



Freedom fighters

*The Royal Navy and the suppression
of the slave trade*



Chronology

1772 Lord Mansfield makes a judgment that any slave setting foot in Britain becomes free
1781 Sierra Leone founded by abolitionists as a refuge for liberated slaves
1802 Slave trade made illegal in Denmark
March 25 1807 Slave trade becomes illegal in Great Britain and the USA. British Act of 1807 offers generous bounties for slaves liberated
1808 First British anti-slavery patrols in African waters, but could only challenge British ships
1810 First Anglo-Portuguese treaty (Portugal to load slaves only at her own ports)
1811 Slave trading made a felony in Britain. Britain institutes anti-slavery patrol
1814 Slave trade illegal in Holland
1815 Second Anglo-Portuguese treaty: slave trade remains legal for Portuguese ships south of the equator
Congress of Vienna: a general condemnation of slavery issued
1817 Spain prohibits slave trading north of the equator
Court of Mixed Commission set up at Sierra Leone
Anglo-Portuguese treaty ceding the right of search north of the equator
1818 Appeal in the case of French slaver Louis, captured by a British vessel and confiscated for slave trading. Sir William Scott ruled that evidence of the ship's engagement in the slave trade could only be obtained by a search, and that searching a ship flying a foreign flag in international waters was unlawful unless specifically sanctioned by treaty.
Treaty between Britain and the Netherlands, granting the right of search
1819 West Coast of Africa made a separate naval station
1820 Spain outlaws slave trade. Slave trade equated with piracy in the USA. Liberia founded by the American Colonization Society
1822 Anglo-Dutch treaty incorporating an equipment clause
1824 Slave trade equated with piracy in Britain. Head money for liberated slaves greatly reduced
Treaty between Britain and Sweden, granting the right of search
1825 First of a series of condemned slave ships bought privately by commodores of the Africa Squadron for detached service
1826 Brazil becomes independent of Portugal.
Anglo-Brazilian treaty - slave trade to become illegal from 1829 north of the line
1828 France institutes anti-slavery patrol
1830 Head money for liberated slaves again reduced
1831 Slave trading made illegal in France
1833 Anglo-French treaty allowing reciprocal rights of search within specified areas off the coasts of Africa, Brazil and the West Indies. Emancipation Act abolishes slavery throughout British Empire and compensates slave-owners
1834 Spain accepts equipment clause

Chronology

1835 Selling of condemned slave ships forbidden by Act of Parliament - vessels captured subsequently to be destroyed
1838 Tonnage Act compensates captors for loss of head money when seizing empty slavers by introducing variable tonnage bounty depending on whether slaver is empty or full
1839 Palmerston Act allows British warships to capture empty Portuguese slavers - Portugal acquiesces in equipment clause
1840 Denman burns the Gallinas barracks
Paine-Tucker agreement between American and British naval officers on detention of slave ships - declared ultra vires by the American government
1841 Anti-slavery treaties with African chiefs. Quintuple Treaty between Britain, Austria, Prussia and Russia - not ratified by France
1842 Portugal formally accepts the equipment clause. Webster-Ashburton Treaty: American anti-slavery squadron instituted, and limited collaboration between American and British cruisers encouraged. Lord Aberdeen advises Admiralty against burning of barracks without formal written sanction from local authorities. A slave trader named Buron sues Denman for trespass and seizure of slave and goods at the Gallinas barracks
1843 Libreville founded (so-named from 1848)
1844 First edition of 'Instructions for the... suppression of the slave trade'. Preventive squadron increased from 12 to 21 vessels including seven steamers
1845 Aberdeen Act allows British warships to capture Brazilian slavers. Brazil closes Court of Mixed Commission at Rio and protests against interference with Brazilian shipping. Select Committee appointed in Parliament to investigate anti-slavery operations
1846 Sugar duties abolished, throwing British market open to slave-grown sugar
1847 Further African treaties include powers to destroy slave trade establishments
1848 Buron v. Denman decided in Denman's favour
1849 Hotham burns the Gallinas barracks for second time
1850 Motion for end of the anti-slavery patrol defeated in Parliament
1851 British capture of Lagos and its slave depots
1852 Brazilian slave market closed
1861 Annexation of Lagos
1862 Execution of Nathaniel Gordon, American master of a slave ship. Lincoln's emancipation proclamation. Anglo-American treaty, including the right of search. Establishment of Court of Mixed Commission in New York
1866 13th Amendment to American Constitution abolishes slavery in the US
1868 Court of Mixed Commission at the Cape dissolved for lack of cases to adjudicate
1869 Closure of Cuban slave market and effective end of the transatlantic slave trade

'Can we flatter ourselves that the mischief which the slave trade has created will not be remembered for many ages, to our reproach?' - Lord Grenville, British Prime Minister, 1806

Smashing the slave machine



SLAVERY and warfare are among man's earliest vices, and from earliest times have been closely connected.

To the victors, the spoils; to the vanquished - those whose lives were spared - the chains and tribulations of slavery. In its various forms, slavery has been practised around the world, from people bought and sold as chattels to bondsmen paying off the debts of their forefathers.

But the slave trade represented a fundamental change, from by-product of battle to a profitable industry. Among the earliest practitioners were the Portuguese, Spanish and

● HMS Black Joke chasing Spanish slaver El Almirante in the Bight of Benin. The brig, a former slave ship bought by the RN in 1827, was the most successful ship in the Preventive Squadron, capturing nine slavers in a 16-month period

Mediterranean seafaring nations, who generally targeted West Africa, and Arab traders, who ranged across north, east and west Africa.

The pioneering Portuguese worked their way down the western coast of the dark continent in the 15th and 16th centuries, seeking a passage to the East Indies but already starting to buy up slaves from local tribes.

As far as the English are concerned, John Hawkins' voyage in 1562 marks the beginning of an enterprise which eventually displaced an estimated 2.3 million Africans across the Atlantic to work in mines and plantations.

The English operation had Royal approval from the outset, with Queen Elizabeth's ship Jesus of Lubeck a member of Hawkins' flotilla, and Charles II granting the Royal African Company, a charter in 1660 which gave it monopoly rights over slave trading.

One of several nations who had trading bases in the country - others included Denmark, Sweden and the Netherlands - the English established a trading post at Cape Coast Castle, now in Ghana.

The Castle was fortified, but by no means a stronghold, as its modest European contingent worked closely with local tribal leaders in a mutually-productive business relationship.

It was in reality a slavery depot, where captives from the little-explored interior were incarcerated, maybe for weeks at a time, to await transport.

The English helped elevate the slave trade to an industrial level, creating a smooth-running slave machine which helped power the economically-efficient and profitable triangular trade route.

Goods were shipped from Britain to Africa - a typical cargo might include guns, gunpowder, cotton cloth, brass pots, clothing, brandy and rum, lead and copper bars, metal pots, copper rods, glassware and glass beads.

These items were traded or used as gifts on arrival, and a cargo of slaves obtained for the second leg of the

triangular trade cycle - the notorious Middle Passage.

Once in the Americas, the slaves were sold in markets and the proceeds used to buy raw materials - among the principal ones being sugar - which was carried back to Britain.

The ships used were primarily cargo vessels so the slaves packed on board these ships for the Middle Passage suffered horrific privations.

Male slaves were usually shackled together with leg irons, and with no sanitation on board the slave decks soon became stinking open sewers.

Callous traders, in ships barely fit to cross the ocean, would expect up to a third of their cargo to die during the passage, though others invested more for a better return in terms of live humans.

British cities grew wealthy on the back of this trade, chiefly Liverpool, though London and Bristol were not far behind.

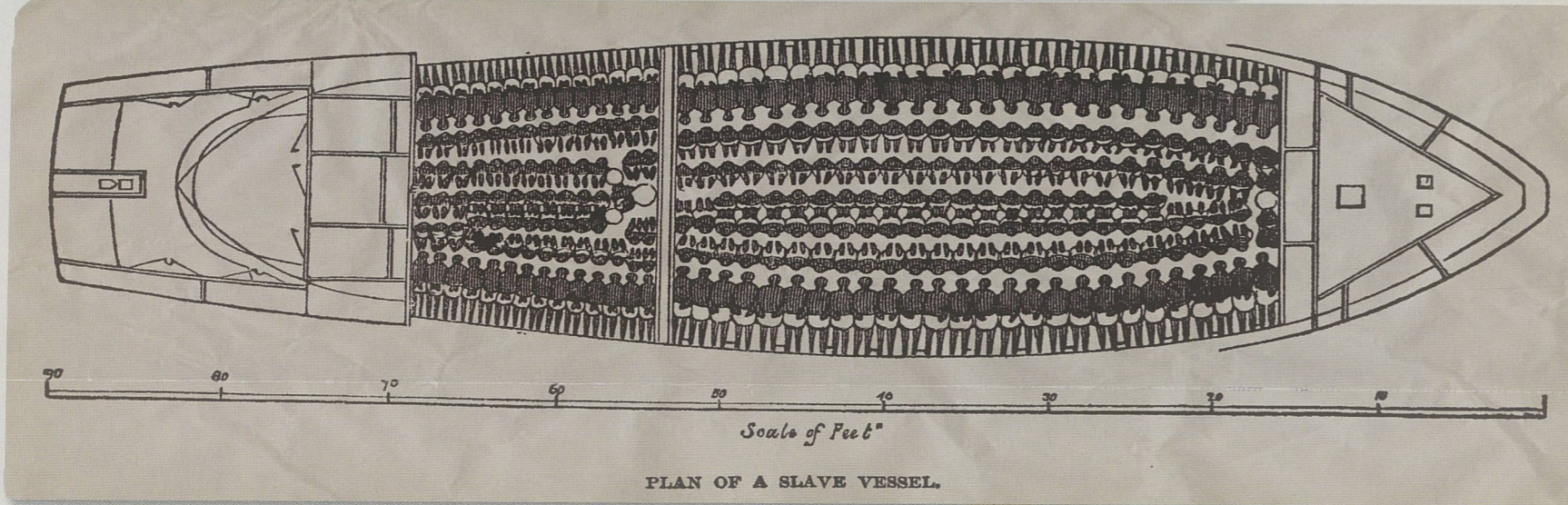
It was the same elsewhere in Europe - Portugal, with her colony Brazil, is thought to have displaced 4.6 million slaves, while Spain and Cuba transported 1.6 million.

The lucrative English trade was protected at sea by the Royal Navy - though freed or escaped slaves were known to have served as free sailors in warships of the day.

But by the early 19th century, thanks in no small measure to a leaflet campaign initiated by Naval surgeon James Ramsay in 1784, the horrors of the Middle Passage and other iniquities had so branded the British public's conscience that the Senior Service was ordered to change course 180 degrees and help wipe slave trading from the face of the earth.

Anti-slavery campaigners were canny enough to realise that objectives - the eradication of a lucrative trade - could not be achieved in one fell swoop.

So they picked off their targets, first making the trading of slaves illegal, then taking on the primary evil of slavery itself: simple concepts which required a monumental effort, again led by the British.



● A plan of a slave vessel, showing how tightly packed the slaves were for an Atlantic crossing which could last for months

A toast to your health - drunk in black vomit

SAILORS deployed to the West Coast of Africa would have been filled with trepidation. Known as the White Man's Grave, it consisted of hundreds of miles of mosquito-plagued shoreline, rivers and jungle, with few anchorages which were safe from both the ocean and disease.

The constant grind of blockade, interspersed with the occasional chase, took its toll of morale as well as health, and an outbreak of sickness could break the spirit of a ship's company.

Chances to go ashore were few and far between because of the high risk of disease. Malaria and yellow fever, both transmitted through mosquito bites, and dysentery took their toll, and between 1825 and 1845 the percentage of sailors who died of disease on the West Africa station was greater than any other; in one year the squadron lost 25 per cent of its strength, mainly to disease.

The coast of Sierra Leone was of particular concern, with Naval surgeon Alexander Bryson noting incessant chest complaints, rheumatism, dysentery, yellow fever ('black vomit') and malaria ('the vapours').

Naval medics such as Bryson, Baikia and McKinnel, through close observation of the progress and spread of diseases, began to build a firm foundation for future treatments - but on occasions the methods by which an advance was made verged on the macabre.

One widely-reported incident

occurred on board HMS Sybille, when a sailor was struck down with yellow fever. Sqn McKinnel assured them that the disease was not contagious, but many believed they were doomed and few offered to help nurse the sick and dying.

As the victim lay dying, McKinnel told a man to collect the black vomit, and bring it to him.

On receiving it, he poured it into a glass and offered it to the First Officer, who not surprisingly refused.

At this McKinnel toasted the officer's health, drank down the contents of the glass, then strode around the deck for an hour or so to prove there were no tricks.

He then ate a good dinner, and suffered no ill-effects, a fact which was not lost on the crew.

The sighting of a slave trader attempting to break through the blockade and screening cruisers did not always lift the spirits.

Those seized just off the coast of Africa would perhaps not be in too bad a state, but those well into the Middle Passage or approaching the coast of the Americas were commonly said to be identifiable several miles downwind because of the appalling stench.

Sailors who went on board these ships would frequently have been horrified by the conditions they found. In the worst cases, dozens of slaves would have been packed

close together on their sides with barely three feet of headroom, lying in urine, excrement and vomit which had accumulated over weeks of the transatlantic passage.

To the south of the equator, where favourable winds blow towards the coast of Brazil, the sailing tended to be easier - which tempted slavers to use boats which were far from seaworthy.

Not every slaver was a monster - there were those who preferred a smaller cargo in peak condition at the journey's end rather than a 30 per cent mortality rate.

But for every spark of decency, whether through finer feelings or hard-nosed business acumen, there were plenty of outrages which helped fuel the fire of abolitionists.

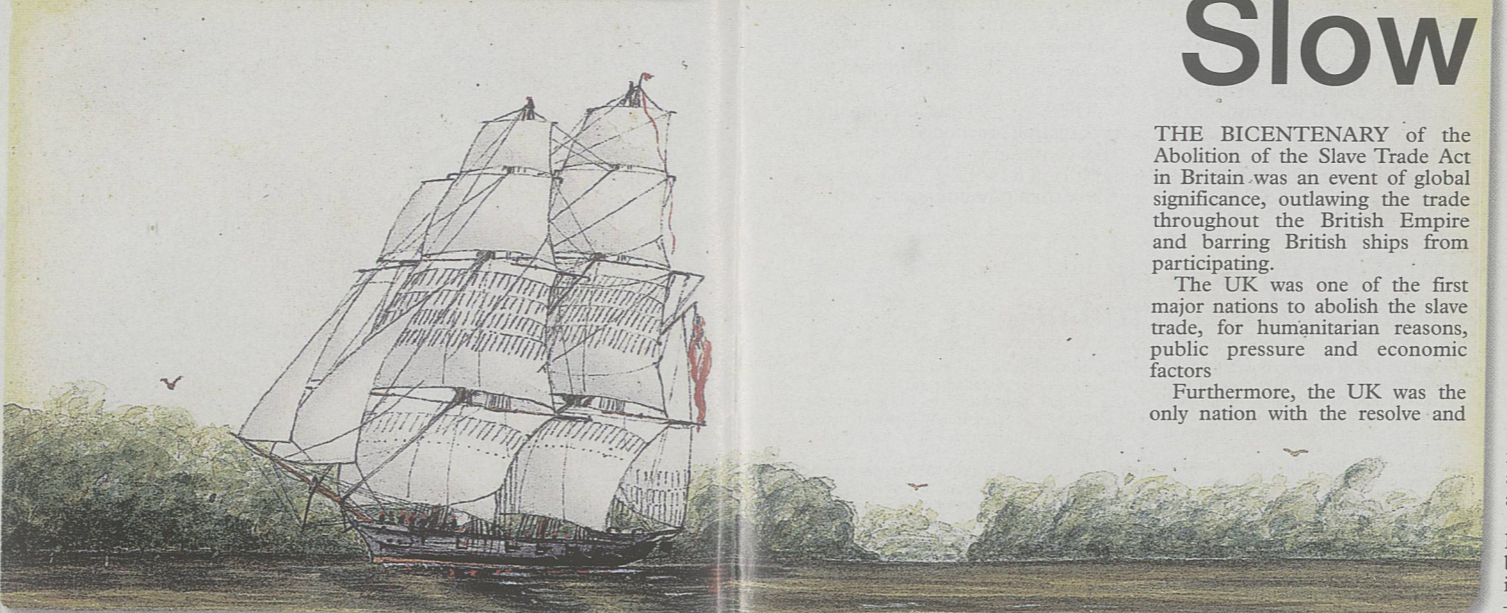
There are countless tales of slave ships where slaves were dropped over the side to drown.

One of the best-known examples was the Zong, sailing to Jamaica in late 1781 with more than 400 slaves crammed on board.

When disease broke out, killing a handful of crew and around 60 slaves, the ship's master threw more than 130 sick Africans to their deaths over three days - insurers would not pay out for a slave who died of disease, but would for one lost by drowning.

On returning to England the owners claimed, but lost on appeal for a fraudulent claim.

However, the case made a powerful impression on the English public, and became a rallying point for abolitionists.



● Preventive Squadron ships patrol the lower reaches of the Congo River in West Africa

The rise and fall of the Preventive Squadron

THE PREVENTIVE Squadron, as the ships of the West Africa Station were known, were not necessarily the Royal Navy's finest.

In the early days, split off from the main Cape of Good Hope Station in 1819, there were not enough of them, and they were largely an assortment of smaller brigs, sloops and gunboats which could be spared from other duties.

And even when the squadron was more numerous, newer slavers comfortably outpaced warships.

But the Admiralty gave its officers a degree of latitude in these inhospitable waters which led to some imaginative solutions to knotty problems - and required them to tread a very fine line between legal pursuit of British anti-slavery policy and state-sponsored piracy.

One such solution was the joint purchase by officers of captured ex-slavers - two of the most successful being the Black Joke (ex-Henriquetta) and the Fair Rosamond.

But the practice by traders of simply buying back their former ships became intolerable to Parliament, which in 1835 decreed that all captured ships must be destroyed.

Although a high seas chase and capture was a valuable boost to morale, the chances of catching a renegade vessel in mid-ocean were pretty small, so other tactics had to be adopted in addition to offshore cruisers.

With the screw turning on traders, they could not afford the luxury of calling in at several ports to barter for slaves, as they would almost certainly be intercepted.

Slave dealers therefore set up depots known as barracks, where hundreds of slaves could be gathered until a ship arrived seeking a cargo.

Naval officer Joseph Denman, responsible for a crippling blockade of the Gallinas area, was not just disease which endangered the lives of British sailors. The Preventive Squadron's battle cry of 'Remember the Felicidade!' recalls the capture of a Portuguese slaver by that

were easily rebuilt, but the inconvenience of lost goods and records caused by the Navy's strike at the root of the trade left slavers with a major headache.

A legal challenge by one of the traders dragged through the English legal system until 1848, when the courts found in favour of Denman - at which point Charles Hotham, the commodore of the Preventive Squadron, promptly burned down the barracks again.

By this point the squadron numbered 30 ships and 3,000 men patrolling some 3,000 miles of unforgiving coast.

They were also by now far more effective; 1832 had seen the introduction of the paddle steamer HMS Pluto, which could explore the lower reaches of the great African rivers as well as defying the wind.

It was not just disease which endangered the lives of British sailors. The Preventive Squadron's battle cry of 'Remember the Felicidade!' recalls the capture of a Portuguese slaver by that

Slow road to abolition

immediate means to do so in the form of the Royal Navy.

The standard was taken up by Thomas Clarkson and Granville Sharp, who set in train a pressure group whose *modus operandi* is still regarded as a classic campaign.

Their Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, formed in 1787, acted as a conduit for harrowing reports and images of the reality of slavery, which put some off the sugar in their tea and galvanised others into more effective action.

William Wilberforce brought the movement to Parliament, forcefully arguing that the trade was inhumane and morally indefensible.

He faced opposition in both Houses, many fearing an economic backlash, and even senior admirals - including Rodney and Cunningham - disagreed, saying the abolition of the trade would blight the 'nursery of seamen' which ensured British

maritime supremacy. The anti-slavery movement gained momentum, despite the fact the country was at war.

A crucial milestone on the long road to eradicating slavery was the Abolition of the Slave Trade Act in 1807, but it also heralded a period of exhaustive and often frustrating diplomacy, occasionally backed by a show of strength.

There was no universal peacetime framework which allowed warships from one nation to stop and search a merchant ship from another, unless specified in a bilateral treaty.

And it was this slow, painstaking but successful path which the Foreign Office chose to follow.

The fact that Britain was at war with France initially made that part of the plan straightforward - neutral ships trading with French ports were fair game, affecting dozens of American ships and causing a breach between the two countries which prevented bilateral treaties for many years.

Many nations also believed that the underlying reason behind this muscular enforcement of moral righteousness was a desire to hamper foreign shipping to the advantage of British merchantmen.

But those who saw it as an altruistic crusade ploughed on, with each deal chipping away at the monolithic transatlantic trade as other navies stumped up ships for their own anti-slavery patrols.

Frustrations included the adoption of false flags by slave traders, who would switch identity depending on the nationality of the interrogating warship. A wrong move by a Naval officer could open him up to expensive

legal action at the very least. Local arrangements, such as the Paine-Tucker agreement of 1840 between British and American officers, could be swiftly snuffed out by pedantic governments.

And the judiciary could not be relied on. A Dutch judge at a Court of Mixed Commission (which dealt with seized slave ships) in Sierra Leone ruled that a treaty referred to 'slaves' in the plural.

That being the case, HMS Thistle's capture of a slave trader with just one slave remaining on board in 1819 (the rest had already been unloaded) was ruled illegal.

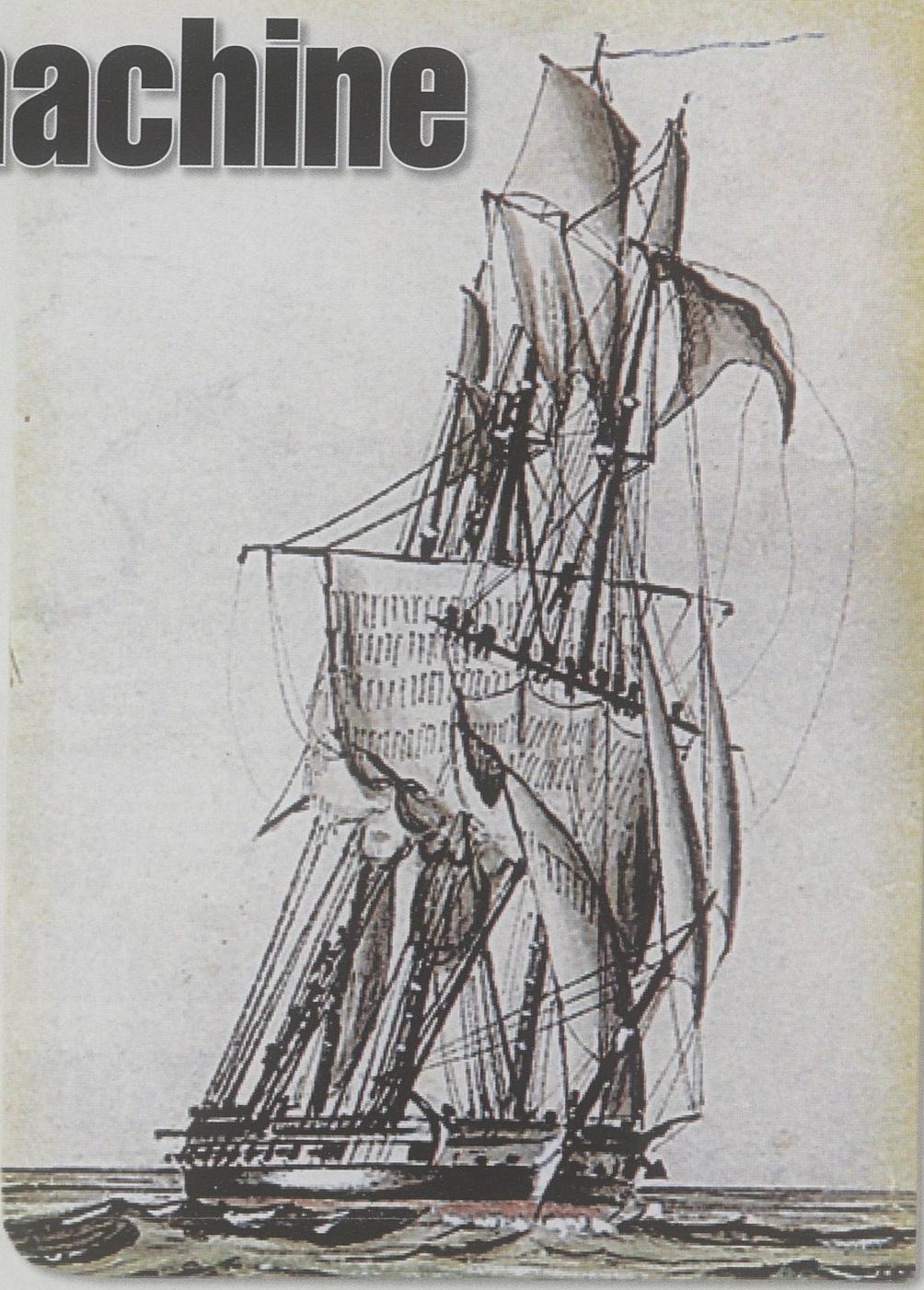
Between 1817 and 1870 RN ships are estimated to have seized 1,600 ships and freed 150,000 slaves - and these numbers, though relatively small, still sent a powerful message to slave traders.

A diplomatic coup in 1845 by Lord Aberdeen, enforcing a neglected 1826 treaty with Brazil, quickly stemmed a massive flow of slaves, and American action against home-grown ships and traders - including the execution of slaveship master Nathaniel Gordon in 1862 - shut off Cuba.

With no safe havens, slave-trading became a dangerous game and as prices fell, the transatlantic trade was all but dead by 1870.

The enormous - it is estimated that £20 million (at 1833 prices) was paid in compensation to slave owners, while the cost of the West African Squadron cost £12 million to support.

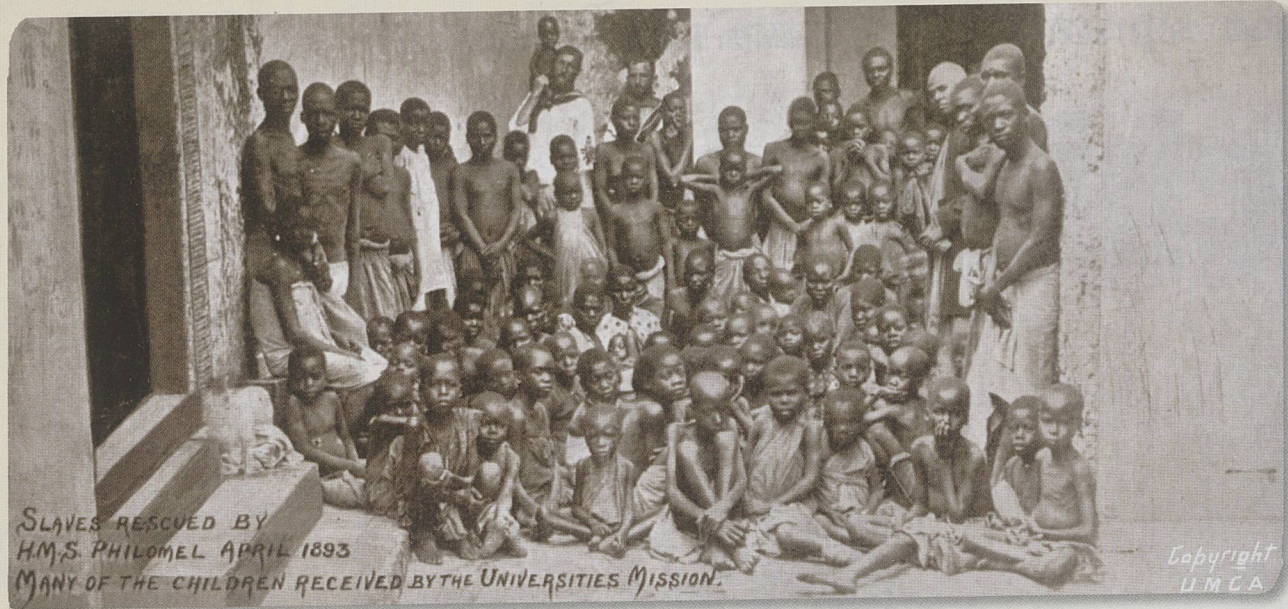
And although the Atlantic had been cleared of slavers, the parallel trade in East Africa remained and is still active today off the Horn of Africa and other such places.



● A ship of the West African - or Preventive - Squadron

All images courtesy the Royal Naval Museum, Portsmouth Historic Dockyard. Supplement compiled by Mike Gray

● Front page - boats from HMS Ships Penelope, Larne and Eclair burn barracks in West Africa



Fight against evil traders far from over

SLAVERY was formally abolished in the 19th century, but it still blights thousands of lives today.

And while the Royal Navy is justifiably proud of its record in helping to strangle the transatlantic and East African trade, it must draw on that heritage for current operations against a range of evils.

Almost two centuries after it began anti-slavery patrols, British warships are still attempting to disrupt and eliminate slave trading, now referred to as human trafficking.

The UK is a signatory to the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, which prohibits the transport of slaves by sea, and British warships off the east coast of Africa, and in the Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean play their part in ridding the seas of such illegal trade.

Working closely with other UK Government agencies and international partners – the RN has no formal enforcement powers under domestic law to allow the arrest of traffickers – ships patrol the Caribbean, the Atlantic, Indian Ocean and the Gulf region to establish traffic patterns and spot suspicious vessels.

Other illicit activities targeted on routine patrols by RN warships include narcotics, arms smuggling – including that in connection with terrorism – and piracy, still a deadly risk to mariners off the coasts of Africa and parts of Asia.

CHASING FREEDOM

The Royal Navy and the Suppression of the Transatlantic Slave Trade



● Slaves Rescued by HMS Philomel April 1893 (above)

● A poster for the Chasing Freedom exhibition staged at Portsmouth Historic Dockyard (left)

● HMS Gannet (1878) at Chatham Historic Dockyard (right). The gunboat has been restored to the condition she was in when she was patrolling against slave traders off the east coast of Africa



Gannet is survivor from slave patrols

THE HISTORIC Dockyards of Chatham and Portsmouth are both marking the bicentenary of the abolition of the slave trade.

Chatham can boast an impressive link with the suppression of slave trading in the shape of a Victorian gunboat which actually participated in anti-slavery patrols off the coast of Africa.

HMS Gannet (1878) undertook such patrols between 1885 and 1888 in the Red Sea, intercepting Arab slave traders operating off the East Coast of Africa, around the Gulf and the

Indian Ocean.

Built on the Medway at Sheerness in 1878, Gannet is typical of the small warships which served during the heyday of the Victorian RN, showing the flag and policing the waters of the world.

Originally powered by both sail and steam, Gannet has been restored to her 1886 condition – precisely the time she was battling the slave traders.

The Chatham exhibition, which opens this month at the Museum, looks at links between Chatham and the slave trade, and at people from ethnic minorities who served in the Dockyard or

with the Royal Navy.

The exhibition at Portsmouth Historic Dockyard, *Chasing Freedom*, has already opened to the public.

Using illustrations and contemporary accounts of RN personnel, the exhibition looks at key aspects of the campaign against Atlantic slave traders.

The exhibition runs at the RN Museum until January 2008, and is free with a valid admission ticket.

There is an accompanying programme of schools workshops and community events. For details, ring 023 9272 7584 or see www.royalnavalmuseum.org

Selected Bibliography

The Parliamentary Papers contain extensive information on all aspects of the suppression of the slave trade, especially for the 1850s when the question of whether or not to continue attempting to suppress the trade by force was under consideration.

Primary documentation from the Admiralty and the Foreign Office can be found in the National Archives.

Libraries with substantial holdings on the subject include the Naval Historical Branch's Admiralty Library, the Foreign Office Library, Merseyside Maritime Museum and the National Maritime Museum. Listed below are a selection of the published books available.

General histories

The suppression of the African slave-trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870 by WEB Dubois (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1886, reprinted in facsimile Mineola NY: Dover, 1970) ISBN 0-486-40910-4

The American slave-trade: an account of its origin, growth and suppression by John R. Spears (Honolulu: University Press of the Pacific, 2003) First published 1900

Great Britain and the slave trade, 1839-1865 by William Law Mathieson (London: Longmans, 1929)

The Navy and the slave trade by Christopher Lloyd (London: Longmans, Green, 1949)

A history of Sierra Leone by Christopher Fyfe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962)

The Royal Navy and the slave trade: the suppression of the Atlantic slave trade by WEF Ward (London: Allen & Unwin, 1969) ISBN 0-04-910041-6

The Atlantic slave trade: a census by Philip D Curtin (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969) ISBN 0-299-05400-4

The Sulivans and the slave trade by Peter Collister (London: Rex Collings, 1980) ISBN 086036-121-7

The Royal Navy and the slave trade by Raymond C. Howell (London: Croom Helm, 1987) ISBN 0-7099-4770-4

Economic growth and the ending of the transatlantic slave trade by David Eltis (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987) ISBN 0-19-504135-6

White dreams, black Africa: the Antislavery Expedition to the river Niger 1841-1842 by Howard Temperley (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991)

From slave trade to 'legitimate'

commerce: the commercial transition in nineteenth-century West Africa – Papers from a conference of the Centre of Commonwealth Studies, University of Stirling, edited by Robin Law (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) First published 1995

The slave trade: the story of the Atlantic slave trade 1440-1870 by Hugh Thomas (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997) ISBN 0-684-81063-8

Fighting slavery in the Caribbean: the life and times of a British family in nineteenth-century Havana by Luis Martinez-Fernandez (Armonk, NY: ME Sharpe, 1998) ISBN 0-7656-0247-4

Slaving and slavery in the Indian Ocean by Deryck Scarr (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998)

Zanzibar, slavery and the Royal Navy by Kevin Patience (n.p.: the author, 2000)

Odious commerce: Britain, Spain and the abolition of the Cuban slave trade by David R Murray (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)

The mighty experiment: free labor versus slavery in British emancipation by Seymour Drescher (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002)

Slave traffic in the age of abolition: Puerto Rico, West Africa, and the non-Hispanic Caribbean, 1815-1859 by Joseph C Dorsey (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003) ISBN 0-8130-2478-1

Ouidah: the social history of a West African slaving 'port', 1727-1892 by Robin Law (Oxford: James Currey, 2004)

Rough crossings: Britain, the slaves, and the American Revolution by Simon Schama (London: BBC, 2005)

The legal and diplomatic background

Enquiry into the validity of the British claim to a right of visitation and search of American vessels suspected to be engaged in the African slave-trade by Henry Wheaton (Clark, NJ: Lawbook Exchange, 2004) First published 1842

Trial of Pedro de Zulueta... in the central criminal court... on a charge of slave-trading Reported by JF Johnson (2nd ed., London, 1844)

The right of search and the slave trade in Anglo-American relations 1814-1862 by Hugh G Soulsby (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1933)

American slavers and the Federal law, 1837-1862 by Warren S Howard (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963)

The politics of slave trade suppression in Britain and France, 1814-48: diplomacy, morality and economics by Paul Michael Kielstra (London: Macmillan, 2000) ISBN 0-333-73026-7

Official documents

Instructions for the guidance of Her Majesty's naval officers employed in the suppression of the slave trade (London: TR Harrison, 1844)

This was the first set of official instructions. Later editions, in 1865, 1882 and 1892, are available, with some additional material. Note that there are separate volumes in 1882, one general instructions and one particular instructions for officers serving on the West Coast of Africa.

Regulations for commanding officers of Her Majesty's ships with regard to visiting merchant vessels suspected of fraudulently assuming the French flag] Untitled and undated four-page printed document, c.1844

Report on the climate and principal diseases of the African station by Alexander Bryson (London: W Clowes & Sons, 1847)

King Guezo of Dahomey, 1850-52: the abolition of the slave trade on the west coast of Africa (London: The Stationery Office, 2002)

General instructions and local orders for the squadron and naval establishments on the Cape of Good Hope and West Coast of Africa Station (Cape Town: Admiralty print, 1858) See also later editions

Regulations for the guidance of the Mixed Courts of Justice established in pursuance of the treaty of the 7th of April 1862, between Her Britannic Majesty and the United States of America, for the suppression of the African slave trade (London: HMSO, 1863)

Instructions for the guidance of the commanders of Her Majesty's ships of war employed in the suppression of the kidnapping trade (London: HMSO, 1873)

Contemporary accounts

A practical view of the present state of slavery in the West Indies: containing more particularly an account of the actual

condition of the negroes in Jamaica: with observations on the decrease of the slave since the abolition of the slave trade, and on the probable effects of legislative emancipation by Alexander Barclay (London: Smith, Elder, 1826)

Journal of an African cruiser by Horatio Bridge (London: Wiley & Putnam, 1845)

A three years cruise in the Mozambique Channel for the suppression of the slave trade by Frederick Lamport Barnard (London: R Bentley, 1848) Reprinted 1969

Six months' service in the African blockade, from April to October, 1848, in command of HMS Bonetta by Frederick E Forbes (London: R Bentley, 1849)

A few remarks relative to the slave trade on the east coast of Africa: extracted from the voyage of the *Nemesis* by Sir William Hutchison Hall (London: Savill, Edwards & Co, printers, n.d.)

Slave catching in the Indian Ocean: a record of naval experiences by Philip Colomb (London: Longmans, Green, 1873)

Dhow chasing in Zanzibar waters and on the eastern coast of Africa: narrative of five years' experiences in the suppression of the slave trade by GL Sullivan (3rd ed., London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low, & Searle, 1873)

The Secretary of the Admiralty presents his compliments to the Editor of the [] and begs to communicate the following extracts from a report dated the 17th January, from Trincomalee, which has been received from Rear-Admiral W Gore Jones, the Commander-in-Chief on the East Indian Station, respecting the circumstances of the death of Captain CJ Brownrigg, Senior Naval Officer at Zanzibar, and the three men of HMS London, on the 3rd December last in an encounter with an Arab slave dhow (1882) Press release with printed correspondence concerning the incident

The suppression debate

Collection des pièces principales annexées au rapport du Président de la Réunion des Chevaliers Libérateurs des Esclaves blancs aussi-bien des noirs, en Afrique, assemblés à Vienne, le 29 décembre 1814, et à Paris, le 15 avril 1816 (Paris: A Belin, 1816)

Letters to William Wilberforce, MP, recommending the encouragement of

the cultivation of sugar in our dominions in the East Indies, as the natural and certain means of effecting the general and total abolition of the slave-trade by James Cropper (Liverpool: Longman, Hurst, 1822)

Reply to a letter from the Rev T Jackson in reference to the negroes in the West Indies by Henry Lister Maw (Doncaster: Charles White, 1838)

The African slave trade and its remedy by Thomas Fowell Buxton (London: J Murray, 1840)

Remedies for the slave trade by Macgregor Laird (London: PP Thoms, 1842)

Sequel to appeals made to the government and people of Great Britain, against the Niger Expedition before its departure from England: with a letter, addressed to the Right Hon. Lord Stanley, Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, &c. &c. &c. by Robert Jamieson (London: Smith, Elder, 1843)

Is Central Africa to remain sealed against intercourse with the civilised world? Or, can means be devised by which an intercourse may be opened up? a few remarks addressed to those who desire the amelioration of Africa: with an outline of a plan by which it is believed commercial intercourse with Central Africa may be established by Robert Jamieson (Liverpool: Turner & Rose, 1844)

Remarks on the slave trade and African Squadron by Henry James Matson (4th ed., London: James Ridgway, 1848)

The case of our West-African cruisers and West-African settlements fairly considered by George Smith (London: J Hatchard, 1848)

A plan for the immediate extinction of the slave trade for the relief of the West India colonies, and for the diffusion of civilization and Christianity in Africa, by the co-operation of Mammon with Philanthropy by William Allen (London: James Ridgway, 1849)

Analysis of the evidence given before the Select Committee upon the slave trade by a barrister (London: Partridge and Oakey, 1850)

The African Squadron and Mr Hutt's committee by Joseph Denman (2nd rev. ed., London: John Mortimer, n.d. [c.1850])

The African Squadron vindicated by Henry Yule (London: James Ridgway, 1850)

The British squadron on the coast of Africa by Rev J Leighton Wilson with notes by Captain HD Trotter, RN (London: James Ridgway, 1851)

The African slave trade, 1850: report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords appointed to consider the best means which Great Britain can adopt for the final extinction of the African slave trade, presented in Session 1850 (London: Harrison & Sons, 1850)

African slave trade – African Squadron. A question of great national importance has lately been much agitated, namely, whether the measures in operation for the suppression of the slave trade, should, or should not, be abandoned. The following Circular relates to that subject, and your attentive perusal of it is earnestly requested (January, 1851)

Regulated slave trade: from the evidence of Robert Stokes, Esq, given before the Select Committee of the House of Lords, in 1849, with a plate showing the stowage of a British slave ship, during the regulated slave trade (2nd ed., London: James Ridgway, 1851)

Remarks on the African Squadron by JS Mansfield (London: James Ridgway, 1851)

Extracts taken from the evidence taken before committees of the two Houses of Parliament relative to the slave trade, with illustrations from collateral sources of information by a barrister of the Middle Temple (London: James Ridgway, 1851)

The destruction of Lagos (London: James Ridgway, 1852)

England's East African policy: articles on the relations of England to the Sultan of Zanzibar and on the negotiations of 1873, with general notices concerning East African politics and the suppression of the slave trade (London: Simpkin, Marshall, 1875)

For a much more detailed bibliography, see The African slave trade and its suppression: a classified and annotated bibliography of books, pamphlets and periodical articles by Peter C Hogg (London: Frank Cass, 2006)

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