the subject, so far as can be ascertained, there has been no improvement; on the contrary, the slaves are now subjected to greater hardships, in their being landed and concealed as smuggled goods, than they were in former times, when a slave-vessel entered the ports of Rio Janeiro and Havana as a fair trader, and openly disposed of her cargo.

Mr. Falconbridge, whose evidence has already been largely quoted, tells us that, on being landed, the negroes are sold, sometimes by what is termed a *scramble;* "but previous thereto," he adds, "the sick or refuse slaves, of which there are frequently many, are usually conveyed on shore, and sold at a tavern by public auction. These, in general, are purchased by the Jews and surgeons, but chiefly upon speculation, at so low a price as five or six dollars a-head.

"I was informed," he says, "by a Mulatto woman, that she purchased a sick slave at Grenada, upon speculation, for the small sum of one dollar, as the poor wretch was apparently dying of the flux. It seldom happens that any who are carried ashore in the emaciated state to which they are generally reduced by that disorder, long survive their landing. I once saw sixteen conveyed on shore, and sold in the foregoing man-

ner, the whole of whom died before I left the island, which was within a short time after." Various are the deceptions made use of in the disposal of the sick slaves, and many of these such as must excite in every humane mind the liveliest sensations of horror. I have been well informed that a Liverpool captain boasted of his having cheated some Jews by the following stratagem: "A lot of slaves afflicted with the flux, being about to be landed for sale, he directed the surgeon to . . . . . Thus prepared, they were landed and taken to the accustomed place of sale, where, being unable to stand, unless for a very short time, they are usually permitted to sit. The Jews, when they examine them, oblige them to stand up . . . . . and when they do not perceive this appearance, they consider it as a symptom of recovery. In the present instance, such an appearance being prevented, the bargain was struck, and they were accordingly sold. But it was not long before a discovery ensued. The excruciating pain, which the prevention occasioned, not being to be borne by the poor wretches, was removed, and the deluded purchasers were speedily convinced of the imposition."*

In the report of the African Institution for 1818, the case of the Joachim, a Portuguese slave-vessel, is noticed; and Lieutenant Eicke, after stating the wretched condition of the slaves at and subsequent to the time of capture, says, "That between the nineteenth and twenty-fourth day of their being landed, *thirteen* more died, notwithstanding good provisions, medical aid, and kind treatment, and *thirty more* died between the 24th of February and 16th instant; all occasioned, as he in his conscience is firmly persuaded, by the cruel and inhuman treatment of the Portuguese owners; that more than 100 of them were, at the time of their landing, just like skeletons covered with skin, and moving

* Falconbridge, p. 33.

by slow machinery, hardly maintaining the appearance of animated human beings. That the remainder of them were all enervated, and in a sickly state."*

In an official medical report as to the health of the liberated Africans at the Gambia, of date 31st of December, 1833, and drawn up by Mr. Foulis, Assistant Surgeon of the Royal African Corps, and Dr. James Donovan, Acting Colonial Surgeon, it is stated that the greater part of those who are weak and emaciated on arrival, soon afterwards die; many, after a longer or shorter residence, fall into the same state, linger, and also perish from causes not very dissimilar. For this mortality, the medical board assigned, as probable causes, the long confinement in slave-houses previous to embarkation, want of cleanliness and ventilation while on board the slave-ships, alterations in dress, food, and habits, and, not the least, change of climate. These act directly, simultaneously, and banefully on the system in a very great number of instances. But when the sad recollection of perpetual expatriation; the lacerated feelings of kindred and friendship; the rude violation of all the sacred and social endearments of country and relationship; the degrading anticipation of endless, unmitigated bondage, are added to those, they act still more injuriously on the constitution, although exerted through the medium of mind. The moral and physical combination of such extraordinary circumstances, concentrated with such fearful intensity, conjunctly creates disease in such a redoubtable shape, as to induce a belief that nothing similar has yet appeared in the annals of physic."†

Mr. Rankin, in his work on Sierra Leone, says,‡— "To the King's Yards I paid frequent visits, and found an interest awakened on behalf of the people. Of the women, many were despatched to the hospital at Kissey,

* Afr. Inst. Report, 1818, p. 28.

† Records of the Colonial Office for 1833. ‡ Vol. ii., p. 124.

victims to raging fevers. Others had become insane. I was informed that insanity is the frequent fate of the women captives, and that it chiefly comes upon such as at first exhibit most intellectual development, and greatest liveliness of disposition. Instances were pointed out to me. The women sustain their bodily sufferings with more silent fortitude than the men, and seldom destroy themselves; but they brood more over their misfortunes, until the sense of them is lost in madness."*

Dr. Cullen,† in his letter to Lord Glenelg, mentions the following case: "About the beginning of 1834, a small schooner (I think the name was the Duqueza de Braganza, was captured by one of her British Majesty's cruisers, and brought into Rio de Janeiro, having on board between 300 and 400 Africans, mostly children; these poor creatures had suffered much, from their long confinement in such a small vessel, and it is believed a great many had died on the passage. By the humanity of the late Admiral Sir Michael Seymour, they were taken on shore, and properly cared for, otherwise the mortality amongst them after landing must have been greater than it was." He then says, that they were adjudged to be free. At the time of the sentence of the Court, "they were reduced by deaths to 288, all of whom were sent to the house of correction, to work for the Brazilian government. I called at this house of house of correction eight days after their arrival there,

* Vol. ii. p. 124.

† Dr. Cullen also writes, that, about the same time, a British cruiser, the Raleigh, Captain Quin, brought in a slaver, the Rio da Plata, with about 400 Africans on board, who were landed, and a guard placed over them; and that, "a few nights after they were put ashore, the guard was surprised in the middle of the night, by a band of fellows pretending to be justices of the peace, who carried off 200 of the negroes, and next day no traces of them could be found. Those that remained were taken to the house of correction, and disposed of in the Brazilian fashion."‡

‡ Class A, (Farther Series,) 1837, p. 91.

when seven more had died, and there were then thirty-five sick, confined in a small room, lying on the floor, without bed or covering of any kind, with their heads to the wall and their feet towards the centre, leaving a narrow passage between the rows. The same day, I saw about 100 of these children in an apartment on the ground floor, sitting all round on their heels, after the fashion of the country, and looking most miserable. On the November following, I again visited the house of correction, and learned that out of the 288, sent there in June, 107 had died, and a great many more were sick."*

In the letter from Havana, dated in 1838, from which I have already quoted, the following account is given: "In the cool of the evening we made a visit to the bazaar. A newly imported cargo of 220 human beings were here exposed for sale. They were crouched down upon their forms around a large room: during a visit of more than an hour that we were there, not a word was uttered by one of them. On entering the room, the eyes of all were turned towards us, as if to read in our countenances their fate; they were all nearly naked, being but slightly clad in a light check shirt, upon which was a mark upon the breast; with a few exceptions they were but skin and bone, too weak to support their languid forms; they were reclining on the floor, their backs resting against the wall. When a purchaser came they were motioned to stand, which they obeyed, though with apparent pain; a few were old and grey; but the greater proportion were mere children, of from ten to thirteen or fifteen years of age; when they stood, their legs looked as thin as reeds, and hardly capable of supporting the skeletons of their wasted forms. The keeper informed us they were of several distinct tribes, and that they did not understand one another: this was apparent from the formation of the

* Class A, (Farther Series,) 1837, p. 91.

head. While we were there, five little boys and girls were selected and bought to go into the interior: no regard is paid to relationship, and, once separated, they never meet again! We left the tienda, and, turning through the gateway, we saw some who were lying under the shade of the plantain, whose appearance told that they, at least, would be liberated from bondage by death. They were those who had suffered most during the voyage,—their situation was most melancholy. I offered to one the untasted bowl of cocoa-nut milk I was about drinking,—she motioned it away with a look which, even from a negress, was expressive of thankfulness, and which seemed to say how unused she was to such kindness."

The Quarterly Review, (vol. xxx.,) contains an article on Mengin's "Histoire de l'Egypte,"* in which the reviewer, speaking of Ismael Pacha's expedition to the south, says, "The hopes of the Pacha, however, were greatly disappointed in these black troops, (captured in Soudan.) They were strong, able-bodied men, and not averse from being taught; but when attacked by disease, which soon broke out in the camp, they died like sheep infected with the rot. The medical men ascribed the mortality to moral rather than physical causes; it appeared in numerous instances, that, having been snatched away from their homes and families, they were even anxious to get rid of life; and such was the dreadful mortality that ensued, that, out of 20,000 of these unfortunate men, 3000 did not remain alive at the end of two years."

Dr. Bowring has stated to me, that the negroes which have been conveyed into Egypt "suffer much from nostalgia, and when they have been gathered together into regiments, the passionate desire to return home frequently produced a languishing malady, of which they

* Histoire de l'Egypte, par Felix Mengin, 1823.—Quarterly Review, vol. xxx. p. 491.

die in large numbers. The mortality among the slaves in Egypt is frightful,—when the epidemical plague visits the country, they are swept away in immense multitudes, and they are the earliest victims of almost every other domineering disease. I have heard it estimated that five or six years are sufficient to sweep away a generation of slaves, at the end of which time the whole has to be replenished. This is one of the causes of their low market-value. When they marry, their descendants seldom live; in fact, the laws of nature seem to repel the establishment of hereditary slavery."

But it is needless to multiply instances on this head; and I shall only further notice a few of the authorities for the amount of the mortality after landing, and in the seasoning.

Mr. Pitt, in the debate on the Slave Trade, in 1791, made the following observation—"The evidence before the House, as to this point, (the mortality,) was perfectly clear; for it would be found in that dreadful catalogue of deaths in consequence of the seasoning and the middle passage, which the House had been condemned to look into, that *one-half* die."

Mr. Wilberforce, in his letter of 1807, (page 98,) says, "The survivors were landed in such a diseased state, that $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the whole number imported, were estimated to die in the short interval between the arrival of the ship and the sale of the cargo, probably not more than a fortnight; and after the slaves had passed into the hands of the planters, the numbers which perished from the effects of the voyage were allowed to be very considerable." It ought not to be forgotten, that Pitt and Wilberforce are speaking of a period when the Slave Trade was legal, and the Slave Carrying Act in operation. What then may be the *increase* of this mortality, now that the trade is clandestine, and the slaves packed on board of the "clippers," like "bales of goods?"

The Duc de Broglie, when addressing the Chamber

of Peers on this subject, in March, 1822, made the following remark—"And it is a well-known fact, that a *fourth*, or even a *third*, of the cargo generally perishes either on ship-board, or soon after the landing, from the diseases incident to the voyage."*

In the debate of 1791, Mr. Stanley (then agent for the Islands and advocating the continuance of the Slave Trade) said, speaking of the negroes—"As to their treatment in the West Indies, he was himself witness that it was in general highly indulgent and humane," and yet "he confessed that ONE-HALF, very frequently, died in the SEASONING."

I have now, in the discharge of a most painful duty, brought under review a complication of human misery and suffering, which I may venture to say has no parallel; but before concluding this branch of the case, it may be proper to exhibit, in a summary manner, the amount of negro mortality, consequent on the Slave Trade.

SUMMARY.

1st. The loss incident to the seizure, march to the coast, and detention there.

Newton (p. 69) is of opinion, that the captives reserved for sale, are fewer than the slain.

Mr. Miles (p. 69) stated to the Committee in 1790, that in one of the "Skirmishes", for slaves, "above sixty thousand men" were destroyed.

Bosman narrates, that in two of these skirmishes "above one hundred thousand men were killed;" and Mr. Devaynes has said, that in one of these "skirmishes" "60,000 lost their lives."† And Denham (p. 70) narrates, that in five marauding excursions, "20,000

* Afr. Inst. Report, Ap. 2, No. 16, 1823.

† It is obvious that these very large numbers must be received with considerable qualification. There can be no doubt, however, that the slaughter was great.

at least" were slaughtered, and 16,000 sent into slavery; and he gives another instance, where "probably 6000" were slaughtered, in procuring 3000 slaves.

On the route to the coast, we may cite the authority of Park, Denham, &c.; and M. Mendez (p. 80) estimates the loss on this head to amount to five-twelfths of the whole.

For the mortality occasioned by detention before embarkation, we have the authority of Frazer, Park, Leonard, Landers, and Baillie.

From these authorities, we are fairly entitled to assume that from the sources—seizure, march, and detention,—*for every slave embarked, one life is sacrificed.*

2dly. The loss from the middle passage appears to be *not less than* 25 *per cent.* For this there is conclusive evidence. The witnesses have no assignable motive for exaggeration; they are men holding public situations, of unimpeachable veracity, and with the best opportunities of forming a correct estimate.

The Rev. John Newton had, himself, been for many years a slave-trader, and speaks of what he saw. The Slave Trade was then legal, and the vessels employed were usually large and commodious, and very different from the American clippers now in use. He rates the loss during the mid-passage at 25 per cent. Captain Ramsay had commanded one of H. M. cruisers, employed in suppressing the Slave Trade, had taken many slavers, and could not be ignorant of the state of the captured cargoes. His estimate is 33 per cent.

Slave-trading vessels are continually passing under the eye of the Governor of Cape Coast Castle. His attention has been constantly kept alive to the subject, and few men have had such opportunities of arriving at the real truth. Mr. Maclean's estimate is thirty-three per cent.

Commodore Owen reports that which came to his

knowledge while he was employed by government in surveying the eastern coast of Africa. His estimate is fifty per cent. This excess, as compared with the others, is accounted for, by the additional length of the voyage round the Cape of Good Hope.

If, after such testimony, there were room for hesitation, it must be removed by witnesses of a very different kind. The Spanish slave-merchants of Monte Video, it is fair to presume, are well acquainted with the usual rate of mortality in their slave-vessels; and we may give them credit for not acting contrary to their own interests; so confident are they that, at least, one-third will perish, that they providently incur the expense of sending out that amount of surplus, for the purpose (in their own words) "of covering the deaths on the voyage."

I should be justified in taking the average of these authorities, which would be thirty-four per cent; but as it is my wish to be assuredly within the mark, I will state the mortality from the middle passage at *twenty-five per cent.*

In the same spirit I will take no notice of the mortality after capture, which, says the report of the Parliamentary Committee, amounts to from one-sixth to one-half.

3dly. As to the loss after landing, and in the seasoning.

Under this head, we have, among others, two authorities which require particular attention; one of them referring to the time when the Slave Trade was legal, the other to a recent date, and both of them coming from unexceptionable quarters. Mr. Stanley, a West India agent, arguing for the continuance of the Slave Trade, and lauding the treatment of the negroes, confesses that *one-half* frequently die in the seasoning. The other, the report of the Medical Officers appointed to investigate the state of the liberated Africans at the Gambia; which

describes a large proportion of them as laboring under disease, "nothing equal to which has been known hitherto in the annals of physic." If such be their state when they fall into the hands of the British, are treated by them with kindness, and are relieved from their most frightful apprehensions, may we not suppose that their state is still more miserable, and the mortality still greater, when they are landed clandestinely at Cuba, and know that they are doomed to interminable bondage?

Upon the strength and authority of these facts, I might fairly estimate the loss under this head at one-third; but I think I cannot err, on the side of exaggeration, in setting it down at *twenty per cent.*

Nor does the mortality stop here. In slave countries, but more especially where the Slave Trade prevails, there is, invariably, a great diminution of human life; the numbers annually born, fall greatly below the numbers which perish. It would not be difficult to prove, that in the last fifty years there has been in this way, a waste of millions of lives; but as this view of the subject would involve the horrors of slavery, as well as of the Slave Trade, I shall abstain from adding anything on this head, to the catalogue of mortality which I have already given.

We have thus brought into a narrow compass the mortality arising from the Slave Trade.

	Per Cent.
1. Seizure, march and detention . . .	100
2. Middle passage, and after capture .	25
3. After landing, and in the seasoning .	20
	145

So that for every 1000 negroes alive at the end of a year after their deportation, and available to the planter, we have a sacrifice of 1450.

Let us apply this calculation to the number landed annually in Cuba, Brazil, &c., which, as I have already

shown (p. 25) may be fairly rated at 150,000; of these 20 per cent., or 30,000, die in the seasoning, leaving 120,000 available for the planter.

If 150,000 were landed, there must have been embarked 25 per cent., or 37,500 more, who perish in the passage; and if 187,500 were embarked, 100 per cent., or 187,500 more, must have been sacrificed in the seizure, march, and detention.

It is impossible for any one to reach this result, without suspecting, as well as hoping, that it must be an exaggeration; and yet there are those who think that this is too low an estimate.*

I have not, however, assumed any fact, without giving the data on which it rests; neither have I extracted from those data any immoderate inference. I think that the reader, on going over the calculation, will perceive that I have in almost every instance, abated the deduction, which might with justice have been made. If then we are to put confidence in the authorities (most of them official) which I have quoted, we cannot avoid the conclusion,—terrible as it is,—that the Slave

*Mr. Rankin says:—

"The old and new Calebar, the Bonney, Whydah, and the Gallinas, contribute an inexhaustible supply for the French islands of the West Indies, Rio Janerio, Havana, and the Brazils, where, notwithstanding every opposition and hinderance from the British cruisers, one hundred thousand are supposed to arrive in safety annually; five times that number having been lost by capture or death. Death thins the cargoes in various modes; suicide destroys many; and many are thrown overboard at the close of the voyage; for as a duty of ten dollars is set by the Brazilian Government upon each slave upon landing, such as seem unlikely to survive, or to bring a price sufficiently high to cover this custom house tax, are purposely drowned before entering port. Those only escape these wholesale murders who will probably recover health and flesh when removed to the fattening pens of the slave-farmer, a man who contracts to feed up the skeletons to a marketable appearance." Vol. ii. p. 71.

Trade between Africa and America annually subjects to the horrors of slavery . . .			120,000
And murders . . .	30,000		
	37,500		
	187,000		
			255,000
Annual victims of Christian Slave Trade			375,000
" " of Mahommedan .			100,000*
Annual loss to Africa . . .			475,000

Consequent State of Africa.

Even this is but a part of the total evil. The great evil is, that the Slave Trade exhibits itself in Africa as a barrier, excluding everything which can soften, or enlighten, or civilize, or elevate the people of that vast continent. The Slave Trade suppresses all other trade, creates endless insecurity, kindles perpetual war, banishes commerce, knowledge, social improvement, and above all, Christianity, from one quarter of the globe, and from 100,000,000 of mankind.

*The following is an estimate of the amount and mortality of the Northern or Mahommedan Slave Trade:—

Number annually exported by the Imaum of Muscat			30,000
Do. by Traders to Barbary, Egypt, &c. .			20,000
			50,000
Loss on Seizure, . .	50 per cent		
" March . .	30 "		
" Detention .	" "		
" Middle Passage	" "		
Seasoning .	20		
In all . .	100†		
			50,000
Annual victims of Mohammedan Slave Trade			100,000

†Dr. Bowring states, (as to Egypt) that 30 per cent. perish in the first 10 days after seizure: and that the loss from the time of capture to the arrival at the market in Cairo may be estimated at 100 per cent.

Failure of Efforts already made for Suppression of the Slave Trade.

It is but too manifest that the efforts already made for the suppression of the Slave Trade, have not accomplished their benevolent object.

The people of England take a more lively and intense interest in this, than perhaps in any other foreign subject. The Government, whether in the hands of the one party or the other, cannot be accused of having, for a long series of years, been wanting either in zeal, or exertion for its suppression. Millions of money and multitudes of lives have been sacrificed; and in return for all we have only the afflicting conviction, that the Slave Trade is as far as ever from being suppressed. Nay, I am afraid the fact is not to be disputed, that while we have thus been endeavoring to extinguish the traffic, it has actually doubled in amount.

In the debate of 2d April, 1792, Mr. Fox rated the Slave Trade at 80,000 annually: he says, "I think the least disreputable way of accounting for the supply of slaves, is to represent them as having been convicted of crimes by legal authority. What does the House think is the whole number of these convicts exported annually from Africa? 80,000." In the same debate Mr. Pitt observed, "I know of no evil that ever has existed, nor can imagine any evil to exist, worse than the tearing of 80,000 persons annually from their native land, by a combination of the most civilised nations in the most enlightened quarter of the globe." The late Zachary Macaulay, than whom the African has had no better friend, told me a few days before his death, that upon the most accurate investigation he was able to make as to the extent of the Slave Trade, he had come to the conclusion that it was 70,000 annually, fifty years ago. Twenty years ago the African Institution reported to the Duke of Wellington that it was 70,000. We will assume then that the number at the commence-

ment of the discussion was 70,000 negroes annually transported from. There is evidence before the Parliamentary Committees, to show that about one-third was for the British islands, and one-third for St. Domingo, so that strictly speaking, if the Slave Trade of other countries had been stationary, they ought only at the utmost to import 25,000; but I have already proved that the number annually landed in Cuba and Brazil, &c., is 150,000, being more than double the whole draught upon Africa, including the countries where it had ceased when the Slave Trade controversy began. Twice as many human beings are now its victims as when Wilberforce and Clarkson entered upon their noble task; and each individual of this increased number, in addition to the horrors which were endured in former times, has to suffer from being cribbed up in a narrower space, and on board a vessel, where accomodation is sacrificed to speed. Painful as this is, it becomes still more distressing if it shall appear that our present system has not failed by mischance, from want of energy, or from want of expenditure, but that the system itself is erroneous, and must necessarily be attended with disappointment.

Hitherto we have effected no other change than a change in the flag under which the trade is carried on. It was stated by our ambassador at Paris, to the French minister, in 1824, (I speak from memory,) that the French flag covered the villains of all nations. For some years afterwards the Spanish flag was generally used. Now, Portugal sells her flag, and the greater part of the trade is carried on under it. Her governors openly sell, at a fixed price, the use of Portuguese papers and flag.

So grave an accusation ought not to be made without stating some of the authorities on which it is grounded. In a Parliamentary paper on the subject of the Slave Trade, presented in 1823, Sir Charles M'Carthy states

in his letter of the 19th June 1822,* that "the case of the 'Conde de Ville Flor,' seized near Bissao, fully establishes that Signor Andrade, the governor, had shipped a number of slaves on his own account." Sir Charles further states that "he received repeated reports of the governors of Bissao and Cacheo having full cargoes of slaves in irons ready for all purchasers; and that the traffic is carried on openly at the Cape de Verd Islands, St. Thomas, and Prince's." This statement is confirmed by "Lieutenant Hagan, of Her Majesty's brig Thistle, who informed him that the traffic in slaves was carried on at Bissao and Cacheo in the most open manner, under the sanction of the governor, the latter of whom is the principal dealer in slaves."

The practice of 1822 has continued to the present time. On the 3d March, 1838, Lord Palmerston, in a spirited note, states to the Portuguese Minister, "that the Portuguese flag is lent, with the connivance of Portuguese authorities, to serve as a protection for all the miscreants of every other nation in the world, who may choose to engage in such base pursuits."†

The charge thus made, extends only to the *lending* of the flag of Portugal; it might have gone farther. In an enclosure in a letter from Lord Palmerston to our Ambassador at Lisbon, dated 30th April, 1838, it appears that "the Governor of Angola has established an impost or fee of 700,000 reis to be paid to him for every vessel which embarks slaves from thence, it being understood that upon payment of the above-mentioned sum, no impediment to the illicit trade shall be interposed by the governor, nor any farther risk be incurred by the persons engaged in the trade."‡ Nor is this all. In the same document we find that the governor, not

* Papers, Slave Trade, 11th July, 1823.
† Class B, (Farther Series,) 1837, p. 29, presented 1838.
‡ Class B, (Farther Series,) 1837, p. 35.

content with lending and letting out the flag of Portugal has set up as a slave-trader himself; "sending from Angola, for his own account, a shipment of slaves, sixty in number, which he has consigned to a notorious slave-dealer of the name of Vincente, at Rio de Janeiro."* It is very truly added, that these violations of the treaties "form but a small portion of the offences of this kind constantly committed by Portuguese subjects, both in and out of authority."

When Portugal shall have been persuaded or compelled to desist from this insulting violation of treaty, it is but too probable that Brazil will step into her place. We find it stated in a despatch from Her Majesty's Commissioners at Rio de Janeiro to Lord Palmerston, of date the 17th of November, 1837,† that "The change in the Brazilian Government which took place on the 19th September, has had this important consequence in respect to the Slave Trade, that while the late Government appeared to wish to put down the traffic, as matter of principle, and of compact with Great Britain, the present Government, as far as it is represented by Senior Vasconcellos (Minister of Justice, and provisionally Minister for the empire,) has proclaimed the traffic to be indispensable to the country, has released those concerned who were under prosecution, and set at nought the engagement with Great Britain on this head." And the British Consul at Pernambuco writes to Lord Palmerston, of date 15th February, 1838, "The editor of the Jornal de Commercio declares, that this important subject has already passed the Senate, and that there is every probability it will be made law in the next Session of the Legislature, to annul the enactment of 17th November, 1831, which prohibits the Slave Trade in Brazil under severe penalties."‡ When

* Class B, (Farther Series,) 1837, p. 35.
† Class A, (Farther Series,) 1837, p. 80
‡ Class B, (Farther Series,) 1837, p. 54.

Brazil shall be induced to surrender the traffic, it is not improbable that it will be transferred to Buenos Ayres, or one of the many remaining flags of South America; then to Texas; and when we shall have dealt with all these, and shall have rung from them a reluctant engagement to renounce the iniquity, we shall still have to deal with the United States of North America.

How long, it may be asked, will it take before we have succeeded in gaining from the whole world a concurrence in the provisions of the existing treaty with Spain? We began our negotiations with Portugal about thirty years ago; and in what state are they now? By a despatch from Lord Howard de Walden, our ambassador at Lisbon, to Lord Palmerston, of date 25th February, 1838, we are informed that Viscount de Sa da Bandeira, the Portuguese minister, having been urged to proceed with the negotiations, replied, "That he would do so as soon as he had settled a treaty with Spain for the navigation of the Douro, the negotiation of which occupied his whole time."*

To touch upon one only of the many difficulties which lie in the way of a universal for confederacy putting down the Slave Trade, I ask, how shall we get the consent of North America to the article yielding the right of search. She has told us, in the most peremptory terms, that she will never assent to it; and it should be remembered, that this confederacy must either be universally binding, or it is of no avail. It will avail us little that ninety-nine doors are closed, if one remains open. To that one outlet, the whole Slave Trade of Africa will rush.

Does any one suppose that even in the space of half a century, we shall have arrived at one universal combination of all countries, for the suppression of the Slave Trade? And a delay of fifty years, at the present rate

* Class B, (Farther Series,) 1837, p. 30.

of the traffic, implies, at the very least, the slaughter of eleven millions of mankind.

But let us suppose this combination to have been effected, and that all nations consent to the four leading articles of the Spanish Treaty. When that is done it will be unavailing.

In the first place, during the three years which have elapsed since the treaty with Spain, the Slave Trade has been carried on by the Spaniards, at least to as great an extent as formerly. On the 2d January, 1836, the Commissioners at Sierra Leone say, "There is nothing in the experience of the past year to show that the Slave Trade with Spain has, in any degree, diminished."*

The Commissioners at the Havana say, "Never has the Slave Trade at the Havana reached such a disgraceful pitch as during the year 1835."† I could corroborate this statement, that there is no diminution in the Spanish Slave Trade, by a variety of letters. One gentleman, upon whose sources of information and accuracy I can entirely rely, says, in a letter dated September, 1836, "the Slave Trade, which was thought to be dead here some years ago, has still a mighty being, and stalks over the island in all its pristine audacity." Another, of date November, 1836, says, "Article first of the late Treaty between England and Spain states, 'The Slave Trade is hereby declared, on the part of Spain, to be henceforward totally and finally abolished in all parts of the world.' In answer to this, we assert that the Slave Trade carried on by the Spaniards is more brisk than ever. In December, 1836, a gentleman, detained a month at St. Jago de Cuba, witnessed the arrival of five slave cargoes from Africa."

But it may be said that this arises from the facility with which the Portuguese flag is obtained, and that when Portugal, and all other powers, shall have consented to

* Class A, 1835, p. 9. † Ibid. p. 206.

the Spanish Treaty, this mode of evasion will have ceased. It is perfectly true that the Portuguese flag is obtained with the greatest facility at a very moderate price. At the Cape de Verd Islands, at the river Cacheo, at St. Thomas',at Prince's, and at Angola, the Portuguese flag may be easily and cheaply purchased. But, notwithstanding, we find by the last parliamentary papers, that out of the twenty-seven vessels condemned at Sierra Leone, *eight* were under the Spanish flag: and of the seventy-two vessels which left the port of Havana for the coast of Africa, in 1837, no fewer than *nineteen* at least were *Spanish.** The slave-traders surely did not think that the Spanish Treaty was a death-blow to the trade, or they would not have neglected the precaution of purchasing, at a very easy price, the protection afforded by the flag of Portugal.

They had their choice of the Spanish flag, attended by all the dangers supposed to arise from the Spanish Treaty, or the Portuguese flag, which is not liable to these dangers; and for the sake of saving a very trivial sum, they prefer the former.

But there is another mode of measuring the importance which the slave-traders attach to the Spanish Treaty. The Commissioners, in their Report of 1836, after stating that the first effect of the treaty was to arrest the Slave Trade, add, that this alarm soon wore away, and "now the only visible effect of the reported new treaty is an increased rate of premium out and home, with an augmented price of negroes."†

The Spanish Treaty has been for some time a topic of continual congratulation and complacency; and there are many who think that if we could but induce Portugal and other countries to follow the example of Spain there would be an end of the Slave Trade. A case occurs in the papers presented to Parliament in 1838,

* Class A (Farther Series,) 1837, p. 68.
† Class A, 1835, p. 207.

which throws a strong light on the real efficacy of the Spanish Treaty; and, though I can give but a scanty outline of it here, it deserves particular attention. The Vincedora, a Spanish vessel officered by Spaniards, having lately returned from a trading voyage to Africa, came into the port of Cadiz, bound for Porto Rico. At Cadiz she took in forty-nine passengers, and proceeded on her way. The passengers suffered considerable annoyance from the effluvia proceeding from the lower parts of the ship. By this, and by other circumstances, some vague suspicion seems to have been engendered. Leaving Porto Rico, the vessel proceeded towards Cuba; on her way thither she fell in with the Ringdove, Captain Nixon. The captain of the Vincedora denied that he had negroes on board; but the mate of the Ringdove insisted on pursuing his search, and in the forepeak of the vessel, closed from the light or air, were found twenty-six negroes;* "most of them were young, from ten years old upwards."

They could not speak one word of Spanish, unless it be true, which the Spanish witnesses labor hard to prove, that one of them was once heard to use the word "Senor." From these circumstances, from the stench perceived by the passengers after leaving Cadiz, from the fact of three iron coppers being found, and large quantities of rice and Indian corn having daily been dressed in them; from the care taken to debar the passengers from all access to those parts of the ship where they were found; and from the testimony, through an interpreter, of the negroes themselves, "who all declared most solemnly, that they had never been in another vessel, and swore to it, after the manner of their country;" from all these circumstances it is clear (how-

* They appeared to be of recent importation, had no other clothing than a piece of cloth tied round their loins, their heads were shaven, and some of them were in a sad state of emaciation. Class A, 1837, p. 40.

ever incredible the atrocity) that these wretches had been shipped at Congo, in Africa, had been carried across the Atlantic to Cadiz, again across the Atlantic to Porto Rico, and were, when taken, in the progress of a third voyage.

No record exists of the number originally shipped, nor of those who were so happy as to perish by the way, nor of the extent of misery undergone by those who endured a voyage from Africa to Europe, and from Europe to America, of not less than 6000 miles, pining in their narrow, loathsome, and sultry prison, for want of air, and light, and water. These particulars will never be known in this world; but who will deny that the English captain is justified in calling it a case of "utter barbarity?" He might have added, of "utter perfidy." In a private letter, he says,—"The Vincedora took her wretched cargo round by Cadiz (can you conceive such barbarity?) and there got armed with government authority as a packet, wearing the royal colors and pendant; they (the slaves) will be liberated, and I may be prosecuted." The fact of her having slaves on board must have been known to the custom-house authorities at Cadiz.

However, thanks to the Spanish Treaty, the ship is captured at last, and the Spanish authorities will be, of course, as eager as ourselves to punish the villain who has thus defied her decrees. Captain Nixon took his prize to the Havana, and she was tried before the Mixed Commission Court. The captain of the slaver set up the impudent defence—First, that these naked, filthy, shaven, emaciated creatures, were "passengers," and, next, that they were "parcels of goods from Porto Rico."

The court, by the casting vote of the Spanish umpire, found this false and flimsy pretext valid, acquitted the slaver, restored the vessel, and condemned the innocent negroes to slavery, while Captain Nixon is exposed to heavy damages for doing his duty! The captain of the

Vincedora is triumphant, and, in a complaint which he made relating to certain articles which, as he alleges, are missing, closes the scene by a high-flown address to the court, on "the faith of treaties," "the sacred rights of property and national decorum," and "the outraged honor of the respected flag of England!"

Worse than all is the fact that this case has been taken as a precedent, and already another vessel, the Vigilante, has been liberated on the strength of this decision.

Had I fabricated a case to show the perfidy of the Spanish authorities, and the barefaced evasions, which are sufficient, in Lord Palmerston's words, "to reduce the treaty to mere waste paper," I could scarcely have produced one so much to the purpose.

I am compelled to go further. It may be pretended that it was only by accident that the slaver, while she remained at Cadiz, escaped the vigilance of the custom-house officers, and by a second fortunate accident that she obtained permission to bear the royal pendant; but can it also be ascribed to accident, that the two persons selected by the Spanish Government as commissioner and arbitrator should have acted throughout as if their proper business was to defend the slave-trader, and defeat the treaty? It would seem that, while hardly any evidence is strong enough to convict a slaver, no pretext is too miserable for his defence. For example, the Vincedora is declared to be "wrongfully detained," while the General Laborde, "a well-known and fully-equipped slaver," is liberated "because the wife and children of the supercargo were on board."*

Upon the whole, I can arrive at no other conclusion than that the Spanish Treaty, as interpreted by the Spanish judges, is an impudent fraud; and that those who shall be credulous enough to rely upon it for the full attainment of our object will be fatally deceived.

Thus, then, stands the argument: we shall never ob-

* Class A, 1837 p. 91.

tain the concurrence of all the powers to the provisions of the Spanish Treaty; and if we get it, we shall find it not worth having. But even assuming that those insurmountable obstacles have been overcome, and that the Spanish Treaty, improved and rendered more stringent, becomes the law of the civilised world; it will still appear that this treaty will not accomplish our object. Another step must be taken; and the next step will be to make slave-trading PIRACY punishable with death.

Once more, then, we shall have to tread the tedious round of negotiation. To say nothing of the difficulty we shall find in inducing Portugal to adopt the greater measure, when she has so long refused to take the minor step; and nothing of the difficulty of persuading Brazil to advance, when she has exhibited unequivocal symptoms of a disposition to retreat; nor of the reluctance of Spain, (who thinks she has conceded too much,) to make still farther concessions—to say nothing of all these, France stands in our way. She has declared that by her constitution, it cannot be made piracy.

I am afraid that there is not the remotest probability of inducing all nations to concur in so strong a measure, as that of stigmatising the Slave Trade as piracy.

But we will suppose all these difficulties removed; a victory in imagination has been obtained over the pride of North America, the cupidity of Portugal, the lawlessness of Texas, and the constitution of France. Let it be granted that the Spanish Treaty, with an article for piracy, has become universal. I maintain that the Slave Trade, even then, will not be put down. Three nations have already tried the experiment of declaring the Slave Trade to be piracy—Brazil, North America, and England. Brazilian subjects, from the time of passing the law, have been continually engaged in the Slave Trade; indeed we are informed that the whole population of certain districts are concerned in it, and *not one* has suffered under the law of piracy. In 1820, a law was passed by the Legislature of North America, declaring that if any citizen of that country shall be en-

gaged in the Slave Trade, "such citizen or person shall be adjudged a pirate, and on conviction thereof, before the Circuit Court of the United States, shall suffer death." It will not be denied, that American citizens have been largely engaged in the traffic; but I have yet to learn that even one capital conviction has taken place during the eighteen years that have elapsed since the law was passed.*

Great Britain furnishes a still more striking illustration of the inefficacy of such a law. For ten years the Slave Trade prevailed at the Mauritius, to use the words of Captain Moresby, before the Committee of the House of Commons, "as plain as the sun at noonday." Many were taken in the very act, and yet no conviction, I believe, took place. With these examples before me, I am not so sanguine as some other gentlemen appear to be, as to the efficacy of a law declaring the Slave Trade piracy, even if it were universally adopted. I fear that such a law would be a dead letter, unless, at all events, we had the *bonâ fide* and cordial co-operation of the colonists. Were we able to obtain this in our own dominions? Our naval officers acted with their usual energy, on the coast of the Mauritius. When General Hall was governor there, and when Mr. Edward Byam was the head of the police, everything possible was done to suppress the traffic, and to bring the criminals to justice. No persons could act with more meritorious fidelity (and I grieve to say, poorly have they been rewarded, by the Home Government;) it became, however, but too evident that the law was unavailing. The populace would not betray the slave-trader, the agent of the police would not seize him; if captured by our officers, the

* Major M'Gregor has stated, in the letter to which I have before referred, that a vessel, with 160 Africans on board, had been wrecked at the Bahamas; and he says, "This pretended Portuguese vessel was fitted out at Baltimore, United States, having been formerly a pilot-boat, called the Washington. The supercargo was an American citizen from Baltimore." See also the report of the Commissioners, Class B, 1837, p. 125.

prisons would not hold him, and the courts would not convict him. General Hall was obliged to resort to the strong expedient of sending offenders of this kind to England, for trial at the Old Bailey, on the ground that no conviction could be obtained on the island. It is clear, then, that the law making Slave Trade piracy, will be unavailing, without you obtain the concurrence of the colonists in Cuba and Brazil; and who is so extravagant as to indulge the hope that this will ever be attained?

But now I will make a supposition, still more Utopian than any of the preceding. All nations shall have acceded to the Spanish Treaty, and that treaty shall be rendered more effective. They shall have linked to it, the article of piracy; the whole shall have been clenched, by the cordial concurrence of the authorities at home, and the populace in the colonies. With all this, we shall be once more defeated and baffled by contraband trade.

The power which will overcome our efforts, is the *extraordinary profit* of the slave-trader. It is, I believe, an axiom at the custom-house, that no illicit trade can be suppressed, where the profits exceed 30 per cent.

I will prove that the profits of the slave-trader are nearly five times that amount. "Of the enormous profits of the Slave Trade," says Commissioner Macleay, "the most correct idea will be formed by taking an example. The last vessel condemned by the Mixed Commission was the Firm." He gives the cost of—

	Dollars.
Her cargo . . .	28,000
Provisions, ammunition, wear and tear, &c. . .	10,600
Wages	13,400
Total expense . . .	52,000
Total product . . .	145,000*

* Parl. Paper, No. 381, p. 37.

There was a clear profit on the human cargo of this vessel, of 18,640*l.*, or just 180 per cent.; and will any one who knows the state of Cuba and Brazil, pretend that this is not enough to shut the mouth of the informer, to arrest the arm of the police, to blind the eyes of the magistrates, and to open the doors of the prison?

Lord Howard de Walden, in a despatch to the Duke of Wellington, dated 26th February, 1835, speaks of a vessel just about to sail from that port (Lisbon,) on a slave-trading voyage. It shows the kind of reliance which we are justified in placing on the professions of that country, pledged twenty years ago, "to co-operate with His Brittanic Majesty in the cause of humanity and justice," and "to extend the blessings of peaceful industry and innocent commerce to Africa;" when, in her own capital, under the guns of her own forts, in the face of day, and before the eyes of our ambassador, a vessel is permitted, without molestation, to embark in the Slave Trade; but it also exhibits the prodigious gains of the man merchant.

Lord Howard de Walden says, "The subject of her departure and destination have become quite notorious, and the sum expected to be cleared by the parties concerned in the enterprise, is put at 40,000*l.*"*

Mr. Maclean, (Governor at Cape Coast Castle,) in a letter addressed to me, in May, 1838, says, "A prime slave on that part of the coast with which I have most knowledge, costs about 50 dollars in goods, or about from 25 to 30 dollars in money, including prime cost and charges; the same slave will sell in Cuba for 350 dollars readily, but from this large profit must be deducted freight, insurance, commission, cost of feeding during the middle passage, and incidental charges, which will reduce the net profit to, I should say, 200 dollars on each prime slave; and this must be still further reduced, to make up for casualties, to, perhaps, 150 dollars per head."

* Class B, 1835, p. 27.

It is remarkable that this calculation by Mr. Maclean almost exactly corresponds with that stated by the Sierra Leone Commissioners, giving for the outlay of 100 dollars, a return of 280 dollars.

Once more, then, I must declare my conviction that the Trade will never be suppressed by the system hitherto pursued.* You will be defeated by its enormous gains. You may throw impediments in the way of these miscreants; you may augment their peril; you may reduce their profits; but enough, and more than enough, will remain to baffle all your humane efforts.

CONCLUSION.

Towards the end of the last century the cruelty and the carnage which raged in Africa were laid open. From the most generous motives, and at a mighty cost, we have attempted to arrest this evil; it is, however, but too evident, that, under the mode we have taken for the suppression of the Slave Trade, it has increased.

It has been proved, by documents which cannot be controverted, that, for every village fired and every drove of human beings marched in former times, there are now double. For every cargo then at sea, two cargoes, or twice the numbers in one cargo, wedged together in a mass of living corruption, are now borne on the wave of the Atlantic. But, whilst the numbers who suffer have increased, there is no reason to believe that the sufferings of each have been abated; on the contrary, we know that in some particulars these have increased; so that the sum total of misery swells in both ways.

* Mr. Maclean, in a letter dated 16th October, 1838, says, "My neighbor, (as I may call him,) De Souza, at Whydah, still carries on an extensive Slave Trade; judging by the great number of vessel consigned to him, he must ship a vast number of slaves annually. He declares, and with truth, that all the slave treaties signed during the last 25 years, have never caused him to export one slave fewer than he would have done otherwise."

Each individual has more to endure; and the number of individuals is twice what it was. The result, therefore, is, that aggravated suffering reaches multiplied numbers.

It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that the statement I have given of the enormities attendant on the supply of slaves to the New World must, from the nature of the case, be a very faint picture of the reality—a sample, and no more, of what is inflicted and endured in Africa. Our knowledge is very limited; but few travellers have visited Africa—the Slave Trade was not their object, and they had slender means of information beyond what their own eyes furnished; yet, what do they disclose?

If Africa were penetrated in every direction by persons furnished with the means of obtaining full and correct information, and whose object was the delineation of the Slave Trade—if, not some isolated spots, but the whole country, were examined—if, instead of a few casual visitors, recording the events of to-day, but knowing nothing of what occurred yesterday, or shall take place to-morrow, we had everywhere those who would chronicle every slave-hunt, and its savage concomitants;—if we thus possessed the means of measuring the true breadth and depth of this trade in blood,—is it not fair to suppose that a mass of horrors would be collected, in comparison with which all that has been hitherto related would be as nothing?

It should be borne in constant memory, difficult as it is to realise—that the facts I have narrated are not the afflictions of a narrow district, and of a few inhabitants;—the scene is a quarter of the globe—a multitude of millions its population,—that these facts are not gleaned from the records of former times, and preserved by historians as illustrations of the strange and prodigious wickedness of a darker age. They are the common occurrences of our own era—the "customs" which prevail at this very hour. Every day which we

live in security and peace at home witnesses many a herd of wretches toiling over the wastes of Africa, to slavery or death; every night villages are roused from their sleep, to the alternatives of the sword, or the flames, or the manacle. At the time I am writing there are at least *twenty thousand human beings* on the Atlantic exposed to every variety of wretchedness which belongs to the middle passage. Well might Mr. Pitt say, "there is something in the horror of it which surpasses all the bounds of imagination."

I do not see how we can escape the conviction that such is the result of our efforts, unless by giving way to a vague and undefined hope, with no evidence to support it, that the facts I have collected, though true at the time, are no longer a fair exemplification of the existing state of things. After I had finished my task, and on the day when I had intended to send this work to the press, I was permitted to see the most recent documents relating to the Slave Trade. In these I find no ground for any such consolotary surmise; on the contrary, I am driven by them to the sorrowful conviction, that the year, from September, 1837, to September, 1838, is distinguished beyond all preceding years for the extent of the trade, for the intensity of its miseries, and for the unusual havoc it makes on human life.

If I believed that the evil, terrible as it is, were also irremediable, I should be more than ready to bury this mass of distress, and this dark catalogue of crime, in mournful silence, and to spare others, and especially those who have sympathised with, and labored for, the negro race, from sharing with me the pain of learning how wide of the truth are the expectations in which we have indulged. But I feel no such despondency; I firmly believe that Africa has within herself the means and the endowments which might enable her to shake off, and to emerge from, her load of misery, to the benefit of the whole civilised world, and to the unspeakable improvement of her own, now barbarous population.

This leads me to the second point, viz.: the capabilities of Africa.

There are two questions which require to be decided before we can assume that it is possible to extinguish the Slave Trade. First, Has Africa that latent wealth, and those unexplored resources which would, if they were fully developed, more than compensate for the loss of the traffic in man? Secondly, Is it possible so to call forth her capabilities, that her natives may perceive that the Slave Trade, so far from being the source of their wealth, is the grand barrier to their prosperity, and that by its suppression they would be placed in the best position for obtaining all the commodities and luxuries which they are desirous to possess? With respect to the last of these propositions, I am of opinion that the time has not yet arrived when it would be expedient to publish, in detail, the measures which, according to my view, are necessary, in order that the African may be taught to explore the wealth of his exuberant soil, and to enjoy the sweets of legitimate commerce. These views have been communicated to Her Majesty's Government. It is for them to decide how far they are safe, practicable and effectual. When their decision shall have been made, there will be no occasion for any farther reserve. The second portion of this work will then be published, in which it is my purpose to say something on the geography of Africa; something on the moral degradation and cruel superstitions which prevail among its population; and something on the measures necessary for elevating the native mind. To these I shall add suggestions of the practical means which appear to me best calculated for the deliverance of Africa from the Slave Trade.

But the former question remains. Is Africa (if justice shall be done to her) capable of yielding a richer harvest than that which has been hitherto reaped from the sale and the slaughter of her people?

Beyond all doubt, she has within herself all that is

needed for the widest range of commerce, and for the most plentiful supply of everything which conduces to the comfort and the affluence of man. Her soil is eminently fertile.* Are its limits narrow? It stretches from the borders of the Mediterranean to the Cape of Good Hope, and from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean. Are its productions such as we little want or lightly value? The very commodities most in request in the civilised world are the spontaneous growth of these uncultivated regions. Is the interior inaccessible? The noblest rivers flow through it, and would furnish a cheap and easy mode of conveyance for every article of legitimate trade. Is there a dearth of population, or is that population averse to the pursuits of commerce? Drained of its inhabitants as Africa has been, it possesses an enormous population, and these eminently disposed to traffic. Does it lie at so vast a distance as to forbid the hope of continual intercourse. In sailing to India we pass along its western and eastern coasts. In comparison with China, it is in our neighborhood.

Are not these circumstances sufficient to create the hope that Africa is capable of being raised from her present abject condition, and while improving her own state, of adding to the enjoyments, and stimulating the commerce of the civilised world?

It is earnestly to be desired that all Christian powers should unite in one great confederacy, for the purpose of calling into action the dormant energies of Africa; but if this unanimity is not to be obtained, there are abundant reasons to induce this nation, alone, if it must so be, to undertake the task. Africa and Great Britain stand in this relation toward each other. Each possesses what the other requires, and each requires what the other possesses. Great Britain wants raw material, and a

* Ptolemy says it "is richer in the quality, and more wonderful in the quantity of its productions, than Europe or Asia."

market for her manufactured goods. Africa wants manufactured goods, and a market for her raw material. Should it, however, appear that, in place of profit, loss were to be looked for, and obloquy, instead of honor, I yet believe that there is that commisseration, and that conscience in the public mind, which will induce this country to undertake, and, with the Divine blessing, enable her to succeed in crushing "the greatest practical evil that ever afflicted mankind."*

* Mr. Pitt.

APPENDIX.

No. 1.

We have omitted an essay appended to the British edition of this work, on "Commercial Intercourse with Africa," to make room for some facts in relation to the traffic in slaves which have escaped the notice of the author of this work, or have transpired since its publication. We quote from the newspaper press, giving our authority, and leaving our readers to judge for themselves of the authenticity of the details which follow.

On the 10th of Sixth mo. (June) last, the British Brig of War Buzzard, Captain Fitzgerald, brought into the port of New York, two vessels taken as slavers on the African coast, both sailing under American colors, and with American captains on board.

The following minute account, taken from the New York Morning Herald, is declared by that paper to have been obtained by a very intelligent and trusty reporter, and to be in every respect faithful and correct:

The Hispano-American Slavers—Extraordinary developments.—This city was thrown into a state of great excitement by the arrival at quarantine, of H. B. M. brig Buzzard, with two slavers as her prizes. The sensation was deepened when the rumor of their being American vessels, and manned by American crews, was circulated. The excitement was so great, and the anxiety to learn all the facts respecting their capture increased so fast that we thought it advisable to step on board the "Teazer," visit them, and gather all we could in relation to the slave-trade, and the seizure of the brig Eagle, and the schooner Clara, by Captain Fitzgerald, of the Buzzard.

Accordingly we took our seat in the stern sheets of the "Teazer," gave the order, "give way, my lads," and were quickly swept past Governor's Island, and as rapidly approached Staten Island. There were upwards of fifty square-rigged vessels lying at quarantine, of all sizes and of all shapes, but as we neared Dr. Rockwell's pier, we instantly pointed out the slavers, they carrying their trade in their looks. They are long, low, sharp, piratical, black, rakish-looking

vessels. They lay low, and their masts rake most awfully. The brig has her name painted on the stern, with a large guilt spread eagle beneath—the name of the port where she did belong is painted out. She is a complete slaver – her slave deck is in, with space only two feet and a half high, and ring bolts and manacles ready for one or more hundreds of poor black wretches. Her provision casks and legers were all on board when captured by the Lily.

We will be brief with the brig, as we have before mentioned her. She was captured by the Lily sloop of war in January last and carried to Sierra Leone, where she was detained a short time, and discharged by the Spanish authorities because her commander, Joshua W. Littig, exhibited American papers; but her prize-master, Mr. Boys, remained in her, determined to sift the matter, and consequently sailed from Sierra Leone for the purpose of communicating with the British commander. When on Lagus bar, she was hailed and boarded by the Buzzard, as we have already stated. Mr. Boys, of course, gave her up, to his superior officer, but still continued prize-master.

The Clara, commanded by Samuel B. Hooker, was captured in the river Nun, by the boats of the Buzzard, early in March. To show the caution with which Capt. Fitzgerald acted, we will state the particulars. Understanding there was a Spanish slaver up the river, he cruised at its mouth for several weeks, and daily sent up boats to reconnoitre—landing Mr. Grant several times for the purpose of getting information from the kings of the several African hordes; but nothing could be gleaned from them. After becoming pretty well satisfied, however, that such a vessel as the Clara was in the river, Captain F. despatched the yawl, manned with twelve men and officers, to proceed up the Nun and take possession of her. At a considerable distance up, anchored close in a bend of the river they discovered and boarded her. Captain Hooker and two Spaniards only were on board, the rest being on shore. Mr. Grant demanded the slaver's papers, but was refused them. Captain H. said he was an American, had American papers, and was not to be searched.

While this was going on, one of the English officers took a spy glass to scan the shore. Captain H. upon seeing this, sprang forward, passed his hand before it, and said "You don't understand this glass; you cannot get the right focus." But the officer had the right focus so nearly that he discovered the Barracoons filled with negroes, and also saw on shore the slave decks, rice casks and the legers. He also saw the red caps of the Spaniards peeping from behind the Barracoons and over the underbush. This was sufficient, and the Clara was taken as a Spanish slaver sailing under false colors and papers. Having American registers, although cut, it was a delicate matter for Capt. Fitzgerald to captur e

them; but the registers being cut, and having a Spanish crew, he thought best to take her and the Eagle in charge, and bring them to New York, subject to the orders of the government of the United States. After leaving the coast of Africa, they touched at Havana, where the slavers were owned, and a long correspondence on their capture took place between Captain Fitzgerald and the Spanish owners. The correspondence Capt. F. took with him to Washington yesterday morning. We shall publish it in the course of a week. It will develope something that will astonish the people of this country. Merchants in this city are engaged largely in this trade.

In the meantime the Buzzard and her two prizes will remain in our harbor. The mate and steward of the Eagle, and the mate and boatswain of the Clara, have also been brought here to act as witnesses in case a trial should be ordered. The Spanish crews were landed at Havana. The log book of the Clara is a singular document. It contains a regular price current of slaves and all their transactions. This was kept by the mate against the wish of Captain Hooker, and is alone sufficient to convict them. The cut registers, as they are called, were obtained by both captains at Havana, and, should a trial take place, some developments will be made in relation to them that will be startling.

There are upwards of twenty American built vessels, officered by Americans, engaged in this trade, and they have all these cut registers, which were obtained from the same source---and that source is *supposed to be the American Consulate at Havana.* The British cruisers have several times captured them, but invariably gave them up upon seeing their papers. Now they are determined to see if it is really true that such vessels can sail under the American flag while engaged in the slave trade, and have therefore captured and brought these vessels to New York for this purpose.

The whole affair will be laid before our government in a few days, and arrangements will undoubtedly be entered into, or ought to be, with the English government, in regard to the future management of these important matters!

The Pennsylvania Freeman of Sixth mo. 13th, contains a letter from MITCHELL THOMPSON, Esq. an officer on board H. B. M. ship Sappho, dated Port Royal, Jamaica On the subject of the slave trade, he makes the following statement:

"I have just finished a small pamphlet, on the subject of missions for Africa, and the slave trade, in which I have not spared your country; you are deeply—deeply implicated. Almost half of the vessels employed in this trade, and furnished to either the Spaniards or Portuguese, are from America, and seem to have been built at Baltimore, from which place they sail, chartered for some port in Cuba, with

lumber, which lumber is converted into *slave decks*, on their arrival at the destined port. To this is now added coppers, casks and food with the *necessary slave irons*, and now also is added the requisite number of Spaniards, as part complement of the ship's company. With American papers and flag, they escape our cruisers, as the accession to the right of mutual search has not been made by America. Thus they proceed to the coast, where at Cape de Verd, Prince's, or St. Thomas's, papers and flag are changed for Portuguese, or if not, the vessel makes the effort on her own responsibility. To show that this is the case, in the month of September last we gave chase to and boarded the Dolphin schooner, Captain Spright, from Baltimore, (last from Havana,) with slave-irons, coppers, casks, decks, &c., crew part American and part Spanish, having American papers, and flag. He knew he was safe, and said immediately that *he was for the coast*. Since we saw you we have taken seven or eight hundred slaves, and we learn from the captains that *Texas is the best mart*."

The writer further states that a short time before the date of his letter (March 27th,) the Sappho captured a cargo of slaves, one of whom was a native American, and who was sold to the slave traders at or near Liberia.

In this connection we copy from a late London paper the following extract from a letter of an officer on Board the British man-of-war Pelican, now engaged in efforts to prevent the slave trade. It is enough to make an American hang his head for shame.

"The Portuguese schooner Magdalena, which we lately captured, had on board 320 slaves. The captain of this vessel informed us that an American schooner, the Octavia, of Baltimore, under Spanish colors, having been sold to a Spaniard in the river Nun, had sailed on the same day that he did, with 220 slaves, and that they had parted company only the preceding night. We made all sail in the supposed direction of the Octavia, and captured her the next day at noon. She had 220 slaves and a crew of 13 men. Both of our prizes had very fair slave decks, two feet and a half in height, and the negroes were all pretty healthy. They were sent to Sierra Leone. The Dolphin took possession of five beautiful empty brigs the other day at Lagos, and sent them to Sierra Leone. The only flag under which slavery can be actually carried on with impunity, is the American!

"Thus a vessel is built or fitted out in an American port, gets American papers, runs to Cuba, is sold; the American with a mixed crew, and the Spanish captain as passengers, run her across to the West Coast of Africa under American colors, and, as we are not

allowed by the jealous Yankees to search their vessels, she remains at anchor until the slaves are ready; a fictitious bill of sale is made out, by which the Spaniards or Portuguese become purchasers of the vessel, and the Yankee a passenger; a favorable opportunity presents itself, the slaves are shipped under the Portuguese flag, and then the vessel takes her chance of escape. The Octavia had no papers except a bill of sale of the above description, and hoisted the Spanish flag merely because the captain was a Spaniard. The American who sold the Octavia was a passenger in the Magdalena."

No. 2.

THE FOREIGN SLAVE TRADE.

Three years ago, in the Senate of the United States, John C. Calhoun expressed his regret that the laws of the United States had branded the foreign slave trade as piracy. This was on the ground of principle—the clear and discriminating mind of the South Carolinian Senator could discern no moral difference between the legal slave trade carried on with Virginia, and the illegal one between the African coast and New Orleans. He is a free trade advocate, and this prohibition of the foreign trade has notoriously been as advantageous to the negro-growers of Virginia and Maryland, as the restrictive system was to the manufacturers of New England. It seems by the the following article, which we find going the rounds of our daily papers, that he is not alone in his opinion, and that there is a probability that a serious effort will ere long be made, "either to annex Texas to the Union, or to repeal the laws against the foreign slave trade."

The Slave Trade between Cuba and Texas.—A report in circulation in Louisiana, that Texas was receiving slaves from Africa, via Cuba, has created some feeling among the planters of Louisiana. The complant is, that if the fertile lands of Texas can be cultivated by slaves purchased for less than five hundred dollars, the planters will in time be enabled to ruin those here who have paid one thousand or fifteen hundred dollars for a field hand. The New Orleans Courier makes the following interesting comment upon the subject.

N. York Express.

"It is now well known to those who have taken the trouble to inquire into the matter, that the slave trade from Africa is more extensive than ever it was. One of the most violent opponents of the trade, a member of the British parliament, by the name of Buxton, has recently published a work upon the subject, in London. In this work Mr. Buxton gives it as his opinion that the African trade has derived strength from the very attempts made by the English government to suppress it. He says, and produces facts in support of what he says, that the millions of money spent on the English cruisers, and the thousands of valuable lives which have been sacrificed in them to the climate, during the last thirty two years, have only tended to make the trade more demoralizing and cruel in its tendencies, without at all diminishing the number of slaves carried from Africa to America.

If such have been the results produced by the injudicious efforts of the English philanthropists, we may well doubt the policy of the law of Congress, which has prohibited the importation of slaves from Africa—a policy that, by all we can learn, has no other effect than to cause the planter of Louisiana to pay to the Virginia slaver one thousand dollars for a negro, which now, in Cuba, and by and by in Texas, may be bought for half the money.

It is known to those acquainted with the character of the African that he is more patient and less unruly than the Virginia, or Maryland negro—his very ignorance of many things makes him less dangerous in a community like ours, and his constitution is better suited to our climate. In transporting him from his own country, his position, too, in civilization is bettered, not worsted.

The more we examine and reflect on the policy the Texians are likely to pursue in this matter, openly or covertly, the more we are convinced that *Texas should be annexed to the Union, or else Congress should repeal the law prohibiting the importation of slaves from Africa.* Otherwise, the culture of sugar and cotton in Louisiana will suffer greatly by the cheaper labor which planters of Cuba and Texas can and will employ."

No. 3.

The following is an extract from an able work recently published by Judge Jay, entitled, "A View of the Action of the Federal Government, in regard to Slavery."

"The great struggle for the abstract principles of human liberty, in which our fathers engaged with so much zeal, had, at the

close of the revolutionary war, excited a very general conviction of the injustice of slavery. When the convention appointed to form a Federal Constitution assembled, the northern and many of the southern delegates were disposed to give the new government such unqualified power over the commerce of the nation, as would enable it to abolish a traffic no less at variance with our republican professions than with the precepts of humanity and religion. A portion of the southern delegates, however, insisted on a temporary restriction of this power as the price of their adhesion to the Union; and their threat of marring the beauty, symmetry, and strength of the fair fabric about to be erected, by withdrawing from it the support of the States they represented, unfortunately induced the convention to yield to their wishes, and to insert in the Constitution a clause restraining Congress from abolishing the African slave trade for twenty years. Mr. Madison has left us the following history of this iniquitous clause. "The Southern States would not have entered into the union of America without the temporary permission of that trade. The gentlemen from South Carolina and Georgia, argued in this manner—'We have now liberty to import this species of property, and much of the property now possessed has been purchased, or otherwise acquired in contemplation of improving it by the assistance of imported slaves. What would be the consequence of hindering us from it? The slaves of Virginia would rise in value, and we should be obliged to go your markets.'"—*Debates in Virginia Convention.*

We have here the solution of much contradictory action on the part of slaveholders in regard to this trade. It seems to have been early discovered that its abolition would be advantageous to the slave-breeders, but not to the slave-buyers. Owing to climate, soil, and production, slave labor is less profitable in Maryland and Virginia, than in the more Southern States; hence, the greater demand for this labor in the latter States has, since the cessation of importation, caused a constant influx of slaves from the former. The breeders in Maryland and Virginia have, for the most part, striven in good faith for the total suppression of the African trade; while those who originally refused to enter the Unionun less permitted, for at least twenty years, to import their slaves directly from Africa, have since evinced very little desire to secure to their neighbors the monopoly of the market.

Whenever the opponents of abolition find it convenient to refer to the action of the Federal Government on the subject of slavery, they laud and magnify its horror of the *African* slave trade, and exultingly point to the law of Congress, branding it with the penalties of *piracy.* And yet we are inclined to believe, that the conduct of our government in relation to this very subject, is one of the

foulest stains attached to our national administration. Has the trade been suppressed? Has the Federal Government in good faith endeavored to suppress it? These are important questions, and we shall endeavor to solve them by an appeal to facts and official documents.

In a debate in Congress in 1819, Mr. Middleton, of South Carolina, stated that, in his opinion, 13,000 Africans were annually smuggled into the United States. Mr. Wright, of Viriginia, estimated the number at 15,000! The same year, Judge Story of the Supreme Court of the United States, in a charge to a Grand Jury, thus expresses himself:—"We have but too many proofs from unquestionable sources, that it (the African trade) is still carried on with all the implacable ferocity and insatiable rapacity of former times. Avarice has grown more subtle in its evasions, and watches and seizes its prey with an appetite quickened rather than suppressed by its guilty vigils. *American citizens* are steeped to their very mouths, (I can scarcely use too bold a figure,) in this stream of inquity."

On the 22d Jan. 1811, the Secretary of the Navy wrote to the commanding naval officer at Charleston: "I hear, not without great concern, that the law prohibiting the importation of slaves, has been violated in *frequent instances*, near St. Mary's, since the gun-boats have been withdrawn from that station."

On the 14th March, 1814, the Collector of Darien, Georgia, thus wrote to the Secretary of the Treasury:—"I am in possession of undoubted information, that African and West India negroes are almost daily illicitly introduced into Georgia, for sale or settlement, or passing through it to the territories of the United States, for similar purposes. These facts are notorious, and it is not unusual to see such negroes in the streets of St. Mary, and such, too, recently captured by our vessels of war, and ordered for Savannah, were illegally bartered by *hundreds* in that city, for this bartering (or *bonding*, as it is called, but in reality *selling*) actually took place before any decision has passed by the Court respecting them. I cannot but again express to you, sir, that these irregularities, and mocking of the laws by men who understand them, are such that it requires the immediate interposition of Congress to effect the suppression of this traffic; for as things are, should a faithful officer of the Government apprehend such negroes, to avoid the penalties imposed by the laws, *the proprietors disclaim them, and some agent of the Executive demands a delivery of the same to him, who may employ them as he pleases, or effect a sale by way of bond for the restoration of the negroes when legally called on so to do, which bond is understood to be forfeited, as the amount of the bond is so much less than the value of the property.* After much fatigue, peril, and expense, *eighty-eight* Africans are seized and brought to the Sur-

veyor to Darien; they are demanded by the Governor's agent. Notwithstanding the knowledge which his Excellency had that these very Africans were some weeks within six miles of his Excellency's residence, there was no effort, no stir made by him, his agents or subordinate State officers, to carry the laws into execution; but no sooner than it was understood that a seizure had been effected by an officer of the United States, a demand is made for them; and it is not difficult to perceive, that the very agressors may, by a forfeiture of the *mock bond*, be again placed in possession of the smuggled property."

In 1817, General David B. Mitchell, Governor of Georgia, resigned the Executive chair, and accepted the appointment under the Federal Government, of Indian Agent at the Creek Agency. He was afterwards charged with being concerned, in the winter of 1817 and 1818, in the illegal importation of Africans. The documents in support of the charge, and those also which he offered to disprove it, were placed by the President in the hands of Mr. Wirt, the Attorney General of the United States, who on the 21st January, 1821, made a report on the same. From this report, it appears that no less than 94 Africans were smuggled into Georgia, and carried to Mitchell's residence. Mr. Wirt concludes his report with the expression of his conviction, that "General Mitchell is guilty of having prostituted his power as Agent for Indian Affairs at the Creek Agency, to the purpose of aiding and assisting in a conscious breach of the Act of Congress of 1807, in prohibition of the slave trade, and this from mercenary motives."*

On the 22d May, 1817, the Collector at Savannah wrote to the Secretary of the Treasury: "I have just received information from a source on which I can implicitly rely, that it has already become the practice to introduce into the State of Georgia across St. Mary's River, from Amelia Island, and E. Florida, Africans who have been carried into the port of Ferdinanda. It is further understood, that the evil will not be confined altogether to Africans, but will be extended to the worst class of *West India slaves*."

Captain Morris of the Navy, informed the Secretary of the Navy, (18th June, 1817)—"Slaves are smuggled in through the numerous inlets to the westward, where *the people are but too much disposed to render every possible assistance* Several hundred slaves are now at Galveston, and persons have gone from New Orleans to purchase them."

On the 17th April, 1818, the Collector at New Orleans wrote to the Secretary of the Treasury: "No efforts of the officers of the Customs alone, can be effectual in preventing the introduction of

* Senate papers, 1st Session, 17th Cong. No. 93.

Africans from the westward: to put a stop to that traffic, a naval force suitable to those waters is indispensable; and vessels captured with slaves *ought not to be brought into this port, but to some other in the United States, for adjudication.*" We may learn the cause of this significant hint, from a communication made the 9th July, in the same year, to the Secretary, by the Collector at Nova Iberia. "Last summer I got out State warrants, and had negroes seized to the number of eighteen, which were part of them *stolen out of the custody of the coroner*, the balance were condemned by the District Judge, and the informers received their part of the nett proceeds from the State Treasurer. Five negroes that were seized about the same time, were tried at Opelousa in May last, by the judge. He decided that some Spaniards that were supposed to have set up a *sham claim*, stating that the negroes had been *stolen from them on the high seas*, (!!) should have the negroes, and that the *persons who seized them should pay half the costs*, and the State of Louisiana the other. This decision had such an effect as to render it almost impossible for me to obtain any assistance in that part of the country."

The Secretary of the Treasury, in a letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, 20th January, 1819, remarked:—"It is understood that proceedings have been instituted under the State authorities which have terminated in the SALE of persons of color illegally imported into the States of Georgia and Louisiana, during the years 1817 and 1818. There is no authentic copy of the acts of the Legislatures of these States upon this subject in this department, but it is understood that in both States, Africans and other persons of color, illegally imported, are directed to be SOLD FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE STATE.*

We have now, we think, proved from high authority, that not-

* In 1835, the New York Journal of Commerce asserted that vessels had been recently fitted out in that port for the African slave trade.

The Boston Express of 17th December, 1838, thus gives the substance of the statements made by Mr. Elliott Cresson, of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, in a public address delivered a few days before in Boston:—

"Out of 177 slave ships which arrive at Cuba every year, five-sixths are owned and fitted out from ports in the United States; and the enormous profits accruing from their voyages remitted to this country. One house in New York received lately for its share alone the sum of $250,000. Baltimore is largely interested in this accursed traffic as well as New York—and even Boston, with all her religion and morality, does not disdain to increase her wealth by a participation in so damnable a business. A gentleman of the highest respectability lately informed Mr. Cression that a sailor in this city told him that he had received several hundred dollars of hush money to make him keep silent, and when he mentioned the names of his employers, the gentleman says he was actually afraid to repeat them, so high do they stand in society. A captain in the merchant service from New York, was lately offered his own terms by two different houses, provided he would undertake a slave voyage."

withstanding the legal prohibition of the slave trade, the people, the Courts, and the Executive authority in the planting States, have afforded facilities for the importation of Africans. It now becomes important to inquire how far the Federal Government has enforced the penalties imposed by the Act forbidding the trade.

On the 7th January, 1819, Joseph Nourse, Register of the Treasury, in an official document submitted to Congress, certified that there were no records in the Treasury department of any forfeitures under the Act of 1807, abolishing the slave trade! So that notwithstanding the thirteen or fifteen thousands slaves said by southern members of Congress to be annually smuggled into the United States—notwithstanding American citizens were declared by a Judge of the Supreme Court to be "steeped to their very mouths in this stream of iniquity," *not one single forfeiture* had, in eleven years, reached the Treasury of the United States! Mr. Nourse, however, states, that it was *understood* that that there had been recently *two* forfeitures, one in South Carolina, and the other in Alabama. Respecting the first, we have no information; of the latter, we are able to present the following extraordinary history.

The Collector at Mobile, writing Nov. 15, 1818, to the Secretary of the Treasury, remarks, "Should West Florida, be given up to the Spanish authorities, both the American and Spanish vessels, it is to be apprehended, will be employed in the importation of slaves with an ultimate destination to this country; and even in its present situation, the greatest facilities are afforded for obtaining slaves from Havana and elsewhere through West Florida. *Three* vessels, it is true, were taken in the attempt last summer, but this was owing rather to *accident* than any well-timed arrangement to prevent the trade."

These three vessels brought in 107 slaves. By what mistake they were captured we are not informed, but another letter from the Collector shows us how the "accident" was remedied. "The vessels and cargoes and slaves have been delivered on *bonds;* the former to the owners, and the slaves to three other persons. The Grand Jury found true bills against the owners of the vessels, masters and supercargo—*all of whom have been discharged*—why or wherefore, I cannot say, except that it could *not* be for want of proof against them." From this letter it is most probable that the forfeiture of which Mr. Nourse had heard, if any in fact occurred, was the collusive forfeiture of the Bonds.*

We most freely acknowledge that so far as the statute book is to be received as evidence, there can be no question of the sincerity and

* The documents we have quoted on this subject, are to be found in Reports of Committees.—1st Sess. 21st Cong. No. 348.

zeal with which the Federal Government has labored to suppress the African slave trade: but laws do not execute themselves, and we shall now appeal to the statute book, and to the minutes of Congress, to convict the Government of gross hypocrisy and duplicity.

It is difficult to understand why men who are engaged in breeding slaves for the market, or why men who are employed in buying and working slaves, should have any moral or religious scruples about the African trade; and when we find political leaders professing to be ready to sacrifice the Union to secure the perpetuity of the *American* trade, we may surely be excused for doubting the sincerity of their denunciations against the foreign traffic.

In the year 1817, a new and sudden zeal was excited in Congress for the abolition of the trade, and this zeal, as we shall see, was the offspring of the efforts of Virginia to colonize the free blacks. The Legislature of that State had for years been anxious to get rid, not of the slaves, but of the free negroes. On the 1st January, 1817, the Colonization Society, the result of Virginia policy, was organized at Washington, and immediately presented a memorial to Congress praying for national countenance. The committee to whom this memorial was referred, reported (11th Feb.) two resolutions:—1st, Calling on the President to enter into negotiations with foreign powers for the "entire and immediate abolition of the traffic in slaves;" and 2nd, asking him to obtain the consent of Great Britain to our colonizing free people of color at Sierra Leone. Thus early was the cause of colonization connected with the agitation in Congress about the slave trade; a connexion from which, as we shall presently see, the Society reaped a very large pecuniary advantage. The resolutions were not acted on, and the next session, Mr. Mercer, regarded in Virginia as the father of the Society, succeeded in getting a vote of the House (Dec. 30th, 1817,) instructing the committee on the memorial from the Society, to report on the expediency of rendering the laws against the slave trade more effectual. Of this committee Mr. Mercer was himself the chairman; and he recommended in his report, that the President should take measures for procuring *suitable territory in Africa for colonizing free people of color with their own consent;* and that armed vessels should occasionally be sent to Africa for the purpose of interrupting the trade. The suggestions of the committee were not adopted, but the ensuing session, (3d March, 1819,) a new act against the slave trade was passed, which gave "a local habitation" to the present colony of Monrovia; and was equivalent to a liberal and national grant to the Society. By this act, the President was authorized to restore to their country, such Africans as might be captured on board of slavers, or illegally introduced into the United States, and he was to appoint agents on the coast to receive them. Mr. Monroe,

then President of the United States, was a zealous colonizationist, and was afterwards placed at the head of the Society. Let us see what use he made of the powers entrusted to him by the act of 1819. Many years after, an inquiry was instituted in Congress as to the expenditures under this law, and the Secretary of the Navy (1830) reported "252 persons* of this description (recaptured Africans,) have been removed to the settlement provided by the Colonization Society on the coast of Africa; and there had been expended therefor, the sum of *two hundred and sixty-four thousand seven hundred and ten dollars.* * * * The practice has been to furnish these persons with provisions for a period of time after being landed in Africa, varying from six months to one year; to provide them with houses, arms, and ammunition; to pay for the erection of fortifications, for the building of vessels for their use, and in short to *render all the aid required for the founding and support of a colonial establishment.*

A report from Amos Kendall, Fourth Auditor of the Treasury, discloses more particularly the manner in which the "*Act in addition to the Acts prohibiting the slave trade,*" was made subservient to the purposes of the Colonization Society.

"In May, 1822, the Secretary of the Navy directed that *ten* liberated Africans should be delivered to Mr. J. Ashmun for transportation to Africa. The Secretary authorized him to take out at the *expense of the Government*, 15,000 hard brick, 5,000 feet of assorted timber, 30 barrels of ship bread, eight of tar, four of pitch, four of rosin, and two of turpentine. * * * * *

In the simple grant of power to an agent to *receive* recaptured negroes, it requires broad construction to find a grant of authority to colonize them, to build houses for them, to furnish them with farming utensils, to pay instructers to teach them, to purchase ships for their commerce, to build forts for their protection, to supply them with arms and munitions, and to employ the army and navy in their defence."†

It cannot be denied that the friends of colonization had great

* We have not been able to ascertain from what source these Africans were obtained, but that they were not *all* of them trophies of the zeal of our cruisers in the cause of humanity, appears from the following extracts from official documents. "There are now in the charge of the Marshal of Georgia, 248 Africans taken out of a South American privateer, the "General Ramirez," *whose crew mutinied, and brought the vessel into St. Mary's, Georgia.*—Letter of Secretary of Navy, 7th February, 1821. "A decision of the Supreme Court in the case of the 'General Ramirez,' placed under the control of the Government from 125 to 130 Africans, who were brought into Georgia, and arrangements are making *to send them to the Agency,*"—(Liberia.)—Report of Secretary of Navy, Dec. 2d, 1825.

† Senate Documents, 2 Sess. 2 Cong.

encouragement to proceed in their warfare against the slave trade. Accordingly, Mr. Mercer, as the chairman of the committee to whom a memorial from the Society had been referred, reported (May 9th, 1820,) a *Bill incorporating the Society*, and another *making the slave trade piracy;* and likewise two resolutions,—the first requesting the President to negotiate with foreign powers, "*on the means of effecting an entire and immediate abolition of the slave trade;*" and another requesting him to make such use of the public armed vessels as may aid the *efforts of the Colonization Society*. The first resolution was adopted, and the consideration of the other postponed. A few days after, (May 15th,) the Act making the African slave trade piratical, was passed. But laws do not execute themselves: and if any slave trader has suffered death in the United States as a pirate, we confess our ignorance of the fact.*

It certainly required some little assurance in the House of Representatives, thus to order a negotiation with foreign powers, for the suppression of the trade, when the Federal Government had itself been so remiss in its efforts, that both Houses of the British Parliament had, the year *before*, (July, 1819,) addressed the Prince Regent, praying him to renew "his beneficent endeavors, more especially with the Governments of France and *the United States of America*, for the effectual attainment of an object we all profess to have in view:" and a negotiation had already been actually commenced with our Government, proposing to concede "to each other's ships of war, a qualified right of search, with a power of detaining the vessels of either State, *with slaves actually on board:*† and a positive refusal to this proposal had already been returned. There is no evidence that our Government ever took a single measure in consequence of this resolution; and under all the circumstances of the case, it is not uncharitable to believe, that it was intended to save appearances.

We must now beg the reader's attention to a new act, in this farce of suppressing the slave trade.

In 1814, our government concluded a war with Great Britain,

* In 1820, a slave vessel, the Science, fitted out at New York, and commanded by Adolphe Lacoste, of Charleston, South Carolina, was captured on the coast of Africa, by the United States ship Cyane, and Lacoste sent home for trial. The trial took place in the Circuit Court of the United States, before Judge Story. The evidence was full and unequivocal; Lacoste was convicted, and sentenced to five years' imprisonment, and to the payment of a fine of $3,000. Had the crime been committed a few months later, the penalty would have been death, under the new law declaring the trade piracy. Lacoste received a *full* pardon from the President, and the reader may thence judge, whether, had he been convicted as a pirate, his life would have been much in danger. The reasons assigned for the pardon, were youth, previous good character, and an aged mother.—*Niles's Register, April* 20, 1822.

† Letter from Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Rush, June 20, 1818.

and in the treaty of peace, gave its assent to the following article. "Whereas the traffic in slaves is irreconcilable with the principles of humanity and justice; and whereas His Majesty and the United States are desirous of continuing their efforts to promote its entire abolition, it is hereby agreed, that both the contracting parties shall use their best endeavors to accomplish so desirable an object."

On the 29th January, 1823, Mr. Stratford Canning, the British Minister at Washington, addressed a letter to the Secretary of State, reminding him of this pledge, and calling on the American Government either to assent to the plan proposed by Great Britain, or to suggest some other efficient one in its place. After the reception of this letter, and before the return of an answer, the following resolution was passed (28th Feb.) by the House of Representatives, viz.

"Resolved, that the President of the United States be requested to enter upon and prosecute from time to time, such negotiations with the several maritime powers of Europe and America, as he may deem expedient, for the effectual abolition of the African slave trade, *and its ultimate denunciation as piracy, under the laws of nations, by the consent of the civilized world.*"

The British Minister was then informed, in answer to his letter, that the *plan* proposed by the United States was a *mutual* stipulation to annex the penalty of piracy to the offence of participating in the trade, by the citizens and subjects of the two parties. Mr. Canning replied, that "Great Britian desires no other, than that any of her subjects who so far defy the laws, and dishonor the character of their country as to engage in a trade of blood, proscribed not more by the act of the Legislature, than by the national feeling, should be detected and brought to justice even by *foreign hands*, and from under the protection of her flag." He nevertheless urged a limited concession of the right of search, as the only *practical* cure of the evil; and he communicated the fact, that so late as January, 1822, it was stated officially by the Governor of Sierra Leone, "that the fine rivers of Nunez and Pongas were entirely under the control of renegade European and *American* slave traders." He then proposed that a mutual right of search should be conceded, to be confined to a fixed number of cruisers on each side; to be restricted to certain parts of the ocean; and that to prevent abuses, these cruisers should act under regulations prepared by mutual consent; and moreover, that this concession should be made only for a short time, that if found inconvenient in practice, it might be discontinued.*

But the Republic stood on its dignity, and would not condescend

* Letter from Mr. Statford Canning to the Secretary of State, 18th April, 1823.

to yield a concession which Great Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, and Sardinia, have thought it no degradation to make in the cause of humanity.

But still the American Government was *very* anxious that every man of every nation, who engaged in the traffic of slaves on the coast of Africa, (not in the District of Columbia,) should be hung by the neck till he was dead; and forthwith, in obedience to the resolution of 28th February, despatches were forwarded to the Cabinets of France, Spain, Portugal, Russia, the Netherlands, Buenos Ayres, and Colombia, announcing the desire of the United States to declare the trade piracy, by the common consent of nations.

It is generally understood, that a pirate is an enemy to the human race, and may be put to death by any government in whose hands he may chance to fall. If this was not the purport of the proposition of the House of Representatives, that the trade should be denounced "as PIRACY under the laws of nations, by the *consent of the civilized world*," we may well ask, what did it mean?

On the 24th June, 1823, instructions were forwarded to our Minister in England, authorizing him to conclude a treaty with Great Britian on the subject of the slave trade, on certain conditions. "The *draft* of a convention," says the Secretary of State, "is herewith enclosed, which, IF the British Government should agree to treat upon this subject, on the basis of a *legislative* prohibition of the slave trade by both parties under the penalties of PIRACY, you are authorized to propose and conclude."

Now it should be remembered that at this time the trade was not piratical by the British laws, and the English Ministry could not make it so by treaty. We therefore proposed a *condition* with which possibly they might not have it in their power to comply. The ministry, however, when made acquainted with the condition, felt confident of the acquiescence of Parliament. "The British Plenipotentiaries, says Mr. Rush, in his letter to the Secretary of State, "gave their unhesitating consent to the principle of denouncing the traffic as piracy, *provided* we could arrive at a common mind on all the other parts of the plan proposed."

The treaty, nearly verbatim, with the draft sent from Washington, was signed at London on the 13th March, 1824; and a few days afterwards, according to a previous understanding, and in fulfilment of the *condition* exacted by us, Parliament passed an Act, declaring that all British subjects found guilty of slave trading, "shall suffer death without benefit of clergy, and loss of lands, goods and chattles, as PIRATES, felons and robbers upon the seas, ought to suffer.

This treaty provided in substance, that the cruisers of either party

on the coast of Africa, *America*, and the West Indies, might seize slaves under the flag of the other, and send them *home* to the country to which they belonged, where they should be proceeded against as pirates, So that in fact, the whole concession made by us to Great Britain, amounted to no more than permitting her to arrest *our* pirates, and to deliver them to *our* courts for trial; and in return, she granted us precisely the same right with respect to her pirates.

The treaty was submitted of course to the Senate for ratification, which, under the circumstances of the case, one would think, must have followed as a matter of course. The Senate, however, thought otherwise. The treaty was laid before them on the 30th of April, but as they delayed to act upon it, the British Minister at Washington became uneasy, and on the 16th of May, addressed a letter to the Secretary of State, complaining of the postponment of the ratification, especially as the project of the convention had *originated* with the United States; and as Great Britain "had not hesitated a minute to comply with the preliminary act desired by the President," the legislative prohibition of the slave trade under the penalties of piracy."

The President naturally feeling his own good faith compromitted by the hesitation of the Senate, now sent them a confidential message, urging the ratification of the treaty. He remarked that the rejection of the treaty would subject the Executive, Congress, and the Nation, "to the charge of *insincerity* respecting the great result of the final suppression of the slave trade. To invite all nations with the statute of piracy in our hands, to adopt its principles as the law of nations, and yet to deny to all the common rights of search for the pirate, whom it would be impossible to detect without entering and searching the vessel, would expose us not simply to the charge of inconsistency."

The Senate, after long debates, finally ratified the treaty, in a mutilated form. They struck out the word, "America," in the clause authorizing the seizure of slavers on "the coasts of Africa, America, and the West Indies." They also expunged the articles applying the provisions of the treaty to vessels *chartered*, as well as owned by the citizens or subjects of either party; and to the citizens or subjects of either party carrying on the trade under *foreign flags;* and they added an article authorizing either party to terminate the treaty at any time, on giving six months notice.

It will have been observed from the documents we have quoted, that the slaves imported into the United States, have been chiefly introduced through the Spanish possessions on our southern frontiers; slavers direct from Africa, rarely having the hardihood to enter our ports, and discharge their cargoes; while small vessels from

the West Indies, have occasionally found their way into the southern waters. Of course the treaty as altered by the Senate, would afford but little interruption to this mode of stocking the plantations of Louisiana and the neighboring states.

As *chartered* vessels were excepted, our traders would only have to hire slavers instead of owning them, to be exempted from the hazard of being arrested and sent home for trial, by British officers; or even, if on board their own vessels, by running up a *foreign flag*, they would escape the penalties of piracy.

The British Cabinet refused to agree to the treaty thus despoiled of all its efficiency; but with wonderful simplicity, they proposed to restrict the right of search on the coast of America, to the coast of the *southern* states. This proposition was of course, promptly rejected by our Minister in England.

The British Government, vainly cherishing the hope, that the United States might still consent to some combined effort to destroy a trade they professed to abhor, offered, through their Minister at Washington, to consent to a treaty, word for word, the same as the one the Senate had ratified, with the single exception of restoring the word, "America." To this, Mr. Clay, then Secretary of State, replied, that "from the views entertained by the Senate, it would seem unnecessary and inexpedient any longer to continue the negotiation respecting the slave convention, with any hope that it can assume a form satisfactory to both parties. That a similar convention had been formed with Colombia, on the 10th December, 1824, excepting that the *coast of America was excepted from its operation;* and yet, notwithstanding this conciliatory feature, the Senate *had by a large majority refused to ratify it.*"*

Negotiations have since been renewed on this subject; and France has united with Great Britain, in urging the Cabinet at Washington to co-operate with them in putting an end to the African slave trade. The correspondence has not been made public, but we learn from the Edinburgh Review, for July, 1836, that the final answer of the American Government is, that "*under no condition, in no form, and with no restriction, will the United States enter into any convention, or treaty, or combined efforts of any sort or kind with other nations, for the suppression of this trade.*"

To our readers we leave the task of making their own comments on this history of duplicity and hypocrisy; and proceed to other details.

On the 2d November, 1825, the Colombian Minister at Wash-

* The documents quoted on this subject, may be found in State Papers, 1st Sess. 19 Cong. vol. 1. And in Reports of Committees, 1st Sess. 21 Cong. vol. 3. No. 348.

ington, in the name of his Government, invited the United States to send delegates to a Congress of the South American Republics, to be held at Panama. In enumerating the topics to be discussed in theproposed Congress, he remarked: "The consideration of means to be adopted for the entire abolition of the African slave trade, is a subject sacred to humanity, and interesting to the police of the American States. To effect it, their energetic, general, and uniform co-operation is desirable. *At the proposition of the United States*, Colombia made a convention with them on this subject, which *has not been ratified by the Government of the United States.* Would that America which does not think politic what is unjust, contribute in union, and with common consent, to the good of Africa!"

This document was submitted to the Senate, and on the 16th January, 1826, a committee of the Senate made a report in relation to it, in which they observe: "The United States have not certainly the right, and ought never to feel the inclination to dictate to others who may differ with them on this subject," (the slave trade,) "nor do the committee see the expediency of *insulting other states by ascending the moral chair*, and proclaiming from thence mere abstract principles, of the rectitude of which each nation enjoys the perfect right of deciding for itself."

The remarks on this occasion by Mr. White, a Senator from Tennessee, are worthy of observation. "In these new States (the S. American Republics,) some of them have put it down in their fundamental law, 'that whoever owns a slave shall cease to be a citizen.' Is it then fit that the United States should disturb the quiet of the *southern and western states* upon any subject connected with slavery? I think not. Can it be the desire of any prominent politician in the United States, to divide us into parties upon the subject of slavery? I hope not. Let us then cease to talk about slavery in this House; let us cease to negotiate upon any subject connected with it."

We have seen most abundantly, that slaveholders have no objection to talk about slavery in Congress, or to negotiate about it with foreign nations, when the object is to guard their beloved institution from danger. It is only on the abominations of the system, and the means of removing it, that every tongue must be mute, and the Federal Government passive."

No. 4.

The following article was published in the New York Commercial Advertiser of the 26th of Seventh mo. (July,) 1839.

American Slavers.—We have a volume of official documents printed by order of the British Parliament, and containing, in part the correspondence of the British government and its diplomatic and other officers, upon the subject of the slave trade—including also portions of correspondence with other governments between the 2d of February and 3d of May of the present year. A portion of the volume is devoted to the United States; and of this we lay before our readers an abstract.

The first letter is from Lord Palmerston to Mr. Fox, enclosing one from Commander Kellet, of H. B. M. brig Brisk, to Rear Admiral Elliott, informing him that in July, 1839, he had boarded the schooner Mary Hopper, of Philadelphia, on the coast of Africa, under the American flag, but having on board nine passengers, Spaniards and Portuguese, with a Spaniard as supercargo, and consigned to a notorious slave trader at the Gallinas. Commander Kellett had no doubt that the brig had Portuguese papers, but as she was under the American flag, he did dot feel justified in making search for them.

Next follows a despatch from Lord Palmerston to Mr. Fox, enclosing a report from H. B. Majesty's commissioners, at Havana, by which it appears that no less than 19 American vessels were engaged in the year 1838, in carrying on the Cuba slave trade.

Then a despatch from Lord Palmerston to Mr. Fox, dated March 22, 1839, including papers received at the Admiralty, showing that the American consul at Havana, (Mr. Trist,) had affixed his name to the papers of vessels about to be employed in the slave trade, and had also *signed blank forms*, to be filled up at pleasure by persons in command of those vessels.

The papers referred to are, 1, a despatch from Rear Admiral Elliott, commander-in-chief on the African station, to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty

2. A letter from Commander Kellett to Rear Admiral Elliott, dated Sierra Leone, August 8, 1838, stating that he had boarded the Portuguese schooner *Senhora de Bon Viagem*, from Havana, found her papers signed by the American consul at Havana, with the reasons assigned therefor that there was no Portuguese consul at that port.

3. A list of vessels engaged in the slave trade, which have been searched and detained by British vessels on the African station, be-

tween October 1st and December 31st, 1838. Among these vessels was the schooner *Constitucao*, under Portuguese colors, from Havana, with papers signed by Mr. Trist, and also blank papers signed by him, to be filled up as occasion might require. She had no slaves on board, but slave irons, plank for slave deck, large coppers, and other slaving equipments.

Then comes a letter from Lord Palmerston to Mr. Fox, with enclosures, the principal of which are—

1. A letter from Lt. Com. Birch, of H. B. M. brig Wizard, dated off Bahia, 12th November, 1838, to Commodore Sullivan, stating that on the 16th of September he had boarded the schooner Eagle, of Baltimore, under American colors and papers. Lt. Birch therefore did not think himself justified in searching her, although it was alleged that she had landed slaves to the Northward of Bahia. On the 19th of October following she sailed for Africa.

2. Another letter from Lt. Com. Birch to Commodore Sullivan, dated as the former, stating that the American brig Dido, of Baltimore, Philips, master, left Havana in March, 1837, with a general slave cargo; touched at Port au Prince and Bonavista, where the usual sham sale to a Portuguese was effected, and Portuguese papers were obtained; thence proceeded to the Bight of Benin and took on board five hundred and seventy-five slaves, with which she sailed for Bahia. On nearing that port it was seen that H. B. M. sloop-of-war Sparrowhawk was lying there, upon which the Dido hauled off, hoisting American colors. The same evening the slaves were landed, the brig put up to rights, and the next day she came into the harbor of Bahia under American colors. There was a Portuguese named Manuel on board, who figured as supercargo when the brig was under American colors, and as master when under Portuguese; Philips, the American master, then representing himself as supercargo. The Dido was under Portuguese colors on the coast of Africa—under American at Bahia. She sailed again for the coast of Africa on the 27th of July. One of her crew, James Fox, subsequently entered on board the Wizard, and declared his readiness to make oath to the facts above stated. He had seventy-five dollars a month as wages, and one hundred dollars bounty when the slaves were landed.

3. Another letter from Lieut. Com. Birch to Commodore Sullivan, dated on board the Wizard, off Bahia, December 20, 1838, stating that on the 10th he boarded the schooner Mary Lushing, of Baltimore, Reynolds, master, under American colors, with a Spanish and Portuguese crew, from the coast of Africa, bound for Bahia. It was well known at Bahia that she had been sold at Havana for the slave trade, retaining her American papers and master. She had been to the coast of Africa for slaves, but was

there so closely watched by one of the British cruisers, that after a stay of some weeks, the attempt to get slaves on board was given up, and she sailed for Bahia in ballast. She was shortly to sail again for Africa.

The master observed to the boarding officer that if there had been slaves on board he would not have seen the American colors up.

Then follow two letters from Lord Palmerston to Mr. Fox, instructing him to call the attention of the United States government to the conduct of Mr. Trist, in officiating as Portuguese consul at Havana; and to urge the necessity either of entering into some convention by which British cruisers should be enabled to capture slaving vessels under the American flag, or of stationing American vessels of war on the coast of Africa for the suppression of the slave trade under that flag.

Next comes a letter from Sir John Barrow, enclosing six others. 1. From Lt. Reeve, of H. B. M. sloop-of-war Lily, announcing the capture of the American brig Eagle, sailing under American colors but with a Spanish crew, and her release by the Court at Sierra Leone because her papers were American. When captured she was last from Havana, and was believed to be the same vessel formerly reported to the Admiralty under the name of the Tres Amigos, under Portuguese colors, and employed in the slave trade. She was sold at Havana, and Mr. Trist attested the sale and granted American papers. Three other vessels had been captured and released, under like circumstances, one of which was subsequently recaptured, with slaves on board. Lt. Reeve concludes his letter by saying, "No other flag but the American will be seen on the coast in a short time, for it affords all the protection a slaver requires, under the existing laws."

2. From Rear Admiral Elliott to Mr. Wood, from which the following are extracts:

"Several of the slave dealers have declared their intention to have an American sailing master in each vessel, and American colors, and some have had the impudence to assert that the government of the United States would not discountenance such practices by any act of agreement which could prevent such gross abuse of the American flag."

"The probable object of using the American flag will be to protect the vessels up to the time of the cargo being ready for shipment, then to go through the farce of selling the vessels to a Portuguese or Spaniard. But in case of capture with slaves on board, under the American flag, I should beg to know what is to be done with the man passing for the American captain."

"The actual sale of nearly all the slave vessels in question takes place at Havana, where one man is engaged to personify an Ameri-

can captain; but they seem very indifferent as to having any pretended American papers. The mere flag, in their opinion, is sufficient, and as they are also provided with the proper national flag, they are prepared in case of meeting with an American vessel of war."

3. A letter from Lt. Kellet to Rear Admiral Elliott, dated on board H. B. M. brig Brisk, Sierra Leone, October 29, 1838, announcing the capture of the schooner Mary Ann Cassard, under American colors. She belonged to Gilbert Cassard, of Baltimore, and had been sold at Matanzas. She had no American papers but the roll, which was signed by the U. S. consul at Matanzas. The crew consisted of Spaniards; the master was an Englishman but called himself an American.

4. From Lt. Kellett to the same, calling attention to the case of the American schooner Mary Hopper, above stated. She had Portuguese and American papers—the latter to be used if overhauled by a British, the former if by an American vessel of war.

5. From Capt. Popham, of the sloop-of-war Pelican, mentioning the case of the ship Venus, of Baltimore, an exceedingly fast sailer, which arrived at Lagos from Boston on the 5th of November, 1838—took in a large cargo of slaves, said to amount to 1150, being protected by the American flag and papers while taking the slaves on board, and hoisting the Portuguese flag when she sailed. The Pelican chased, but could not overtake her.

At Lagos the Pelican boarded a large American brigantine, discharging a cargo for the purchase of slaves.

Subsequently the Pelican boarded a Portuguese slave schooner, on board which was an American named Huntington, who had sold the American schooner Ontario to a Spaniard at Brass, and was going home. The Ontario was protected by the American flag, but was subsequently captured by the Pelican, being then under Spanish colors, with 220 slaves on board. She had no papers. The letter concludes as follows:—

"It has been stated by Spaniards and Portuguese slaving on this coast, that were it not for the active co-operation of the Americans the slave trade would materially decline. I do not doubt, from all I hear that the citizens of the United States, (generally of Baltimore,) are more deeply interested in the slave trade to Havana and Brazil than is generally supposed."

6. Extract from a letter from Rear Admiral Elliott to Mr. Wood, dated February 13, 1839.

Of American flags used for this purpose there are more than twice as many at present on the coast; and in so barefaced a manner do they proceed, that some have not even one American to personify the captain, but satisfy themselves with furnishing one of the

crew with a certificate of naturalization for the occasion. If Her Majesty's ships were at liberty to send some of these pretended Americans to the United States, and the government of that country were to uphold the honor of their flag by subjecting such lawless felons to prosecution and punishment, it would soon put an end to the nefarious usurpations of their flag by the most notorious slave dealers belonging to Spain and Portugal.

7. Letter from Lt. Holl to Rear Admiral Elliott, stating that, on the 23d of January, 1839, he boarded a fast new Baltimore schooner, in ballast, evidently intended for the slave trade. Crew Spanish, the captain a Frenchman, naturalized a citizen of the United States. American papers.