

Chapter 6: Smugglers

A. The British Enforcers

_ James Prior, of the navy, wrote, also in 1813, that all other considerations in Bahia faded *"into insignificance in comparison with the slave trade; Portugal and Spain, England and France, Wellington, Bonaparte, the Prince Regent can all vanish into the land of shades; what does it matter provided that their dear traffic, the subject of their dreams, day and night, can be maintained? This attachment, no power of reason can shake, only the argument of force can have any effect."* ST, Chapter 28 (26. James Prior, *Voyage Along the Eastern Coast of Africa [etc.]...* (London, 1819), 99.)

_ Sir William , who had already declared his irritation with the language of the Portuguese treaty of 1811, concluded that *"to procure an eminent good by means that are unlawful is [not] consonant with private morality."* ST, Chapter 28 (43. J. Dodson, *Report of Cases Argued Before the High Court of Admiralty* (London, 1828), ii, 263-64; see also Daget [28, 42], 21-22.)

_ [1820s] For example, Collier wrote to the Admiralty that *"it is only by great cunning (or great accident) that they [the slavers] can be surprised with slaves on board. In some instances, while the boats [of naval ship] have been rowing to the slave vessel, the relanding of the slaves has been effected, and then [they have been] paraded on the beach, compelled to dance and make every sign of contempt for the boats' crews...."* ST, Chapter 29 (7. Ward [29,6], 84-86.)

_ Just after the signature of the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1817, the import of slaves increased *"beyond all former example,"* as the British minister, Henry Chamberlain, put it in May 1818, adding that twenty-five ships had *"arrived here since the beginning of the year, none of them bringing less, and many more, than 400...."* Comparable figures were repeated annually. *ST*, Chapter 29 (22. Foreign Slave Trade: abstract of the information, 36-37, qu. Conrad [22, 3], 63.)

_ George Villiers, the British Minister in Madrid, told the Spanish Foreign Minister that he knew *"the slave trade in Cuba has never been so prevalent as since the period when the present Captain-General was appointed....the persons engaged...appear to be acting in the full confidence not only of escaping with impunity but almost of meeting with open protection."* *ST*, Chapter 30 (16. George Villiers to the Foreign Minister, in AHN, Madrid, Estado leg. 5034/4.)

_ The slave trade to Cuba still seemed to be increasing. For example, in 1837, an English abolitionist, David Turnbull, who had traveled in the West Indies, including Cuba, thought that, out of 71 slave ships operating on the coasts of Cuba, 40 were Portuguese (if probably owned by Cubans), 19 Spanish, 11 United States, and one Swedish. A few ships were even built in Liverpool. He [David Turnbull] added: *"Two extensive depots for the reception and sale of newly imported Africans have lately been erected...under the windows of His Excellency's [the captain-general's] residence, one capable of containing 1,000 the other 1,500 slaves....These were constantly full."* *ST*, Chapter 31 (19. David Turnbull, *Travels in the West* (London, 1840), 60.)

_ Not all this material [i.e. muskets, rum, tobacco] was, of course, destined for the slave trade. But such an excuse could not have been made by Richard Parke and Singleton of Kingston, Jamaica, who supplied the cargo for a Havana slave ship, the *Golondrina*, in 1836 as they had surely done for other such vessels; and there were other merchants, in Brazil even more than in Cuba, who financed the trade by providing on credit goods to be traded in Africa. A witness at a select committee on the slave trade in London was asked in 1843 whether he was aware that many of the businesses in Brazil and Cuba concerned with the trade were "*in direct correspondence*" with the first commercial houses in Liverpool and London, and that goods used in the slave trade "*were shipped to the orders of those houses in Brazil and Cuba?*" The witness said that he was indeed aware of the fact, and thought, too, that "*there are houses in Manchester which make no other goods.*" *ST*, Chapter 32 (6. Lords select committee, 1843, 210.)

_ Merchants providing these goods ["powder, and every sort of merchandise; hardware and cutler and beads (p. 677)."] could encounter difficulties in London if it could have been proved that they sold their goods knowing how these were going to be employed; but the act of selling something to Pedro Blanco in Africa, or Joaquín Gómez in Cuba, would not of itself determine the matter. Anyone found with the consignment of shackles on board could be condemned for slaving: but by the 1840s, that shipment was unnecessary, since blacksmiths in Africa were often able to make shackles from imported iron. Asked if any British merchant "*were to adopt any plan to prevent the slave dealers getting goods, and were himself to refuse to sell goods on that ground, do you think he*

could bring a general concurrence in his views by others?" Matthew Forster, both a member of Parliament and a businessman, replied tartly, *"That a man must know very little of trading competition, or of human nature, who could dream of such a thing; it is painful to hear the twaddle that is talked on the subject of the sale of goods to slave dealers on the coast of Africa. People forget that there is scarcely a British merchant of any eminence who is not proud and eager to deal as largely as possible with slave importers in Cuba and Brazil, and slave buyers and sellers in the United States."* *ST*, Chapter 32 (7. Lords select committee, 1843, 767.)

_ A legitimate businessman concerned in Africa, William Hutton, explained, in 1848, to a parliamentary inquiry in London, that the slave dealers *"throw such quantities of goods into the market at such low prices, and of such good quality, that you would be perfectly surprised if you could see it."* Thomas Tobin, of a Liverpool firm which in the end did even better out of palm oil than they had once done out of slaves, estimated that the cost of such goods dropped by two thirds between, say, 1800 and 1848. *ST*, Chapter 32 (8. Hutt committee, II, 212.)

_ The Cape Verde Islands were often visited by slavers on their way to market. They were usually denounced as bleak: *"One might believe that, after the formation of the world, a quantity of useless surplus stones was cast into the sea,"* wrote Dr. Theodor Vogel, a British member of the Niger expedition of 1841; *ST*, Chapter 32 (14. Temperley [18, 9], 74.)

_ (continued from footnote 14) and another participant of that fantastic undertaking the master-at-arms, John Duncan, thought that *"the meanest pauper in England is a king compared with the best and most opulent of them [the inhabitants]."* *ST*, Chapter 32 (15. Loc. cit.)

_ In the 1820s, the dominant slave trader was John Ouseley Kearney, a British ex-officer who carried on the slave trade openly under the Union Jack. He once told some English petty officers, *"I buy nothing but slaves. My object is to make a little money, and then I'll embark 300 or 400 slaves on board a large schooner...and go in her to the Havannah."* He had friends in Sierra Leone who kept him informed about all the details of the naval patrol. *ST*, Chapter 32 (30. Ward [29, 6], 73-75.)

_ Yet, for the first twenty or thirty years after British and North American abolition in 1808, the size and character of slave ships probably remained much the same as in the past. But in the midcentury, some ships were used, including steamships, which were capable of taking a thousand slaves across the Atlantic. On such slave journeys *"the suffering, though more intense, is of shorter duration,"* Captain Denman reflected in 1848. Still, one does not have to accept as true every sentence of the terrible account of Drake's life as a slave captain and surgeon to realize that confusion was frequent, and stowing of captives disgracefully done, so that there was often what he called *"a frightful battle among the slaves for room and air."* The crossing was, just as much as it had always been, *"a pestilence which stalketh the waters."* *ST*, Chapter 33 (3. Qu. Temperley [18, 9], 4.)

_ Lord John Russell would tell the House of Commons in London in 1846 that a third of the captives intended as slaves for the Atlantic crossing died during the land journey on their way to the coast. But the time spent waiting in barracoons in Africa was probably longer in the 1800s than in the previous century for, as we have seen, the captains tried to pick up their cargoes in one sweep, rather than spend weeks negotiating: speed was necessary to avoid the interference of the British navy. Lord Palmerston commented: *"The liability to interruption obliges these slave traders to make arrangements for a rapid embarkation."* Many children are said to have been carried on the illegal trade to Brazil, because their size permitted the loading of a greater number. *ST*, Chapter 33 (4. Hutt committee, I, 2.)

_ *"Suppose that there were 500 slaves waiting in a barracoon,"* said the repentant slave merchant Cliffe. *"A cruiser is in the neighborhood, and the slave vessel cannot come in. It is very difficult to get on the coast of Africa sufficient food to support them."* Thus 2,000 slaves were believed to have been murdered in 1846 in a barracoon at Lagos because, on the one hand, the slavers *Styx* and *Hydra* (ships with Sardinian flags) did not dare to brave the British patrol; and because, on the other hand, the king of the place had run out of food: the *"inducement...was simply that the feeding of so large a number of idle people was burdensome to him."* It was sometimes suggested that, if the British navy (or anyone else) were to destroy all the barracoons, then the slave trade would have been fatally damaged. But the surgeon of the navy, who has been quoted before, Dr. Thomson, in evidence to the Hutt Committee, said, realistically, *"Whether there are*

barracoons or no, the slaves will be forthcoming." *ST*, Chapter 33 (5. Hutt committee, I, 401.)

_ Bu there were also moments of excitement – a pleasure fully shared, it would seem, by the African traders. A British surgeon who knew both Brazil and Africa said that he thought the presence of the navy even stimulated the slave trade: "*The blacks, like other people, are fond of excitement. [The slave trade]...is now more a gambling transaction than it has ever been. It requires great activity and a great combination of means to effect the escape of the slaves, and of the slavers, from the coast....The excitement is one of the great inducements of the natives to keep it up...It is the sort of wild excitement which is most palatable to the African character....All parties are kept in excitement while there is a cargo waiting....The prohibition lends not only a charm to it with the Africans, but a direct stimulus*" – and, he might have added, to the British navy, too. *ST*, Chapter 33 (22. T.R.H. Thomson to Hutt committee, I, 256.)

_ The case of the *Felicidade* in 1845 had a different conclusion. This Portuguese ship was capture by H.M.S. *Wasp*, en route for Luanda, empty but equipped for slaves. The *Wasp* put a prize crew on board. Two days later, another Brazilian vessel was sighted and, when chased and captured, was identified as the *Echo*, with 400 slaves on board. The *Wasp* had been left behind, so the prize crew on the *Felicidade* sent a detachment to take over the *Echo*. The two prizes separated. The remaining British sailors on the *Felicidade* were attacked by the original Portuguese crew, who killed some and threw the rest overboard. After the *Felicidade* briefly chased the *Echo* (and her prize crew), the

ships again separated. But soon H.M.S. *Star* came up, with the *Felicidade*. The latter ship was searched, and bloodstains were found on the deck. The crew confessed what had happened; Lieutenant Wilson and six men were put on the *Felicidade* to go to Saint Helena, recently established as the seat of a prize court. But a storm caused Wilson to abandon ship. He and his men took to a raft and were eventually rescued, after many hardships, by Commander Layton, on the *Cygnets*. Meantime, the prisoners had reached England. The judges had to decide about the "pirates." Did an English court of law have jurisdiction over a vessel owned by a Brazilian who had murdered an English prize crew? The assize judge found the pirates guilty of murder. There was an appeal. In the event, the men were freed and sent back to Brazil, at British cost. There was uproar in the *Times*. "*Remember the Felicidade*" was a cry heard for many years in the British naval circles. *ST*, Chapter 33 (28. Summarized in Lloyd [9, 47], 87-88.)

_ In 1836, Lieutenant Mercer, on the *Charybdis*, on the other hand told a legitimate United States merchant that his orders were to "*put all [such] crews on shore and starve them.*" Sometimes the crews were left for months in Sierra Leone, where they exercised "*a decidedly bad influence,*" it was generally agreed. On one such occasion, a group of such men – eleven slave captains and seventy-six crew – bought a vessel, the *Augusta*, which the governor of Sierra Leone supplied with six weeks' worth of provisions, to take them to Havana. But their intention surely was to buy slaves, as another captain in a similar plight, Francisco Camp, had done, obtaining 357 slaves on the river Gallinas only nine days after leaving Sierra Leone with the *Dulcinea*, which he had bought for only £150. *ST*, Chapter 33 (31. Lords select committee, 1843, 168.)

_ It was frequently necessary, off both Cuba and Brazil, for slave captains to try to confuse the British navy about where slaves would be landed. Thus catamarans might take the slaves from their ship and deliver them in small harbors along the coast. Canot reported that, so far as Cuba was concerned, *"a wild, uninhabited portion of the coast, where some little bay or sheltering nook exists, is commonly selected by the captain and his confederates. As soon as the vessel is driven close to the beach and anchored, her boats are packed with slaves, while the craft is quickly dismantled to avoid detection from sea or land. The busy skiffs are hurried to and fro incessantly till the cargo is entirely ashore, when the secured gang [of slaves], led by the captain, and escorted by armed sailors, is rapidly marched to the nearest plantation. There it is safe from the rapacity of local magistrates who, if they have a chance, imitate their superiors by exacting gratifications."* *ST*, Chapter 33 (34. Canot [32, 12], 107.)

_ The slave merchants now made careful studies of maneuvers of the British fleet in Africa, they devised decoys, and they brought fast new steamers into use (including, apparently, some of *"the best that England could manufacture,"* as *"Hurry"* Hudson observed when he was British minister in Rio). The British government's records suggested that there were over 3,000 slave voyages to Brazil between 1821 and 1843. *ST*, Chapter 34 (8. PP, vol. 49 91845) 593-633, gave a list of 2,185 voyages. David Eltis, in Henry Gemery and Jan Hogedorn, ed., *The Uncommon Market* (New York, 1979), pointed out that the Foreign Office had record of another 914 probable expeditions.)

_ Thus, in 1860, the persistent English liberal Lord John Russell (now foreign secretary again, in a government headed by Palmerston) proposed a conference of the main powers (Spain, Britain, France, the United States, Portugal, and Brazil) to put an end to "*an increasing traffic [in slaves] and finally to assure its complete abolition.*" Eighty-five ships, Russell understood, presumably from his secret agent's reports, had been fitted out in the previous eighteen months, and a mere twenty-six of these had landed from twelve to fifteen thousand slaves in Cuba. *ST*, Chapter 36 (1. Corwin [31, 20], 127; Soulsby [28, 34], 159.)

B. The American Instigators or Receivers

_ In Providence in the same state in 1816, an unidentified correspondent wrote to Obadiah Brown, philanthropist and pioneer of cotton manufacture, saying: "*The impunity with which prohibited trade is carried on from this place has for some time past rendered it the resort of many violators of commercial law...The African slave trade is one of this description now most successfully and extensively pursued.*" *ST*, Chapter 28 (15. "The Rhode Island Slave Trade in 1816," *Proceedings of the Rhode Island Historical Society* VI (Jan. 1899), 226.)

_ So, judging from a letter written by James de Wolf of Bristol to his brother John, was the well-known merchant Samuel Parkman of Boston: "*I learn that Parkman of Boston sends you a schooner to Bristol [Rhode Island] to be outfitted for an expedition to the eastward, and that you have refused to have anything to do with her, which, in my*

opinion, is a very proper determination of yours." ST, Chapter 28 (16. Howe [14, 21], 191.)

*_ As for South Carolina, as early as 1804, Representative William Lowndes of that state said: "With navigable rivers running into the heart of it [the state], it was impossible, with out means, to prevent our eastern brethren [that is, New Englanders] who, in some parts of the Union in defiance of the general government, have been engaged in this trade, from introducing them [slaves] into this country." ST, Chapter 28 (19. John L. Spears, *The American Slave Trade* (London, 1900), 122.)*

*_ John Quincy Adams, who became minister to London after the Treaty of Ghent, recorded the passionate language with which Castlereagh spoke: "He passed immediately to...the slave trade which, he said, was now carrying on to a very great extent, and in a shocking manner; that a great number of vessels for it had been fitted out in our southern states; and that the barbarities of the trade were even more atrocious than they had been before the abolition of it had been attempted." ST, Chapter 29 (2. *The Diary of John Quincy Adams*, ed. Allan Nevins (New York, 1928), 177-78.)*

_ Some entered the slave trade; others, such as the ex-king of the Rhode Island traffic, James de Wolf, were content for the time being, to maintain their sugar plantations – Mariana, Mount Hope, and San Juan – near Matanzas, where they employed slaves, and whose sugar plantation, the Arca de Nöe, Noah's Ark, lay to the southwest of Havana, near Batabanó. ST, Chapter 29 (16. Howe, [14, 21], 210.)

_ The technique here, it became clear – in the words of Richard Drake, who participated – was for *"the kaffle [sic; that is, koffle], under the charge of negro drivers...to strike up the Escambria river and then across the [unmarked] border [of Florida] into Georgia, where some of our wild Africans were mixed up with various squads of native blacks and driven inland until sold off, singly or in couples on the road....The Spanish possessions were thriving on the inland exchange of negroes....Florida was a sort of nursery for slavebreeders and many American citizens grew rich by trafficking in Guinea negroes and smuggling them continually, in small parties, through the southern United States....The business was a lively one."* *ST*, Chapter 29 (33. Drake [19, 25].)

_ Still, the most serious student of statistics of the trade suggests that about 50,000 slaves were introduced into the United States between 1807 and 1860; if so, the vast majority of them must have arrived in ways suggested [i.e. "captured runaways], and during the years 1807 to 1830. *ST*, Chapter 29 (34. C, 232 ff.)

_ A similar part was played by United States firms, such as Maxwell Wright and Company of New York, Jenkins and Co. of Rio, and Birkhead and Pierce of Baltimore. Such merchants were, however, more concerned to sell ships to slave dealers than manufactured cargoes. These came from numerous ports: Providence, Bristol, Salem, Beverly, Boston, Portland, even Philadelphia, all made their contribution to ships for the Brazilian traffic. Thus, by irony, that part of the United States whose public men were most in favor of abolition also lent support for the traffic. Sometimes the individuals

concerned seemed confused. For example, the owner of the Bangor Gazette in Maine preached abolition in his newspaper, while he was also apparently engaged in building slave ships in pretty ports in Maine such as Bath or Damariscotta. *ST*, Chapter 32 (9. Wise to Buchanan, Mar. 6, 1846, Despatches XV, qu. L.F. Hill, in *Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Brazil*, (Durham, N.C., 1932), 141.)

_ In 1840, Joseph Fry, of the Quaker and chocolate family, was assured, perhaps exaggeratedly, that nine-tenths of the ships in the Cuban slave trade were then built in the United States: many in Baltimore, "*where bonds that they shall not be employed illegally are regularly taken, and as regularly evaded or disregarded.*" *ST*, Chapter 32 (10. Lords select committee, 1843, 767.)

_ [1840s] Yet one more traveler, Montgomery Parker, wrote, with respect to North Americans' involvement in this territory, that "*numerous United States ships sail from Rio...Bahia and other ports in the Brazils and even from Cuba, under a charter to go to the coast of Africa, carrying an outward cargo and such passengers as the charterers may see fit to put on board and, to return to the port they sailed from,...they will make two or three trips to the coast [of Africa] and return each time, with a cargo of camwood, gums, ivory, etc., and soon they become pretty well-known to the armed cruisers of the various squadrons, who look upon them as legal and honest traders and cease to watch them as closely as they would a vessel that had come upon the coast for the first time. By and by, one of these vessels comes out again. The agents...find the coast is clear and that a good opportunity is offered to ship slaves...They make an offer to the captain to buy his*

vessel. He accepts it...[and] goes on shore with his officers and crew...the slaves are hurried on board, the vessel is given in charge of a Brazilian master and crew, who are generally the passengers she has just brought over on her outward voyage and, with the Stars and Stripes still floating at the mast, she leaves the coast in safety." ST, Chapter 32 (58. Parker in Knickerbocker, vol. 39, 134.)

_ Another picture of slaves waiting in a barracoon was given by an American naval commodore, Henry Wise, who wrote from Cabinda, in July 1859, how, *"in chained gangs, the unfortunate slaves are driven by the lash from the interior to the barracoons on the beach; there the sea-air, insufficient diet, and dread of their approaching fate, produce the most fatal diseases: dysentery and fever [often] release them from their sufferings; the neighboring soil grows rich in the decaying remains of so many of their fellow creatures, and the tracks are thick-strewn with their bones...On a short march,"* he continued, *"of 600 slaves, a few weeks back, intended for the Emma Lincoln [of the United States], 125 expired on the road. The mortality on these rapid marches is seldom less than 20 percent. Such, sir, is the slave trade under the American flag." ST, Chapter 33 (6. Warren Howard, American slavers and the Federal law, Berkeley, 1963.)*

_ Nevertheless, imaginative slave captains continued to make fun of this parade of an international police. One who did so was a United States shipbuilder, Joshua Clapp, from New York, who first came to public notice in 1845, when he was tried in his home city, but acquitted, for taking a ship of his own, the *Panther*, to buy slaves in Africa. He then removed to Rio, where he bought two fully rigged ships, three barks, three brigs, and two

schooners, several of which he had himself built. In reality, these ships belonged to Brazilians, but Clapp was the formal proprietor. About half the vessels bringing slaves to Brazil were, in the 1840s, thus owned by citizens of the United States. George Profitt, United States minister in Rio, reported in 1844 that the trade *"is almost entirely carried out under our flag, in American-built vessels."* *ST*, Chapter 34 (5. Foote [32, 41], 218.)

_ [1844] Washington Irving, the inspired author who had become, so curiously, yet so appropriately, the United States minister in Madrid, reported to Washington: *"It seems beyond a doubt that, under...captain-general O'Donnell, slaves are again admitted in great numbers"* to Cuba. *ST*, Chapter 35 (5. Irving to Calhoun, April 23, 1844, in William Ray Manning, *Diplomatic Correspondence* (Washington, D.C., 1925), vol. XI, 339.)

_ The most famous slaving case in these years just before the Civil War was that of the *Wanderer*, a fast ship which sailed to Africa in November 1858. It was said of this vessel, *"You'd think she could fly instead of sailing."* Samuel Eliot Morison wrote of this kind of clipper in lyrical terms: *"These...ships were built of wood in shipyards from Rockland in Maine to Baltimore. Their architects, like poets who transmute nature's message into song, obeyed what wind and wave had taught them, to create the noblest of all sailing vessels and the most beautiful creations of man in America....They were our Gothic cathedrals, our Parthenon."* *ST*, Chapter 35 (28. Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Oxford History of the American People* (New York, 1966).)

_ The *Wanderer* returned to Georgia about December 1, losing about seventy or eighty dead slaves en route, and landing her cargo of about 325 slaves at Jekyll Island, off Brunswick Georgia, in small boats. A local sailor reported that *"a few of them appeared sick, but the majority appeared lively."* Most were then taken up the river Saltilla, in a steamer of Lamar's (the *Lamar*), to his Duigbonon plantation; a few others passed by Savannah itself. Over the next few months, numerous reports occurred all over the South of these slaves being seen. Some were taken to New Orleans by train. But the true story came out; the ship was confiscated at Brunswick in December; several of the owners, including Corrie, were arrested. Lamar raged: *"I distributed the negroes,"* he wrote, *"as best I could; but I tell you things are in a hell of a fix; no certainty about anything....The yacht has been seized. They have all the pilots and men who took the yacht...to testify. She will be lost certain and sure, if not the negroes. Dr. Hazelhurst [has] testified that he attended the negroes and swore that they were Africans of recent importation....All of these men must be bribed. [And] I must be paid for my time, trouble, and advances...."* *ST*, Chapter 35 (29. Letter of Charles Lamar to Trowbridge in *North American Review*, Nov. 1886, 456.)

C. The Spanish Accessories and Collaborators

_ The Spanish apoderado (representative) of the Consulado de Havana in the postwar years, Francisco Antonio de Rucavado, a confidant of Arango, wrote in 1816 that he was *"himself persuaded that there was no just reason for fearing that there would be an end to the traffic;"* in September 1816, the treasurer of Cuba, Alejandro Ramírez, a Castilian

with wide experience of the West Indies and Guatemela, told the intendant of Santiago de Cuba that there it was *"not necessary to obtain permission from the captain-general for expeditions to Africa to fetch slaves."* *ST*, Chapter 28 (44. Archivo nacional de Cuba, Asuntos Políticos, leg. 110, no. 73 qu. Franco [28, 29], 261.)

_ Also present was a member of the new generation of dealers in slaves, mostly peninsula-born but now a major economic power in Havana, Santiago de la Cuesta y Manzanal, the well-known merchant of giant physique, who appeared *"so large that he looks as if he kept all his money within himself for safety."* *ST*, Chapter 29 (13. Frances Calderón de la Barca, *Life in Mexico*, ed. Howard T. and Marion Hall Fisher (New York, 1966), 26.)

_ [1810s] Later he [Francisco Martí y Torres] organized the dispatch (as well as the kidnapping) of innumerable Yucatec Mayas to work in Cuba, including children, in conditions tantamount to slavery; at the same time, he received honors for capturing pirates, he became a philanthropist and, on behalf of Tacón, he built a theater, whose grandeur rivaled all others in the Americas at the time. *ST*, Chapter 30 (25. Carlos Martí, *Los Catalanes en América (Cuba)* (Havana 1921), 26.)

_ The treaty [between England and Spain] had occupied British diplomats a long time: in 1835, it was nine years since Canning had first mooted the matter and defined the word *"equipment."* Yet the remarkable further delay in promulgating the law – even in Spain, much less in Cuba – encourage the slave traders and planters of the latter island to think

that it would never be put into effect. *ST*, Chapter 31 (8. AHN, Estado leg. 8035/4. A typical letter from George Villiers in Madrid included statements such as *"I deeply regret to have...to communicate to your Excellency that certain authorities of Her Catholic Majesty in the Havannah instead of zealously endeavouring to carry into effect the Treaty of 1835...appear to countenance the means which are reported to for its evasion."*)

_ Deponent Pepper said: *"I was a slave, and lived with my owner, don Crispo, at Gallinas. The barracoons were burnt; I ran away to the boats of the big ship. A man told me that if I went to the Englishmen they would make me free. Ran away the same day that the big ship arrived. Saw great many slaves, men, women and children, in the barracoons. I was brought from Cosso about four years ago by a black man, who sold me to the Spaniard, don Crispo....Don Crispo buys slaves and sells them to the Spaniards..."* (Evidence in the first report of the Select Committee on the Slave Trade, 1849 - quoted under Chapter 32 heading.)

_ The Cuban historian José Luciano Franco remembered meeting in Havana in 1907 an African known as María la Conguita who said that she had been carried as a slave with others to Cuba as late as 1878. But she may have had a poor memory for dates. *ST*, Chapter 36 (25. Franco [28, 20], 256.)

D. "Everyone Else"

_ He [Chateaubriand] was bored with the question raised so ardently by the English: *"It's*

very singular," he wrote, "this perseverance of the Cabinet of Saint James in introducing to a discussion about more important and more pressing matters, this remote...question of the abolition of the slave trade." ST, Chapter 29 (9. Qu. Deveaux [16, 20], 290.)

_ But even the Anglo-Dutch Treaty was evaded. For example, the Dutch judge at Sierra Leone, Van Sirtema, intervened on the side of the slavers. This was shown when, in 1819, H.M.S. *Thistle*, captained by Lieutenant Hagan, arrested the Dutch ship *Eliza* off the so-called Grain Coast. She had certainly been carrying slaves, but they had all been unloaded save for one, who provided the overt reason for Lieutenant Hagan's action. Van Sirtema ruled Hagan out of court on the legalistic ground that the treaty spoke of "*slaves,*" not "*a slave.*" *ST, Chapter 29 (29. Ward [29, 6], 82.)*

_ The merchants of Nantes and Bordeaux, not to speak of those of Honfleur and Le Havre, immediately realized the opportunities offered by the new document, and the decree seems, not surprisingly, to have stimulated the trade to Cuba and other third countries: in 1818, there were at least twenty-eight slave journeys, mostly from Nantes. *ST, Chapter 29 (39. Daget [28, 42], 37ff.)*

_ These *boçal* slaves were then kept in camps where an attempt would be made to teach them Portuguese, so that they could be easily sold alongside already acclimatized *ladinos* and locally bred *crioulos*: but "*again and again,*" wrote a traveler, "*I have seen troops of slaves of both sexes who could not speak a word of Portuguese...from twenty to a hundred individuals...marched inland for sale.*" *ST, Chapter 30 (2. George Gardner,*

Travels in the Interior of Brazil, 1836-1841 (London, 1846), 1.)

_ Though new Liberal governments in Rio did give some difficulties to the practitioners of the slave trade, they were soon overthrown – not without numerous little incidents between the British and the Brazilians, as when Lieutenant Cox, of H.M.S. *Clio*, landed in the Piumas Islands, half a mile offshore from Campos, about 150 miles north of Rio, and captured a slave ship with 300 slaves. The next week, when taking water in Campos, Cox and his men were attacked by men working for the slave traders, four sailors were wounded, and the rest were imprisoned. The British chargé d'affaires protested, and the sailors were released, but the Brazilian foreign minister, Aureliano, said, with some spirit, *"I would prefer that Brazil should be erased from the list of nations rather than she should subject herself to the disgraceful tutelage of another which should arrogate to herself the right to interfering imperiously in the internal administration of my country."* *ST*, Chapter 31 (18. Qu. Bethell [29, 23], 207.)

_ Theodore Canot (Theophilus Conneau), a captain who was later a slave dealer, described how, in Havana Bay, *"these dashing slavers, with their arrowy hulls and raking masts, got complete possession of my fancy."* *ST*, Chapter 32 (12. Theodore Canot, *Memoirs of a Slave Trader* (New York, 1850), 50. For this interesting figure see also the following: L.G. Bouge, "Théophile Conneau, alias Theodore Canot," *Revue d'Histoire des colonies* XL (1953), 1, no. 138, 249-63; Roger Pasquier, *RfHR* LV (1968), no. 200, 352-54; and, S. Daget, "Encore Théodore Canot...", *Annales Université d'Abidjan* ser. I (histoire) V (1977), 39-53; and, Svend E. Holsoe, "Théodore Canot at Cape Mount,"

Liberian Studies Journal 44 (1972), 263-81.)

_ The Portuguese still maintained third-rate garrisons at the two fortresses at Cacheu and Bissau, half the soldiers being Cape Verdeans. Disease, underpayment, and inactivity rotted the lives of all who worked here. The governor in the 1830s, Caetano José Nozolini, was, however, a remarkable official. Son of an Italian sailor who in the 1790s married a Cape Verdean heiress on the island of Fogo, Nozolini became a major slave trader at Bissau; he would send ships to Cuba as well as Brazil, perhaps buying goods from the British on the Gambia River, paying with bills drawn on such respectable London houses as Baring Brothers, and then exchange them in his own territory for slaves. When Captain Matthew Perry on the United States sloop-of-war *Orbel* seized \$40,000 worth of property at Bissau in 1844, he found that most of it had been advanced by North American traders to Nozolini.

Nozolini was helped to reach his position by an alliance with the dominant merchant in Cacheu-Zingiehor, Honorio Barreto, a mulatto who succeeded him as governor in 1850. (He, too, traded in slaves.) But the strongest influence on Nozolini was his African wife, Mãe Aurélia Correia, "*the queen of Orango*," the largest island of the Bissagos Archipelago, a tyrannical *nhara* (that is, *senhora*) of these rivers. By 1827, though not yet in control, Nozolini was strong enough to deceive the British navy by shipping sixty-one slaves as members of his own family; it was some time before the governor of Sierra Leone, Sir Neil Campbell, realized who these "*Nozolin*os" [*sic*] were. Nozolini was strong enough to resist a demand from the French that he be charged for the murder of a French trader named Dumaigne, killed by some of his guards in 1835; and in

the 1840s, he was already cultivating peanuts on the island of Bolama, as well as assembling slaves there. *ST*, Chapter 32 (18. Hutt committee, II, 4.)

— *"Early in the morning,"* he [Joseph Wright, a slave captured in the 1820s] wrote, *"we were brought to a white Portuguese for sale. After strict examination, the white man put me and some others aside. After that, they then made a bargain, how much he would take for each of us. After they were all agreed, the white man sent us into the slave fold [sic]...[where] I was...for about two months, with a rope around my neck. All the young boys had ropes round their necks in a row, and all the men with chains in a long row, for about fifty persons in a row, so that no one could escape without the other. At one time, the town took fire and about fifty slaves were consumed because the entry was crowded....[Then] we were all brought down close to [the] salt water...to be put in canoes. We were all very sorrowful in heart, because we were going to leave our land for another...[and] we had heard that the Portuguese were going to eat us when they got to their country....They began to put us in canoes to bring us to the Brig, one of the canoes drowned [sic] and half the slaves died....They stowed all the men under the deck; the boys and women were left on the deck...."* *ST*, Chapter 33 (10. Narrative of Joseph Wright, in Curtin [32, 44], 330-31.)

— Slaves were as always branded before their departure for the Americas. In this respect there was no difference between what happened in the legal, eighteenth century and the illegal, nineteenth: and iron with letters cut into it *"is put into fire on the beach, and a small pot containing palm oil is always at hand; the iron is heated, and dipped into his*

palm oil and dabbed on the hip [men] or [just above] the breast [women] or wherever the slave dealer may choose to have his slaves marked. The palm oil is to prevent the flesh adhering to the iron." ST, Chapter 33 (11. Hutt committee, I, 211.)

_ Many other details of these voyages were the same as in the eighteenth century: the distribution of the slaves in tens at the two daily mealtimes, the washing of hands in saltwater after eating, the punishment of slaves who refused to eat, the occasional distribution of brandy or tobacco, the rinsing of mouths with vinegar, the weekly shaving (without soap), the obligatory cutting of fingernails to limit damage in fights, and the daily cleaning of the decks. Then there was the systematic stowing of the slaves at night, *"those on the right side of the vessel facing forward and lying in each other's laps, while those on the left are similarly stowed with their faces towards the stern....Each negro lies on his right side, which is considered preferable for the action of the heart."* ST, Chapter 33 (16. PP, 1824, 261.)

_ [J.B. Romaine] *"At the announcement of this horrible coincidence, there was a silence among us for some moments, like that of death. It was broken by a fit of laughter, in which I joined myself and, before our awful merriment was over, we could hear, by the sound of curses which the Spaniards shouted at us, that the San León had drifted away....She never reached any port."* Most of the crew of the Rôdeur, on the other hand, eventually recovered [from ophthalmia] and made their way to Guadeloupe, though not before Captain Boucher threw overboard thirty-nine blind slaves. ST, Chapter 33 (18. G.F. Dow, *Slave Ships and Slaving* (Salem, 1927) xxviii ff., and PD 2nd series 5 1288;

also Daget [28, 41]. 88.)

_ The suppression of the mutiny on board the *Kentucky*, under Captain Fonseca in 1844, must have been the worst of many such occurrences of the century. After a rising of slaves had been suppressed, forty-six men and a woman were hanged, shot, and thrown overboard; before they were killed, "*they were...chained two together and, when they were hanged, a rope was put round their necks and they were drawn up to the yardarm, clear of the sail. This did not kill them, but only choked or strangled them; they were then shot in the breast, and the bodies thrown overboard. If only one of two were ironed together was to be hung, a rope was put round his neck, and he was drawn up clear of the decks, beside of the bulwark, and his leg laid across the rail, and chopped off, to save the irons....The bleeding negro was then drawn up, shot in the breast and thrown overboard. The legs of about one dozen were chopped off in this way....All kinds of sport were made of the business.*" *ST*, Chapter 33 (20. Jas. Badinel in Hutt committee, I, 256.)

