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# Class B.

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CORRESPONDENCE

WITH

BRITISH MINISTERS AND AGENTS

IN

FOREIGN COUNTRIES,

AND WITH

FOREIGN MINISTERS IN ENGLAND,

RELATING TO

**THE SLAVE TRADE.**

From January 1 to December 31, 1867.

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*Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.*  
1868.

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LONDON:  
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.



## LIST OF PAPERS.

### AFRICA. (Consular)—*Bight of Biafra.*

No.	Date.		Receipt.	SUBJECT.	Page
	1867	1867			
1. Consul Livingstone to Lord Stanley	Apr. 22	June 1	June 1	Outrage on Victoria Factory	1
2. " " "	Apr. 25	June 1	June 1	Visit to Bonny	2
3. " " "	Apr. 25	June 1	June 1	Visit to Benito. Outrage on white men punished	3
4. " " "	Apr. 26	June 1	June 1	Satisfaction rendered for outrage on boat's crew in Cameroons River	4
5. " " "	Apr. 27	June 1	June 1	Disturbances at Calaoar	4
6. Lord Stanley to Consul Livingstone	June 10	..	..	Approves language towards Bonny and Calabar Chiefs	4
7. " " "	June 10	..	..	Approves statement to King of Benito respecting punishment of outrage on white trader	5
8. " " "	June 10	..	..	Approves steps respecting outrage in Cameroons River	5
9. " " "	June 10	..	..	Approves communication made to Accra people at Duke Town	5
10. Consul Livingstone to Lord Stanley	June 27	Aug. 2	Aug. 2	Proposed visit to Bonny	5
11. Lord Stanley to Consul Livingstone	July 31	..	..	Respecting amount of fine to be demanded on account of "Inkerman"	7
12. Mr. Egerton to Consul Livingstone	Aug. 9	..	..	Sanctions proposed visit to Bonny	10
13. Consul Livingstone to Lord Stanley	July 13	Sept. 2	Sept. 2	Reports visit to Bonny in mail-steamer	10
14. Lord Stanley to Consul Livingstone	Sept. 9	..	..	Approves above	12
15. Consul Livingstone to Lord Stanley	Aug. 28	Oct. 3	Oct. 3	Proposed importation of women to Fernando Po frustrated	12
16. Lord Stanley to Consul Livingstone	Oct. 5	..	..	Ditto. Approves proceedings	13
17. Consul Livingstone to Lord Stanley	Oct. 29	Dec. 2	Dec. 2	Loss of "Inkerman." Visit to Brass and Nun	13

### AFRICA. (Consular)—*Niger District.*

	Date.		Receipt.	SUBJECT.	Page
	1867	1867			
18. Lord Stanley to Consul McLeod	Jan. 2	..	..	Instructions respecting protection to be given by Mission	15
19. Consul McLeod to Lord Stanley	Dec. 3	Jan. 3	Jan. 3	Has returned to Lagos through ill health	16
20. Mr. Murray to Consul McLeod	Jan. 23	..	..	Consulate to be in charge of person appointed by Captain Glover	16
21. Lord Stanley to Consul McLeod	Aug. 20	..	..	Prussian Mission to Central Africa. To afford facilities to Lientenant Sturm	17
22. Consul McLeod to Lord Stanley	Sept. 1	Oct. 6	Oct. 6	Proceedings of "Investigator." Sickness on board	18
23. " " "	Sept. 20	Nov. 30	Nov. 30	Respecting proposed visit to King Masaba	25
24. " " "	Oct. 3	Nov. 30	Nov. 30	Seizure of Bishop Crowther by Abbokko. Mr. Fell killed in effecting his release	25
25. " " "	Oct. 4	Nov. 30	Nov. 30	Guard sent by Masaba for protection of Consulate	30



## BRAZIL.

No.			Date.	Receipt.	SUBJECT.	Page
			1866	1867		
26.	Mr. Thornton to Lord Stanley	..	Dec. 7	Jan. 1	Slaves of nation serving in war against Paraguay freed	31
27.	"	"	1867 Mar. 8	Apr. 5	English coasting steamers convey passengers as slaves	32
28.	"	"	Mar. 6	Apr. 5	Slaves freed for service in the army	33
29.	Lord Stanley to Mr. Thornton	..	Apr. 8	..	Approves despatch of March 8	33
30.	Mr. Thornton to Lord Stanley	..	Apr. 6	May 4	Slaves liberated on condition of serving against Paraguay	33
31.	"	"	Apr. 8	May 4	Reply of Brazilian Government to Paris Society for abolition of slavery	33
32.	"	"	May 4	June 1	Proposal on emancipation not yet drawn up	35
33.	"	"	June 5	July 2	Opening of Chambers. Emperor's speech	35

## BRAZIL. (Consular)—Bahia.

34.	Acting Consul Morgan to Lord Stanley	..	1866 Dec. 31	1867 Feb. 4	Prices of slaves	36
-----	--------------------------------------	----	-----------------	----------------	------------------	----

## BRAZIL. (Consular)—Maranhão.

35.	Vice-Consul Wilson to Lord Stanley	..	1867 Jan. 4	1867 Mar. 5	Prices of slaves	37
-----	------------------------------------	----	----------------	----------------	------------------	----

## BRAZIL. (Consular)—Pará.

36.	Consul Hay to Lord Stanley	..	1866 Dec. 31	1867 Feb. 1	No Slave Trade during last quarter	37
37.	"	"	1867 Dec. 31	Feb. 1	Prices of slaves	37
38.	"	"	1867 Mar. 31	May 4	No Slave Trade during last quarter	38
39.	"	"	July 5	Aug. 18	Prices of slaves	38
40.	"	"	Sept. 30	Nov. 2	No Slave Trade during last quarter	39

## BRAZIL. (Consular)—Rio Grande do Sul.

41.	Acting Consul Berg to Lord Stanley	..	1867 Jan. 11	1867 Mar. 5	No Slave Trade during last half-year	39
42.	"	"	Jan. 12	Mar. 5	Prices of slaves	39
43.	"	"	July 12	Sept. 2	No Slave Trade Return	40

## EGYPT. (Consular)—Alexandria.

44.	Acting Consul-General Reade to Lord Stanley.	..	1867 Aug. 9	1867 Aug. 21	Representation to Egyptian Government respecting Slave Trade.	41
45.	Lord Stanley to Acting Consul-General Reade.	..	Aug. 31	..	Approves above	44
46.	Acting Consul-General Reade to Lord Stanley.	..	Aug. 25	Sept. 10	Further respecting Egyptian Slave Trade	44
47.	"	"	Sept. 18	Sept. 27	Liberation of slaves	47
48.	Lord Stanley to Acting Consul-General Reade.	..	Sept. 30	..	Satisfaction at above	48
49.	Lord Stanley to Lieutenant-Colonel Stanton	..	Dec. 6	..	White Nile Slave Trade	48
50.	"	"	Dec. 31	..	Ditto. Further respecting	51

## FRANCE.

No.		Date. 1867	Receipt. 1867	SUBJECT.	Page
51.	Lord Stanley to Mr. Fane	Jan. 26	..	Anti-Slavery Society about to hold a Conference at Paris ..	53
52.	" "	Feb. 21	..	Slave Trade from Madagascar to Réunion ..	54
53.	Mr. Fane to Lord Stanley	Feb. 25	Feb. 27	Ditto. Has communicated with French Government ..	54
54.	Lord Stanley to Earl Cowley	June 27	..	Labourers imported into Réunion ..	54
55.	Mr. Fane to Lord Stanley	July 14	July 15	Respecting alleged Réunion Slave Trade ..	55

## MADAGASCAR.

		1866	1867		
56.	Consul Pakenham to Lord Stanley	Nov. 22	Feb. 18	Malagasy taken to Réunion ..	56
57.	" "	Apr. 12	June 19	Passenger trade between Madagascar and Réunion ..	58

## PORTUGAL.

		1867	1867		
58.	Lord Stanley to Sir A. Paget	Jan. 8	..	List of Her Majesty's ships having Slave Trade warrants ..	60
59.	Sir A. Paget to Lord Stanley	Dec. 31	Jan. 9	Good conduct of Portuguese officials on East Coast ..	61
60.	" "	Jan. 26	Feb. 4	List of Her Majesty's ships given to Portuguese Government ..	62
61.	" "	Jan. 25	Feb. 4	Bill for abolishing Slave Trade in Portuguese Possessions ..	62
62.	Lord Stanley to Sir A. Paget	Feb. 5	..	Slaver said to be destined for Ambrizette ..	62
63.	" "	Feb. 27	..	Has Senhor Leivas finally abandoned Slave Trade? ..	62
64.	" "	Feb. 28	..	Libertos. Observations of Governor-General of Angola ..	63
65.	" "	Apr. 4	..	Gratification at Governor of Angola's conduct ..	63
66.	Sir A. Paget to Lord Stanley	Mar. 29	Apr. 5	Can obtain no information concerning Senhor Leivas ..	63
67.	Lord Stanley to Mr. Harriss	Aug. 30	..	Slave canoe captured by French cruizer ..	63
68.	" "	Sept. 7	..	Mr. Vredenburg's request for removal ..	64
69.	Mr. Harriss to Lord Stanley	Sept. 11	Sept. 22	Respecting canoe Slave Trade ..	64
70.	" "	Sept. 12	Sept. 22	Mr. Vredenburg's conduct and application for removal ..	65
71.	" "	Sept. 13	Sept. 22	Canoe Slave Trade ..	66
72.	Mr. Lytton to Lord Stanley	Sept. 19	Sept. 26	Canoe Slave Trade. Portuguese limits ..	67
73.	Lord Stanley to Mr. Lytton	Nov. 29	..	Libertos still imported in San Thomé ..	67
74.	" "	Nov. 29	..	Satisfaction at views expressed by Governor of Portuguese Settlements respecting Slave Trade ..	68
75.	Mr. Lytton to Lord Stanley	Dec. 5	Dec. 10	Libertos. Has communicated with Portuguese Government respecting ..	68
76.	" "	Dec. 5	Dec. 10	Libertos. Has expressed satisfaction to Portuguese Government ..	68

## SPAIN.

No.	Date.	Receipt.	SUBJECT.	Page
	1867	1867		
77. Lord Stanley to Sir J. Crampton ..	Jan. 18	..	List of Her Majesty's ships having Slave Trade warrants..	69
78. Sir J. Crampton to Lord Stanley ..	May 6	May 10	Brigantine captured by "Espoir" was not fitted out at Cadiz ..	69
79. Lord Stanley to Sir J. Crampton ..	July 6	..	Captain-General of Cuba's Edict..	70
80. Sir J. Crampton to Lord Stanley ..	July 12	July 19	Regulations for carrying out Law of September 29, 1866 ..	70
81. Lord Stanley to Sir J. Crampton ..	July 31	..	Reported landings in Cuba ..	80
82. Sir J. Crampton to Lord Stanley ..	Aug. 9	Aug. 13	Reported landings in Cuba. Note to Spanish Government respecting ..	81
83. " " ..	Aug. 14	Aug. 18	Reported landings in Cuba. Reply of Spanish Minister ..	82
84. Lord Stanley to Sir J. Crampton ..	Aug. 31	..	Reported landings in Cuba. Correspondence with Captain-General respecting ..	82
85. Lord Stanley to Mr. West ..	Nov. 6	..	Report on Cuban Slave Trade ..	82
86. " " ..	Nov. 6	..	Supposed landings in Cuba ..	83
87. " " ..	Nov. 6	..	Ditto ..	83
88. " " ..	Nov. 20	..	Supposed landings in Cuba. Further respecting ..	83
89. Mr. Walsham to Lord Stanley ..	Nov. 26	Nov. 29	Supposed landings in Cuba. Note to Spanish Government ..	83
90. Lord Stanley to Mr. Walsham ..	Dec. 6	..	Supposed landings in Cuba. Correspondence with Spanish Minister respecting ..	84
91. " " ..	Dec. 13	..	Supposed landings in Cuba. Correspondence with Captain-General respecting ..	86
92. Sir J. Crampton to Lord Stanley ..	Dec. 17	Dec. 23	Supposed landings in Cuba. Answer from Spanish Minister respecting ..	86

## SPAIN. (Consular)—Havana.

	1867	1867		
93. Consul-General Synge to Lord Stanley ..	Mar. 18	Apr. 15	Respecting 275 negroes captured in 1866 ..	87
94. Acting Consul-General Crawford to Lord Stanley ..	July 6	July 29	Landings of slaves at La Esperanza, &c. ..	88
95. " " ..	Aug. 3	Aug. 27	Reported landings of slaves. Correspondence respecting ..	89
96. Lord Stanley to Acting Consul-General Crawford ..	Aug. 30	..	Probable shipments for African coast ..	91
97. " " ..	Aug. 30	..	Cuban Slave Trade. Reply from Spanish Government respecting ..	91
98. Acting Consul-General Crawford to Lord Stanley ..	Oct. 4	Oct. 20	Supposed landing in Cuba ..	91
99. " " ..	Oct. 5	Oct. 29	Further respecting supposed landings ..	92
100. Lord Stanley to Acting Consul-General Crawford ..	Nov. 20	..	Further respecting supposed landings at Bay Sal ..	95
101. Acting Consul-General Crawford to Lord Stanley ..	Oct. 19	Dec. 4	Further respecting supposed landings at Bay Sal. Answer of Captain-General ..	95

## SPAIN. (Consular)—Porto Rico.

	1867	1867		
102. Consul Cowper to Lord Stanley ..	Jan. 7	Feb. 1	Quarterly Report ..	96
103. " " ..	Apr. 12	May 15	Ditto ..	96
104. " " ..	July 6	July 29	Ditto ..	96
105. " " ..	Oct. 1	Oct. 29	Ditto ..	96

## UNITED STATES.

No.		Date.	Receipt.	SUBJECT.	Page
		1867	1867		
106.	Lord Stanley to Sir F. Bruce .. ..	Jan. 19	..	List of Her Majesty's ships having Slave Trade warrants .. ..	97
107.	Sir F. Bruce to Lord Stanley .. ..	Feb. 13	Mar. 5	Ditto. Has presented them to United States' Government .. ..	97
108.	Mr. Ford to Lord Stanley .. ..	Sept. 23	..	List of United States' vessels authorized to engage in suppression of Slave Trade .. ..	98
109.	" " " " .. ..	Nov. 4	..	Cargo of slaves supposed to have been landed at Sal Bay .. ..	98

## ZANZIBAR.

		1866	1867		
110.	Acting Consul Seward to Lord Stanley .. ..	Nov. 27	Jan. 19	Respecting slave labour at Zanzibar	100
111.	" " " " .. ..	Dec. 10	Mar. 15	Death of Dr. Livingstone .. ..	101
112.	" " " " .. ..	Dec. 23	Mar. 15	Death of Dr. Livingstone. Report of Dr. Kirk .. ..	103
113.	" " " " .. ..	Jan. 26	Mar. 18	Dr. Livingstone's death. Inquiries among Keelwa and Nyassa people	106
114.	" " " " .. ..	Mar. 15	May 14	Sultan of Zanzibar has freed 711 slaves .. ..	106
115.	" " " " .. ..	Mar. 22	May 17	Sufferings of slaves on their road to Zanzibar .. ..	107
116.	" " " " .. ..	Mar. 22	May 17	As to veracity of Johanna men with reference to Dr. Livingstone's death .. ..	108
117.	Lord Stanley to Acting Consul Seward .. ..	June 14	..	Respecting conclusion of Fraser's case .. ..	111
118.	" " " " .. ..	June 21	..	Concerning an appropriate present for Sultan .. ..	111
119.	" " " " .. ..	July 10	..	As to paying Dr. Livingstone's Johanna men .. ..	111
120.	Consul Churchill to Lord Stanley .. ..	Aug. 14	Sept. 26	Zanzibar Slave Trade .. ..	112
121.	" " " " .. ..	Sept. 28	Nov. 23	Dr. Livingstone alive seven months ago .. ..	115
122.	" " " " .. ..	Oct. 5	Dec. 12	Ditto. Further respecting .. ..	116
123.	Lord Stanley to Consul Churchill .. ..	Dec. 27	..	Correspondence respecting employment of slaves by Messrs. Fraser. Slave Trade on the Muscat Coast ..	120
124.	The Governor of Bombay to Sir S. Northcote .. ..	Mar. 28	May 10	Slave Trade on the Muscat Coast ..	123
125.	" " " " .. ..	June 24	Aug. 15	Uneasiness among European residents at approaching advent of Northern Arabs at Zanzibar .. ..	132



# Class B.

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## CORRESPONDENCE

WITH

## FOREIGN POWERS.

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### AFRICA. (*Consular*)—*Bight of Biafra.*

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No. 1.

*Consul Livingstone to Lord Stanley.*—(Received June 1.)

My Lord,

*Fernando Po, April 22, 1867.*

BY the mail of January 25 I received a letter from the agent of a factory near the mouth of the Nun, complaining of an outrage on his premises by Prince Bebagra, said to be a Brass Chief.

This factory being in the Benin Consular District, I forwarded the letter to Her Majesty's Consul for Benin with a note stating (I quote from memory), that if the accused was a native of Brass I should be happy to co-operate in demanding redress. On the 4th ultimo Her Majesty's ship "Oberon" arrived here, having been sent by Commodore Hornby to enable me to visit the Oil Rivers. Mr. McLeod, Her Majesty's Consul for the Niger and Chadda, came in the "Oberon" and brought from Lagos Mr. Turner, the agent of the Victoria factory at the time. Mr. Turner called at this office and answered certain questions very frankly. From these answers I wrote out the inclosed statement, which he read next day, and, after a few alterations opposite his initials, certified to be correct.

From this statement both Mr. McLeod and myself came to the conclusion that the Company were in the wrong, having, by a sharp trick of their black agent, broken their Treaty with the natives. Mr. McLeod visited the factory in the "Investigator" and found trade good and everything quiet. As a visit to Brass would have detained both the "Oberon" and "Investigator" for several days, and the captain and engineer of the "Investigator" were both suffering from fever, I did not go up the Brass River. In Bonny I was told that Prince Bebagra or Bibbybagga was one of King Kehoe's house, and that the mouth of the Nun belongs to Brass.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

CHARLES LIVINGSTONE.

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Inclosure in No. 1.

*Statement by Mr. Turner.*

THE Victoria factory, two miles up the River Nun, was erected by the West African Company in 1865, and, protected by a Treaty with the natives, carried on trade quietly until the middle of last October. At that time Prince Bebagra, said to belong to Brass, came with a large body of armed men, sold some palm oil, and then demanded the comeys,

to which he alleged he was entitled by Treaty. He was told that he could have none, as the previous agent had obtained from the Acasians, people living near the factory, "a book" which abolished all comeys or river dues. The Prince replied that these Acasians had no authority; they were his slaves, and had no right to give such "a book." He then alleged that the Company were bound to pay him from 10*l.* to 12*l.* per mast for every ship which received her cargo at the factory. The agent, Mr. Turner, deeming himself bound by the acts of his predecessors, refused to pay. Bebagra then had the agent taken, and kept him in the sun and dew without food until next day. The captain of one of the ships was struck by the flat of a matchet and knocked into the water as a krooboy was carrying him ashore, but no other violence was offered to their persons. The agent told Bebagra he might take what he liked, but that Her Majesty's ship "Investigator," which was up the river, would soon be down on him. Though in absolute possession of the factory for a number of hours, neither Bebagra nor his people took a bit of cloth or tobacco, nor did they touch either powder or rum, except a little rum and gin. The only property carried off were the boat's anchor and chain, and, oddly enough, some parts of an iron house. Mr. Turner has resided in Lagos for some time past. The factory is now in charge of a black agent, and, so far as Mr. T. knows, things have been quiet ever since.

I do hereby certify that the above statement is true.

(Signed) W. D. TURNER,  
*Agent to the West Africa Company (Limited), at River Nun.*

The above statement was made and signed by Mr. Turner in my office, Fernando Po, on this the 8th day of March, 1867.

(Signed) CHARLES LIVINGSTONE,  
*Her Britannic Majesty's Consul.*

No. 2.

*Consul Livingstone to Lord Stanley.—(Received June 1.)*

My Lord,

*Fernando Po, April 25, 1867.*

IN a recent visit to Bonny, in Her Majesty's ship "Oberon," King George Pepple complained that last February the Chiefs of New Calabar invaded Bonny waters, "insulted the Bonny flag," captured and killed a Bonny woman and two men. He had not yet declared war against Calabar because, in my last visit, I had told them they were not to fight. I remarked that he had acted wisely; and that Her Majesty's Government would not allow Calabar to attack Bonny any more than it would permit Bonny to attack Calabar. Anxious to remove from the minds of the Bonny Chiefs every pretence for going to war with Calabar, I went across and had an interview with Prince Will and his Chiefs. They stated that they had kept the peace with the Okrikas as I had requested, but that in February last the Okrikas pounced on one of their trading canoes, caught, cooked, and ate seven Calabar men. The Calabar Chiefs started at once in their war canoes to punish the Okrikas, burned an Okrika fishing station, caught five Okrika men, brought them to Calabar and there put them to death. No Calabar man had invaded Bonny waters or touched a Bonny man or woman. "We are at war with Brass. We are at war with Okrika, and we would be fools indeed to provoke Bonny to war against us also." However, in order that the Consul might know that they were speaking the truth, they challenged two Bonny Chiefs to make the "long juju" with two Calabar Chiefs. The "long juju," where the head juju-man resides, is Shuku Biassia, up the Niger, and all the tribes of this country believe that the truth must come out there, as instant death by an incensed Deity is the fate of the liar in that sacred place. I cautioned Prince Will and his Chiefs to be exceedingly careful not to give Bonny any pretext for going to war with them, as Her Majesty's Government would give them no assistance whatever should they bring a war upon themselves by any hostile act against Bonny.

They replied that they would neither go into Bonny waters, nor even into Okrika waters, when it might be necessary to punish an Okrika outrage, as they could take Okrikas in Calabar waters.

On returning to Bonny I told King George what the Calabar Chiefs had said: Then you believe the Calabar Chiefs and not us, cried the Chief Waribo, who was once a slave. The Calabar Chiefs, I replied, testified of what they saw. You speak only from hearsay, from what lying slaves and Okrikas have told you; you cannot even tell the names of the

three persons you allege to have been taken. I only want to get at the truth; and after a patient hearing of both sides, the captain of the "Oberon" and myself have come to the conclusion that the Calabar Chiefs have not invaded Bonny waters nor captured any Bonny people. Would I allow Bonny to attack Calabar provided the "long-juju" pronounced Calabar guilty? Certainly not. Her Majesty's Government would not suffer Bonny to go to war with Calabar to the great injury of British trade and property; but if at any time proof, satisfactory to the captain of the man-of-war and myself, could be shown that Calabar had invaded them, I should inform Her Majesty's Government, and it would decide on the punishment to be inflicted on Calabar, but, meanwhile, the peace of the country must not be broken. I asked King George, who was educated in England, if he had remonstrated with his allies the Okrikas for that shocking outrage on the seven Calabar men in a time of peace; he at first denied all knowledge of the fact, then said "he had not heard of it officially;" then, that the Okrikas were not his slaves, he had no business to remonstrate with them. He seemed to look on the recent performance of the cannibal Okrikas as a capital joke; but his sensible Chief Jaja, evidently dissatisfied with what King George was saying, remarked, "Consul, you don't know what trouble these Okrikas give us; we are constantly remonstrating with them; if it were not for us, Calabar men could not go to the oil markets at all. The Okrikas are better now than they were in the time of King Amacree, father of Prince Will: then they used to capture and eat 1,000 Calabar men; now they only kill and eat seven, so the state of the country is very much better than it used to be." I warned King George that if he encouraged the Okrikas to kill Calabar men, or did not use his influence to prevent it, he might find, before long, that the Okrikas were attacking and eating Bonny canoe men; and assured him that if he brought the country into a state of war some other employment would be provided for him where he could not injure British interests.

The effect of Lord Clarendon's despatch of March 21, 1866, has been most happy in preventing an outbreak of hostilities; but as the Bonny Chiefs still long for the Obiatibo oil market, and, if not looked after sharply, may encourage the Okrikas to fresh outrages against Calabar, frequent visits in a cruizer seem desirable.

The first oil of the new season arrived from the interior on the 30th ultimo.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES LIVINGSTONE.

No. 3.

*Consul Livingstone to Lord Stanley.—(Received June 1.)*

My Lord,

*Fernando Po, April 25, 1867.*

I HAVE the honour to report the result of a recent investigation into the outrage on a white trader at Benito, to which reference was made in despatch of July 3, 1866.

On the 18th instant I met the King of Benito and his principal men, in the house of the only remaining white trader, and learned from them that the wounded trader had beaten a native, and cut him with a spear. The native ran to his brother's village crying that the white man had killed him. This brother being half drunk at the time, caught up his gun, rushed along the road, and seeing the trader fired and wounded him severely. The King had the offender seized at once, and brought him to the factory to be punished in any way the white men deemed proper; and on their refusing to take him, the King burned his village and kept him in irons three or four months, and has continued to punish him ever since by prohibiting him from going to any of the factories.

I told the King I was glad he had punished the man, and had manifested such a friendly disposition to the English, and I was sure that Her Majesty's Government would be satisfied with what he had done. I requested him to continue to protect the white men, and punish any of his people who might injure them, and if the white traders injured any of his people I would punish them on my return. The King and all his headmen cordially agreed to this.

These Benito people are the best-looking I have seen on the coast; all were well dressed and respectful. Their trade is in india-rubber, ivory, ebony, and red dye wood. Tobacco and rum are the principal articles at present sold to them in return for the above.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES LIVINGSTONE.



## No. 4.

*Consul Livingstone to Lord Stanley.—(Received June 1.)*

My Lord,

*Fernando Po, April 26, 1867.*

I HAVE the honour to report that satisfaction has been obtained from Priso Bell of Cameroons, for the outrage by his people on the boat's crew of the wrecked barque "Nipisiquit," mentioned in despatch of October 1, 1866. King Bell having great influence over Priso and his people, though no direct control, rendered valuable assistance in settling the palaver.

Priso offered to give up the men who had robbed the boat, but I declined to undertake his kingly duties, and fined him in seven puncheons of palm oil.

After a long consultation with his headmen he pleaded poverty, and asked to be let off for 2 puncheons. This request being refused, he held a long conversation with King Bell. After this King Bell asked if I would settle the palaver for 3 puncheons and 2 bullocks, while he and Priso would pledge themselves for their people that nothing of the kind should ever occur again; they would willingly pay any amount of fine if it did. Seeing that the indignation of all the headmen, as well as that of King Bell and Priso, was altogether against the perpetrators of the outrage, and not wishing to have any part of that indignation turned against Her Majesty's Government for appearing to be too hard on them, I replied that as King Bell had always kept his Treaties with England faithfully, and had always endeavoured to protect English traders, I would comply with his request and reduce the fine, as I knew his word was to be trusted. In a few days the 3 puncheons were brought on board, and 3 large Egbo goats, which were considered an equivalent for the 2 bullocks, which were difficult to catch. The goats I handed over to the captain of the "Oberon" for the use of the ship's company, as fresh meat is scarce in the rivers. The 3 puncheons I brought to Fernando Po in accordance with the wish of the Cameroons traders. The Paymaster of the "Oberon" being in want of money to purchase supplies here gave me the inclosed bill for the proceeds of the oil as per account.

The health of the ship's company was remarkably good all the time we were in the rivers.

The property recovered was to be sent to Lloyd's Agent in Fernando Po for underwriters.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed) CHARLES LIVINGSTONE.

## No. 5.

*Consul Livingstone to Lord Stanley.—(Received June 1.)*

My Lord,

*Fernando Po, April 27, 1867.*

IN a recent visit to Old Calabar I found everything quiet. Trade was dull, but the brisk season was daily expected. The health of the whites in the river was tolerably good, but the blacks on shore were suffering from a kind of influenza, which here, as in Cameroons, was fatal in many cases. It appears to be caused by the change from the dry to the wet season. There are a number of turbulent Accra natives in Duke Town who are constantly quarrelling with the Calabar people and with each other. I told them that while in Accra they were under British protection, but if they got into trouble with the natives here they need not expect British protection, as they were not British subjects.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed) CHARLES LIVINGSTONE.

## No. 6.

*Lord Stanley to Consul Livingstone.*

Sir,

*Foreign Office, June 10, 1867.*

I HAVE received your despatch of the 25th of April last, reporting your proceedings on a recent visit to the Bonny River, and I have to acquaint you that I entirely approve the language held by you to the Bonny and Calabar Chiefs as reported in that despatch.

You will inform the Bonny Chiefs on the occasion of your next visit to that river, that Her Majesty's Government expect that they will use all their influence with their

allies, the Okrikas, to put a stop to the barbarous practice that obtains among them of killing and eating their enemies; and you will particularly point out to Prince George of Bonny, that having been for some time in England he must be aware of the abhorrence with which such practices are viewed in all civilized countries, and that he will have benefited very little by his sojourn in this country, and will incur the displeasure of Her Majesty's Government, if he allies himself with cannibals, and encourages them to make war upon tribes who are in friendly relations with the British Government, and with whom British merchants carry on a valuable trade.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) STANLEY.

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## No. 7.

*Lord Stanley to Consul Livingstone.*

Sir, *Foreign Office, June 10, 1867.*  
WITH reference to your despatch of the 25th of April last, I have to acquaint you that I approve of your having informed the King of Benito that Her Majesty's Government would be satisfied with the steps taken by him for the punishment of one of his people who had fired at and wounded a white trader.

I also approve the language held by you to the King in regard to the course he should pursue in the event of any differences between his people and British traders.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) STANLEY.

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## No. 8.

*Lord Stanley to Consul Livingstone.*

Sir, *Foreign Office, June 10, 1867.*  
I HAVE received your despatch of the 26th of April last, reporting the steps taken by you to procure satisfaction from Priso Bell of the Cameroons River, for the outrage committed by his people on the boat's crew of the wrecked barque "Nipisquit," and I have to acquaint you that I approve your proceedings in this affair.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) STANLEY.

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## No. 9.

*Lord Stanley to Consul Livingstone.*

Sir, *Foreign Office, June 10, 1867.*  
I APPROVE the communication made by you to the Accra people settled in D ke Town, Old Calabar, as reported in your despatch of the 27th of April last.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) STANLEY.

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## No. 10.

*Consul Livingstone to Lord Stanley.—(Received August 2.)*

My Lord, *Fernando Po, June 27, 1867.*  
I RECEIVED from Bonny, by mail steamer, on the 25th instant, Inclosures Nos. 1, 2, 3, and as English trade is already injured by these quarrels of the two rival chiefs, and may be seriously damaged if they are not stopped, I purpose going over to Bonny in the mail steamer on the 29th instant to tender my good offices, in order to have these chiefs reconciled, and the peace of the country preserved.

As it is entirely a native quarrel, I have not deemed it expedient to apply for a man-of-war.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) CHARLES LIVINGSTONE.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 10.

*The Chairman of the Court of Equity to Consul Livingstone.*

Sir,

*Barque "Calcutta," Bonny River, June 19, 1867.*

I AM instructed by the Court of Equity to forward you letters received from King Pepple, requesting your attendance here to settle a disturbance which has lately arisen between the two houses of Pepple.

The matter is of considerable importance, as, should it be again revived, the consequences will very seriously affect the interests of the British merchants in this river.

I am, &amp;c.

(Signed) H. COTTEREL.

Inclosure 2 in No. 10.

*King Pepple to the Chairman and Members of the Bonny Equity Court.*

Sir and Gentlemen,

*Bonny Town, June 7, 1867.*

I BEG most respectfully to inform you of some matters in Bonny which, if not immediately stopped, will injure the trade carried on in the river.

I therefore most respectfully request you to write by this steamer, and ask the Consul's kind attendance here with a man-of-war; or, in the event of his absence or unwillingness to come, to send the Captain of the man-of-war to investigate the aforesaid matters, and make things go on as they should be.

With kind regards, I remain, &amp;c.

(Signed) GEO. PEPPLÉ, *Rev.*

Inclosure 3 in No. 10.

*King Pepple to the Chairman and Members of the Bonny Equity Court.*

Sir and Gentlemen,

*Bonny Town, June 14, 1867.*

YOUR letter in reply to mine of the 6th instant has reached safe to hand. In compliance to which I inclose two copies of agreements drawn up by late King Pepple, my father, and signed by all the Chiefs of Bonny, to prevent Manilla Pepple's and Annie Pepple's houses from quarrelling and fighting as they had done in his absence.

He, King Pepple, found out that the main root and cause of all the quarrels originated from those houses whom they, the two parties, got to stop with them, and which were formerly independent houses of themselves, whereby he, as I have already stated, drew up the inclosed agreements.

Now, you are all aware that a civil skirmish broke out on Sunday and Monday, the 2nd and 3rd instant, between Adda Allison and Charley Africa. Annie Pepple, with his part, including Tillibo, Black Fonbra, Fine Bone, &c., helped Charley Africa first; whereon Manilla Pepple's part, seeing that, gave Adda Allison assistance on Monday the 3rd instant, so you will perceive that most of those houses mentioned in the agreements standing neutral in the matter, as they should have done, and aid in all possible means to quell the fight, they have lent a helping hand in making the matter worse, and no end of mischief would have ensued had I not stopped the fight. I am glad to say that I have settled the matter so far; but the immediate presence of a man-of-war and the Consul I foresee is most necessary, and then I will lay the matter open more fully in black and white, and shall request the Consul to put a fine on those houses, and thereby prevent similar occurrences for the future.

If the Court does not assist me in this matter, I can say without hesitation that another breaking out will stop and disturb the trade of the river for a month or two at least.

I remain, &amp;c.

(Signed) GEO. PEPPLÉ, *Rev.*

No. 11.

*Lord Stanley to Consul Livingstone.**Foreign Office, July 31, 1867.*

Sir, I TRANSMIT to you herewith copies of a letter and its inclosures which I have received from the African Steam Ship Company relative to the plunder and destruction of the "Inkermann" schooner belonging to the Company, in the Nun River, in the month of May last.

I have to desire that you will take as early an opportunity as possible of inquiring into this case, and you will require from the Chiefs within whose jurisdiction the "Inkermann" was pillaged the restitution of any portions of the cargo of that vessel or of the effects of the crew that they may be able to procure, and you will also demand from the Chiefs such an amount of compensation as, after consulting with the senior naval officer on the station, you may deem sufficient to prevent a repetition of similar outrages on the part of the natives for the future.

I am not aware whether we have any Treaty Engagements for the protection of British subjects and property with the Chiefs within whose jurisdiction the "Inkermann" was pillaged; but should no such engagements exist, you will propose to the Chiefs that they should conclude a Convention with you for the protection of British traders and their property.

I annex for your information and guidance a copy of the answer which, by my directions, has been returned to the African Steam Ship Company's letter, by which you will perceive that I am of opinion that it may not be politic to demand from the natives compensation to the full value of the "Inkermann" and her cargo, but that our demands should be limited to the requiring the payment of a fine, the amount of which, whilst within the means of the Chiefs to pay, shall be sufficient to deter the natives from committing similar outrages for the future.

In carrying out the instructions contained in this despatch you will be careful not to involve Her Majesty's Government in the serious employment of force without first reporting home and receiving further instructions in the matter.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) STANLEY.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 11.

*The Secretary to the African Steam-Ship Company to Lord Stanley.*

My Lord,

14, *Leadenhall Street, London, July 19, 1867.*

I HAVE the honour, by desire of the Directors of this Company, to forward, for your information, copy of a letter addressed by them to the Secretary of the Admiralty, relative to the plunder and destruction of this Company's late schooner "Inkerman," by the natives in the River Nun, West Coast of Africa, together with copy of the Protest made by the master of the late schooner. This latter document will place your Lordship in possession of all the facts of the case.

Although the Company's interest in the hull and fittings of the "Inkerman" was covered by insurance, the Underwriters look to the Directors to take such action as may be proper, to endeavour to obtain compensation for the outrage committed.

The Company, as stated in the letter to the Secretary of the Admiralty, has been, by the seizure of the vessel by the natives, deprived of her services in the River Cameroons; and as the Directors will not be able to replace her for a considerable period, that river is practically shut to the Company's steamers; and, judging by past receipts, a loss of freight of from 2,000*l.* to 3,000*l.* will be sustained.

They further desire me to state, that the master's nautical instruments, and his outfit for the intended service, were stolen from him by the natives who plundered the ship. This involves a loss of 150*l.* to him.

The Directors trust that your Lordship will be pleased to direct Her Majesty's Consul in the Brass to take immediate steps to exact compensation from the natives for all the losses sustained.

Your Lordship is doubtless aware of the great importance of the trade now being opened up in the River Niger, the principal mouth of which is the Nun; and considering the commercial interests involved, they hope the Chiefs in the river will be made to under-

stand that they must in future respect the property of British traders, who by their enterprize are contributing materially to the advancement of the native interests.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) DUNCAN CAMPBELL.

Inclosure 2 in No. 11.

*The Secretary to the African Steam-Ship Company to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.*

My Lords,

July 10, 1867.

I HAVE the honour, by desire of the Directors of this Company, to inclose copy of a Protest made by the master of the Company's late schooner "Inkerman," which vessel, while on her voyage to the West Coast of Africa, was by the error of the pilot taken into the River Nun instead of the Brass, and was seized by the natives, and totally destroyed, the crew barely escaping with their lives. Full particulars will be obtained from the Protest.

The Directors respectfully request that immediate steps will be taken by your Lordships to instruct the Senior Officers at the Bight's Division to put a gun-boat into the river, to exact satisfaction from the natives for this gross outrage.

In addition to the value of the ship, say 1,550*l.* (which was covered by insurance), a loss of freight will be sustained by the Company, which the Directors, judging from past receipts, estimate at from 2,000*l.* to 3,000*l.*

The trade in the Cameroons will, so far as this Company is concerned, be entirely stopped for the next six months.

The Directors understand the owners of the cargo which was on board the "Inkerman," intend memorializing the Foreign Office on the subject.

The Directors trust such a demand will be enforced on the Chiefs of the river as will enable your Lordships to recover for them a sum equivalent to the loss sustained by the destruction of the "Inkerman," and the consequent interruption of the Company's operations in the Cameroons.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) DUNCAN CAMPBELL.

Inclosure 3 in No. 11.

*The Secretary to the Admiralty to the Secretary to the African Steam-Ship Company.*

Sir,

*Admiralty, July 13, 1867.*

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to acquaint you, that a copy of your letter of the 10th instant has been transmitted to the Foreign Office, in order that any steps they think proper may be taken with regard to punishing the natives for plundering and destroying the "Inkerman."

I am, &c.  
(Signed) HENRY G. LENNOX.

Inclosure 4 in No. 11.

*Protest.*

BY this public instrument of Protest, be it known unto all whom it may concern, that on the day of the date hereof, before me, Francis Samuel Reynolds, Notary Public, by Royal authority duly admitted and enrolled and sworn, residing at Liverpool, in the county of Lancaster, and actually practising there personally, came and appeared William Chester Tydeman, master, and George Stephen Brooke, mate of the late schooner or vessel called the "Inkerman," belonging to London, of the admeasurement of 88 tons per register, or thereabouts, who did severally make and subscribe in my presence the declaration following, that is to say:

We, W. C. Tydeman and G. S. Brookes, do severally, solemnly, and sincerely declare, that on the 20th day of February last past, we, the Declarants, departed with and on board the said schooner from Liverpool, bound on an intended voyage to Brass River and

Cameroons, laden with a cargo of salt and general merchandize, the said vessel being then tight, staunch, strong, well found, and declared in every respect properly fitted, manned, and provided for the said voyage. Her said cargo being well stowed and dunnaged, and the hatches securely battened down and covered over, at 11 A.M., in charge of a pilot, and towed by a steam-tug, the vessel was got under weigh and proceeded to sea. At 1 P.M. the pilot, and at 4 P.M. the following day, the 21st, the steamer left us; all sail was made, and, meeting with variable winds and weather, and occasional strong breezes and heavy seas running, but with no material occurrence happening, the vessel continued her voyage, the pumps being regularly attended until April 29th, when at 5.30 P.M. the vessel was brought to anchor off the coast of Africa, about two miles to the eastward of a river which we supposed to be the Brass River. On the following day, the 30th, at 10 A.M., a canoe came alongside with a pilot on board, who boarded the vessel, and stated that he was a pilot for the Brass River, and had come for the purpose of piloting the vessel there. Before weighing the anchor, we both of us questioned the pilot as to whether the said river to the westward of our vessel was the Brass River. The man showed a bracelet on his arm, on which was inscribed in English "Good pilot for the Brass," and fully understanding from him that that was the Brass River, at 11 A.M. the vessel was got under weigh, and in charge of the said pilot proceeded up the said river, and at 1 P.M. the vessel was brought to anchor in the river in 7 fathoms water abreast of a factory.

About 1.30 P.M., the Declarant W. C. Tydeman left the vessel together with the pilot, and went on shore to the factory, where he was informed that the river which the vessel had been brought into was not the Brass River, but the River Niger, and the said master returned to the vessel. On the 2nd May, having engaged another pilot, at 8 A.M., under his charge, the vessel was got under weigh, and dropped down the river. At 11 A.M. she was brought to anchor in 7 fathoms of water off Palm Point, there being no winds and the tide being low. On the following day, May 3rd, at 8 A.M., in charge of the pilot, the vessel was again got under weigh, and proceeded down the channel towards the bar. At 10 A.M., there not being sufficient depth of water to cross the bar, the vessel was brought to anchor. Shortly afterwards, the flood-tide setting in, caused a heavy swell to run over the bar into the channel where the vessel was anchored, and caused her to labour and pitch excessively, and strain heavily at her anchor. At 3 P.M., the anchor dragged, and the tide driving the vessel towards a sand bank, a slight breeze springing up, the anchor was hove up, some sail was set, and every endeavour made to take the vessel into a safer anchorage, but the wind almost immediately falling to a dead calm, the vessel became unmanageable; both anchors were let go in order to bring the vessel to, as she was drifting near the breakers on the sand bank, a very heavy sea running, both anchors dragged, and the vessel continued to drift towards the breakers, which were very high, causing a fearful strain on the anchors. At about 4 P.M. the best bower-cable parted, and, fearing that if the other cable parted the vessel would inevitably be driven on the sand bank among the breakers, for the safety of the lives of ourselves and the remainder of the crew, the jolly-boat was launched, and we and the remainder of the crew and the pilot got into the jolly-boat, and lay to a short distance from the vessel, intending to return to her if possible. Shortly afterwards the small bower-cable parted, and the vessel drifted rapidly into the midst of the breakers, struck on the sand bank, and remained fast, with the sea making a clear breach over her. Finding it was useless remaining by the vessel, and the night coming on, we proceeded towards the river. At 7 P.M. landed the mate with one portion of the crew at the mission station, and the master, with the remainder, higher up the river at the factory. On the following day, the 4th, at daybreak we perceived the vessel had come off the sand bank, and was being carried by the flood-tide up the river; the master, with the portion of the crew that had landed with him, immediately got into the boat, and proceeded towards the vessel, when it was found that there were several canoes alongside, and others coming away from the vessel, with portions of her cargo, and on boarding the vessel it was found that there was a large number of the natives on board who had broken open the hatches, plundered a portion of the cargo, with all the cabin stores and furniture. An endeavour was made to drive the natives out of the vessel, but a number of others came on board, there being in all between 400 and 500 of them, all armed with knives and cutlasses. The natives commenced to threaten to take our lives, if we remained on board, and for the safety of the lives of ourselves and the remainder of the crew, we were compelled to leave the vessel in the hands of the natives, who then cut away all sails, towed the vessel on to the beach, stripped her bottom of the copper, made a complete wreck of her, and carried away the whole of the cargo. On the 6th, finding there was no chance of saving anything whatever of the vessel or her cargo, we and the remainder of the crew proceeded to Brass River. On June 3rd we left Brass River on board the steamship "Calabar," and on June 14th, having arrived at Sierra Leone, the

master went on shore and duly noted a Protest in this behalf before a Notary Public at that place. On the 2nd day of July instant, we arrived at Liverpool on board the said steamer; the remainder of the crew were shipped on board a vessel called the "Sparkling Wave," bound for Liverpool.

And we make this solemn declaration, conscientiously believing the same to be true, and by virtue of the provisions of an Act made and passed in the sixth year of the reign of His late Majesty King William the Fourth, intituled "An Act to repeal an Act of the present Session of Parliament, intituled 'An Act for the more effectual abolition of Oaths and Affirmations taken and made in various departments of the State, and to substitute Declarations in lieu thereof, and for the more entire suppression of voluntary and extra judicial Oaths and Affidavits, and to make other provisions for the abolition of unnecessary Oaths.'"

Declared and subscribed at Liverpool aforesaid, this 6th day of July, 1867.

(Signed)

W. C. TYDEMAN.  
G. S. BROOKE.

Before me,

(Signed)

F. S. REYNOLDS, *Notary Public, Liverpool.*

Wherefore the said appearers did declare to Protest, and the said Notary at their request have protested, and by these presents do Protest, that all and whatsoever loss, damage, delay, or injury, which has happened to and been sustained by the said vessel, her tackle, or apparel, or the cargo on board her during the said voyage, is wholly owing to the accidents and circumstances hereinbefore mentioned, and to the dangers and perils of navigation, and not to the negligence, misconduct, want of skill, or attention of these appearers, or any of the crew of the said vessel, or to any defect or insufficiency in the said vessel, her tackle, apparel, or furniture.

In faith and testimony whereof, I, the said Notary, have hereunto set my hand, and affixed my notarial seal of office, this 6th day of July, 1867.

(Signed)

FRANCIS S. REYNOLDS, *Notary Public, Liverpool.*

No. 12.

*Mr. Egerton to Consul Livingstone.*

Sir,

*Foreign Office, August 9, 1867.*

I AM directed by Lord Stanley to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 27th of June last, together with its inclosures; and I am, in reply, to acquaint you that under the circumstances reported in your despatch, his Lordship approves of your proposed visit to the Bonny River.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

E. C. EGERTON.

No. 13.

*Consul Livingstone to Lord Stanley.—(Received September 2.)*

My Lord,

*Fernando Po, July 13, 1867.*

SHORTLY after reaching Bonny I sent King George Inclosure No. 1, and received Inclosure No. 2. King George called next day, and gave me an account of Bonny affairs.

It appears that besides the three powerful houses of Annie Pepple, Manilla Pepple, and Ada Alison, there are several small independent houses, which have done good service in their day by acting as mediators between the rival Chiefs when they happened to fall out. Some of these houses having fallen into debt, sold themselves recently to the aspiring house of Annie Pepple, on condition that he paid their debts; but as he was quietly absorbing house after house, the jealousy of the other two houses became greatly excited. "If we allow this to go on," said they, "the whole of Bonny will soon belong to Annie Pepple."

While in this excited state, a slave belonging to Annie Pepple quarrelled with one of Manilla Pepple's slaves, and from words rose to blows; a third person rushed into the fight to assist one of the slaves, and this drew in a fourth on the opposite side, which brought others in, until in a few minutes all the low men in Bonny were fighting with

matchets and gin bottles, there being no stones in the town. This "civil skirmish" was at length stopped by the pluck of King George, who threatened to blow some of their brains out.

Next day notes came to the shipping, asking for lint and any kind of salve good for cut heads.

King George wished me to bring a man-of-war, and compel his Chiefs to do whatever I thought right; also to order Annie Pepple to pay him a debt—one of the small houses owed to his father, the late King Pepple,

In reply, I said that Her Majesty's Government, while willing to tender its good offices to prevent bloodshed and secure harmony and good-will, never desired to interfere in the internal affairs of any nation, and that I was sure the King and Chiefs would be able to arrange these purely Bonny matters, which they understood better than anyone else, in a friendly and satisfactory manner. I suggested, however, that as it was now in the power of any two slaves to set the whole of Bonny by the ears, it seemed desirable to have a law to fine any persons who began a fight, and to fine heavily a third party who, instead of trying to stop it, went into it.

I offered to meet with his principal Chiefs, to see if I could be of any service. Inclosure No. 3 was received the day before the proposed meeting.

The Court of Equity say the jealousy of the three Chiefs about the balance of power is so great, that a civil war may break out at any moment. When one Chief hears that another has purchased ball-cartridges he at once does the same. They think that a display, or at least a threat, of force will be necessary.

In private interviews with Annie Pepple, at his own request, and also with Manilla Pepple (Ada Alison was sick), both assured me that they had no connection whatever with the late disturbance; they wished to live in peace, as fighting would be their ruin, and that of Bonny.

They approved of a law like that suggested above.

I warned them that Her Majesty's Government would hold them responsible if the shipping was injured, or British property destroyed by any violent outbreak.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES LIVINGSTONE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 13.

*Consul Livingstone to King Pepple.*

King George,

*Hulk "Ben my Chree," River Bonny, July 2, 1867.*

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your note; and to state that I have come over to tender you my good offices, in order to reconcile your Chiefs, and thus preserve the peace and prosperity of Bonny.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES LIVINGSTONE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 13.

*King Pepple to Consul Livingstone.*

Dear Sir,

*Bonny Town, July 2, 1867.*

I BEG to acknowledge receipt of your kind note of this date. In reply, I am sorry to state that on account of my present sickness, as you have previously learnt yesterday from my brother, I would request that a meeting should not be called for a day or two, when I hope to be better.

I shall, however, come and see you to-morrow (weather permitting). Hoping you will not think anything averse to my proposed delay, I remain, &c.

(Signed)

GEO. PEPPLÉ, *Rex.*



nclosure 3 in No. 13.

*King Pepple to Consul Livingstone.*

Sir,

*Bonny Town, July 5, 1867.*

MY reason for now addressing you is to inform you most respectfully of another attack of sickness and fever arising from my having gone about with my boil before it had really got better. In consequence of which I find that, however strong my inclinations are as to having our proposed meeting held to-morrow, it would be doing a lasting injury to my constitution.

I therefore beg that it should be postponed until I shall be better, when I will write you again.

With due respect, I remain, &amp;c.

(Signed)

GEO. PEPPLE, *Res.*

No. 14.

*Lord Stanley to Consul Livingstone.*

Sir,

*Foreign Office, September 9, 1867.*

I HAVE received your despatch of the 13th July, giving an account of your visit to Bonny; and I have to inform you that I approve the steps which you appear to have taken to preserve peace among the Chiefs of that district.

I am, &amp;c.

(Signed)

STANLEY.

No. 15.

*Consul Livingstone to Lord Stanley.—(Received October 3.)*

My Lord,

*Fernando Po, August 28, 1867.*

I HAVE the honour to report that the slaves brought to this island from Cuba as apprentices to the Spanish Government for five years are now said to be free.

The Government has built for them a small town adjoining Clarence, and the Governor-General is anxious to procure wives for those who have none. His project, as communicated to me by a planter, is to purchase forty young women on the coast, and liberate them in Fernando Po.

The Governor, my informant said, intended to speak to me on this matter in a few days, and also to ask for a certificate for a ship to be engaged in case of a visit from a cruiser.

As this was evidently a feeler, I replied that forty young women could not be obtained on the coast, except by re-opening the odious Slave Trade, now entirely suppressed in this Consular district, and nearly so on the whole of the West Coast; that it would be a greater evil to encourage the Slave Trade than any good resulting to the women, and if his Excellency should visit any part of the coast he would find the women as free as they would be here, viz., to work for their husbands. Since the suppression of the Slave Trade in the Cameroons the value of women has risen enormously; a woman is now worth 50*l.* A certificate is out of the question; any ship found purchasing slaves will be seized, and if by rare chance one should escape our cruisers it would be my duty to report her to Her Majesty's Government.

I suggested, that as some of these emancipados had married Bube women, the others might easily find wives for themselves in the fair way of courtship among the 20,000 Bubes on this island; or the Governor might send them to their own country on the Congo to court wives there. The Governor was afraid if he allowed them to go to the Congo they would not return. Is it to be understood then, that, like the political prisoners, they are free to stay in Fernando Po, but not to leave it? I shall deeply regret to hear that his Excellency gave the slightest encouragement to the pernicious Slave Traffic.

The Governor and Council have since had this subject before them, but I have not yet learned the result. His Excellency has not yet spoken to me on the above. I think he will abandon this project.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed)

CHARLES LIVINGSTONE.

No. 16.

*Lord Stanley to Consul Livingstone.*

Sir,

*Foreign Office, October 5, 1867.*

I HAVE received your despatch of the 28th August last, reporting the answer which you had given to the suggestions of a planter for the importation of slave women to Fernando Po, and I have to state to you that I approve the language which you held upon that occasion.

I am, &amp;c.

(Signed) STANLEY.

No. 17.

*Consul Livingstone to Lord Stanley.—(Received December 2.)*

My Lord,

*“Lee,” October 29, 1867.*

IN accordance with your Lordship's despatch of the 31st of July, directing me to inquire into the case of the plunder of the schooner “Inkermann” by the natives of the River Nun, in May last, I have the honour to report that on the 24th instant I visited the River Brass with the senior naval officer, having learned that the Brass Kings, Arishma and Okea, with whom we have a Treaty, claim sovereignty over the small Akassa tribe at the Nun mouth. Messengers were sent for the Kings, who live 35 miles up the Brass River, and while waiting their arrival I went by boat, with the Assistant-Paymaster, through the Akassa Creek, to the West African Company's factory on the Nun, in order to obtain all the evidence which could be collected on the spot. Mr. King, agent for the factory, was the only person I could find there, who was acquainted with the facts of the case. The master and crew of the “Inkermann” lived with him after they had abandoned the ship. Mr. King's statement is herewith inclosed.

We met King Okea and his chiefs on the 27th, but King Arishma did not come. King Okea assured us that if there had been a single white man on board the Akassas would not have touched the ship; they never robbed ships; and the Brass kings and chiefs always protected the ships, and this the English traders present said was true; and that King Okea went over to the Nun, directly he heard of the “Inkermann's” loss, to punish the Akassas, who fled into the bush; but that he gave up the idea of punishing them on learning that the vessel was abandoned before the Akassas took possession. The English law of salvage was explained to King Okea: he thought it good for England, but not for Africa. “When a ship is abandoned, and brought to us by the sea, with no one in her, then, by the custom of our country, she belongs to us.” Our investigations show that the “Inkermann,” when taken possession of by the natives, was a derelict, and that she was imperilled and abandoned by the incompetency of the master. That the natives threatened the lives of Mr. King, the master, and two of the crew may be true, but it was in a language none of them understood, and there is only the testimony of the Akassa interpreter for this. The natives were all this time in their own canoes alongside the ship, and did not go on board until the ship was abandoned the second time. Mr. King, who is a black man, left the ship, not from fear of his life, but because he could do nothing to save her: she had no anchor, and his own men had been sent early that morning to inform the consignee in Brass of the ship's loss. Had the “Inkermann's” crew been on board they might have saved her.

As the pilot Carry wears an ivory armet, marked “Pilot for the Brass,” and sometimes tells the masters of vessels that the Nun is the Brass, or the Small Brass, King Okea, at our request, promised to take this armet from Carry, and make him wear one marked “Pilot for the Nun,” and punish him should he again deceive an English vessel. The English traders think Carry's motive in endeavouring to get ships into the Nun is merely to obtain pilotage, and to drive a little trade with them in palm oil.

As the natives in the whole of my Consular district firmly believe that everything cast up by the sea belongs to them, as the lords of the soil, it would be inexpedient to interfere with this ancient faith and practice; and no fine could ever be obtained from the Akassas, even were it just to impose one.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed) CHARLES LIVINGSTONE.

## Inclosure in No. 17.

*Statement of William King, Agent for the West African Company, Victoria Factory, River Nun.*

THE pilot Oruna (who cannot speak a word of English) brought the "Inkermann" into the Nun, for which he was paid *l.* 10*s.* by Mr. Tydeman, master.

The "Inkermann" left on the third day with the pilot Carry on board, and was seen from the factory to get much nearer to the line of breakers than any ship ever did before.

When the master, crew, and pilot returned to the factory after abandoning the ship, the pilot Carry told Mr. King that the master refused to anchor when requested by him, and kept on till in four fathoms water; that it was all his (the Captain's) fault the vessel was lost.

Mr. Tydeman paid Carry *l.* 5*s.*, and told Mr. King the ship would be in pieces before morning.

About 8 o'clock next morning they saw a number of canoes passing the factory up the river; and, hearing that the vessel had passed up round the point, proceeded on board with the master and two of the crew, the rest of the crew having refused to go; on arriving on board the natives were plundering her; Mr. King told them to leave, as they had no business to plunder her. All went over the side into their canoes. Crowds of other canoes came, and soon King's interpreter said, "The people say, 'Why you interfere? This not Company's ship. The captain done leave this ship, it is ours now,'" and were threatening to kill him. King said he would leave, and the captain replied, "if you leave her, I will leave her too."

Had Mr. King's men been on board with him, or had there been an anchor in the ship, he thinks he could have saved the ship for a puncheon of rum.

The ship had made no water, her salt being perfectly dry.

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## AFRICA. (Consular)—Niger District.

No. 18.

*Consul McLeod to Lord Stanley.—(Received January 3, 1867.)**"Mullet," off the Mouth of the River Niger,  
November 26, 1866.*

(Extract.)

CAPTAIN ROBINSON informed me that he had detained the "Investigator" until the 24th September for the purpose of conveying me to Lukoja, and having learnt that I had been detained *en route* by illness, and was then suffering, that officer, in consultation with Captain Glover, who your Lordship is aware surveyed the River Niger in 1857, 1858, and 1859, decided that it was advisable and practicable to attempt to convey me, on my requisition, to Lukoja, or, at least, to Onitsha, in Her Majesty's steam-vessel "Investigator," which had returned from the Niger and was then lying at Lagos. The Senior Officer in the Bights dispatched an order by the "Calabar" to Lieutenant-Commander Jones to prepare the "Investigator" for service in the Niger, and that officer having received his instructions on the arrival of the "Calabar" at Lagos on the 19th instant, coaled and provisioned the "Investigator." On the morning of the 23rd, Captain Robinson came into the harbour of Lagos, and with Lieutenant-Commander Jones, accompanied me in visiting the Rev. Dr. Crowther, Bishop of the Niger, to have the benefit of his advice as to my reaching Lukoja, if the "Investigator" should be able to land me at Onitsha. The Bishop of the Niger informed us that the natives of the river, even above Onitsha, were not to be trusted, and adduced instances in which a canoe had been dispatched with a letter express from Onitsha to Lukoja which might have reached that place in five days, and yet had not arrived in two or three months; and that, therefore, my plan of sending a canoe from Onitsha to Lukoja to apprise Mr. William Fell in charge of the Niger Mission of my arrival at Onitsha, with a request that he would come to me at the latter place, and, if safe for him to come, it would be equally so for me to go in his company to Lukoja, could not be carried out.

The Bishop on further discussion admitted that, if I had a boat with a crew of natives from Lagos, who had some knowledge of the power and resources of the British Government, I might succeed in communicating with Mr. Fell at Lukoja from Onitsha. Captain Robinson at once agreed to supply me with a boat, and Lieutenant-Governor Glover obtained a crew of Nufi men through the Chief Tapper, who was at that time waiting on his Excellency at Government house.

At 2 P.M. on the 24th, I took leave of Lieutenant-Governor Glover who, accompanied by some of the highest officials in the Colony, had the kindness to see the Senior Officer of the Bights and myself into the boat which conveyed us to the "Investigator," and to wish the Expedition "God speed." At 3 P.M. we reached Her Majesty's gun-vessel "Mullet," and at 5 P.M. she proceeded for the Niger with the "Investigator" in tow.

As it is possible that the "Investigator" may ground in the Niger, either before reaching Onitsha or on her return down the river, in which case it is more than probable than she could not be got afloat until June next, your Lordship will be pleased to learn that every precaution has been taken to prepare for such a contingency so as to save, in the first place, all her officers and crew; and, in the next place to leave as few persons as possible in her to exposure to the climate in the delta of the river for so long a period as seven months.

No. 19.

*Consul McLeod to Lord Stanley.—(Received January 3, 1867.)*

(Extract.)

*Lagos, December 5, 1866.*

THE inclosed letter will explain to your Lordship fully that from the want of water in the Niger, Her Majesty's steam-vessel "Investigator" was not able to reach Onitsha; and that from the hostile appearance of the natives, it was not deemed advisable to permit a volunteer force to accompany me up the River Niger.

That, in consequence, Her Majesty's steam-vessel "Investigator" landed me here yesterday.

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Inclosure in No. 19.

*Commander Robinson to Consul McLeod.**"Investigator," off Truro Island, River Nun,  
November 29, 1866.*

Sir,

IN compliance with your requisition of 23rd November, Her Majesty's ship "Investigator" has been ordered to convey you and your men up the River Niger, to Onitsha; being myself anxious that this service should be carried out successfully I have accompanied the expedition.

Up to this date, at eleven A.M., our progress has been satisfactory; but on attempting to pass by Truro Island, on the western side, where deep water is marked in the chart, "Investigator" took the ground, the water at this point having fallen fully twelve feet.

Lieutenant-Commander Jones, having anchored the "Investigator," proceeded to sound the river in the hope of finding a passage for his vessel—in performing this duty he was employed for two hours—but returned without success; a boat was then sent to sound the passage to the eastward of Truro Island; the report received was that there was a passage of two fathoms on that side of the Island.

Returning in "Investigator" to the south end of Truro Island, we tried to pass to the eastward, but on approaching the north end of the island we found the water had fallen to such an extent that the sand banks were only covered by about one foot of water. Lieutenant-Commander Jones again tried in every direction to find a passage for his vessel, but having sounded in every direction, he failed in connecting the channel of the river with the deep water above the shoals situated to the northward of Truro Island.

Under these circumstances it becomes my duty to order the return of "Investigator" to the mouth of the Nun.

With reference to your proposal to proceed in a boat of Her Majesty's ship "Mullet" to Onitsha, and from thence to Lukoja, I think, under the circumstances, it would be a most unsafe and imprudent proceeding. From all we have seen of the natives since our arrival in the river, I do not think that with a crew of Africans in your boat, you would be justified in attempting the undertaking; and as I do not think I should be justified in sending white men on this service, and feeling convinced that the natives could not resist the temptation to plunder your property, which might complicate matters in this river, and perhaps stop trade for a considerable time, it is my opinion that you should return in "Investigator" to the mouth of the river, and thence to Lagos.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed) CHAS. A. P. V. ROBINSON.

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No. 20.

*Consul McLeod to Lord Stanley.—(Received February 2.)*

(Extract.)

*Lagos, December 31, 1866.*

I HAVE the honour herewith to forward my Consular Report for the quarter ended this day.

From the circumstances under which I visited the Niger, my first Consular Report will of necessity be very brief, although it may tend somewhat to the future development of trade, at least in the Delta of the Niger.

Her Majesty's steam-vessel "Investigator" reached as high as Tudor Island.

From the Nun mouth of the Niger, for a distance of at least fifty miles, there was every indication of the banks of the river being well adapted for the cultivation of ground-nuts, rice, and long sea-island cotton; while palm-nuts and palm-oil were produced in considerable quantities, there being at numerous villages large canoes from the Brass entrance of the Niger loading with the latter valuable commodity.

The appearance of the natives, from the entrance of the river up to Tudor Island, was exceedingly hostile; and it was a subject of remark on board the "Investigator" that they were more especially so where the canoes from the Brass were being loaded. This confirmed me in an opinion, now of many years' standing, that the hostility of the natives of the Delta of the Niger towards vessels passing up and down the river emanates in a great measure from their anxiety to be traded with, and they have become naturally jealous of vessels passing up without trading with them.

The natives at some places, both going up and also on our return, held up large pieces of wood, indicating that they were prepared to furnish us with fire-wood, as doubtless with valuable dye-woods, now finding their way to other entrances of the river.

It will be my study, my Lord, in the interests of trade and navigation, and also in those of civilization and Christian progress, to overcome this feeling of hostility.

No. 21.

*Lord Stanley to Consul McLeod.*

Sir, *Foreign Office, August 20, 1867.*  
I TRANSMIT to you herewith a copy of a letter which I have received from M. de Katte, the Prussian Chargé d'Affaires at this Court, stating that a Lieutenant Stumm is about to proceed on a Mission from the King of Prussia to the Sultan Omer of Bornou; and that it would be of special advantage to him if, on his returning out of Central Africa to the Coast of Guinea, he could have a passage afforded him from the confluence of the Niger and Tchadda Rivers on board the English steamer that usually ascends the Niger every year.

I have accordingly to desire that, in the event of Lieutenant Stumm's presenting himself at Lukoja, you will afford him every facility in your power to return to the coast, either by way of the Niger or overland, should there be no opportunity of forwarding him by the river.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) STANLEY.

Inclosure in No. 21.

*M. de Katte to Lord Stanley.*

(Translation.)

My Lord,

*Prussian Embassy, London, August 13, 1867.*

LIEUTENANT STUMM, a Prussian officer, has been commissioned by the King, my most gracious Master, to be the bearer of some presents which His Majesty has determined to send to Sultan Omer of Bornou, at Kuka, on Lake Tchad. His Majesty means this attention to the Sultan as an acknowledgment of the civilities shown by him to former travellers, and the object is at the same time thereby to prepare a favourable ground for future scientific Missions.

Lieutenant Stumm's journey will also have a scientific aim, and he will come to England shortly to put himself in communication with some of the geographical authorities. It would, however, be of special advantage to him if he could direct his course, on returning out of Central Africa from Lake Tchad, to the south-west on the coast of Guinea, and if, for this purpose, he could make use of the English steamer which, according to the accounts, is to go up the Niger once a year, as far as the mouth of the Bernué, and perhaps still farther.

By direction of the King's Government, I have to request that your Excellency may be kindly pleased to take the necessary steps with the competent authorities, so that Lieutenant Stumm may have permission to make use of that steamer, and that such facilities and furtherance may be afforded to him as are compatible with the circumstances.

His Majesty the King has pleased to take particular interest in Lieutenant Stumm's intended journey, and his Government cannot entertain a doubt but that the Government

CLASS B.

of Her Majesty the Queen of England will gladly aid in promoting an undertaking which is to be carried out in the interests of science.

With cordial thanks for your Excellency's trouble in this matter by way of anticipation, I have, &c.

(Signed) KATTE.

No. 22.

*Consul McLeod to Lord Stanley.—(Received October 16.)*

My Lord,

*Lukoja, September 1, 1867.*

I HAVE the honour to inform you that I arrived at Lukoja in Her Majesty's ship "Investigator," under the command of Lieutenant and Commander Albert E. Kay, R.N.

Inclosure No. 1, being a copy of the proceedings of Her Majesty's ship "Investigator" since she left Lagos, which has been kindly furnished to me by Lieutenant Kay, R.N., will acquaint your Lordship with the circumstances under which I arrived here. On the 29th ultimo, the "Investigator," having been wooded and supplied with fresh provisions, I embarked on board of her, in company with Mr. Fell, for the purpose of proceeding to Rabba, and, in obedience to your Lordship's instructions, visiting King Masaba.

On the evening of that day, after anchoring, the Commander of the "Investigator" deemed it his duty, on a requisition to that effect from the Assistant Surgeon in charge, in obedience to his instructions from the Senior Officer of the Bights, to proceed out of the river as quickly as possible, in consequence of all the white men in the ship being on the sick list, and completely prostrated from the effects of the severe and protracted duty which devolved upon them during the eleven days she was aground in the delta of the Niger, and exposed to six different attacks by the Imblamah pirates, during each of which they endeavoured to obtain possession of Her Majesty's ship "Investigator."

The "Investigator" returned to Lukoja on the 30th ultimo, when Mr. Fell and myself disembarked. She leaves here to-morrow at daylight, and inclosure No. 2 will acquaint your Lordship what I deemed it my duty to address to the Commander-in-chief on the West Coast of Africa, relative to what I was an eye-witness of in the gallant defence of Her Majesty's ship "Investigator."

I am in hopes, my Lord, that Commodore Hornby will be enabled to re-man the "Investigator," and send her up with the supplies necessary for me to maintain my position during the ensuing year; and also to carry me to Rabba with Mr. Fell, who is instructed by your Lordship to introduce me to King Masaba.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. LYONS McLEOD.

Inclosure 1 in No. 22.

*Lieutenant-Commander Kay to Consul McLeod.*

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to report the proceedings of Her Majesty's ship under my command.

1. On the 26th July I left Lagos Roads, in tow of Her Majesty's ship "Espoir," at 1 P.M., arriving off the mouth of the Nun on the afternoon of the 27th, at 7.30 P.M. I sent "Vindictive's" pinnace (which had been towed down for coaling ships), per signal to "Espoir," for coal; at the same time I represented to you that it would be dangerous and almost impossible to receive coal, as, owing to the state of the sea, the ship was battered down, and straining and leaking very much, therefore the coaling was deferred until the next morning.

2. *July 28.*—The state of the sea still being the same, I asked your permission to purchase coal from the factory inside the river, which, being granted, I weighed at 9 A.M., in company with "Espoir," to make out the entrance of the Nun; at 9.30, the "Espoir" having anchored, I proceeded over the bar, which was a particularly good one, there being scarcely a breaker, and keeping the marks on, as per Glover's chart, anchored at 11 A.M. off the factory at Akassa, and made arrangements with the agent of the West Africa Company in charge of the factory, to supply us with 30 tons of coal, 10 of which were to be reserved for us until our return. Sent the pinnace, which I had permission to take up the river, to English brigantine "Cecil," to fill up with coal. At 1 P.M. weighed and proceeded out over the bar towards "Espoir;" fired a gun, and hoisted signal "coal," to

acquaint you that we could be supplied. Observing a gun fired from "Espoir," and a signal to proceed, re-crossed the bar, and proceeded alongside "Cecil;" lashed ship, and commenced coaling. Received on board  $21\frac{1}{2}$  tons of coal. Draught of water of the ship then being, aft 6 feet 6 inches, forward 5 feet 6 inches.

3. 6 A.M. of the 29th.—Cast off from "Cecil," and proceeded under steam, with pinnace in tow astern, up the river, entering Lewis's Creek at 8 A.M., but grounded, it being dead low water. At 10 A.M. ship floated, when we proceeded; the weather was very foggy, and with deluges of rain at intervals. At 6.10 P.M., stopped and anchored for the night off Bassa Creek.

4. July 30, 6.10 A.M.—Weighed and proceeded under steam up the river, arriving off Angiama at 8.30 A.M. King Affroma came off; he declared King M'damah was dead, and that he was his successor; to him I delivered the presents which I had received from the Administrator of Lagos, and proceeded, anchoring off Baramleeri at 6.40 P.M.

5. July 31, 6.10 A.M.—Weighed and proceeded at 10, passed the five hostile villages of Imblamah; after passing, the natives fired seven guns, which we supposed was meant for a salute. 11.45 A.M., ship suddenly grounded on a sand bank, stopped and backed engines, the feed pumps being choked with sand, drew fires. Before the ship struck, the last soundings called was  $3\frac{1}{2}$  fathoms, speed 4 knots, the river being so very low, and water at the time still falling, I could not depend on the chart. I immediately loaded pinnace with 4 tons of coal from the forecastle to lighten the ship; two canoes in the meantime came alongside, wishing to trade, and making gestures for drink, but being too much engaged I sent them away. I then laid out starboard-bower anchor and hawser astern, and tried to heave the ship off, but the anchor coming home on two different occasions, the hawser carrying away twice, it being very rotten, I ran a warp out to a tree on shore; at the same time laid out bower anchor and four shackles of cable on port quarter, hove taut on this, but finding buoy of cable washed under by the tide, I under-ran it, and rebuoyed, hove taut, but ship did not move; I then deemed it advisable to lighten her forward, having still a great quantity of coal on the forecastle. It being some distance from the hostile villages, I sent pinnace to land about 4 tons of coal close down to the water, the shore being distant about 60 yards, and left a krooman in charge of it. On the pinnace returning, I went in gig to her to rebuoy anchor and second shackle of cable, it having come unbent; having performed this, and when about to return on board, being about 10 yards from shore a very, heavy fire of musketry was opened on us and the ship in the immediate vicinity of the coal. At the first volley ever krooman disappeared overboard from the pinnace, leaving myself and gunner's mate to haul her alongside. I hailed the ship to open fire with port howitzer and rifles, to cover the boat, which was done immediately; arriving on board, I observed the krooman whom I had left in charge of coals floating in the stream, and a native swimming after him, cutting at him with a sword. I sent Mr. Mallory, Sub-Lieutenant, in gig to pick him up, covering the boat (on both of which a heavy fire was kept up) from the ship. The feed pumps now being cleared, I got up steam for full speed, and backed astern, heaving in on the cable; the ship being still hard aground, and water falling, stopped engines; towards sunset the fire from the natives ceased. I then gave pinnace another load of coal, hove taut again, and went astern full speed, but with no success, so I stopped engines and banked fires for the night; commenced heaving coal overboard from the forecastle. I gave orders for ten rounds of ammunition to be issued to every white man, and armed the kroomen and all others with cutlasses, boarding-pikes, and tomahawks, in case the natives should attack the ship during the night. The casualties on this day were (1), Tom Lewis (krooman), who was on shore in charge of coal, severely wounded in head, back, and sides, with sword cuts and slug shot; (2) Tom Dandy (dangerously), bullet-wound in knee; and kept the men armed during the night on deck, under cover, but all was quiet on shore.

6. August 1, 5.30 A.M.—Weighed bower anchor, and laid it out right astern, hove taut, and backed astern full speed, but found ship would not move. At 7 A.M. tried again, and while so doing, a heavy fire was opened on us from the shore, mortally wounding Wm. Grando, engineer's servant, shot in the abdomen. Ship being still hard aground, and the fire from the natives wounding another of my men (Ben Coffee, kroomen), bullet wound in the arm, I stopped the engines, and commenced heaving overboard everything heavy from forward, including our own provisions, and a great quantity of provisions and supplies belonging to Mr. Consul McLeod, which he was taking up for his twelvemonth's stay at Lukoja, cases of wine, ale, and porter belonging to the ward-room mess, and also those purchased for the ship's company as medical comforts, the whole time firing from the shore continuing. The kroomen behaving with great cowardice, and being paralyzed with fear, I was obliged to draw my sword on some to make them work. I ordered McMallory, Sub-Lieutenant, to attend forward, while I, with gunner's mate, fought the



port howitzer, the white men covering us with rifles. Observing numerous large canoes coming up the river on the opposite shore, I opened fire with starboard howitzer, imagining they were carrying the news up to the hostile village of Agheri; this had the effect of clearing both sides of the river. I hove taut continually, using engines as requisite, water still falling. Stopped, and sent every one one below under cover, as when the natives saw no men on deck they ceased firing. After the men's dinner, commenced lightening ship by heaving overboard everything heavy, including coals from bunkers; the kroomen, not understanding anything said to them, hove overboard everything that came within their reach. Hove one cable at intervals, and used engines, but with no better result. The crew were mustered at their quarters, and their arms inspected, ready for any emergency.

7. *August 2.*—At 3 A.M., fired on a canoe close into the bush. At daylight began heaving on cable, and backing, which was continued at intervals throughout the day. For the better security of my men, I lined the port awning curtain with wadmiltilt and blankets. At 9 A.M. Wm. Grando died from wound received on the previous day. I now sent kroomen over the side to dig a trench and clear away sand from the ship's bottom, heaving on cables at the same time. At 2 P.M., the natives commenced a heavy fire, which I returned, when it ceased for a short time. At 2.20 committed to the stream the remains of the late Wm. Grando. At 3 o'clock the natives again began firing on us; this time with great guns and muskets, which was kept up until sunset. The first gig was shot through and sunk; immediately hauled her round starboard side, and repaired her; two large shots passed through lower part of funnel; one through after part of boiler casing, and another lodged in hull on port-bow. These shot appeared rather larger than those contained in our case. The blankets which were put up were riddled. This afternoon I returned the enemy's fire occasionally, preserving my ammunition as much as possible; their firing ceasing at sunset. No casualties. Fitted out pinnace, should I be obliged to abandon the ship. Men at their quarters as usual, armed. Draught of water aft, 6 feet 6 inches, forward 3 feet 8 inches, amidships hard aground.

8. *August 3.*—As on previous days, hove at intervals on cables; but the ship still being hard aground, and the only weight amidships, my coals also getting short, drew fires and blew out boilers, thereby lightening the ship somewhat, intending to set my kroomen at work to dig the sand clear of her. I now hove overboard private gear belonging to myself and Dr. Sanderson, to the value of 568*l.*, consisting of brass rods, cowries, cloths, &c., private gear belonging to Mr. Winterbottom, clerk in charge, to the value of 140*l.*, and goods brought up for a merchant at Lagos. At about 2 P.M. I heard the natives on shore hailing and showing a white flag. I displayed my white handkerchief, and a canoe with four men came alongside. They informed us, by means of an interpreter, that they now wished for peace, which I of course agreed to. They said, that another steamer on her passage up the river had grounded close to, for three days, and that for a present they had dug her out, and wished me to allow them to do the same. I accepted their offer at their request. I sent a few presents to their Chief, and they departed. Hove taut again, but anchor coming home, laid it out afresh in pinnace, backed by stream anchor, and hove taut. 6 P.M., canoe returned, with thanks from Chief, promising to send twenty men to dig ship out the next morning. Men slept armed. All quiet on shore.

9. *August 4, 6 A.M.*—Commenced trying to heave ship off again, but the after capstan was beginning to get very weak. My men, after four days' hard work and exposure, were gradually succumbing to the fatigue, I therefore gave them a little rest. At 7 A.M., a canoe came off with a fowl, as a present from the Chief; at the same time other canoes pulled freely round the ship, the greater number of them containing females, by which I thought all hostility was at an end. My kroomen were employed trying to clear sand away from the ship. At 1 P.M., a considerable number of natives in canoes came alongside to dig the ship off, hands on board heaving on cables; but the number of natives increasing, and as they made no progress whatever, but a great deal of noise; it also getting late, I deemed it advisable to send them away, and to have an interview with the Chief on shore. About 4 o'clock I landed in gig, and had a palaver with the Chief, about 400 natives being present. On my inquiring their reasons for molesting us, they answered that I would not return their salute, or stop to trade; and that I landed coal without asking their permission. I informed them that I did not trade, not being a merchant-vessel; also that I was going to King Masaba with the Consul, or head white man of the river; that I did not come to make war, but peace. Why I did not salute in return was, that having still to pass several more villages marked hostile, they might imagine that I was firing at them. The palaver terminated, by the Chief still promising to send me twenty men early the following morning to give us assistance, offering a large canoe to put away heavy gear in to lighten ship, and that I might land anything I pleased. He also said he would pay me a visit

himself. I then returned on board. The natives retired into the bush, I noticed that the whole of them with muskets and swords. Fearing there might be treachery, I kept the men prepared as on previous nights.

10. *August 5*, 4 A.M.—Lit fires and got up steam, the kroomen having succeeded in clearing away considerable quantity of sand. At 6 o'clock, hove on cables and backed astern full speed, but after-capstan giving out still more, stopped engines and brought cables to foremost capstan, with a purchase on the after one, ship still hard aground; draught of water, aft 7 feet, forward 4 feet, amidships, hard aground. A canoe was continually going to and fro between the ship and shore, concerning presents to be given the Chief for helping to float the vessel, also requesting two white men to be sent as hostages for the twenty he would send, and as a guarantee for the present promised. I would not agree to this, when another request was made for ten bags of cowries and one black man as hostage, also wishing to see me again. I was on the point of going, although he had said he would visit me, but being strongly advised by Consul McLeod not to trust myself on shore again, I decided on remaining on board, but sent five bags of cowries, the other half to be paid when the ship floated, and John Brown, Benin boy, volunteered to go as hostage, and went on shore in the canoe with them. But no sooner had they landed and got under cover than a terrific cross fire with large guns and muskets was opened on us. I returned it with case shot and diaphragm shell from howitzers with rifles, but after a short time sent my men below under cover, giving them a shell now and then, which when they burst among them screams were heard as though some had been killed or wounded; their fire also slackening, and eventually ceasing about 3.30 P.M. John Brown still remains in the hands of the natives. We have generally been fired on when they observe any work going on; and now it is my opinion that all the palavering was for nothing else than to give them time to bring down more guns and ammunition, and that all they came on board for was to see what damage they had done, and also to observe our strength. Kept prepared during the night should anything happen.

11. *August 6*, at 1 A.M.—Hove taut, backing with engines, but with no success. At 4 o'clock made another trial. Lightened ship in every possible way, as the enemy had evidently received reinforcements, and their firing of yesterday being heavier than we had heretofore experienced. Among other articles I was compelled to heave overboard were spare engine gears, Government cowries, correct list of everything being entered in the ship's log. Kroomen still clearing away sand, and hands on board heaving on cables, which was continued during the day, the natives being quiet, though heavy guns were fired down the river, but the ship did not move in the slightest degree; men, as usual, slept at their quarters.

12. *August 7*, 6 A.M.—Hove on cables and purchases, backing astern, but having only half a ton of coals remaining, drew fires. The anchor coming home, sent pinnace to weigh it, but the buoy rope stranding, hove taut again, the anchor holding. At 10.15 A.M. the natives suddenly opened a heavy cross fire with large guns and rifles; it was returned by howitzers and rifles occasionally. At 11.12 the foremost howitzer was dismantled by recoil. At 11.13 a similar accident happened to the after one; and by 11.15 both guns had been mounted and fired. At 11.45 a fire was opened from opposite shore, which was very soon silenced. Finding the enemy were laying their guns so as to rake us as much as possible, I was obliged to cut away part of the port bulwarks, so as to enable me to trim my gun further aft. At 12 o'clock, Moses Johnson, Consul's servant, received a bullet wound in the arm whilst speaking to the Consul. At 2 o'clock observed a canoe pulling for the ship, holding up a white umbrella. I showed my white handkerchief; but a heavy fire was opened on me from the shore, which ceased at 2 P.M., when they observed the canoe approaching the ship. I allowed the boat to come alongside, and the man who was in charge of it informed me that he had been sent by his father, who was Chief of a town near Onitsha, to inquire the reason of the natives firing on us. We told him the circumstances, and he left the ship to palaver with the natives and try and restore John Brown to us, but shortly returned, not having been successful. Our intercessor said the "Thomas Bazley" was at Onitsha, loading. About 4.30 P.M. he left the ship, being called by the natives on shore, and did not return. All quiet during the night; men slept armed. The ship this day received the following damages:—one shot through foremast, two on port bow, one through head of mainmast, after dead eye of fore-rigging shot away, and ridge rope of awning; a musket-ball shattered one of the glasses of standard compass.

13. *August 8*.—At 6 A.M. hove taut, but with the usual result. Kroomen still over the side clearing away sand. 4 P.M. the anchor came home. I laid it out afresh with four shackles of cable, and found the hawser of backing anchor (stream) had parted and buoy rope carried away. I dragged for it, but could not recover it, owing to the strong

current; the anchor being laid out, hove on cable. This evening exercised the crew at repelling boarders, as the natives having been quiet all day, I thought perhaps they were planning a night attack; but we were not disturbed; men slept armed.

14. *August 9, 6 A.M.*—Hove on cable, but was not successful in starting the ship. Draught of water about the same; if anything, the river was falling. At 10 o'clock, the man that had come down the river to palaver with the natives came on board, and told us that the whole of the previous day he had been engaged in our course, but could not persuade the natives to give up my man. John Brown appeared abreast the ship, seemingly quite well, and had not been robbed of his clothes. A bottle of rum and some cloth was offered to me by those who had opened fire on us, but I would not accept it. Having reason by his asking me for so many presents to suspect this man, who called himself our friend, I refused to give anything more, as the man was made a prisoner when hostage, and not during the fight. He then left the ship. I employed my kroomen as usual, digging away the sand, and got port bower anchor aft ready for backing the one down. All quiet during the night; men still sleeping armed.

15. *August 10, 6 A.M.*—Hove on cable, result the same. 9.20 hove again, when ship slightly started; water aft had increased from 6 feet to 10 feet, forward 3 feet 8 inches, bower anchor coming home. I weighed it, backed with port bower, with one shackle of cable laid starboard anchor out anew, with three shackles of cable I then hove taut, and to my delight a heavy torrent of rain came down. At 1.45 P.M. hove again and found ship still gradually going off until 2 o'clock, when she floated. I then got a spring on the cable, unshackled it, weighed the starboard anchor, and shackled on port cable, to that of backing anchor, shortened in to 12 fathoms and lit fires, and got up steam immediately; then I sent pinnace on shore for the coals that were landed, but, before reaching, a heavy fire was opened on boat and ships with muskets and great guns. I returned this with rifles, but ship being swung astern on to the shore guns would not bear. Most of the kroomen again jumped overboard from the pinnace when fired on, which was only got alongside by the exertions of the gunner's mate. I then weighed and steamed out into the stream, and anchored. As I thought my best chance of getting back my man would be, if possible, to seize some of the natives when passing on the other side of the river, I proceeded in gig at 4 o'clock towards a canoe with six men in it, but who deserted her and fled into the bush as I approached. I then took possession of the canoe and tried to tow her alongside, but the current setting me down within range of the enemy's guns, who, when they observed this, immediately opened fire, I was obliged to sink the canoe and return to the ship before sunset. I fired three shell rockets from the pinnace into the nearest hostile village, which they answered by firing two guns. We were now anchored out of the range of their guns; but, as I thought they might make a last attempt to take the ship by boarding at night, I kept my men armed.

16. *August 11.*—At 5.30 drew the fires forward, and in a quarter of an hour weighed and proceeded to where coal was landed. At 6.30 stopped and anchored, and sent pinnace in charge of Mellory for the coal, which was brought off safely, everything being quiet on shore. Having cleared the pinnace, at 11 A.M. weighed and proceeded off the hostile villages of Imblamah with a flag of truce flying at the fore. Anchoring at 11.20, numerous white flags were shown in answer to ours. Through the interpreter I demanded my man; if they refused I would destroy all their village. They brought John Brown down to the beach, who hailed the ship not to send a boat. I then sent a gig with Mr. Mellory, Sub-Lieutenant, close to the shore, and asked John Brown to jump into the river, and she would pick him up, which, however he refused to do. After a great deal of deliberation on the part of the natives they sent him in a canoe with six men to the distant shore; I immediately sent gig over, but John Brown did not attempt to make his escape—they would not give him up; and not being in the least alarmed about his safety, he being a Benin man, I weighed and proceeded up the river, determining on my return to recover him if possible. I noticed that earthworks had been thrown up quite recently abreast their villages, and large trees thrown down as a protection, as though they evidently expected to be punished when we got off; and they were quite prepared for fighting. Their women and children had been sent away, and the men mustered in strong force with their arms. At 5 P.M., the water shoaling, I stopped and anchored off Truro Island, and went in the gig to sound. At 5.10 I weighed and proceeded, anchoring off Grass Island in five fathoms at 6.30, and banked fires for the night.

17. I now take this opportunity of bringing before the notice of the Commander-in-chief, and that of the Lord Commissioners of the Admiralty, the valuable services rendered me the whole time the ship was ground, especially during the six days I was under fire, by Mr. Consul M'Leod, who assisted me in every possible way day and night; also, when Mr. Mallory, Sub-Lieutenant, was otherwise engaged, he at once volunteered to command

the foremost howitzer, which he did in a most efficient manner; in fact, I cannot sufficiently express my deep sense of gratitude for the great services rendered to myself by Mr. M'Leod.

It also gives me the greatest pleasure to be able to testify to the gallant conduct of the late Mr. Mallory throughout the whole time; and the behaviour of all my officers gives me the greatest satisfaction, and deserves the highest praise. Amongst my crew, I beg to bring to your special notice the zeal and bravery of Charles Fitzgerald, gunner's mate, John Rayner, corporal Royal Marine Light Infantry, and James M'Carthy, carpenter's mate (African), and I hope that their conduct on this occasion may be rewarded.

18. *August 12.*—At 6 A.M. weighed and proceeded slowly up the river, which was very low, soundings called very irregular. At 10 o'clock the ship touched the ground slightly, but I backed, and sent the gig to sound, when, having discovered a passage, proceeded. A short time afterwards I saw a canoe, showing a pilot jack, making for the ship; I stopped, and allowed the man to come on board. 11. Proceeded, but finding this so-called pilot knew very little about the river, I was guided mostly by my lead, anchoring off Ebo about 12.50 P.M. During the afternoon the Chiefs from Adaybi and Ebo, and their wives, came on board. I delivered the presents to the King of Ebo, which seemed to please him very much. On my asking if I could obtain wood, he promised to have a quantity alongside by noon the next day; he was also kind enough to give us a bullock, providing I would shoot it. I thanked him, and the Chiefs left, and a canoe returned at once with a load of wood, for which one bag of cowries was paid.

19. *August 13.*—At 7 A.M. I landed, accompanied by Assistant Surgeon, and shot the bullock, and returning on board at 10. Having received wood, and the bullock having been brought off, weighed and proceeded slowly up the river at noon. At 4.20 P.M. I grounded suddenly on a sand bank between Egboma and Akra, Ugidi village. I sent gig to sound and laid out starboard bower anchor and cable on starboard bow, and hove ship off, and proceeded at 4.40, anchoring off Akra Ugidi in three fathoms at 6.30 P.M. Banked fires.

20. *August 14.*—At 6.10 weighed and proceeded slowly up the river, and at 8 o'clock stopped and anchored off Osomari; the chief came on board, and I presented him with his gift. At 10 A.M. weighed, and when off Oko village, about 2 P.M. ship touched, backed engines and proceeded by lead at 4.10. Stopped and anchored off Onitsha, and found here West African Company's steamer "Thomas Bazley," and I landed with Assistant Surgeon, visited the Chief, and gave him the present, for which he appeared very grateful. I learnt both from Bishop Crowther and Mr. Lewis, General Agent West African Company, that the river had never been known to be so low for the last forty years; the Bishop assured me that rocks and sand banks were now showing that had not been seen during that time. Mr. Lewis also told me that the "Bazley" had been for nine days on shore close to Ghuter Island; and at the same time we were under similar difficulties, and that he had found the water falling daily, as we did lower down until the 10th of August. The "Bazley" likewise grounded on the same bank near Imblamah, where we had remained for eleven days, but she being a powerful steamer soon backed off. To show, for instance, how low the river is this year, I may here mention that Lieutenant Commander Jones' marks on a tree at Onitsha, to which his hawser was made fast last year are now quite 20 feet above the present high water mark, and men on board the ship who have been here before say that last year they landed 50 yards in-shore of the present landing-place. During our stay at Onitsha Bishop Crowther came on board and paid me a visit. I remained here four days to give my men a rest, some already having felt the fatigue which they had suffered. I purchased 5 tons of coal and 2 cords of wood from the West African Company, and also medical comforts for the sick in lieu of those thrown overboard, and proceeded up the river on Monday morning, August 19, at 7.15 A.M., anchoring the same night at 6.30 off Omodemo, finding the river very intricate and low on my passage.

*August 20, 6.15.*—Weighed and proceeded up the river, and stopped and anchored off Idda, in six fathoms. At 10 o'clock I landed and presented the King with his gift, with which he was highly delighted, and offered me a bullock, which I accepted, shooting it in the course of the day; but, owing to the distance we had to go, and the trouble the kroomen had getting it down to the ship, I could not sail that night. 5.50 P.M. we experienced a very heavy tornado, accompanied with rain from the westward.

*August 22, 6.30.*—Weighed and proceeded, and about 10 o'clock ship touched ground off Atta Koliko. I laid out a warp to a tree on shore, backed engines, and ship floated, anchored in two and a-half fathoms. I then went in gig to find passage, and at 11.30 weighed and proceeded up the river, anchoring at 4.40 P.M. close to Maconochi Island, in five fathoms; as the weather was so thick I could not proceed further with safety.

*August 23, 6.30.*—Weighed and proceeded up the river, passing Beaufort Island about 9 A.M. Some of the rocks were observable off the Island. At 1.20 P.M. stopped and

anchored off Lukoja, in four fathoms, when Mr. Fell, the Government Agent, came on board, and was accompanied on shore by Mr. Consul McLeod.

It is with the deepest regret I have to inform you that Mr. Mallory, Sub-Lieutenant, who had been complaining for two or three days prior, departed this life at 9.45 p.m., on Saturday, 23rd August.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 22.

*Consul McLeod to Commodore Hornby.*

Sir,

*Lukoja, September 1, 1867.*

I BEG leave to thank you most cordially for the services of Her Majesty's ship "Investigator" in conveying me from Lagos to Lukoja.

The commander of Her Majesty's ship "Investigator" will doubtless inform your Excellency, in his letter of proceedings of the circumstances under which he reached this place on the 23rd ultimo.

Having wooded and provisioned the ship, Mr. Fell, who was instructed by the Right Honourable the Lord Stanley, M.P., to introduce me to King Masaba, went on board, proceeded together with myself on the 29th ultimo, and the "Investigator" immediately up the river for the purpose of conveying me to Rabba.

On the evening of that day the Assistant Surgeon made a requisition to the Commander, on account of the sickness of the crew, to return; and agreeably with his instructions from the Senior Officer of the Bights, the Commander deemed it his duty to comply therewith. At the time this requisition was made all the white men, and I may add also the officers, including the Commander and the doctor, with the exception of Mr. Winterbottom, Assistant-Paymaster, were sick, and many of them completely prostrated. At the request of the Captain, and in his company, I visited the sick men; and I was under the impression that more than one of them would die before they left the river.

Lieutenant-Commander Kay, R.N., has in my humble opinion, your Excellency, done everything in his power to carry out the pacific objects of the expedition.

During the eleven days the "Investigator" was aground in the delta, prepared for action night and day, six days of which were passed in action with the pirates of Imblamah, the "Investigator" was defended by the courage of her commander; and I trust that my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, on your representation as Commander-in-chief, will acknowledge the services of that officer by whose gallantry and courage Her Majesty's ship "Investigator" now remains on the list of the Royal Navy. The Sub-Lieutenant, Mr. Mallory, after the fire was first opened from the shore, as soon as the Captain got on shore whilst he was in charge of the coal, was being rapidly carried away by the current of the river. The Assistant Surgeon remained on deck by night and by day assisting with his rifle, until on the evening of the second day he was ordered to remain below for the purpose of attending any casualties that might occur. Mr. Winterbottom, the Assistant Paymaster, was throughout on deck the whole time, and did good execution with his rifle; or, when not so engaged, was passing up shell to me from the cabin for the supply of the guns. Mr. Smith, the second engineer, assisted in the working of the guns, and when the lock of the after gun was destroyed, refitted the same under a heavy fire.

On 2nd August, the enemy having brought up their heavy guns and planted them in position on both banks of the river, and on the nearer bank placing guns to rake us on the bow and quarter, with canoes in the bush ready to board us in case of silencing our fire, it became absolutely necessary for Commander Kay, in order to save Her Majesty's ship, to risk the lives of those under his command, and the "Investigator" replied with effect to the enemy from both banks of the river.

To bring the after howitzer to bear so as to silence a gun which was raking us on the quarter, it was necessary to cut away the bulwarks, and this was coolly done by McCarthy (African), carpenter's mate. In performing this service he injured himself both on the hand and foot with his saw. The doctor supplied me with two bandages, and having bandaged up McCarthy's hand and foot, I asked him if he were game enough to go forward and cut away the bulwarks, so as to bring the foremost howitzer to bear upon a gun which was then raking the fore part of the ship. He answered immediately that he would follow me anywhere; he proceeded to the fore-castle, and under not only a severe, but I consider at times, a terrific fire, which was aimed at this gun, he cut away the bulwarks whilst I

covered his head with a plank, and assisted me to bring the howitzer into position. During this time the gun which I wished to silence hulled the ship above water mark just under the howitzer, crippled the foremast, and wounded the head of the mainmast in two different places, also striking the funnel, and completely raking the ship. The howitzer being laid in a position, and Sub-Lieutenant Mallory at that time reaching the forecastle from aft, where he had been commanding the party covering the Captain at the after howitzer, I requested him to fire the gun, then loaded with shell, which he did most admirably. I believe this shell dismounted the gun on shore, and a second after it reached its destination it burst, and must have done considerable havoc to the enemy from the yells which we heard from the shore.

My object in alluding to this circumstance is simply to bring especially under your notice the gallant conduct of McCarthy, and if it had been my fortune to command the "Investigator," I should have brought his name under your notice as the Commander-in-chief in the hopes that you would recommend this African to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty as deserving the "Victoria Cross" for his valour and coolness displayed in action.

## No. 23.

*Consul McLeod to Lord Stanley.—(Received November 30.)*

My Lord,

*Lukoja, September 20, 1867.*

I HAVE the honour to inform that the steamer "Thomas Bazley" arrived here on the 11th instant *en route* to Egga, the great ivory market, when Mr. Lewis, the general agent of the West Africa Company, Limited, reported to me that the "Thomas Bazley" had been fired at on passing Sterling Island.

It was my intention to have gone to Egga in that steamer in company with Mr. Fell; early on the morning of her departure a reliable messenger, belonging to the British Mission here, arrived with information that King Masaba's messengers were at Egga awaiting the arrival of the steamer, and were instructed to open trade so soon as all the gunpowder and muskets were handed to the messengers, which they stated they were ready to pay for. That the King was about ten days' journey in the Interior from Rabba, and that he required this powder to open the way so that he should meet me at Rabba.

It is necessary for me to be very cautious not to complicate Her Majesty's Government by entering into, in any way, matters of debt or trust between the West Africa Company, Limited, and the King, still unsettled; and I, therefore, deemed it only prudent on my part not to proceed in the "Thomas Bazley," on this occasion, to Egga, as, if any collision took place between the traders on board of her and the traders ashore, my presence would complicate my position with the King, to whom alone I can look for protection and support during the ensuing dry season.

I was further strengthened in this decision when, on referring to Mr. Fell, he entirely agreed with me.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) J. LYONS McLEOD.

## No. 24.

*Consul McLeod to Lord Stanley.—(Received November 30.)*

(Extract.)

*Lukoja, October 3, 1867.*

I HAVE the honour to inform you that intelligence reached me on the 22nd ultimo that the Bishop of the Niger and his party had been seized at Oko Okein by Abbokko, the Superintendent of Trade in the river, under the circumstances detailed to me in the Bishop's letter, dated the 20th ultimo, forming Inclosure No. 1.

I at once adopted prompt measures for the release of these British subjects who had been piratically seized by Abbokko as stated in my letter to the Bishop, dated the 22nd ultimo, forming Inclosure No. 2.

Abbegga, my messenger, with the British ensign flying in the canoe, was turned back by Semi Caja, the neighbouring Chief, who gave considerable trouble to Mr. Fell during the last dry season.

Having no force at my disposal I was compelled to temporize and to induce this Chief to let my messenger pass, after I had paid him ten bags of cowries, 10*l.* sterling.

CLASS B.



This caused a delay of two days, and Abbegga started again, having three of King Masaba's men in the canoe with him, and arrived at Oko Okein on the 25th ultimo, delivered my letter to Bishop Crowther and my message to Abbokko.

Abbegga left Oko Okein on the morning of the 26th ultimo conveying to me Bishop Crowther's letter of that date, forming Inclosure No. 3, by which your Lordship will perceive Abbokko was relentless and would not release Bishop Crowther without being paid goods to the value of 1,000*l.* sterling.

Meanwhile the steamer "Thomas Bazley" arrived from Egga, and I at once made a requisition to Mr. Thomas Lewis, the General Agent of the West Africa Company, Limited, for that vessel to proceed to Oko Okein with Mr. Fell late in charge of the Niger Mission, as my representative.

Mr. Fell embarked on board the "Thomas Bazley" under a salute of seven guns, and was accompanied to Oko Okein by Bishop Crowther's daughter and two sons. The "Thomas Bazley" weighed at noon.

During the afternoon of that day, whilst I was planting some seed in the garden, Semi Coja came outside the gate to salute me, which he had never done before, and only did so now as he found I was too strong to have my messengers stopped.

It appears that he supplied the crew for the boat that was sent down from here to Idda for the Bishop, and that it was arranged between Semi Coja and Abbokko that the Bishop and his party were to be seized at Oko Okein and not released without the ransom of 1,000*l.* being paid for them.

After the Bishop had been released from Oko Okein I am informed that Semi Coja had arranged that the Bishop and his party were to be seized again twice before they reached Lukoja.

On her way down to Oko Okein the "Thomas Bazley" met Abbegga returning as stated in Mr. Fell's letter of the 27th ultimo, forming Inclosure No. 5. The "Thomas Bazley" returned to Lukoja at 4 p.m., the 28th ultimo.

As she was steaming past the factory all her flags were flying, but directly afterwards I observed they were lowered half-mast, and as I was walking down the wharf to receive Mr. Fell a messenger reached me stating that he had just died. Inclosure No. 6 is the copy of the letter of proceedings of the "Thomas Bazley," addressed to me by Mr. Thomas Lewis, showing the success of the expedition, but the deeply lamentable loss of Mr. Fell.

It appears that after Abbegga had got Bishop Crowther and his party, together with Mr. Fell, into the boat, he persuaded them to lie down in the bottom of the boat so as to save them from the poisoned arrows and muskets fired by the natives. An arrow having passed close to Abbegga, Mr. Fell rose, and also, at the same time, Mr. Josiah Crowther. Mr. Fell fired five shots from his revolver, the sixth shot now remains in it.

He was then wounded in the right side by a poisoned arrow.

Mr. Josiah Crowther fired and killed the man who had wounded Mr. Fell; and the boat reached the vessel without any further casualty. Cable having been veered on board the "Thomas Bazley," at the same time she was backed astern with her paddles to reach the boat, and a fire of guns and musketry was opened from her to cover the party in the boat.

It appears, from what I learn, that there were about sixteen of Abbokko's men killed and many wounded. Abbokko was wounded in the right hip, and they say he is very sick, which probably mean, that he is dead.

On Sunday the 29th ultimo, at 7 o'clock in the morning, we buried Mr. Fell with every honour.

The late Mr. Fell is deeply lamented by the people of Lukoja, he had done so much for them—made main roads sixty feet wide, and cross roads forty feet wide, planting each with an avenue of trees. These roads convey every breath of air into every portion of the town; hence the healthiness of Lukoja, and its being called the cleanest town in Africa.

Sterling Hill is covered with farms, and so also is Mount Paty about half-way up. These things were not done until he arrived here. His loss is quite irreparable, for he alone could have informed your Lordship of the great importance of Lukoja as an emporium for trade, and a centre of civilization in West Central Africa.

Abbegga is no ordinary man. When he was in England he had the honour of being presented to the Prince Consort, who shook hands with him, and thanked him warmly for the great services he had rendered to the late Dr. Barth during his travels in Africa.

During the last year Abbegga saved the lives of the missionaries at Gbebe, bringing them over to Lukoja under a heavy fire of poisoned arrows, one of which struck a man who was next to him in the boat, who died in about five minutes.

P.S.—Inclosure No. 7 is copy of the letter that has been forwarded to me by the

Bishop of the Niger, thanking me for my exertions in delivering himself and party from Abbokko.

Inclosure No. 8 is copy of a letter to a similar effect which has been forwarded to me by Mr. Samuel Crowther, Junior.

Inclosure 1 in No. 24.

*Bishop Crowther to Consul McLeod.*

My dear Sir,

*Oko Okein, September 20, 1867.*

I HASTEN these few lines to say that I was detained here since yesterday, the 19th, by Abokko, the Superintendent of Trade in the river. The cause is briefly this—that he, as Superintendent of Trade, who manages all the trading affairs between all tribes, has been very much slighted by the English merchants since they commenced trade in this river.

That last year they would not trade with him when he went on board; that this year neither would they trade with him. Besides all these, both last year and this the presents given to him were very mean and unworthy of his high office.

That as I knew who he is, and did not present the same to those merchants, he would not let me go from his place till the ship come with trade, and a handsome amount of presents be given.

No argument, or explanation that these things are beyond my control to direct, would prevail, I being a preacher of the Gospel; but to that he would not listen, as long as he has got us here as hostages to satisfy his cupidity.

My boat is hauled up, and the packages seized, even to our beds and provisions. We all went to bed last night without a morsel; slept on a mat under a shed, without any rag to cover our bodies.

I send you this, to consider what to do for our relief from Abbokko, who, being out of grace with the King, stations himself here, to do all the mischief he can by retaliating upon us Oibo strangers.

We shall patiently wait the arrival of the "Thomas Bazley," to see what Mr. Lewis can muster to effect our release from this avaricious man.

We are all well, thank God.

I remain, &c.  
(Signed) S. A. CROWTHER.

Inclosure 2 in No. 24.

*Consul McLeod to Bishop Crowther.*

My dear Bishop Crowther,

*Lukoja, September 22, 1867.*

TO-DAY, at 4 P.M., your letter of the 20th instant reached here, informing me of your painful position at Oko Okein.

Your daughter Mrs. Macaulay, your son Samuel, the Rev. Mr. Johns, Mr. Paul, and indeed all the Christian British subjects, waited on me. I at once assured them that I would use every effort to get you out of the hands of Abokko.

Abbega, my head interpreter, starts at dawn to-morrow, with a handsome present for Abokko; but while I send this for your protection, I also send the British flag in the canoe for the protection of my messenger, who is to tell Abokko that the Queen will be much displeased at his having laid hands on the Head of the Men of God, whom she has out of the kindness of her heart sent into the river.

I have sent to Egga for the "Thomas Bazley." Be of good cheer; and God be with you, your son, and your party, is the affectionate prayer of,

Very sincerely yours,  
(Signed) J. LYONS McLEOD.

Inclosure 3 in No. 24.

*Bishop Crowther to Consul McLeod.*

My dear Sir,

*Oko Okein, September 26, 1867.*

I HAVE received your very kind letter of the 22nd instant, and thank you much for the prompt step you have taken for our release.



Abbega has done a great deal with the assistance of his friend Mahamma.

Abbokko is an unreasonable and relentless character. He threatens my life if he is not paid 1,000 bags of cowries, or he would remove us to the opposite shore, among the wild Kukuruku, where I should be out of the reach of anybody; so I have consented to pay that sum to release all my party.

He is known to be a very wicked man; and I have been strongly advised to pay the amount, as I am in his hands; there is no alternative.

He wants to be paid in coral beads, velvets, white satin, and cowries. I am sure you will do all in your power to effect this as well—Mr. Lewis and Samuel.

I shall write to Mr. John, to muster what he can from the hand of the friends at the establishment. They all shall be repaid after my release, God willing.

The Atta's messenger was here yesterday afternoon, and stopped over night. He had done a great deal to show Abbokko his impolite proceedings, and left this morning for Idda, to inform the King of the state of things. Through his influence I got a plate, a spoon, and a fork to use since the last seven days.

I do not murmur, but thankful that I have not been worse treated.

May the blessing of the Lord be upon you, and direct you in your important work. We are well.

I remain, &c.

(Signed) S. A. CROWTHER.

P.S.—“Prudence is the best part of valour.”

As Abbokko is universally known as a reckless character, and as I am completely in his hand, no force should be used, or else he will do irreparable mischief.

S. A. C.

Inclosure 4 in No. 24.

*Consul McLeod to Mr. Lewis.*

Sir,

*Lukoja, September 27, 1867.*

I HAVE the honour to request that you will be pleased to cause the steamer “Thomas Bazley” to proceed to Oko Okein, and assist Bishop Crowther and his party, detained there at his encampment by Abbokko.

Mr. Fell, who goes on board as my representative, is fully authorized to act for Her Majesty's Government; and you will therefore do me the favour of hoisting the Union Jack at the mast-head during the time that Mr. Fell is engaged on this service.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. LYONS McLEOD.

Inclosure 5 in No. 24.

*Mr. Fell to Consul McLeod.*

My dear Consul,

*September 27, 1867.*

I HAVE just met Abbega with a letter for you from the Bishop, a copy of which, for the present, I inclose. I shall act upon the advice therein given, and trust to return successful.

With kind regards, &c.

(Signed) WILLIAM FELL.

Inclosure 6 in No. 24.

*Mr. Lewis to Consul McLeod.*

Sir,

*“Thomas Bazley,” off Lukoja, September 28, 1867.*

IN reply to your requisition of yesterday to proceed, with Mr. Fell as your representative, to Oko Okein for the release of Bishop Crowther and his party with the “Thomas Bazley,” I beg to inform you that we left here about noon yesterday, and proceed safely down the river till we unfortunately grounded this side of Shuter Island about one mile, at 3:45 P.M., where we remained until midnight, when the vessel floated through the means-used. On the morning following, at 6 o'clock, we started for Oko Okein, where we arrived at 7 A.M.

On our arrival at Oko Okein I placed my boat at the late Mr. Fell's disposal. He left the ship in her at 7:30, with the Union Jack in the bow of the boat, and proceeded on shore, with several passengers from the ship, to see the Abbokko. I witnessed from the ship his interview with Bishop Crowther. I observed from thence he proceeded to the Abbokko's dwelling, accompanied by all the passengers with the exception of Bishop Crowther's two eldest sons, who remained with him. I saw him return to the Bishop's hut, and the whole of the party proceed to the boat (which had been left in the creek), where they scarcely arrived when the natives commenced firing poisoned arrows on them, one of which, unfortunately, pierced the right side of Mr. Fell, which; I regret to say, caused his death this afternoon at 3:45. The boat had great difficulty in getting through the creek on account of the shallow water; but through the efforts of my krooboy and Mr. Dorugu, she was floated into the stream, whilst the passengers in the boat endeavoured to defend their retreat; but seeing their utter inability to do this effectually, we opened fire from the ship with our 2-lbs. carronade and rifles.

And I have further to add, that without our timely aid in so doing, the boat and people must inevitably have fallen into the hands of the savages, or the latter been victims of their poisoned arrows and shots. Your wishes expressed in the requisition respecting the Union Jack being hoisted on board here, and the salute fired for the late Mr. Fell, I beg to state were fully carried out.

I have, &c.

(Signed) THOS. LEWIS,  
General Agent, West Africa Company (Limited).

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Inclosure 7 in No. 24.

*Bishop Crowther to Consul McLeod.*

My dear Sir,

*Lukoja, September 30, 1867.*

I HAVE to return you many thanks for your kind and prompt attention by sending late Mr. Fell, your Commissioner, down to Oko Okein in the "Thomas Bazley," under your flag, to effect our release from the Superintendent of Trade in this part of the river without yielding to pay his exorbitant demand of the value of 200 slaves, which he estimated at 1,000*l.*, which he insisted upon having before he would release me and my party, or else he would transport me to the opposite side of the river amongst the wild Kukuruku out of the reach of my friends, there to suffer or die.

Late Mr. Fell had an interview with Abokko, and reasoned with him on the unreasonableness of his enormous demand, and promise to make him handsome presents if he would let him take me on board; but Abokko would not let me go received the amount of 1,000*l.*

As Mr. Fell considered yielding to such a demand would be a very bad precedent for them to seize any boat or canoe they choose which may be employed hereafter in communicating from one trading establishment to another, after plundering it of the goods, to charge any amount they might fancy on the crew of a boat or canoe which is, in fact, establishing a slave-trafficking system on British subjects: he urged me to get into the boat and he would get us away without payment as an example, so I yielded and we ran into the boat; when shoving off, the natives fired upon us both with muskets and arrows, when Mr. Fell received a mortal wound from a barbed arrow, which I very much regretted.

It would have been a great satisfaction to me, if I would have felt it so, had I been shot and my dead body taken to Lukoja instead of his.

This was not the first time that I travelled in an open boat or canoe in this river.

In 1858 I travelled in open native canoes as a passenger from Onitsha to Rabba for nineteen days, a distance of about 300 miles, when no steamer was in the river: I was never molested.

In 1864, when the "Investigator" went to Bidda, I travelled in an open hired canoe from Gbebe to Idda, forty miles, and back without the least molestation.

In 1865, when the "Thomas Bazley" was doing trade up at Egga, I travelled in an open canoe from Gbebe to Idda and back without molestation.

In 1866, when the "Thomas Bazley" was gone down to the Nun, I travelled from Lukoja to Idda in an open boat, and went fifty-two miles further inland on foot to visit Atta, without molestation, and return to Lukoja in the "Thomas Bazley."

During these travels I was always received by Chiefs and people at our halting-places with every mark of respect.

The only cause of my being molested this year is that which is briefly stated in my letter dated Oko Okein, September 20, 1867.

If the promise of establishing legitimate commerce, several times made by British Government, through their Commissioners, to the natives on the banks of the Niger in the room of the Slave Trade was earnestly meant to be fulfilled, this in the time when the minds of the people are prepared for active trade, but which a small solitary steamer under a limited Company cannot meet.

The Church has fulfilled her part of the promise, in addition to which she is made responsible for the fulfilment of the mercantile department which is not her province.

I must call your attention to the most active and faithful manner in which Abbega, your messenger, performed his duty in this affair; he is worthy of your kind consideration.

I must now close this, with my best respects and thanks for your kind aid.

I remain, &c.  
(Signed) S. A. CROWTHER.

Inclosure 8 in No. 24.

*Mr. S. Crowther, Jun., to Consul McLeod.*

Sir,

*Lukoja, Confluence of the Niger, October 2, 1867.*

I CANNOT leave Lukoja without dropping you a few lines to express my entire satisfaction and gratitude for the prompt and active measures you have taken, together with the late Mr. Fell, towards the release of my father from the hands of the pirate Abbokko. Although we have been called upon to lament with much grief the death of Mr. Fell, who sealed victory with the last drop of blood from his veins, whose faithfulness, courage and bravery, in the service of Her Majesty cannot be surpassed, in my humble opinion under a similar circumstance, yet we cannot but see in this that there is a wise dispensation of Providence over ruling for good; having had the painful task of attending the wounds of the late gentleman after the said affair up to his death, I feel convinced that he has completed his work, and is now at rest.

Before concluding I must again thank you in the name of my families and connections for your noble exertions in an affair in which you were entirely restricted from any active measures for want of proper and adequate means at your disposal.

Believe me, &c.  
(Signed) SAML. CROWTHER, Jun.

No. 25.

*Consul McLeod to Lord Stanley.—(Received November 30.)*

(Extract.)

*Lukoja, October 4, 1867.*

ON my arrival here I found, as I had anticipated, that King Masaba, so soon as he had conquered his enemies, sent a force down the river for the protection of Lukoja.

The King's messengers, soldiers, and their followers, number 113 persons.

## BRAZIL.

No. 26.

*Mr. Thornton to Lord Stanley.—(Received January 1, 1867.)*

My Lord,

*Rio de Janeiro, December 7, 1866.*

ABOUT a month ago, His Majesty the Emperor, with the consent of his Ministers, resolved to grant their freedom to such of the slaves under his control as would agree to serve as soldiers during the present war against Paraguay.

These slaves, who are about 3,000 in number, are not actually the property of His Majesty, he merely has a right to their labour; they belong, properly speaking to the nation, His Majesty himself holding no slaves of his own property.

Up to the 1st instant, 249 of these slaves had received their freedom and had enlisted as soldiers. As the Emperor had also granted freedom to the wives and children of these men, the whole number of those who have become free by this means may be considered to be about 700.

By a Decree of the 6th ultimo, translation of which I have the honour to inclose, the Brazilian Government have also granted gratuitous freedom to those of the slaves of the nation who will consent to serve as soldiers during the present war, as also to their families. These slaves are about 1,000 in number, but as they are all in distant parts of the country, the Government have not yet received any information as to the proportion of them who would be willing to serve.

Some other slaves have been purchased and their freedom granted them by private individuals liable to the conscription on condition of their serving as substitutes for their purchasers in the army. The number of those enrolled under this head up to the 1st instant was 173. But in this case the families of the freed slaves have not obtained their freedom.

I hope soon to have a Report of the number freed on the same conditions in the Province of Rio Grande, where subscriptions are being raised for the purpose by the most influential people of the province.

It is not to be supposed that these freed slaves will be very valuable as soldiers, but I look upon the fact with satisfaction as a step towards a general emancipation, the feeling in favour of which is gaining ground every day.

The whole number of slaves already freed in the manner above-mentioned are certainly not many, but they represent more than their actual number, because they are all young and amongst them are many young women.

The example shown by the Emperor and his Government, will, it is hoped, exercise a salutary influence upon other individuals and corporate bodies, and I am told that a considerable amount of moral pressure has been brought to bear upon the religious orders to induce them to take a similar step. The Benedictines possess about 3,000 slaves many of whom, I understand, are almost white.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) EDWD. THORNTON.

Inclosure in No. 26.

*Acts of the Executive Power.*

*Decree No. 3,725 A of November 6, 1866.*

Grants gratuitous Freedom to the Slaves of the Nation designated for the service of the Army.

(Translation.)

IT is my will to order that freedom be gratuitously granted to those slaves of the nation who are in a condition to serve in the army, in order that they may take service therein; and, being married, the same benefit shall be extended to their families.

Let Zacarias Goes di Vasconcellos, Member of my Council, Senator of the Empire, President of the Council of Ministers, Minister and Secretary of State for Finance, and President of the Tribunal of the National Treasury, so understand, and order it to be put in execution.

*Palace of Rio de Janeiro, November 6, 1866, 45th year of  
the Independence and of the Empire.*

(With the sign manual of his Majesty the Emperor.)

(Signed)

ZACARIAS DE GOES E VASCONCELLOS.

No. 27.

*Mr. Thornton to Lord Stanley.—(Received April 5.)*

My Lord,

*Rio de Janeiro, March 8, 1867.*

MY attention has been called to a practice which had been adopted by two English steamers plying between this port and that of Santos with passengers, of also carrying slaves, which I conceive to be in contravention of English law, and will expose those who are guilty of it to the severest penalties. These two steamers are the "Braganza," of Liverpool, No. 29,956, of which the owner is Mr. John T. Lawrence, and the "Corcovado," of Liverpool, No. 55,004, belonging to Messrs. E. Lawrence and Co.

The "Braganza" was only to make her first voyage to Santos on the 28th ultimo, but before doing so, an advertisement was inserted in the newspapers to the effect that she would receive slaves as passengers at a certain rate.

Upon seeing this, I called upon Mr. Glover, who is at the head of the house of John Moore and Co., to whom the "Braganza" was consigned, expressing my surprise at the tenor of the advertisement. Mr. Glover explained that it was a Brazilian broker who was charged with procuring passengers who had inserted it without his knowledge, and that he regretted extremely that it should have happened; but he promised to have it rectified immediately, which was done on the following day, and he further engaged that no slaves should be carried in the "Braganza."

The "Corcovado" has been plying between this and Santos for, I think, three or four months. On her arrival here on the 2nd instant, I saw at the end of the list of passengers the phrase "hum escravo a entregar" (one slave for delivery), which implies that the slave is given in charge at the port of departure to the captain, who is responsible for his being safely handed over at the port of destination to the person for whom the slave is intended. This amounts, I think, to a certain duration in which the slave is kept. It is, of course, very common in Brazilian passenger-steamers, but that it should be practised in English vessels is, I imagine, quite contrary to the spirit and letter of English law.

I therefore requested Mr. Acting Consul Hollocombe to inform the master of the "Corcovado" that the practice must cease immediately, and that if I heard of its being continued, I should be obliged to use more severe measures to insure its being put an end to.

I shall, notwithstanding, keep a watch upon the steamers in question, and should I see any repetition of this objectionable practice, I should feel it my duty to request Admiral Ramsay to take such steps as he may think proper.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

EDWD. THORNTON.

No. 28.

*Mr. Thornton to Lord Stanley.—(Received April 5.)*

My Lord,

*Rio de Janeiro, March 6, 1867.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that about a fortnight ago His Majesty the Emperor subscribed the sum of 100 contos of reis (10,000*l.*) to be devoted to the purchase of the freedom of slaves on condition that they will enter the army and serve during the war against Paraguay. The sum is a large one considering that the nation furnishes His Majesty with only 800 contos of reis (80,000*l.*) per annum.

Several Brazilians have also granted or purchased the freedom of slaves for the same purpose, and, up to the 3rd instant, 636 slaves had been freed for the special purpose of serving in the army. Of these 27 were freed by means of part of the money subscribed by His Majesty the Emperor, 268 belonged to the nation, 217 were given by private individuals, 69 by the convents, and 55 were handed over by the Police Department. The greater part of the last were probably unclaimed fugitive slaves.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed) EDWD. THORNTON.

No. 29.

*Lord Stanley to Mr. Thornton.*

Sir,

*Foreign Office, April 8, 1867.*

I HAVE to inform you that Her Majesty's Government approve the steps you have taken, as reported in your despatch of the 8th ultimo, for preventing the conveyance of slaves as passengers on board British vessels, the carrying of slaves as such in any British ship being undoubtedly illegal.

I am, &amp;c.

(Signed) STANLEY.

No. 30.

*Mr. Thornton to Lord Stanley.—(Received May 4.)*

(Extract.)

*Rio de Janeiro, April 6, 1867.*

DURING the first quarter of this year 5,069 men have been sent from this port to join the army. Up to the end of last month 829 slaves had been liberated on condition of serving in the army during the war against Paraguay. Of these the freedom of sixty-seven was purchased out of the 10,000*l.* subscribed by His Imperial Majesty, 115 were liberated by convents, 103 were handed over by various authorities, 268 came from the Imperial estate of Santa Cruz, and 276 were freed by private individuals.

No. 31.

*Mr. Thornton to Lord Stanley.—(Received May 4.)*

My Lord,

*Rio de Janeiro, April 8, 1867.*

IN June of last year the Paris Society for the abolition of slavery addressed a letter to the Brazilian Minister for Foreign Affairs, expressing their hope that His Majesty the Emperor would take into consideration the question of the abolition of slavery in Brazil. His Excellency, in reply to the Society, intimated that, when the war with Paraguay should have come to an end, the Brazilian Government would consider the subject of the abolition of slavery as one of the last importance.

One of the leading newspapers of this city rather exaggerated the answer of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and the slave-owners became alarmed on account of the effect it might have upon the value of their property; but not caring to take up the question themselves, they worked upon the feelings of the Members of Congress, who are particularly sensitive as to any interference with their rights.

The Government, fearing the opposition of two such powerful bodies, have caused an article, translation of which I have the honour to inclose, to be published in the official

CLASS B.

Journal, in which they endeavour to prove that the reply to the Paris Society for the Abolition of Slavery proved no intention on their part to interfere with the prerogatives of the Chambers.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) EDWD. THORNTON.

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Inclosure in No. 31,

*Extract from the Official "Gazette" of April 4, 1867.*

(Translation.)

*Rio de Janeiro, April 4, 1867.*

THE "Jornal do Commercio" of 11th ultimo, publishes the following, under the heading of "Important question":—"It is not long since that publicity was given to a document which emanated from the Imperial Government, in which the Minister for Foreign Affairs answering, in His Majesty the Emperor's name, to a message delivered to him by a Foreign Association, assured that Association that one of the measures to be taken, as soon as the war in which the nation is engaged with the Government of Paraguay shall be terminated, was relative to the great question of the slave element."

It is not true that the Minister of Foreign Affairs had given expression to the assertion which the article in question attributes to him, and therefore the rumours and reports which circulate, in consequence of that and other publications respecting the emancipation of the slaves, is devoid of foundation.

The Foreign Association of which the article speaks, made an appeal to the magnanimous sentiments of the Emperor in favour of the emancipation of the slaves, explicitly acknowledged in its letter (which circulates in a printed form), that the work of abolition of slavery is not one to be carried out hurriedly, but rather that the facts, interests, and circumstances should be well and duly considered.

And the Imperial Government answering that letter, was not less cautious and circumspect in guarding from sudden and serious shocks, the interests and rights of private individuals, as well as those of the State.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs thus expresses himself:—

"A MM. les Membres du Comité pour l'Abolition de l'Esclavage à Paris.

"Messieurs,

*"Rio de Janeiro, le 22 Août, 1866.*

"J'ai eu l'honneur de porter à la connaissance de Sa Majesté l'Empereur la lettre par laquelle vous exprimez vos vœux ardents pour l'abolition de l'esclavage au Brésil. Chargé par Sa Majesté de vous répondre en son nom et au nom du Gouvernement Brésilien, je suis heureux de pouvoir vous donner l'assurance que votre démarche a trouvé l'accueil d'une juste sympathie.

"Il vous appartenait, Messieurs, à vous dont la noble voix s'élève toujours en faveur des grands principes d'humanité et de justice, de témoigner de tout l'intérêt que vous portez à l'accomplissement d'une tâche aussi grande que difficile partout, et c'est avec la plus vive satisfaction que le Gouvernement Brésilien a vu que vous rendez justice aux sentiments personnels de Sa Majesté l'Empereur, à ceux des Membres du Ministère, ainsi qu'à l'opinion publique au Brésil.

"L'émancipation des esclaves, conséquence nécessaire de l'abolition de la Traite, n'est plus qu'une question de forme et d'opportunité.

"Lorsque les circonstances pénibles dans lesquelles se trouve le pays le permettront, le Gouvernement Brésilien considérera, comme un objet de première importance, la réalisation de ce que l'esprit du Christianisme réclame depuis longtemps du monde civilisé."

"Veuillez, &c.

"Le Ministre et Secrétaire d'Etat des Affaires Etrangères de Sa Majesté  
l'Empereur du Brésil,

(Signé) "MARTIM FRANCISCO RIBEIRO DE ANDRADA."

The Government, therefore, did not say that when the war had terminated they would take immediate steps to extinguish slavery: the document which emanated from the Foreign Office completely destroyed such inference.

What the Government said was, that the emancipation of slaves in Brazil is a question of how it is to be done ("forma"), and of opportunity.

To have said less than this, in answer to the Foreign Association's letter, would have

been to retrograde to the doctrine of Aristotle, now overthrown by the light of the Gospel as well as that of philosophy on the lawfulness of slavery in face of natural right.

To have said more, would have been to usurp the prerogative of the Chambers, to whom, and not to the executive power belong the decreeing the time and manner of extinguishing slavery.

The Government took a middle course between two which were to be condemned; they said that abolition was a question of manner of effecting ("forma") and opportunity, in order not to appear a barbarous Government. They neither marked a time or mode of abolition, because it was not their prerogative.

When they declared to the Foreign Association, that as soon as the embarrassing circumstances of the country permitted them, they would consider the realization of that which the spirit of Christianity claimed of the civilized world as an object of the first importance, the Minister, without doubt, referred to the war with Paraguay as a decisive circumstance as to what concerned the opportunity of the measure; the Government could not, however, fail to take into consideration other and very weighty circumstances in the manner of effecting it.

Agriculture is our chief industry, and at present it depends on slave labour. To suppress slavery, having moral, religious, and philosophical sentiments only in view, would be to sacrifice private property and the good of the State, as also to put off to an indefinite time the solution of the problem of free labour in the Empire; it would also be compromising public and private fortunes.

The solution of the problem of free labour in Brazil ought to be realized by conciliating as much as it possibly can be done, the right of property guaranteed by the laws of the State, with the dictates of Christianity and philosophy, and not by sacrificing that to these, nor these to that. In so grave a matter, the Government can have no other way of thinking.

## No. 32.

*Mr. Thornton to Lord Stanley.—(Received June 1.)*

My Lord,

*Rio de Janeiro, May 4, 1867.*

WITH reference to my despatch of the 8th ultimo, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that a report having been spread here that a proposal upon the emancipation of slaves which was to serve as a basis for discussion in the Legislative Chambers, had already been drawn up, a short article, translation of which I have the honour to inclose, was inserted in the official journal of the 11th ultimo, which states that the above report is not correct.

It adds, however, that the Government have the subject under consideration and have nothing to add for the present to what was published in the article, translation of which was inclosed in my above-mentioned despatch.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWD. THORNTON.

## Inclosure in No. 32.

*Extract from the Official Journal of April 11, 1867.*

(Translation.)

IT is not true that the proposal for the emancipation of slaves, which is to serve as a basis for discussion in the Chambers, has already been drawn up.

The Government have the subject under consideration, and for the present there is nothing to add to what was published in the official journal of the 4th instant.

## No. 33.

*Mr. Thornton to Lord Stanley.—(Received July 2.)*

My Lord,

*Rio de Janeiro, June 5, 1867.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the Session of the Brazilian Legislative Chambers was opened on the 22nd ultimo by His Majesty the Emperor in person, when His Majesty delivered the speech of which two copies and a translation are inclosed.



Your Lordship will perceive that, amongst other things, His Majesty recommends to the consideration of the Chambers the servile element of the Empire, advising such a course as will tend to protect emancipation, at the same time that the rights of property and the interests of agriculture are respected.

It has not yet transpired whether the Government have agreed upon any proposal to be submitted to the Chambers with respect to this important matter.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) EDWD. THORNTON.

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Inclosure in No. 33.

*Extract from the Speech of the Emperor of Brazil upon Opening the present Session of the Brazilian Legislative Chambers on May 22, 1867.*

THE servile element of the Empire cannot, fail, opportunely, to merit your consideration; acting in such a manner as to protect the important interests attached to emancipation, by respecting existing property, and not causing too great a shock to agriculture, our main source of industry.

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BRAZIL. (*Consular*)—*Bahia*.

No. 34.

*Acting Consul Morgan to Lord Stanley.—(Received February 4, 1867.)*

My Lord,

*Bahia, December 31, 1866.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith the half year's Return of the prices of slaves in this city.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) JOHN CHAS. MORGAN.

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Inclosure in No. 34.

RETURN of the Prices of Slaves within the District of the Consulate of Bahia at the respective times undermentioned.

	For the half-year ending June 30, 1866.		For the half-year ending December 31, 1866.	
	Currency.	Sterling.	Currency.	Sterling.
	Reis.	£ s. d.	} Without alteration.	
African Males . . . . .	1,500,000	162 10 0		
" Females . . . . .	1,000 000	108 6 8		
Creole Males . . . . .	1,200 000	130 0 0		
" with profession . . . . .	2,000 000	216 13 4		
" Females . . . . .	800 000	86 13 4		

*British Consulate, Bahia, December 31, 1866.*

(Signed) JOHN CHAS. MORGAN, *Acting Consul.*

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## BRAZIL. (Consular)—Maranhão.

No. 35.

*Vice-Consul Wilson to Lord Stanley.—(Received March 5.)*

My Lord,

Maranhão, January 4, 1867.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship a return of the prices of slaves within the district of this Vice-Consulate during the six months ended December 31st, 1866.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) WILLIAM B. WILSON.

Inclosure in No. 35.

RETURN of the Prices of Slaves within the District of the Vice-Consulate of Maranhão for the Half-year ended December 31, 1866.

Description.	Currency.		Sterling.				Remarks.			
	Reis.	Reis.	£	s.	d.	£		s.	d.	
African, Males .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	African slaves are hardly to be met with, and so aged as to be considered worthless.	
„ Females .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..			
Creole, Males .. .. .	800\$	to 900\$	83	6	8	to	93	15		0
„ „ with professions .	1,000	1,100	104	3	4		114	11		8
„ Females .. .. .	800	1,000	83	6	8		104	3	4	

Exchange, 9\$600 to 1l. sterling.

(Signed) WILLIAM B. WILSON, *Vice-Consul.**British Vice-Consulate, Maranhão, January 4, 1867.*

## BRAZIL. (Consular)—Pará.

No. 36.

*Consul Hay to Lord Stanley.—(Received February 1, 1867.)*

My Lord,

Pará, December 31, 1866.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that there has been no renewal of the African Slave Trade within the limits of this Consulate during the quarter ended this day.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) JAMES DE V. DRUMMOND HAY.

No. 37.

*Consul Hay to Lord Stanley.—(Received February 1, 1867.)*

My Lord,

Pará, December 31, 1866.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith a Return showing the average prices of slaves within this Consular district during the six months ended this day.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) JAMES DE V. DRUMMOND HAY.

## Inclosure in No. 37.

RETURN showing the Average Prices of Slaves in the Provinces of Pará, Amazonas, and Maranham, during the six months ended the 31st of December, 1866.

	Reis.	Reis.
African males .. .. .	1,000\$000	
„ females . . . . .	800\$000	
Creole males .. .. .	900\$000 to 1,200\$000	
„ females . . . . .	1,000\$000 to 1,200\$000	
Males, with trades .. .. .	1,200\$000 to 1,600\$000	
Females, ditto .. .. .	1,200\$000 to 1,600\$000	
Infants under 5 years .. .. .	400\$000 to 800\$000	
Children from 5 to 14 years .. .. .	500\$000 to 1,200\$000	

10,000 reis equal to 1*l*.

British Consulate, Pará, December 31, 1866.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JAMES DE V. DRUMMOND HAY.

## No. 38.

Consul Hay to Lord Stanley.—(Received May 4.)

My Lord,

Pará, March 31, 1867.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that there has been no renewal of the African Slave Trade within the limits of this Consulate during the quarter ended this day.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JAMES DE V. DRUMMOND HAY.

## No. 39.

Consul Hay to Lord Stanley.—(Received August 18.)

My Lord,

Pará, July 5, 1867.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that there has been no renewal of the African Slave Trade during the six months ended on the 30th of June last.

The prices of slaves have not been much diminished, as shown in the annexed return, yet the prevailing feeling that the emancipation of slaves in this empire is not far distant, has the effect of deterring purchasers from placing any large amount of capital in so insecure an investment, though, had it not been for this reason, the prices would certainly have risen, as the want of manual labour is daily increasing.

I have understood that the Government have offered one conto of reis, about 100*l*. a head, for healthy male slaves, as recruits for the army in the south, stipulating that the slaves so engaged should obtain their liberty at the conclusion of the war.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JAMES DE V. DRUMMOND HAY.

## Inclosure in No. 39.

A RETURN showing the Prices of Slaves in the Provinces of Pará, Amazonas, and Maranham, during the six months ended June 30, 1867.

Description.	Value in Currency.	
	Reis.	Reis.
African, Males .. .. .	1,000\$000	
„ Females .. .. .	800\$000	
Creole, Males .. .. .	900\$000 to 1,200\$000	
„ Females .. .. .	800\$000	
„ Males, with trades .. .. .	1,200\$000	1,600\$000
„ Females (ditto) .. .. .	1,000\$000	1,200\$000
Infants under 5 years .. .. .	200\$000	500\$000
Children from 5 to 14 years .. .. .	400\$000	700\$000

Exchange: 24*d*. to 1,000 reis.

(Signed) JAMES DE V. DRUMMOND HAY, Consul.

British Consulate, Pará, July 5, 1867.

No. 40.

*Consul Hay to Lord Stanley.—(Received November 2.)*

My Lord,

*Pará, September 30, 1867.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship there has been no renewal of the African Slave Trade within the limits of this Consulate during the quarter ended this day.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed) JAMES DE V. DRUMMOND HAY.

BRAZIL. (Consular)—Rio Grande do Sul.

No. 41.

*Acting Consul Berg to Lord Stanley.—(Received March 5.)*

My Lord,

*Rio Grande do Sul, January 11, 1867.*

I HAVE the honour to your Lordship that there has been no renewal of the African Slave Trade within the limits of this Consulate during the half year ending the 31st of December, 1866.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed) CHAS. E. BERG.

No. 42.

*Acting Consul Berg to Lord Stanley.—(Received March 5.)*

My Lord,

*Rio Grande do Sul, January 12, 1867.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit your Lordship a return of the average price of slaves within the district of this Consulate for the half year ended the 31st December, 1866.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed) CHAS. E. BERG.

Inclosure in No. 42.

RETURN of the Average Price of Slaves in the Province of Rio Grande do Sul for the Half-year ending 31st December, 1866.

Description.	African Slaves.		Slaves born in this Province.			Remarks.
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Children.	
	Reis.	Reis.	Reis.	Reis.	Reis.	
Aged negroes ..	350\$000	350\$000	320\$000	350\$000	..	Holders of slaves have found it difficult to keep up the prices, since there is an impression that the Government may be forced to liberate slaves for the purpose of finding men for the war with Paraguay.
Healthy middle aged ..	1,100\$000	1,300\$000	1,400\$000	1,500\$000	..	
Very strong and active ..	1,600\$000	1,550\$000	1,800\$000	1,600\$000	..	
From 5 to 8 years ..	..	..	..	..	700\$000	
From 8 to 12 years ..	..	..	..	..	1,200\$000	
From 12 to 14 years ..	..	..	..	..	1,400\$000	

*Rio Grande do Sul, January 1, 1867.*

(Signed)

CHAS. E. BERG, *Acting Consul.*

No. 43.

*Acting Consul Berg to Lord Stanley.—(Received September 2.)*

My Lord,

*Rio Grande do Sul, July 12, 1867.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that there has been no renewal of the African Slave Trade within the limits of this Consulate during the half year ending the 30th June, 1867.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) CHAS. E. BERG.

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EGYPT. (*Consular*)—*Alexandria.*

No. 44.

*Acting Consul-General Reade to Lord Stanley.—(Received August 21.)*

My Lord,

*Alexandria, August 9, 1867.*

A FALSE impression appears to have obtained currency that subjects of European Christian Powers residing in Upper Egypt are either directly or indirectly engaged in the Slave Trade, and that in point of fact they are the real or principal promoters of the illegal traffic.

It would not be difficult, my Lord, by reference to the smallness and composition of the European community\* in the Soudan, the jealousy with which all their proceedings are watched by the local authorities, the restrictions that are arbitrarily imposed on their trade, the limited profits, overwhelming competition, and enormous risks that would certainly attend any slave-dealing operation on their part, and a variety of other circumstances, to show that there can be, at the present moment, but little foundation for such an aspersion on the European character. It may be that in former years, when Europeans established themselves in Upper Egypt for purposes of trade, the want of any other description of servant impelled them to select from the black population, and, perhaps, forcibly capture or buy the number of attendants or followers they required, but these were ever regarded by their new masters as free people, from the moment of their entry into service, and paid, like other domestics, regular wages. It is very doubtful whether, except for the purpose of forming establishments of this description, Europeans were ever directly engaged in the Slave Trade. Some exceptions there may nevertheless have been, and, if so, they were, to say the least, of very rare occurrence.

It is, however, on the other hand, a matter of public notoriety that from 10,000 to 15,000 slaves are annually brought down the Nile to Cairo, while an equal or even greater number find their way to Souakin and the Red Sea. The principal dealers are well known, and allowed by the local authorities to pursue unmolested their abominable traffic. True it is that some of these delinquents are occasionally arrested and their property confiscated, and sometimes a few slaves are even set at liberty, but the great bulk of the trade is tacitly sanctioned, if not actually connived at, by the authorities themselves. At Galabat, on the Abyssinian frontier, an enormous slave-mart is constantly open.

Two hundred Nile boats employed regularly in this trade are permitted to navigate with impunity, upon payment, for every voyage they make, of a certain tribute to the local authorities, whilst a similar import is levied upon every slave caravan that passes along the desert route of Korusco.

Although I have long been aware, my Lord, that slaves in large quantities were sold daily at Cairo, I was anxious to satisfy myself of the fact by personal observation. I accordingly visited, some days ago, a number of the slave-markets, disguised as an Arab (no European being allowed ingress to these establishments). Many of these slaves had been removed to the town of Tantah, for the purpose of being sold at the approaching fair there, and I consequently saw only between 250 and 300. From the information, however, which I was able to pick up, I am inclined to think that but for the above-stated removal of slaves to Tantah, there would be at the present time not less than 3,000 of these unfortunate creatures on sale at Cairo. I took a note of the several localities I inspected, as well as of some others which I had not time to visit; but before making any formal representation on the subject to the Egyptian Government, I determined upon ascertaining in the same manner the state of things at Tantah. Habited in my former disguise I, a day

\* The community consists of two French merchants, the Austrian and French Consular Agents at Khartoum and half-a-dozen German, French, or Italian missionaries and their servants. Mr. Debono, a British ivory merchant, long established in the Soudan, has left the country, in consequence of the depressed state of trade.—  
T. F. R.

or two afterwards, that is to say, on the 5th instant, carefully inspected the principal establishments of the fair. Between 500 and 600 slaves of every description were presented to me; but I have reason to believe that the total number on sale were from 1,500 to 2,000.

On my return from the fair, I called on the Mudir, or Governor of the Province, informed him of what I had done and seen, and called upon him to set the slaves at liberty. He promised to take possession of the slaves in the night time, and forward them to Cairo on the following day, to be liberated or otherwise dealt with by the authorities of that city. I regret to learn, however, that this assurance was not carried into effect, and fear that the Mudir, who is an intelligent, energetic, and straightforward man, must have been prevented from fulfilling his engagement by orders from a higher authority. I have since addressed to Cherif Pasha a despatch upon the subject, and I beg to inclose, for your Lordship's information, a copy of that communication. As soon as I receive his Excellency's reply, I shall not fail to forward also a copy of it to your Lordship.

If, my Lord, the Egyptian Government were sincerely desirous of checking the progress of so great an evil, a good opportunity is now afforded to it for inflicting a severe blow upon the Slave Trade in this part of the world. I must confess, however, I am far from sanguine that much can be expected from that Government of its own volition, and for several reasons, amongst which I may enumerate, 1st, that important persons and functionaries of the Government derive considerable profit and advantage from the trade, either directly or indirectly; directly, because their palaces, houses, and estates are supplied with slave-labour; indirectly, because, inasmuch as the trade is ostensibly a forbidden one, they are enabled to levy on the dealers heavy toll for permission to evade the law; 2ndly, that the army of Egypt is largely recruited from the male black adult slaves; and 3rdly, that the Fellahs, or farmer population, are glad to have the means of sending, as substitutes for themselves and children when summoned by the Government to forced labour, slaves bought at these marts.

It is often alleged, and with considerable truth, that the condition of the slave in Egypt stands in favourable contrast with that which exists in other slave countries, but I have reason to believe from sources other than those with which the public is generally familiar, that the cruelties and abominations perpetrated by the dealers and their agents, who supply the Egyptian market, are not less atrocious than those ever committed by slave-traders in any part of the world.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 44.

*Acting Consul-General Reade to Cherif Pasha.*

M. le Président,

*Alexandrie, le 8 Août, 1867.*

MON attention ayant été appelé tout récemment à l'état actuel de la Traite des Nègres en Egypte, je regrette de trouver que ce commerce révoltant se fait aujourd'hui avec autant ou même avec plus d'activité que jamais, et qu'au centre du Caire, dans des établissements dont l'existence et le caractère sont de notoriété publique, des centaines, et je pourrais même dire des milliers, d'esclaves de toutes sortes sont exposés chaque jour pour y être vendu, avec une publicité et une insouciance des plus scandaleuses.

Afin de former une meilleure idée de l'état actuel de ce commerce au Caire, j'ai visité, déguisé en Arabe, il y a quelques jours, une quantité de marchés aux esclaves, et quoique apparemment une grande partie de ces esclaves avaient été déjà transportée à Tantah pour y être vendu à la foire, de 250 à 300 étaient soumis à mon inspection. J'ai pris note des différentes localités que j'avais visité, et aussi de plusieurs autres lieux que le temps ne me permettait pas d'inspecter, et si ce n'était pas que le moment ne me paraissait pas favorable pour intervenir dans ce trafic illégal, j'aurais immédiatement porté l'affaire devant les autorités locales du Caire. J'ai résolu, cependant, de faire une visite aux établissements des négociants d'esclaves à Tantah, pendant la durée de la foire, et de m'y informer sur l'état de choses par une observation personnelle. Reprenant donc mon déguisement, j'ai inspecté soigneusement, le 5 du courant, plusieurs de ces établissements. J'y ai vu, M. le Président, entre 500 et 600 esclaves de toutes sortes, et j'ai lieu à croire que le nombre total en vente n'avait pas été moins de 1,500 à 2,000. A mon retour des marchés d'esclaves, je me suis rendu chez son Excellence le Mudir, et, après lui avoir fait des remontrances à ce sujet, je lui ai montré une note que j'avais prise des noms des vendeurs d'esclaves, de leurs résidences respectives, et même de la qualité des esclaves

qu'ils offraient en vente. Son Excellence prit une copie de cette note en Arabe, en m'assurant qu'il ferait entrer la police, la nuit suivante, dans tous les établissements que j'avais indiqués, et qu'après avoir libéré les esclaves, il enverrait ces derniers au Prefet de la Police du Caire pour que le Gouvernement en disposât.

Je regrette, cependant, d'apprendre que cette promesse n'a pas été mise en exécution.

J'annexe, ci-joint, pour l'information de votre Excellence, copie de la note que j'ai donnée à son Excellence Omar Bey, avec copie aussi de celle que j'ai préparé à l'égard des marchés d'esclaves au Caire, et je suis convaincu, M. le Président, que des telles mesures seront prises par votre Excellence que les esclaves susmentionnés seront immédiatement mis en liberté, et qu'un échec sera donné d'une nature à restreindre ou arrêter pour l'avenir, en ce qui concerne l'Egypte, la marché d'un commerce qui non seulement est opposé aux Lois et aux Conventions Internationales des pays civilisés, et formellement répudié par Son Altesse le Vice-Roi, mais qui est une réflexion frappante sur le siècle dans lequel nous vivons.

Afin de prévenir toutes difficultés qui pourrait être causé par un si grande nombre de personnes, dénouées des moyens d'existence, je suggérerais à votre Excellence qu'on pourrait peut-être trouver, soit ici soit au Caire, des maisons de respectabilité où les esclaves libérés pourraient être reçus comme simples domestiques. ayant le droit de quitter leurs nouveaux patrons le moment qu'ils auraient à se plaindre, et que des mesures seraient prises, par l'enregistrement de leurs résidences, ou par tout autre moyen, afin d'empêcher leur vente de nouveau.

Veuillez, &c.  
(Signé) THOS. F. READE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 44.

NOTE des Etablissements au Caire où se trouvent des Esclaves à vendre.

Description de la Localité.	Etablissement.
Quartier Hassania (Bab el Fatouhe) ..	Quatre Ookellas.
Khan Khalili ..	Ookella el Salahdar.
Quartier Gamalia ..	Ookella au-dessus la Porte de Khan Khalili.
Quartier Kusr el Shook (derrière le Mekhémé)	Etablissement de Solyman Abou Daoud el Sheikh Yasirguiah.
Quartier Sikka Jedida ..	Deux établissements.
Quartier el Senadkia ..	Ookella el Mahrouky.
Quartier Khrumfish ..	Deux Ookellas.
Boulac et Vieux Caire ..	Sept ou huit établissements de blancs et noirs, dont les trois principaux appartiennent à Mohamed Baroudi, Hafiz Effendi, et Mustapha Agha.
	Plusieurs établissements.



## Inclosure 3 in No. 44.

## NOTE des Esclaves portés à la Foire de Tantah pour y être vendus.

Description de la Localité.	Nom de Gellab.	Qualité des Esclaves.	Observation.
Darb el Zelabia .. ..	Abou Shnaff .. ..	Blancs	
	Yusef Agha .. ..	Blancs et noirs	
	Abd el Samia .. ..	Noirs	
Darb el Sakia .. ..	Solyman Mohamed .. ..	Blancs	
	Said Ahmed Agha .. ..	Blancs	
	Mohamed Agha .. ..	Blancs	
	Khourshid Agha et Compagnie .. ..	Blancs	
A côté du Moulin vis-à-vis la Boutique de Hanal Sarif Près de cet endroit .. ..	Solyman Agha .. ..	Blancs	
	Rashid Agha .. ..	Blancs	
	Aly Agha (Stambouly).. ..	Blancs	
Ookella el Aguizi* .. ..	A peu près 20 Gellabs.. ..	Noirs	
	Solyman Yasirgui .. ..	Noirs	
A côté l'Ookella Aguizi et partie du même immeuble Près de cet Ookella .. ..	El Sit Izmiria .. ..	De toute espèce	
	Mohamed el Baroudi .. ..	Noirs	
Vis-à-vis le dernier Ookella et près la Maison de Scandar Huggar Derrière le dernier établissement .. ..	Awad el Yasirghy .. ..	Noirs	
	Halil .. ..	Noirs	
	Mekhimmah .. ..	Noirs	
	Aly Effendi .. ..	Noirs	
A côté de la Boutique de Ahmed el Sahan Vis-à-vis le café Yairguiah .. ..	Yusef Effendi .. ..	Blancs et Abyssins	
	El Hag Agueil .. ..	Blancs et noirs	
Vis-à-vis la Maison de Ahmed el Sahan et en face de l'Escalier du Mosqué Said el Bedoury à coté de Darb el Sakia Inconnue .. ..	Mohamed Agha el Kurdy .. ..	Blancs	
	Aghamoughli Aga de Caire .. ..	Blancs	
	Hafiz Effendi.. ..	Blancs et noirs	
	Mustapha Agha .. ..	Blancs et noirs	
	Solyman Abou Daoud, Sheikh el Yesarghieh .. ..	De toute espèce	

## No. 45.

*Lord Stanley to Acting Consul-General Reade.*

Sir,

*Foreign Office, August 31, 1867.*

I HAVE received your despatch of the 9th instant, reporting upon the Slave Trade in Egypt, and the steps taken by you with the view to ascertain whether the practice still obtained of selling slaves in the markets of Cairo, and I have to acquaint you that I approve your proceedings as reported in your above-mentioned despatch, as well as the communication addressed by you to Cherif Pasha in this matter.

You are aware that it was with the view chiefly to the suppression of the Slave Trade from the Soudan by way of Souakin and Massowah that the Viceroy of Egypt requested that those ports might be made over to him by the Turkish Government. I should be glad to learn from you whether the cession of the ports in question to His Highness has been followed by a cessation of the Traffic in Slaves from thence.

I am, &amp;c.

(Signed)

STANLEY.

## No. 46.

*Acting Consul-General Reade to Lord Stanley.—(Received September 10.)*

My Lord,

*Alexandria, August 25, 1867.*

WITH reference to my despatch of the 9th instant, respecting the Slave Trade in this country, I have the honour to submit to your Lordship the accompanying copy

\* The signification of "ookella" is caravanserai or inn.

of Cherif Pasha's reply to the letter I addressed his Excellency on the 8th of the present month, calling his attention to what I had myself witnessed at Cairo and Tantah in connection with this subject, as stated in my above-mentioned report to your Lordship.

Your Lordship will perceive that the Pasha's version of what took place at the Tantah fair is not consistent with the facts of the case, as they came under my personal observation, and that, as regards the state of things at Cairo, his Excellency evades the question altogether.

Although strongly tempted to comment severely upon his Excellency's despatch, as well as confute some of the statements contained in it, I was not prepared, without instructions to that effect from your Lordship, to assume the responsibility of entering into a disagreeable discussion with the Egyptian Government. I therefore responded by simply informing Cherif Pasha that his Excellency's communication could not be regarded as a complete reply to my letter, and that I should submit it to your Lordship's consideration, together with a report of all the circumstances that have come to my knowledge in the matter.

I did not fail, however, in the course of a friendly conversation which I subsequently had with Cherif Pasha on the subject, to express my dissatisfaction that the promise made to me by the Governor of Tantah, viz., that the whole of the slaves that were exposed for sale at the fair would be set at liberty had not been duly fulfilled; whereupon his Excellency replied that that promise had been partially carried into effect, but that owing to the crowded state of the fair, and the consequent difficulty of arresting so many people, a great number of the slaves had been surreptitiously removed by their respective proprietors and escaped. His Excellency further assured me that the authorities were now in pursuit of the fugitive slaves, and that the latter, as well as those I had seen at Cairo, would ere long fall into their hands, and be set at liberty.

The Pasha then complained that European Christians in Upper Egypt were largely engaged in the Slave Trade, but, I believe, by referring his Excellency to circumstances which it is not necessary to repeat here, I very soon satisfied him that such was not the case.

I believe also I was equally successful in showing that Soleyman Abou Daoud, the person whose innocence in the matter of slave-dealing is affirmed in the postscript of the Pasha's letter, was not unjustly accused by me of being associated in the illegal Traffic.

The unsatisfactory nature of Cherif Pasha's reply to my representations with regard to the slave-markets at Tantah and Cairo, will prove to your Lordship, better than anything I can state from my own experience, that no reliance whatever can be placed in the anti-slavery protestations of this Government.

It might be inferred from the Minister's account of the Tantah affair that the whole of the slaves I had seen were part of a particular caravan; but it is a notorious fact that a great proportion of those slaves came from the Cairo establishments, and were taken to the fair by railway in various batches, some of which I myself saw in the trains.

That there would really have been very little difficulty about liberating every slave brought into the fair to be sold was admitted to me by the Provincial Governor; and I have reason to know that that officer had actually effected the release of a considerable number of the slaves when, on the arrival of a higher functionary (the Inspector-General of Provinces), the work of emancipation came suddenly to a close.

I have, &c.

(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 46.

*Cherif Pasha to Acting Consul-General Reade.*

M. le Gérant,

*Alexandrie, le 18 Août, 1867.*

J'AI lu avec une sérieuse attention la dépêche que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'adresser le 8 Août courant, au sujet des djellabs\* et des démarches auxquelles vous vous êtes personnellement livré pour constater certains actes à leur charge.

Le Gouvernement de Son Altesse le Vice-Roi apprécie, M. le Gérant, le sentiment qui a dicté ces démarches, et il fera toujours de celles qui, comme les vôtres en cette circonstance, ont pour but la découverte de la vérité et la repression des abus.

Vous le reconnaissez très explicitement d'ailleurs vous-même, M. le Gérant, tous ses efforts sont constamment dirigés vers ce but, et chacun sait avec quelle énergie volonté

\* Anglice, slave-dealers.—T. F. R.

il poursuit son œuvre d'affranchissement, et combat, dans les plus larges limites du possible, le honteux Trafic des Esclaves.

Grace aux dispositions prises et à la vigilance déployée, les vestiges de cet usage barbare, qui malheureusement s'était implanté chez les peuples les plus civilisés, tendent à disparaître de jour en jour, et finiront par s'effacer sous la main de la justice et de l'humanité. Cependant, entraînés par leurs mauvais instincts et par l'âpre appetit d'un lucre sordide, certains individus se rencontrent encore aujourd'hui qui essaient de braver toutes les lois, et de se livrer à ce commerce scandaleux, en recouvrant à tous les subterfuges pour échapper à l'application des mesures rigoureuses adoptées à leur égard.

Tels étaient, M. le Gérant, ceux que votre communication du 8 de ce mois avait pour objet de signaler à l'attention de l'autorité.

Mais, déjà le Gouvernement avait appris, d'autre part, l'arrivée dans la Haute Egypte, vers Siout, d'une caravane de djellabs, qui se proposaient de venir à Tantah exploiter leur coupable industrie, espérant qu'ils réussiraient à tromper la vigilance et les soupçons de l'autorité à la faveur du tumulte qui existe toujours en temps de foire dans cette localité.

La première étape de la caravane devant être la ville du Caire, le Gouvernement avait avisé en conséquence.

A peine arrivés en cette ville, plusieurs furent pris ; les autres recherchés et poursuivis par la police parvinrent à s'échapper et à gagner Tantah, en conservant l'espoir de pouvoir s'y livrer impunément à leurs spéculations immorales,

Mais au moment même où, pleins de cette fausse confiance, ils se croyaient le plus sûrs de réussir à profiter des circonstances, son Excellence l'Inspecteur-Général se rendait à l'improviste sur les lieux, surprenait les coupables, les faisait arrêter, mettait en liberté soixante victimes, et en appréciant les raisons avancées par le zabit, qu'il avait interpellé, et qui tendait à décliner la responsabilité de la présence des djellabs à Tantah, en disant qu'il lui avait été impossible jusqu'alors de les reconnaître dans la foule d'étrangers qui se trouvaient à la foire, il le remplaçait purement et simplement, avec l'entière approbation du Conseil de Régence, afin que la mesure fût radicale et exemplaire.

Telle a été, M. le Gerant, la conduite de l'autorité.

Après de pareils faits, vous serez sans aucun doute de plus en plus convaincu que le Gouvernement de Son Altesse le Vice-Roi, fidèle à ses idées de civilisation et de progrès, ne transigera jamais avec les djellabs, et continuera à reprimer leurs odieuses menées par tous les moyens en son pouvoir.

Veillez, &c.

Le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères.  
(Signé) CHERIF.

P.S.—Il convient de noter que le Sieur Soliman Abou Daoud, indiqué dans la dépêche Consulaire du 8 Août, est chargé de loger et nourrir, aux frais du Gouvernement dans divers locaux placés sous sa direction, les gens mis en liberté jusqu'à ce qu'ils aient trouvé le moyen de se suffire à eux-mêmes.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 46.

*Acting Consul-General Reade to Cherif Pasha.*

M. le Président,

*Alexandrie, le 20 Août, 1867.*

J'AI dûment reçu la dépêche que votre Excellence m'a fait l'honneur de m'adresser le 18 du courant, en réponse à la mienne du 8 du même mois, relativement au commerce d'esclaves qui se pratique actuellement au Caire, et aux marchés aux esclaves que j'avais personnellement visité à la foire de Tantah.

Tout en appréciant, M. le Président, les sentiments que votre Excellence exprime contre ce trafic odieux, je regrette de trouver que les faits qu'elle porte à ma connaissance ne peuvent pas être accueillis comme réponse complète à ce que j'avais exposé à votre Excellence sur l'état des choses que j'ai moi-même constaté.

Loin de vouloir entrer dans une discussion de l'affaire avec le Gouvernement d'Egypte, je me bornerai pour le moment à soumettre à l'appréciation de mon Gouvernement copie de la correspondance échangée entre nous à ce sujet, avec un rapport sur tout ce qui s'est passé, autant que les circonstances m'étaient connues.

Veillez, &c.

(Signé) THOS. F. READE.

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No. 47.

*Acting Consul-General Reade to Lord Stanley.—(Received September 27.)*

My Lord,

*Alexandria, September 18, 1867.*

AS, with reference to my late despatches on the Slave Trade, it may not be uninteresting to your Lordship to know that the representations I have recently made to this Government have not been without effect, I have the honour to inclose the accompanying extract from "L'Avvenire d'Egitto," an Egyptian newspaper, dated the 14th instant, and reporting the liberation, on the 7th instant, of a number of slaves at Cairo.

I have only to add that the account given in the extract is quite correct.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

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Inclosure in No. 47.

*Extract from "L'Avvenire d'Egitto" of September 14, 1867.*

PROVO un vero piacere nel dar nazione ai nostri lettori di un' arresto di schiave che ebbe luogo in Cairo.

Il dì 7 corrente il Signor B. Wilkinson, suddito Inglese, domiciliato in Cairo, avendo saputo l'esistenza di un gran numero di schiave in vendita, nell' Okella Mahroughi, quartiere di Hassania, ed in quella di Salahdan, quartiere di Han Halil, ha subito informato il Signor Console Inglese e si è offerto volontariamente di accompagnare una forza armata affine di porre in libertà le infelici creature che sarebbero arrestate.

Sua Eccellenza Ahmet Pascià Daramanli conformandosi alle istanze del Signor Reade, si è affrettato di porre alla disposizione del Signor Wilkinson venticinque cavass, sotto gli ordini d'un Maawine, i quali si sono resi sul luogo.

Dopo una ricerca minuziosa, ventisette schiave nere furono arrestate (varie scoperte entro cassoni), un grande numero essendo stato involato dai suoi padroni Gellabs, i quali a quanto pare erano stati prevenuti a tempo su questo progetto d' arresto.

Le schiave arrestate furono condotte alla prefettura di polizia, par essere poste in libertà e collocate convenevolmente in case rispettabili.

Non si potrebbe bastantemente far l'elogio a sua Eccellenza il Prefetto di Polizia, il quale, malgrado una tenace opposizione per parte degli indigeni (dei quali il traffico degradante della schiavitù è secoli fa stradicato dagli usi e principj), ha spiegato in quest' occasione un'energia imparreggiabile fra i suoi colleghi.

(Translation.)

I EXPERIENCE a true pleasure in giving knowledge to our readers of an arrest of slaves which has taken place at Cairo.

On the 7th instant, Mr. R. Wilkinson, English subject domiciled at Cairo, having learnt the existence of a great number of slaves for sale in the Okella Mahroughi, quarter of Hassania, and in that of Salahdan, quarter of Han Halil, immediately informed the English Consul, and offered voluntarily to accompany an armed force in order to place at liberty the unhappy creatures who might have been arrested.

His Excellency Ahnet Pasha Daramanli, in conformity with the representations of Mr. Reade, hastened to place at the disposition of Mr. Wilkinson twenty-five cavasses under the orders of a Maawine, and they repaired to the place.

After a minute search, twenty-seven black slaves were seized (some discovered within chests), a large number having been hurried away by their masters, the Gellabs, who, as it appears, had been forewarned in time of this project of seizure.

The slaves who were apprehended were brought to the Prefecture of Police to be placed at liberty, and to be suitably located in respectable houses.

One would not be able sufficiently to eulogize his Excellency the Prefect of Police, who, in spite of stubborn opposition on the part of the natives (in whose customs and principles the degrading Traffic in Slaves has been rooted for centuries past), has employed on this occasion an energy which could not be equalled by his colleagues.

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No. 48.

*Lord Stanley to Acting Consul-General Reade.*

Sir,

*Foreign Office, September 30, 1867,*

I HAVE received your despatch inclosing an extract from the "Avennire d'Egitto," and I have to express to you the satisfaction of Her Majesty's Government at the liberation of slaves therein reported.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) STANLEY.

No. 49.

*Lord Stanley to Colonel Stanton.*

Sir,

*Foreign Office, December 6, 1867.*

I TRANSMIT to you herewith, copy of a letter which I have received from a Mr. Arthington of Leeds, inclosing a translation of a communication from a German named Saulter, who has lately been employed at Khartoum, containing information relative to the Slave Trade on the White Nile and in the Egyptian Soudan.

It will not be necessary that you should make any communication to the Egyptian Government in this matter at present, but I think it right nevertheless to communicate the inclosed papers to you for your own information; and I have at the same time to call your attention to that part of Mr. Saulter's letter in which he states that almost all the establishments on the White Nile are now in the hands of one Mahometan merchant, who is said to be an agent of the Egyptian Government.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) STANLEY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 49.

*Mr. Arthington to Lord Stanley.**Leeds, November 28, 1867.*

THE accompanying letter, intended as addressed to myself, was forwarded to me a few days ago by Mr. Schlientz, of St. Chrischona, near Basle, Switzerland, who knows English well, and doubtless it has been revised by him, as Mr. Saulter's translation of his own original statement written in German.

Schlientz, who is an excellent man, makes this remark in his letter to me, "I think the English Government might employ a man like Saultier (for he is acquainted with a number of languages) to investigate the case of the Slave Trade thoroughly in those regions."

With diligent care I have obtained, and with anxious care read and considered, this document, drawn up purposely at the request of Mr. Duisberg, the Prussian Consul at Khartoum, by the person who signs his name to or upon it. This I guarantee as genuine and truthful, as far as honest men can utter a truthful statement, and I intensely desire the extinction of this most wicked and cruel traffic. What a benefactor will he or they be to mankind who shall be the honoured instruments of extinguishing the accursed evil! In so vile a business, where human sympathies are so grossly violated, no quarter or truce should be allowed, no dallying with vain excuses, but the resolute suppression of the traffic by the strong hand of righteous power. I am inclined to think that were this traffic with resolute persistent vigour put down in the White Nile region, the whole East African Slave Trade, to the horrors of which, as regards the district west of Zanzibar, the Bishop of Mauritius has called attention, would die away along with it.

Duisberg is gone back to or towards Khartoum.

(Signed) ROBERT ARTHINGTON.

## Inclosure 2 in No. 49.

*A few Notices on the White Nile, and Slave-trading in the Egyptian Soudan and the rest of Egypt.**Turingen, November 4, 1867.*

NEITHER the writer of this (who was a member of the mercantile establishment of Mr. Spittler, and connected with his missionary station in Khartoum) nor any one of the missionary brethren have ever found occasion yet to fix his abode for some time in those upper regions of the White Nile, which for many years offered equally bright chances to the adventurer, the hunter of elephants, buffaloes, &c., the gain-seeking merchant, and the faithful missionary; he therefore relies in his account on trustworthy eye-witnesses, who partly were trading in ivory, being merchants settled for this purpose in Khartoum, partly members of the Roman Catholic Mission (Austrian, which had founded there the two stations of the Holy Cross and Gondokorro), or trustworthy men, who first were serving either of the former and afterwards became connected with us.

We had settled in Khartoum in August 1865, whilst slave-trading had been severely prohibited by Musa Pasha (Governor of the Egypt-Soudan) about a year ago. But Musa Pasha having died in January 1865, we remarked that slave-trading revived, or at least was going on secretly, and we then concluded that the Mahometans scarcely ever will effect an entire abolishment of slave-trading, though they punish those who are caught in the very fact.

Khartoum, a village of only a few cottages about forty years ago, from the time of the subjugation of Nubia (the Egyptian-Soudan), Sennaar, and Kordofan, by Mahomet Ali, rapidly rose to a town of about 50,000 or 60,000 souls, favoured by its situation on the junction of the two Niles, the central point of all mercantile operations up to the Equator, to Kordofan, to Sennaar, and Abyssinia.

About twenty years ago, some Europeans, a few Syrians and Copts, and several Mahometan merchants, commenced exploring the White Nile, hunting elephants, and exchanging ready waiting teeth from the negroes for beads and other small objects exciting the curiosity of men and women.

They provided vessels with the necessary crew (about fifty or sixty armed men), provisions, victuals, powder, and goods, and went upwards the White Nile, making often 15° of latitude. Only one expedition could be made every twelve months, on account of the immense distances and the regular north winds blowing from November to March, the southern winds blowing in July, August, September.

By-and-bye these proprietors of the expeditions settled in some country favourable to their purchases or to elephant hunting, built cottages (tokuls, round huts made of branches) for their men, and surrounded them by seribas (high thickets of briars and thorns) to protect them from attacks of the negroes and wild beasts. Here they deposited a stock of provisions and goods sufficient for one or two years, and left a party of their men with the instruction to trade and collect as much ivory as possible, which was to be fetched by a next expedition.

There were about fifteen such settlements or "stabilimenti" on the White Nile at the prosperous epochs, and often twenty to thirty vessels leaving Khartoum in November.

This kind of honest traffic went on for many years without great difficulties, the soldiers hunting and trading and making friends with the negroes, sometimes protecting them against the neighbouring tribes, sometimes robbing them; but soon it was to turn out into slaughter, robbery, and slave-hunting.

The left (west) of the White Nile up to the mouth of the River Ghazal is occupied by the tribes of the Baggara, Shilluk, and Nouair (Nuer), the right or east part by the Denka.

The River Ghazala is occupied by the Baggara Hummur, the Djur, Dor, and Njam-Njam.

The River Sovat, by tribes of the Denka, Nuer, Bondjak, and Djuba.

The White Nile itself, which from the mouth of the Ghazal upwards is also called "Kyr," is occupied by the Nuer Gower, farther eastwards by the Rich, Neroria, Elouadj, Tonidj, Bor: towards the west by the Elliab, Kitch, Rol, Tonidj, Djerouil, Djak, Rek; those latter are all Denka by origin.

All these tribes have their own Chiefs, and are often in war with each other, when difficulties arise about the territory. The captives they make are kept in slavery, but sometimes exchanged afterwards.

As above mentioned, these Dongolawi (the soldiers of the "stabilimenti," who mostly belonged to the population of Dongola and Berber) would not resist to so ready an

CLASS B.

occasion to make slaves, either for their own use or for making money, dreading no means to catch their victims, by robbery or murder, open attack or sly treachery.

Even the masters of these Dongolawi, if they had not given proofs of a lion's intrepidity, once in those regions of anarchy, deprived of all justice, had scarcely any influence over their men, and were obliged to keep silence in presence of the most cruel atrocities, if they would not lose their lives. I have known two cases, where entirely honest men, trying expeditions on the White Nile with the firm purpose to procure ivory only by trading, and who, opposing themselves to the immoral and atrocious acts of their men, were beaten and ill treated in every way; their expeditions failed entirely because their men did all the contrary of their orders; one, Muallim Theodoros, a Copt, lately living in Berber, related to me that they treated him as insane, bound him, and led him captive for months amongst derisions and the most shameful treating, whilst they made their own traffic, murder, robbery, and slave-hunting. This honest man was obliged to see his vessel crowded with slaves, got scarcely any ivory, came back to Khartum by God's providence, and when he looked out for justice was laughed at, for they all witnessed against him; so he was glad to escape with the expenses of the expedition, and the consolation that he was in his right mind.

Thus the enticing prospect of gain and riches armed and produced every year new expeditions for ivory.

It is a fact, too, that most of the soldiers received a very small payment for their services, and often only provisions instead of it and promises of a few slaves. The masters of the expeditions in general received only the ivory, but a few of them, and especially Mahometan, have been stained with blood and guilt as well as their men.

By degrees, also, the negroes got provided with beads, and pursued this kind of traffic; some of them, being without cattle, declared that they would no more exchange their ivory but for cows.

Now, what was to be done to get such quantities of cows but to plunder and rob one tribe, and to sell their property to others. This was for the last ten years the principal means to get ivory on the White Nile, with the exception of a few Europeans, who used to get their stock by hunting, but in many respects were obliged to keep company with the other merchants.

The tribes which suffer most from these cruelties are the numerous ones of the Denka, who generally live on cattle. Their villages, though sometimes many days' journey from the river, are suddenly attacked by the so-called Turks (Dongolawi), their huts burned, men and women, not being able to escape, butchered, the children made slaves, and their cattle, which often amounts to several thousand pieces, driven away. Acts of the most terrible cruelty are committed on such occasions. I was told by a servant in Khartoum that he saw with his own eyes one of his fellow-soldiers rush on a negro, open his belly with a knife, taking out his liver, and feeding on it, the spume running from his lips. They are as if possessed with rage and hatred. An Italian gentleman, Signor Piaggia, told me that he once found a group who had hanged a mother of two children on a tree, her feet upwards, cut slices from her, and made the children eat their mother's flesh.

There are a great many acts of the kind which seem incredible, but have been ascertained to me by different disinterested or penitent witnesses.

Of course the negroes by turns have become deadly enemies to their white invaders, or to any vessel coming up the White River. These, obliged to stop, will not go on shore, but cast anchor in the middle of the stream, nor go on their expeditions alone, but at least in companies of three or four, up to twelve, vessels. The negroes assemble often by thousands to rescue their captive children and their cattle, and many a slave-hunter has there paid with his life, or had a narrow escape. The shores of the White Nile are now waste for many hundreds of miles, as well as both shores of the Sobat river, and the ways for Missions, as well as for honest commerce, have been closed for a long time. All Europeans (with one exception) have by-and-bye retired from the traffic of the White Nile, and even the two stations of the Roman Catholic mission, which has been founded with immense sacrifices both of men and means, were obliged to leave, alternately attacked and ruined by the slave-hunters and the negroes.

Almost all the "stabilimenti" on the White Nile up to the Equator, and on the Ghazal river up to the Njam-Njam, are now in the hands of one Mahometan merchant, named Agâth, who brought immense quantities of ivory from his settlements in the year 1866, and who is said to be an agent of the Egyptian Government.

I have found during my stay in Khartum, as well as in different travels up and down the Nile, that slave-trading has always been going on, some on secret ways, some in the open road of the Government. On our way to Cairo we encountered a vessel with more than forty children on the Nile, near Esneh, and lost sight of it near Siut; we were often,

on occasion of contrary wind, together with them in one place for days. On another occasion I met with a transport of slaves in the desert, between Khartoum and Berber.

Slave-trading is equally going on in Kordofân and Teggele, and on a large scale in Galabât (neutral territory between Sennaar and Abyssinia), where thousands of poor little Gallas are sold and smuggled through the Egyptian territory, or transported by the Red Sea.

This traffic is only in the hands of Mahomedans, who are wise enough to declare them to be free, buying of an Egyptian Kady tickets of liberty corresponding to the number of the slaves; they pass to Jedda, where they only pay a tax in the custom-house, and go on their way as easy as possible.

As we heard by some gentlemen in Siut, there arrived this spring about 2,000 slaves from Darfûr, who all found masters in Egypt or the Turkish dominions.

Though we must confess that many slaves in Egypt and Turkey are not at all badly off, but loved and well kept by their masters, and that they are surely better cared for than in their own country, we can never approve slave-trading, looking on the immense misery and horrors that flow from its source—the slave-hunting.

Very little can be hoped at present of the White Nile, at least for missionary attempts, if there is not another way found out, perhaps after a favourable result of the expedition to Abyssinia.

Last year a vessel of a Khartoum merchant, a Copt, named "Ghattâs," was burned by the negroes and the whole of the crew murdered. The latest news tell us again of two vessels of another Copt named "Shunuda," the crews of which perished, as well as the son of the named merchant. The negroes, especially the Shilbuk, are determined to defend their home and property, or to die in their vengeance.

I recommend you, dear Sir, in general matters of the White Nile, and especially about elephant hunting, the book of M. Jules Poncet (Société de Géographie, Paris, Arthur Bertrand, Editeur, 21, rue Hautefeuille), who is trustworthy in his relations, and at the same time would encourage you to address the French Consular agent in Berber, M. Lafagrue, who himself was trading on the White Nile about ten years ago, but left it when it was impossible to go on without murder and robbery. He is a man of immense experience, and a most acute judge of the nature and moral qualities of the negroes, and promised me, when we passed Berber last May, readily to answer any questions made on the subject.

I remain, &c.  
(Signed) F. SAULTER.

No. 50.

*Lord Stanley to Colonel Stanton.*

Sir, *Foreign Office, December 31, 1867.*  
WITH reference to my despatch of the 6th instant, I transmit to you herewith copies of two letters which I have received from Mr. Petherick, inclosing extracts of letters from the Prussian and Austrian Consular Agents at Khartoum respecting the course now pursued by the Egyptian Government for monopolizing the trade of the White Nile.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) STANLEY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 50.

*Mr. Petherick to Lord Stanley.*

My Lord, *The Tookul, Henley-on-Thames, December 21, 1867.*  
IN the receipt of a letter, dated November 6th, from the Acting Prussian Consular Agent at Khartoum, a portion of which alludes to the Slave Trade and the persistent oppression of commerce, and the few Europeans that still remain in the Soudan, I take the liberty to inclose a translation of the extract for the information of your Lordship.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) JOHN PETHERICK.



## Inclosure 2 in No. 50.

*Mr. Caggenmacher to Mr. Petherick.*(Translation.)  
(Extract.)*Khartoum, November 6, 1867.*

WITH respect to the Slave Trade in the Soudan, the slanderous expressions of the Viceroy in Paris have also been read here.

I give you my word of honour that, during my residence in the Soudan, I have seen no European slave-dealer.

The Brothers Poncet employ about 300 men on the White River, and for several years they have prohibited their men from bringing a single black face with them.

On the other hand, the vessels of the Viceroy are always crowded with slaves, which partly are sent on to Cairo, and a portion are sold at this place.

It is the ardent desire of the Viceroy to drive the Europeans from the Soudan, in order that the Slave Trade may be prosecuted without scrutiny. For this purpose he endeavours to impede both commerce and transport, and the Governor-General is in receipt of instructions to that effect.

But recently several Arab villages in the vicinity of Sennaar have been sacked by the soldiery of the Egyptian Government, and they brought quantities of slaves with them from that locality.

Shortly previous to my arrival at Gadarif (about a year ago) thousands of Christians even, from Abyssinia, were sold to the Arabs of Taka and Matamma.

All Consular reclamations referring thereto have been fruitless.

## Inclosure 3 in No. 50.

*Mr. Petherick to Lord Stanley.*

My Lord,

*The Tookul, Henley-on-Thames, December 27, 1867.*

WITH reference to my letter of the 21st instant, I now have the honour to inclose a translation of an extract of a letter upon the same subject from Mr. Hansal, the Austrian Vice-Consul, dated Khartoum, November 5, and received by a later mail *via* Southampton.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed) JOHN PETHERICK.

## Inclosure 4 in No. 50.

*Mr. Hansal to Mr. Petherick.*(Translation.)  
(Extract.)*Khartoum, November 5, 1867.*

IN the course of a few days, the Brothers Poncet, with their families, will remove to Egypt; but, in the course of the next year, one or other of them will return here to sell their trading establishments on the White Nile, which they have not yet been able to dispose of to their satisfaction.

With the exception of the above, Sheik-il-Agâd, with the Viceroy's money, has already bought up the whole of the ivory trading stations on the White River.

Ismail Pasha is master and Agâd the tenant, who pays to the Viceroy an annual rental for the ivory trade.

It is therefore evident that Ismail Pasha has speculated and succeeded to monopolize the entire trade of the White Nile to himself.

## FRANCE.

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No. 51.

*Lord Stanley to Mr. Fane.*

Sir, *Foreign Office, January 26, 1867.*  
I INCLOSE, for your information, copies of a letter and of its inclosures which I have received from the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, respecting an Anti-Slavery Meeting which the Society is anxious to organize in Paris in June next, and I recommend the deputation which is about to proceed to Paris to your good offices for the furtherance of the object they have in view.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) STANLEY.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 51.

*Mr. Chamerovzow to Lord Stanley.*

My Lord, *27, New Broad Street, January 23, 1867.*  
A DEPUTATION appointed by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, is about to proceed to Paris for the purpose of presenting to M. le Marquis de Lavalette, Minister of the Interior, a requisition (copy inclosed) for the necessary authorisation to hold an Anti-Slavery Conference in Paris in the month of June next.

I am instructed by the Committee to ask whether your Lordship will so far promote the object of the deputation as to furnish us with a letter to his Excellency Earl Cowley, or, in the event of his absence, to his representative, with a view to obtain readier access to the Minister, and also to give due weight to our application.

I am to add that, as the matter is urgent, the Committee will feel obliged if your Lordship will return an answer to this communication at your earliest convenience.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) L. A. CHAMEROVZOW, *Secretary.*

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Inclosure 2 in No. 51.

*The Sub-Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to the Marquis de Lavalette.*

Excellency, *27, New Broad Street, London, December 12, 1866.*

WE, the Undersigned, on our own behalf, and on that of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, have the honour to inform your Excellency that it is proposed to hold in Paris, some time in June next, a conference of friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, to consider the present position of the question of Negro Emancipation, which it is their object to promote.

It is concluded that a large number of gentlemen who are identified with the Anti-Slavery movement, will be attracted from foreign countries to Paris by the Great Exhibition, many of whom have already intimated that they would highly value the opportunity it presents to submit the results of their experience on the various phases of this important question.

We therefore most respectfully solicit of your Excellency the authorization which we are informed is necessary to hold the proposed Conference, at such time in June, and in such locality, as may be finally selected; but the Memorialists would consider it a signal favour, and an additional obligation, if your Excellency would obtain for them, for the

purpose mentioned, the use of one of the numerous buildings at the disposal of the Government of His Imperial Majesty.

We have, &c.  
(Signed)

BROUGHAM AND VAUX.  
W. E. FORSTER, M.P.  
CHAS. GILPIN, M.P.  
THOMAS B. POTTER, M.P.  
T. FOWELL BUXTON, M.P.  
JOSEPH COOPER.  
WILLIAM ALLEN.  
HENRY STERRY.  
JAMES W. MASSIE, D.D., LL.D.  
L. A. CHAMEROVZOW, *Secretary*.

No. 52.

*Lord Stanley to Mr. Fane.*

Sir,

*Foreign Office, February 21, 1867.*

WITH reference to Lord Cowley's despatch of September 18, 1866, inclosing a *note verbale* which had been communicated to him by the French Government, in answer to the representations which his Excellency had been instructed to make upon the alleged Slave Traffic carried on by French subjects in the Island of Réunion, I now transmit to you copies of a despatch and its inclosures from Her Majesty's Consul at Madagascar,\* to whom the *note verbale* was referred; and I have to instruct you to communicate these papers to the French Government, and to state that Her Majesty's Government having originally brought this subject to the notice of the Government of the Emperor, consider it right to furnish them with the additional information which has been received from Her Majesty's Consul in Madagascar.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) STANLEY.

No. 53.

*Mr. Fane to Lord Stanley.—(Received February 27.)*

My Lord,

*Paris, February 25, 1867.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I have this day addressed a note to the French Government in the terms of your Lordship's despatch of the 21st instant, instructing me to communicate to the French Government certain correspondence relative to alleged Slave Traffic at the Island of Réunion.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) JULIAN FANE.

No. 54.

*Lord Stanley to Earl Cowley.*

My Lord,

*Foreign Office, June 27, 1867.*

WITH reference to my despatch of the 21st of February last, and to previous correspondence relating to the Slave Traffic alleged by Her Majesty's Consul in Madagascar to be carried on by French subjects in the Island of Réunion, I now inclose, for your Excellency's information, a copy of a further despatch on this subject from Her Majesty's Consul in Madagascar, inclosing an extract from the "Mauritius Commercial Gazette."

If the statement contained in this extract is correct, the French authorities would appear to have found out that it was not without reason that Mr. Consul Pakenham denounced as partaking of the nature of Slave Traffic, the proceedings of certain French subjects who were engaged in introducing into Réunion, Malagasy and African labourers, whose services they purchased in Madagascar.

It will not be necessary that your Excellency should make any fresh representation to the French Government on this subject; but you will not fail to make use of the

information contained in the inclosed despatch should your Excellency ever have occasion to mention the matter again to the French Minister.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) STANLEY.

No. 55.

*Mr. Fane to Lord Stanley.—(Received July 15.)*

My Lord,

*Paris, July 14, 1867.*

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch of the 21st February, relative to the alleged Slave Traffic carried on by French subjects in the Island of Réunion, I have the honour to transmit herewith a copy of a note from the Marquis de Moustier, stating that the Minister of Marine and of the Colonies had received an answer to the instruction which his Excellency had sent to Captain Dupré, enjoining on that officer the greatest care, in order to prevent any abuses of the kind alleged from being committed, and that Captain Dupré informed his Excellency in his answer that he had already taken the necessary measures for insuring the strict observance of the regulations, and for preventing any illicit trade by the merchant-vessels plying between Réunion and Madagascar.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) JULIAN FANE.

Inclosure in No. 55.

*M. de Moustier to Mr. Adams.*

Monsieur,

*Paris, le 8 Juillet, 1867.*

PAR une lettre en date du 25 Février dernier, M. Julian Fane m'a communiqué une dépêche du Consul Britannique à Tamatave contenant de nouvelles informations sur les manœuvres attribuées à des habitants de la Colonie Française de la Réunion et qui auraient pour but de se procurer des travailleurs à Madagascar. J'ai l'honneur de vous faire savoir, en me référant, d'ailleurs, aux explications contenues dans la note qui a été remise à son Excellence M. le Comte Cowley par M. le Marquis de La Valette, au mois de Septembre dernier, que M. le Ministre de la Marine a recommandé à M. le Gouverneur de la Réunion de veiller avec le plus grand soin à ce qu'aucun abus ne puisse se produire impunément. Il résulte de la réponse que M. l'Amiral Rigault de Genouilly a reçue de M. le Capitaine de Vaisseau Dupré, que cet officier supérieur avait déjà de lui-même prescrit les mesures nécessaires pour assurer la stricte observation des règlements et pour que les navires affectés au commerce entre la Réunion et Madagascar ne soient employés à aucune opération illicite.

Recevez, &c.  
(Signé) MOUSTIER.

## MADAGASCAR.

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No. 56.

*Consul Pakenham to Lord Stanley.—(Received February 18, 1867.)*

My Lord,

*Tamatave, November 22, 1866.*

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 26th of September, covering a copy of the *note verbale* from the French Government, in reply to the statements contained in my despatches of the 5th and 17th of January last.

The denial in that note of the facts alleged in my despatches above-mentioned renders it incumbent on me to submit the following observations with a view to show that the erroneous information is not on the side of Her Majesty's Government.

I was induced to address the Governor of Réunion, on the 30th of December, 1865, in consequence of the report I had received from his Excellency the Governor of the Mauritius, respecting certain alleged slave dealings carried on by French subjects, in French vessels, between the Islands of Madagascar and Réunion.

Had Captain Dupré then followed the course suggested in my letter to him, and instituted an inquiry into the facts reported, the inevitable issue must have been either to establish or disprove their accuracy. But, instead of so doing, he never even acknowledged the receipt of my letter, nor, am I aware, took any serious steps in the matter.

On the receipt at St. Denis of Governor Barkley's Report, both Captain Johnston, Acting British Consul, and myself took considerable trouble in making inquiries on the subject, and the result fully confirmed the truth of the communications made to his Excellency. I am, therefore, unable to admit that information derived from separate and independent sources on the same subject, by three different parties, and coinciding in every respect, can have been erroneous; the more so as it appears to be supported by circumstantial evidence of a most conclusive character. Nor are there any grounds for assuming that the Chiefs on that part of the coast of Madagascar, whence the natives are said to have been carried off, would have complained to the Hova Government, and they to their own Consul at the Mauritius and myself, unless the outrage complained of had been really perpetrated.

If, then, the Malagasy labourers introduced into Réunion, mostly taken from the free portion of the population of Madagascar, on the one hand, are embarked without the sanction of the Hova authorities, and on this account are liable to severe punishment when they return to Madagascar; and, on the other, if they remain in Réunion, are compelled, as stated in the *note verbale*, to enter into an engagement, usually, I believe, of ten years' duration, it cannot be denied that one of the immediate consequences of such a system is to reduce men from a state of comparative freedom in their own country to one of positive servitude in another.

I had the honour of transmitting, on the 12th September, for your Lordship's information, the report of the master of the British barque "Aurora," O.N. 31,703, respecting the case of a Malagasy who had swum off to that vessel in the roadstead of St. Pauls (Réunion), and implored a passage back to Tamatave, whence he had been carried off some years previously, by the captain of a French ship; from which it would appear certain, not only that labourers for Réunion are drawn from other parts than merely the southern coast of Madagascar, but that the vigilance of the Réunion authorities is sometimes eluded, and the measures adopted ineffectual in preventing abuses as regards their recruitment and introduction.

And I beg now to transmit further documentary evidence touching this matter; most respectfully leaving it with your Lordship to decide whether any reasonable doubt can be

entertained as to the accuracy of the statements made in my despatches of the 5th and 17th of January last.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) T. C. PAKENHAM.

Inclosure 1 in No. 56.

*Mr. Wilkinson to Consul Pakenham.*

Dear Sir,

*Tamatave, June 2, 1866.*

I CONSIDER it my duty to let you know that in my opinion the "Messenger de Nossibé" is doing a nice little bit of slave-trading. Slaves or Malagasy have been taken from Mahanoro to Réunion.

Yours, &c.  
(Signed) TH. WILKINSON.

Inclosure 2 in No. 56.

*Deposition of Frank Marshall.*

ON Monday the 27th day of August, 1866, personally appeared before me, Frank Marshall, late of Natal, Cape Colony, at present residing at Tamatave, where he keeps a public-house, a British subject.

The said Frank Marshall on being questioned by me as to his knowledge of, and participation in, certain attempts recently made clandestinely to ship Malagasy on board the French schooner "Messenger de Nossibé," when that vessel was at anchor at Tamatave in May last, answered—that he had been offered a bribe in money to assist in carrying off a number of Malagasy at night to the "Messenger de Nossibé," but had refused to do so.

(Signed) T. C. PAKENHAM,  
*Her Britannic Majesty's Consul for Madagascar.*

Inclosure 3 in No. 56.

*Mr. Plant to Consul Pakenham.*

Sir,

*Tamatave, November 16, 1866.*

IN reply to your note of this morning's date requesting me to furnish you with particulars respecting a late attempt made to ship Malagasy to Bourbon. I beg to state that on or about the 27th of May last I received information from one of the native police officers of this port, that on the previous evening about 15 Malagasy lads were discovered concealed in a small boat lying alongside the beach, and as the officers neared the boat the lads run out and the boat pulled out to sea and escaped. On being asked by the police officers my advice in regard to preventive measures for the future, I told them to have the coast carefully watched at night.

I beg to remind you that I fully reported these circumstances to you on your arrival at Tamatave in June last, and I beg to add that the vessels in the harbour of Tamatave when the attempt was made were as follows:—

"King Radama," British; "Jessie Byrne," British; "Asia," British; "Aurore," British; "Messenger de Nossibé," French.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) FRANCIS PLANT.

Inclosure 4 in No. 56.

*Deposition of Charles de Lainé, the Son, a British subject, residing and carrying on Trade at Tamatave, Madagascar.*

AU mois de Décembre dernier, 1865, je me suis embarqué comme passager à bord du navire Français "l'Étienne et Laurence," Capitaine Massé, à Mahanoro au sud de Tamatave,  
CLASS B.

pour me rendre à la Réunion. Le jour de notre départ, le 13 Décembre, j'ai su que sept Malgaches avaient été embarqués clandestinement la nuit précédente. A notre arrivée à St. Denis de la Réunion; après une traversée d'environ huit jours, six de ces mêmes Malgaches ont été débarqués à St. Denis; le septième est mort en vue de terre.

(Signé) CH. DE LAINE, FILS.

The foregoing deposition in French, the only language which the deponent, a Creole of the Mauritius, understands, after having been read over to him was sworn to and signed at Her Britannic Majesty's Consulate, Tamatave, this 16th day of November, 1866.

Before me, &c.

(Signed) T. C. PAKENHAM,  
Her Britannic Majesty's Consul for Madagascar.

Inclosure 5 in No. 56.

*Memorandum.*

ON Saturday the 17th day of November, 1866, the French barque "C. J.," Captain Jotorat, of Nantes, from Réunion, anchored at Tamatave, when two Magalasy who, in order to escape from that Colony, had concealed themselves on board, and were only discovered after the "C. J." had put to sea, were landed and handed over to the Hova authorities.

(Signed) T. C. PAKENHAM,  
Her Britannic Majesty's Consul for Madagascar.

No. 57.

*Consul Pakenham to Lord Stanley.—(Received June 19.)*

My Lord,

*Tamatave, April 12, 1867.*

I HAVE the honour herewith to transmit, for your Lordship's information, an extract from the "Mauritius Commercial Gazette," showing the nature of the traffic in which the French schooner "Messenger de Nossibé," belonging to Réunion, has been lately engaged; and I may here mention that this is the vessel alluded to in the inclosure, in my despatch of the 22nd November, 1866, as the one on which an attempt was made to ship Malagasy at Tamatave during the early part of last year.

I beg further to submit, for your Lordship's consideration, that the "passenger trade," in which the "Messenger de Nossibé" has been employed, is exactly the same as that reported in my despatches of the 5th and 17th of January, 1866, as carried on by French vessels; and that the objections which I then pointed out in regard to operations which the Governor of Réunion, when called upon for explanations by the French Government, represented as perfectly legitimate, must since have been fully admitted to exist by M. Dupré himself, as he has considered it necessary to prohibit the continuance of such traffic.

I therefore venture to hope that your Lordship will now view that Her Majesty's Government have been in possession of more accurate information in regard to occurrences which have taken place in Réunion than the French Government itself.

I have, &c.

(Signed) T. C. PAKENHAM.

Inclosure in No. 57.

*Extract from the Mauritius "Commercial Gazette" of February 8, 1867.*

*Réunion Correspondence.*

*St. Denis February 5, 1867.*

THE "Messenger de Nossibé," arrived from Nossibé with 28 Kaffirs\* as passengers, but as the captain made the mistake in going into St. Mary's for water during the time a French frigate was lying there, a report was sent by the commander of the frigate to

\* The term "Kaffir" in Réunion is exclusively applied to natives of the mainland of Africa.

Réunion, treating the "Messenger de Nossibé" as a slaver, and the owners of the vessel have to thank the Governor of Réunion for not having their ship seized. It appears, however, that the Governor has convoked the principal merchants engaged in the passenger trade from Madagascar, reminding them that there must be a stop put to their proceedings, and that he will take cognizance of any further introduction of "passengers" in future by their respective vessels.

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## PORTUGAL.

No. 58.

*Lord Stanley to Sir A. Page .*

Sir, *Foreign Office, January 8, 1867.*  
 I TRANSMIT to you herewith lists of Her Majesty's ships furnished with warrants for the suppression of the Slave Trade, specifying the number of their guns, the names and ranks of their commanding officers, and the stations on which they are employed, and I have to desire that, in conformity with the stipulations contained in the second paragraph of Article III of the Treaty between this country and Portugal for the suppression of the Slave Trade, you will communicate copies of these lists to the Portuguese Government.

I am, &c.  
 (Signed) STANLEY.

Inclosure in No. 58.

### RETURN of Her Majesty's Ships employed in the Suppression of the Slave Trade.

Station.	Ship's Name.	No. of Guns.	Name and Rank of Commanding Officer.
Coast of Africa .. ..	Bristol .. ..	31	Captain L. E. H. Somerset.
	Espoir .. ..	5	Commander M. S. L. Peile.
	Pandora .. ..	5	Commander E. Stubbs.
	Snipe .. ..	5	Commander H. A. Trollope.
	Speedwell .. ..	5	Commander J. E. Erskine.
	Jaseur .. ..	5	Commander J. H. Grubbe.
	Greyhound .. ..	5	Captain C. Stirling.
	Landrail .. ..	5	Commander H. L. A. L. Maitland.
	Torch .. ..	5	Commander G. A. Douglas.
	Dromedary .. ..	2	Staff Commander J. H. Allard. (No foreign warrant).
	Mullet .. ..	5	Commander C. A. P. V. Robinson.
	Griffon .. ..	5	Commander D. G. Davidson.
	Oberon .. ..	3	Lieutenant H. Hand.
	Antelope .. ..	3	Lieutenant John Bruce.
	Ranger .. ..	5	Commander W. A. Cambier.
	Dart .. ..	5	Commander M. Lowther.
Cape of Good Hope . ..	Valorous .. ..	..	Captain C. C. Forsyth.
	Rapid .. ..	..	Captain C. T. Jago.
	Petrel .. ..	..	Commander W. E. Gordon.
North America and West Indies	Duncan .. ..	81	Captain R. Gibson.
	Constance .. ..	35	Captain E. K. Barnard.
	Cadmus .. ..	21	Captain A. C. Gordon.
	Sphinx .. ..	6	Captain R. V. Hamilton.
	Niger .. ..	13	Captain J. M. Bruce.
	Cordelia .. ..	11	Commander T. A. De Wahl.
	Gannet .. ..	3	Commander W. Chimmo.
	Steady .. ..	5	Commander T. T. Bullock.
	Nimble .. ..	5	Commander A. J. Chatfield.
	Aboukir .. ..	86	Commodore Sir F. L. Mc Clintock.
	Aurora .. ..	35	Captain A. F. R. De Horsey.
	Wolverine .. ..	21	Captain Thos. Cochran.
	Doris .. ..	24	Captain C. Vesey.
	Fawn .. ..	17	Commander B. S. de R. Hall.
	Royalist .. ..	11	Commander H. E. G. Earle.
Barracouta .. ..	6	Commander G. D. Bevan.	

Station.	Ship's Name.	No. of Guns.	Name and Rank of Commanding Officer.	
North America and West Indies— <i>continued.</i>	Minstrel .. ..	2	Lieutenant M. B. Medlycott.	
	Cherub .. ..	2	Lieutenant S. R. Huntley.	
	Heron .. ..	2	Lieutenant W. Howorth.	
	Britomart .. ..	2	Lieutenant A. H. Alington	
	Favorite .. ..	10	Captain F. H. Shortt.	
	Jason .. ..	17	Captain C. M. Aynsley.	
	Nettle .. ..	2	Lieutenant C. Jenkins.	
	Cygnets .. ..	5	Commander Hon. H. W. Chetwynd.	
	Delight .. ..	2	Lieutenant T. H. Larcom.	
	South-east Coast of America ..	Narcissus .. ..	35	Captain J. C. Wilson.
Sharpshooter .. ..		6	Lieutenant B. W. Bax.	
Triton .. ..		3	Lieutenant R. H. Napier.	
Gleaner .. ..		2	Lieutenant C. F. Hill.	
Doterel .. ..		2	Lieutenant R. H. Thompson.	
Spider .. ..		2	Lieutenant J. B. Michell.	
Spiteful .. ..		6	Commander A. D. W. Fletcher.	
Linnet .. ..		2	Lieutenant A. Salwey.	
East Indies .. ..		Octavia .. ..	35	Captain C. F. Hillyar.
		Highflyer .. ..	21	Captain T. M. S. Pasley.
	Wasp .. ..	13	Captain N. B. Bedingfeld.	
	Pantaloon .. ..	11	Commander G. L. Sullivan.	
	Lyra .. ..	7	Commander R. A. Parr.	
	Vigilant .. ..	4	Commander R. A. O. Brown.	
	Penguin .. ..	5	Lieutenant E. St. J. Garforth.	
Star .. ..	4	Commander R. Bradshaw.		

*Admiralty, January 2, 1867.*

No. 59.

*Sir A. Paget to Lord Stanley.—(Received January 9.)*

My Lord,

*Lisbon, December 31, 1866.*

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch of the 30th of November last, I have the honour to inclose a translation by Mr. Duff of a note dated the 26th instant, which I have received from M. Casal Ribeiro, in reply to the one I had addressed to his Excellency on the 17th of the same month, forwarding an extract from the annual Report of the British Commissioner in the Mixed Commission Court at the Cape of Good Hope.

In his note to me, M. Casal Ribeiro expresses the satisfaction of the Portuguese Government at seeing that the exertions of their authorities on the East Coast of Africa are justly appreciated.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) A. PAGET.

Inclosure in No. 59.

*Senhor Ribeiro to Sir A. Paget.*

(Translation.)

Most Illustrious and Excellent Sir, *Foreign Department, Lisbon, December 26, 1866.*

I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's note, dated the 17th instant, and also of the extract inclosed therein from the Annual Report of the British Commissioner in the Mixed Commission Court at the Cape of Good Hope, with respect to the Slave Trade on the East Coast of Africa.

While thanking your Excellency for having communicated to me this information, which I will bring under the knowledge of the Minister of Marine, it is my duty to state to your Excellency that His Majesty's Government was very much pleased to learn that the endeavours used by the Portuguese authorities in that part of Africa for the suppression of that inhuman Traffic are held in just esteem.

I avail, &c.  
(Signed) CAZAL RIBEIRO.

No. 60.

*Sir A. Paget to Lord Stanley.—(Received February 4.)*

My Lord,

*Lisbon, January 26, 1867.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that, in compliance with the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch of the 8th instant, I forwarded on the 19th of this month to the Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs a list of Her Majesty's ships engaged in the suppression of the Slave Trade.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 61.

*Sir A. Paget to Lord Stanley.—(Received January )*

(Extract.)

*Lisbon, January 25, 1867.*

ON the 21st a Bill presented to the Chamber of Peers by the Marquis of Sá da Bandeira for the abolition of slavery in the Portuguese Possessions, was referred to a Committee of the House. The Marquis of Sá da Bandeira has for many years been a constant and energetic advocate of this measure. A Government Commission has now been nominated to consider by what means the abolition of slavery may be most speedily effected.

No. 62.

*Lord Stanley to Sir A. Paget.*

Sir,

*Foreign Office, February 5, 1867.*

I TRANSMIT to you herewith a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Commissioner at Loanda,\* containing some observations respecting a slave vessel which is expected to ship a cargo of slaves from the neighbourhood of Ambrizette on the African coast, and is, it is stated, to be commanded by the notorious slave captain Quirino José Pinheiro, who left the Island of Brava in the Portuguese fore-and-aft schooner "Santo Antonio."

You will perceive that Mr. Vredenburg states that a Senhor Leivas, of Lisbon, is now the only person in Europe who is believed to be systematically engaged in dispatching vessels to the Southern Coast of Africa to be engaged in the Slave Trade, and as this is not the first time that Senhor Leivas' name has been reported to Her Majesty's Government as being mixed up in slave-trading transactions, I have to desire that you will cause inquiries to be made, and report to me any information you may be able to procure respecting this individual; and should you deem it advisable to do so, you will communicate to the Portuguese Government the substance of Mr. Vredenburg's Report respecting Senhor Leivas.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) STANLEY.

No. 63.

*Lord Stanley to Sir A. Paget.*

Sir.

*Foreign Office, February 27, 1867.*

WITH reference to my despatch of the 5th instant, instructing you to cause inquiries to be made respecting a Senhor Leivas, of Lisbon, who was stated to be still systematically engaged in the African Slave Trade, I now inclose a copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Commissioner at Loanda,† reporting that Senhor Leivas being convinced of the futility of attempting to retrieve his heavy losses by slave-trading operations has determined finally to relinquish the Traffic.

I shall be glad to learn that the result of the inquiries which you will have instituted confirms the satisfactory Report received from Mr. Vredenburg.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) STANLEY.

\* Class A, No. 27.

† Ibid., No. 29.

No. 64.

*Lord Stanley to Sir A. Paget.*

Sir,

*Foreign Office, February 28, 1867.*

I TRANSMIT to you, herewith, copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Commissioner at Loanda,\* reporting what passed at a conversation which he had with the Governor-General of Angola upon the subject of the Slave Trade, and the introduction of slaves under the designation of "libertos," into the Island of San Thomé and Principe.

You will see also from the letter addressed by Her Majesty's Commissioner to the Governor-General, of which a copy accompanies Mr. Vredenburg's despatch, that he thought it necessary to call his Excellency's attention to the Trade in Slaves which is stated to be systematically carried on from the neighbourhood of the River Cama to the Islands of Principe and San Thomé, and I have to instruct you to take an opportunity of bringing this subject to the notice of the Portuguese Government, and of pointing out that it would scarcely seem possible that the traffic above referred to should exist without the knowledge of the Portuguese authorities.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) STANLEY.

No. 65.

*Lord Stanley to Sir A. Paget.*

Sir,

*Foreign Office, April 4, 1867.*

I TRANSMIT to you herewith copies of two despatches relating to Slave Trade matters which I have received from Her Majesty's Commissioner at Loanda.†

You will perceive from Mr. Vredenburg's Reports, that on the occasion of the arrival at Loanda of the Portuguese schooner "St. Antonio," a vessel strongly suspected of being destined for employment in the Slave Trade, and on board of which the notorious slave captain, Quirino José Pinheiro, was a passenger, the Captain-General immediately adopted measures which it is to be hoped will effectually defeat any designs of the slave-traders for employing this vessel in Slave Traffic; and it will be seen also that in consequence of orders from the Captain-General, the practice of transporting slaves from Loanda to the Island of San Thomé, under the pretence of their being libertos, has been suspended.

I have to instruct you to take an opportunity of expressing to the Portuguese Government the gratification with which Her Majesty's Government have learnt the conduct of the Captain-General of Angola in these matters.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) STANLEY.

No. 66.

*Sir A. Paget to Lord Stanley.—(Received April 5.)*

My Lord,

*Lisbon, March 29, 1867.*

IN reply to your Lordship's despatches of the 5th and 27th of February last, I have the honour to report that I have been unable to obtain any information respecting a certain Senhor Leivas, who was formerly stated by Mr. Commissioner Vredenburg to be still engaged in the Slave Trade.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) A. PAGET.

No. 67.

*Lord Stanley to Mr. Harriss.*

Sir,

*Foreign Office, August 30, 1867.*

I INCLOSE herewith a copy of a letter from Commodore Hornby which I have received from the Admiralty‡ reporting the capture by a French cruiser of a canoe carrying slaves from Cape Lopez to St. Thomas's Island.

\* Class A, No. 28.

† Ibid., Nos. 30 and 31.

‡ Ibid., No. 68.

Her Majesty's Government are aware that a small traffic in slaves has long been carried on by means of canoes between the African Coast and the Portuguese Islands of San Thomé and Príncipe which it is almost impossible for British cruisers to prevent owing to the nature of the craft engaged in it.

It is probable, now that the traffic in "libertos" from Loanda has been abandoned, that the Slave Trade will be more actively carried on by means of these canoes, and I have, therefore, to instruct you to call the attention of the Portuguese Government to this matter.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) STANLEY.

No. 68.

*Lord Stanley to Mr. Harriss.*

Sir,

*Foreign Office, September 7, 1867.*

WITH reference to Sir A. Paget's despatch of the 12th of December last, and to former correspondence on the subject of the request made by the Portuguese Government for the removal from Loanda of Mr. Vredenburg, Her Majesty's Consul and Commissioner in the Mixed Commission Court, established at that place for the suppression of the Slave Trade, I transmit to you, for your information, copies of a letter, and of its inclosures, which I have received from Mr. Vredenburg,\* describing the nature of the relations which have subsisted between him and the late Governor-General of Angola and the subordinate Portuguese authorities.

I have to instruct you to communicate the substance of the above letters to the Portuguese Government.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) STANLEY.

No. 69.

*Mr. Harriss to Lord Stanley.—(Received September 22.)*

My Lord,

*Lisbon, September 11, 1867.*

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 30th ultimo, and to transmit herewith a copy of the note which I yesterday addressed, according to your Lordship's instructions, to the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs, calling his Excellency's attention to the probability of increased activity in the Slave Trade Traffic in canoes between the West African Coast and the Portuguese Islands of San Thomé and Príncipe.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) J. P. HARRISS.

Inclosure in No. 69.

*Mr. Harriss to Senhor Ribeiro.*

M. le Ministre,

*Lisbon, September 10, 1867.*

I HAVE the honour to state to your Excellency that Lord Stanley has received information from the Admiralty that Rear-Admiral Viconte Fleuriot de Langle, commanding the French squadron on the West Coast of Africa, has communicated to Commodore Hornby, commanding the British naval forces on that coast, the fact that a few weeks ago one of the cruisers under his orders captured, a little to the northward of Cape Lopez, a large canoe with 34 slaves on board, which were being conveyed from that part of the coast to the Portuguese Island of St. Thomas. The crew of the canoe, about seven in number, were coloured men, all speaking Portuguese.

Her Majesty's Government are aware that a small Traffic in Slaves has long been carried on by means of canoes between the African coast and Portuguese Islands of San Thomé and Príncipe, which it is almost impossible for British cruisers to prevent, owing to the nature of the craft engaged in it.

Her Majesty's Government are disposed to be of opinion that it is probable now that the traffic in "libertos" from Loanda has been abandoned, that the Slave Trade will be more actively carried on by means of these canoes.

I have accordingly been instructed by Lord Stanley to call your Excellency's attention to this matter, for Her Majesty's Government do not doubt that His Most Faithful Majesty's Government will exercise the same vigour in this matter as that which it has so successfully exercised in destroying other branches of the Slave Trade Traffic.

I avail, &c.  
(Signed) J. P. HARRISS.

No. 70.

*Mr. Harriss to Lord Stanley.—(Received September 22.)*

My Lord,

*Lisbon, September 12, 1867.*

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch of the 7th instant, I have the honour to transmit herewith a copy of the note which I have to-day addressed to the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs, in accordance with your Lordship's instruction to communicate to His Most Faithful Majesty's Government the substance of the counter statement which Her Majesty's Consul at Loanda has made by way of self-justification in reply to the charges on which the Portuguese Government based a request for his removal from Loanda.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) J. P. HARRISS.

Inclosure in No. 70.

*Mr. Harriss to Senhor Ribeiro.*

M. le Ministre,

*Lisbon, September 12, 1867.*

I HAVE the honour to communicate, by instructions of Lord Stanley to your Excellency, certain counter-statements which Her Britannic Majesty's Consul at Loanda has deemed it necessary to make with reference to a request which has been made by His Most Faithful Majesty's Government for his removal from the district of Angola.

Your Excellency will doubtless recall without difficulty the general tenor of the correspondence in which that request is contained, and I therefore beg your permission to abstain from a tedious and unnecessary reference to it.

Mr. Vrebenburg appears to have only become aware of the tenor of that correspondence on his return to Europe, and as he has considered it desirable to forward to Lord Stanley a copy of a letter which on his departure from Loanda he had had the honour to receive from the Governor-General of Angola, and of which the uncopied original had remained at Loanda, some unprejudicial delay has consequently occurred in the presentation of his counter-statements.

The principal grounds on which His Most Faithful Majesty appeared to base their request were that Mr. Vredenburg was acrimonious, and that he was always on bad terms with their authorities. As, however, Mr. Vredenburg had flattered himself that he had not only acted fully up to his determination of calling the attention of Her Majesty's Government to cases in which the Portuguese authorities acted in good faith, and to such of their proceedings as were deserving of approbation, but that he had sought out every occasion to report thus favourably in these respects, he states that he was not a little surprised to read the correspondence published in the English Blue Book.

Mr. Vredenburg adds that his public relations with Senhor Andrade, the predecessor of the present Governor-General, were always of the most amicable description, and that he lost no opportunity of acknowledging and bearing testimony to the praiseworthy efforts which Senhor Andrade made to suppress the Slave Trade, and he refers to the whole of his correspondence as evidence of these facts. Mr. Vredenburg further states that the private relations between Senhor Andrade and himself were of the most friendly and intimate nature.

With respect to Mr. Vredenburg's relations with the present Governor-General, he produces a copy of the letter to which I have previously referred, and from which I beg to quote the following paragraphs:—

"It is fit that I should make known to you the pain that I feel that a functionary

CLASS B.

of Her Britannic Majesty's Government should absent himself from this Province, with whom such excellent ('bella') harmony has existed during the period of my Government, and who has constantly given me proof of his gentlemanlike conduct ('cavalheirismo') and delicacy.

"For my part, I congratulate myself that, officially and privately, the best relations have always existed between the Representative of the British Government in this Province and the Governor-General of Angola, it remaining for me to thank you for the extreme delicacy and deference with which you always treated me, and to ask you to consider me among those gentlemen who esteem and respect you."

Your Excellency will, I am glad to think, be able to admit that this extract from the despatch of the Governor-General is of a most satisfactory nature, and that its testimony in Mr. Vredenburg's favour is a reply of much importance to any charges which may have been brought against him to the effect that he was acrimonious, and that he was on bad terms with the Colonial authorities. Indeed, this despatch appeared to Her Majesty's Consul to be of so complimentary and flattering a nature that he abstained for that reason from at once sending a copy of it to Lord Stanley, but his perusal of the correspondence in the Blue Book has now induced him to produce it in self-justification.

Your Excellency will readily understand that under these circumstances Her Majesty's Consul has not failed to point out to Her Majesty's Government what he feels to be the injustice of the charges which have been brought against him.

I avail, &c.  
(Signed) J. P. HARRISS.

No. 71.

*Mr. Harriss to Lord Stanley.—(Received September 22.)*

My Lord,

*Lisbon, September 13, 1867.*

WITH reference to my despatch of the 11th instant, I have the honour to transmit herewith a translation of the reply which I have received from the Portuguese Minister for Foreign Affairs to the note which I had, by your Lordship's instruction, addressed to his Excellency, calling his attention to the capture by a French cruiser of a canoe with a cargo of slaves near Cape Lopez on the West African Coast.

Your Lordship will perceive that M. Cazal Ribeiro takes advantage of the representation respecting this incident to refer to the increased means of repression of the Slave Trade which would be at the command of the Portuguese Government if the district within which Cape Lopez is situated were to be acknowledged as part of the Portuguese dominions.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) J. P. HARRISS.

Inclosure in No. 71.

*Senhor Ribeiro to Mr. Harriss.*

(Translation.)

*Foreign Department, Lisbon, September 12, 1867.*

I HAD the honour to receive the note which you were pleased to address to me on the 10th instant acquainting me that Lord Stanley had been informed of the capture, which took place a little to the north of the Cape Lopo Gonçaves, of a large canoe with thirty-four slaves on board bound to the Island of San Thomé.

I am going to communicate to the Minister of Marine the contents of that note for the proper purpose, His Majesty's Government having seen with great satisfaction the very just opinion which is expressed in the latter part of that note respecting the result of the measures adopted by that Government for the purpose of suppressing altogether the odious Traffic in Slaves.

It is my duty on this occasion to observe to you that inasmuch as that cape lies beyond the limits at present occupied by Portugal, because it is situated at 0° 36' of south latitude, the Portuguese authorities cannot exercise there that control which they so usefully exercise where they are constituted.

This is another proof, among many others, of the great utility there would be for the cause of humanity if the Portuguese occupation on the West Coast of Africa were to attain its natural limits and were extended to all the territories to which the Crown of

Portugal possesses an unquestionable right. This would be the most effectual of all measures for the purpose of completing the extinction of the Traffic, as it has very often been stated on the part of the Portuguese Government to that of Her Britannic Majesty.

I avail, &c.

(Signed) CAZAL RIBEIRO.

No. 72.

*Mr. Lytton to Lord Stanley.—(Received September 26.)*

My Lord,

*Lisbon, September 19, 1867.*

WITH reference to Mr. Harriss' despatch of the 13th instant, and more especially to the note from M. Cazal Ribeiro, of which a translation was inclosed in that despatch, relative to the capture, near Cape Lopez, of a canoe with a cargo of slaves, I have the honour to inclose herewith translation (by Mr. Duff) of a further communication addressed upon this subject by M. Cazal Ribeiro to Mr. Harriss, explanatory of a passage in his Excellency's note of the 12th instant respecting the limits of Portuguese jurisdiction on the West Coast of Africa.

I have, &c

(Signed) RT. LYTTON.

Inclosure in No. 72.

*Senhor Ribeiro to Mr. Harriss.*

(Translation.)

*Lisbon, September 13, 1867.*

I HAVE received the note which you were pleased to address to me this day, wherein, while acknowledging the receipt of that which I had forwarded to you on the 12th instant concerning the communication made to me by you on the 10th relative to the capture of a large canoe with slaves bound to the Island of San Thomé, you state that you will not fail to transmit a copy of my note to your Government and to call the attention of Lord Stanley to the reference contained therein as to the effectual means for the repression of the Slave Trade which would, in my opinion, be at the disposal of the Portuguese Government if the district in which Cape Lopo Gonçaves is situated were recognized as part of the Portuguese dominions.

With reference to the words of which you make use in your note of to-day, I beg leave to observe that there appears to be some misconception in the interpretation given by you to a part of my above-mentioned note of the 12th instant, because when I expressed the opinion that it would be highly expedient, for a more effectual repression of the Slave Trade, that the Portuguese occupation on the West Coast of Africa should attain its natural limits and should extend to all the territories to which the Crown of Portugal possesses an indisputable right, I neither stated nor wished to mean that the Cape Lopo Gonçaves, which is situated at 0° 36' south latitude, was included within those limits.

While thus ratifying the ideas which I expressed to you in my note of the 12th instant, I avail, &c.

(Signed) CAZAL RIBEIRO.

No. 73.

*Lord Stanley to Mr. Lytton.*

Sir,

*Foreign Office, November 29, 1867.*

I TRANSMIT for your information, and for communication to the Portuguese Government, the accompanying extract from his annual Report upon the Slave Trade, which I have received from Mr. Hewett, Her Majesty's Acting Commissioner at Loanda;\* and I have to instruct you to call the attention of the Portuguese Minister to Mr. Hewett's statement, that negroes still continue to be introduced, though not to so great an extent as formerly, into the Portuguese islands of San Thomé and Príncipe either under the name

\* Class A, Inclosure in No. 38.



of "libertos" from Loanda, or as slaves from the mainland opposite the islands in question.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) STANLEY.

No. 74.

*Lord Stanley to Mr. Lytton.*

Sir,

*Foreign Office, November 29, 1867.*

I TRANSMIT for your information, the accompanying extract of a despatch from Her Majesty's Commissioner at the Cape of Good Hope,\* reporting what passed at a conversation which he had with the new Governor-General of the Portuguese Settlements on the East Coast of Africa, who has recently been staying at Cape Town on his way to Mozambique; and I have to instruct you to take an opportunity of making known to the Portuguese Government the satisfaction with which Her Majesty's Government have learnt the views of his Excellency Senhor Correia de Lacerda as expressed to Mr. Layard with regard to the suppression of the Slave Traffic, and the encouragement of legitimate trade, and agricultural pursuits.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) STANLEY.

No. 75.

*Mr. Lytton to Lord Stanley.—(Received December 10.)*

My Lord,

*Lisbon, December 5, 1867.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that, in compliance with the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch of the 29th ultimo of this series, I have transmitted to the Portuguese Government, copy of an extract from the annual Report upon the Slave Trade from Her Majesty's Acting Commissioner at Loanda; and, in so doing, I did not fail to call the attention of the Portuguese Government, to the importation which is still carried on, into the Islands of San Thomé and Príncipe, of negroes, either under the name of libertos from Angola, or as slaves from the mainland opposite the above-mentioned islands.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) RT. LYTTON.

No. 76.

*Mr. Lytton to Lord Stanley.—(Received December 10.)*

My Lord,

*Lisbon, December 5, 1867.*

IN compliance with the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch of the 29th ultimo, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that I have transmitted to the Portuguese Government a copy of the extract from Her Majesty's Commissioner at Cape Town with reference to a conversation which he had with the new Governor-General of the Portuguese Settlements on the East Coast of Africa on the subject of the suppression of the Slave Trade, and the encouragement of legitimate trade and agricultural pursuits.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) RT. LYTTON.

## SPAIN.

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No. 77.

*Lord Stanley to Sir J. Crampton.*

Sir,

*Foreign Office, January 18, 1867.*

I TRANSMIT to you herewith Lists of Her Majesty's ships furnished with Warrants for the suppression of the Slave Trade,\* specifying the number of their guns, the names and ranks of their commanding officers, and the stations on which they are employed; and I have to desire that, in conformity with the stipulations contained in the second paragraph of Article III of the Treaty between this country and Spain for the suppression of the Slave Trade, you will communicate copies of these Lists to the Spanish Government.

I am, &c.

(Signed) STANLEY.

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No. 78.

*Sir J. Crampton to Lord Stanley.—(Received May 10.)*

My Lord,

*Madrid, May 6, 1867.*

WITH reference to my despatches of the 29th of November and 4th of December, 1866, I have the honour herewith to transmit, for your Lordship's information, translation of a note which I have received from General Calonge, bearing upon the case of the brigantine captured by Her Majesty's ship "Espoir," and supposed to have been fitted out for the Slave Trade at Cadiz.

General Calonge states that the Minister of Marine has duly investigated this case, but has not been able to discover any traces of such a vessel as the one described by the Captain of the "Espoir" having ever been at the port of Cadiz.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN F. CRAMPTON.

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Inclosure in No. 78.

*General Calonge to Sir J. Crampton.*

(Translation.)

Sir,

*Palace, May 1, 1867.*

THE Minister of Marine, to whom, as I informed your Excellency in due time, I gave information of the note which you addressed to me on the 29th November last, relating to the capture by the English cruizer "Espoir" of a ship apparently Portuguese, which was suspected of having been fitted out at Cadiz for the Slave Trade, informs me that, in spite of the active proceedings taken by the Marine authorities of that Department for the purpose of discovering what might be the truth respecting the fitting out of the said ship at the said port, not even any signs have come to light which could give cause for the confirmation of the supposition of the Commander of the "Espoir;" and this is also corroborated by the fact that, at the time referred to, no Portuguese vessel on a cruize ("de cruz") came into or sailed from Cadiz.

I avail, &c.

(Signed) E. DE CALONGE.

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\* See Inclosure in No. 58.

No. 79.

*Lord Stanley to Sir J. Crampton.*

Sir,

*Foreign Office, July 6, 1867.*

I TRANSMIT herewith for your information a copy of a despatch from the Acting British Judge at the Havana,\* inclosing a copy of an Edict issued on the 6th ultimo by the Captain-General of Cuba, for the more effectual suppression of the Cuban Slave Trade.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) STANLEY.

No. 80.

*Sir J. Crampton to Lord Stanley.—(Received July 19.)*

My Lord,

*San Ildefonso, July 12, 1867.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith copy and translation of a note which I have received from the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs, communicating to me a copy of the official "Gazette" of Madrid, in which are published the regulations for the execution of the Royal Decree of the 29th of September, 1866, for the repression and punishment of the Slave Trade, which Royal Decree became Law by the Act of the Cortes of the 17th of May last.

His Excellency also incloses another number of the same gazette, dated the 25th ultimo, in which several errors of the press (of a purely clerical nature) in the said Regulations are corrected.

With reference to the Decree of the 29th of September, 1866, I beg to refer your Lordship, for its origin, to my despatches to the Earl of Clarendon, as marked in the margin.†

A translation of it accompanied my despatch to your Lordship of the 24th of October, 1866, and the general subject is also treated of in my despatches of the 18th of July and 1st of October of the same year.

I have, however, the honour of transmitting herewith translation of the Regulations as they now stand, together with the corrections referred to by Señor Arrazola.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) JOHN F. CRAMPTON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 80.

*Señor Arrazola to Sir J. Crampton.*

(Translation.)

Sir,

*Palace, July 4, 1867.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose to your Excellency a copy of the official "Gazette" of Madrid of the 24th of June ultimo, in which is inserted the Ordinance for the execution of the Royal Decree of the 29th of December, 1866, concerning the repression and punishment of the Slave Trade, made law by that of the 17th of May of the current year; I also inclose to your Excellency another copy of the same newspaper, dated the 25th ultimo, in which various errors which have arisen in printing are corrected.

In requesting your Excellency to cause the said document to be transmitted to the Government of Her Britannic Majesty, I avail, &c.

(Signed) L. ARRAZOLA.

\* Class A, No. 12.

† February 21 and 26; March 25; April 23; and July 5, 1866: see Class B, 1866, Nos. 129, 135, 138, 142, and 153.

Inclosure 2 in No. 80.

*Ministry of the Colonies.*

*Royal Decree.*

(Translation.)

IN consideration of the reasons pointed out to me by the Minister of the Colonies, having heard the full Council of State, and in accordance with the Council of Ministers ;

I hereby approve the annexed Regulations for the execution of my Decree of the 29th September, 1866, concerning the suppressing and punishment of the Slave Trade, constituted into a law by the law of May 17 of the present year.

Given at the Palace on the 18th June, 1867.

(Signed by the Royal hand.)

The Minister of the Colonies,  
(Signed) CARLOS MARFORI.

*Regulation, approved by Royal Decree of to-day's date, for the application of the Law concerning the Suppression and Punishment of the Slave Trade.*

Cap. I.—*Of the Junta of Captures.*

Article 1. According to the dispositions of Article 28 of the Law, the Superior Civil Governors of the Islands of Cuba and Porto Rico shall proceed to the designation of the ninety proprietors who are to draw lots for the formation of the Junta.

Art. 2. The requisites for designation are :

1. To be a Spaniard of more than twenty-five years of age.
2. To be domiciled in the respective Island.
3. To hold landed property in the said Island.

Art. 3. The following persons cannot be designated :

1. Those in Holy Orders.
2. Those who may have been prosecuted as authors, accomplices, or concealers, in any of the cases provided against by Article 1 of the Law.
3. Those who may have been administratively punished, after the institution of proceedings, and for the causes treated of in the previous number.
4. Public and municipal employés.
5. Persons belonging to the active army and navy, and those who may have to do with the administration, health, and laws and regulations of the same.
6. Persons actually undergoing prosecution by law.
7. Persons sentenced to severe or correctional punishments, or their equivalents, even after having fulfilled their sentence.
8. Those who, by judicial sentence, may be subjected to the vigilance of the Authorities.
9. Persons condemned to disability by the tribunals of justice.
10. Those who may be under a judicial interdict.
11. Bankrupts, and those who may have suspended their payments, or whose property may be under intervention.
12. Persons under judicial compulsion as debtors to the funds of the State, or of the Municipalities, and declared debtors to the same.

Art. 4. The above-mentioned Authorities shall, previous to the designation of the ninety proprietors mentioned in Article 28 of the Law, form a list of persons uniting in themselves the conditions established by Article 2 of this Regulation. From amongst the persons included in that list the Superior Civil Governors shall select the ninety proprietors, who must bring forward their excuses, if any, within the term of fifteen days. Should they not do this, or if, having done so, their excuses should not be of the nature of those specified in this Regulation, they shall be enrolled, and they shall form part of the Junta when it falls to their lot.

Should the excuses brought forward turn out to be admissible, the Superior Civil Governors shall make a fresh designation, and communicate it to the interested parties, in the manner established in this Regulation, until the number shall be complete, as settled by the Law.

Art. 5. The following may be excused :

1. Persons of more than sixty years of age.
2. Persons chronically ill.
3. Persons domiciled at more than 10 leagues from the respective Capital.

Art. 6. The selected proprietors who, during the year in which the lists remain in force, may find themselves in any of the cases mentioned in Article 3, shall not be able to exercise their functions until the cessation of the cause which incapacitates them.

Art. 7. When the number of the incapacitated proprietors amounts to a third part of the whole number, the Superior Civil Governor shall proceed to the designation of a like number of proprietors, in the manner established in Article 4.

Art. 8. In the month of January of each year, the list of the ninety proprietors eligible for the formation of the Junta shall be revised, excluding those who may find themselves in any of the cases mentioned in Article 3 of this Regulation, and those who may bring forward any of the excuses enumerated in Article 5.

For the replacing of the excluded proprietors, the Superior Civil Governors shall designate others, in the manner settled by Article 4

Art. 9. During the time of revision of the lists, those of the previous year, in the condition in which they may be at the end of December, shall serve for the formation of the Junta.

Art. 10. The Junta shall be presided over by a "Ministro" or by the "Fiscal" of the respective "Audiencia," designated in each case by the Superior Civil Governor out of three persons proposed by the "Regente."

Art. 11. An official of the Secretary's Office of the Department of the Superior Civil Governor, also nominated in each case by the said Superior Civil Governor, shall perform the duties of Secretary.

Art. 12. The drawing of the lots shall take place in the presence of the Superior Civil Governor and of the President of the Junta, and shall be performed by the Secretary of the same, who shall draw up the proper corresponding legal document.

It shall be done by means of balls; each one carrying the name of one of the ninety proprietors.

The Secretary shall extract the balls, and read the names, which shall be verified by the Superior Civil Governor and by the President.

Art. 13. At each extraction fifteen persons shall be drawn; of whom the first nine shall compose the Junta, and the remaining six shall act as substitutes.

Art. 14. The persons designated by lot shall be obliged to attend at all the sessions. Should any one fail to do so, he shall be liable to a fine of from 50 escudos to 200 escudos, should he not, in the opinion of the President, show just cause for his absence.

The substitutes shall, in order fixed for them at the drawing, supply the places of those members of the Junta who, on account of objection being made to them or any other cause, shall fail to attend at the sessions.

Those members or substitutes who may fail to attend at any of the sessions shall cease to form part of the Junta.

## Cap. II.—Of the Administrative Procedure.

Art. 15. The administrative military authorities of Marine, the Judicial authorities, and the Commissioners of Ships of War, who may capture or receive information of the capture of any cargo of slaves, in the cases mentioned by Art. 26 of the Law, shall immediately proceed to place the negroes in a place of safety, and, as a measure of precaution, to imprison, separately and without communication, each one of their conductors, should they have been taken with them, and they shall at the same time give orders for the safe keeping of the vessel in which they may have been captured.

Art. 16. So soon as a capture takes place the authorities which commence the proceedings shall cause a legal document to be drawn up, authorised by a notary, and, in default thereof, by two eye-witnesses; for the substance of which document the steps taken in obedience to the previous Article shall be made use of, and in it shall succinctly be set forth:

1. The name of the said authorities and of the functionaries accompanying them.
2. The numbers and nature of the public force assisting them.
3. The number of negroes captured, giving in detail their description and distinguishing

marks, the dress worn by them, the language they speak (should it be known), and any other circumstances which may serve to determine the place from which they come, and their civilization.

4. The name, nationality, and domicile of each one of the conductors captured.

5. The place of capture.

6. All the circumstances of the capture, and particularly whether resistance was made, or attempted to be made, to the intimations of the authorities or to the public force. The document shall be signed by the authorities and functionaries accompanying them, by the Commissioner and officers of the public force, and by all the bystanders who know how to write.

Art. 17. Immediately, and also before a notary, or, in default thereof, with the testimony of eye-witnesses, the said authorities shall take separate depositions of each one of the conductors of the slave expedition who may have been captured.

The document and depositions shall be sent in original and by special courier to the Superior Civil Governor of the respective Colony.

Art. 18. The captured negroes and their conductors shall in like manner be sent to the said Superior Civil Governors in secure custody.

Art. 19. The Superior Civil Governor, as soon as he shall have received the document and record of subsequent proceedings, shall request the Regente of the Audiencia to make the necessary nomination of three individuals, in order that he may appoint the President of the Junta, and he shall designate the official of the Secretary's office of the Department of the Superior Civil Governor, who is to act as Secretary of the said Junta.

Art. 20. The nomination as President shall, on the same day and through the Regente, be communicated to the person chosen, who shall at once present himself before the Superior Civil Governor, in order to proceed to the drawing of lots for the members of the Junta, according to Art. 12 of this Regulation, and to fix the day and hour of his installation.

Art. 21. The result of the drawing of lots shall be at once communicated to the proprietors designated by the same.

At the same time they shall be informed of the day and hour of the meeting of the Junta, which shall also be announced to the public by the usual means.

Art. 22. Between the publication of the said announcements and the meeting of the Junta at least eight days shall elapse, which term can be prolonged should the time not be sufficient to allow of the arrival of the captured negroes and conductors at the capital.

Art. 23. From the time of the publication above-mentioned until the day before the meeting of the Junta the claims of ownership of the captured negroes can be presented at the Secretary's Office of the Department of the respective Superior Civil Governor.

Those claims can only be founded on the fact that the negroes are runaway slaves, or that they were being taken from one part of the Island to another, or out of the same, with the permission of the Authorities, and with all other established formalities.

With the claims shall be handed in the Tickets of Registration of each slave, the permission for their removal or transport given by the proper Authorities, and all other documents necessary to prove the condition of slavery. The Secretary's Office of the Department of the Superior Civil Governor shall, at the foot of each one of those documents, certify its validity and legitimacy.

Art. 24. When the term fixed by the previous Article shall have expired, no claim or document of any sort can be admitted.

Art. 25. On the day fixed for the meeting of the Junta, and three hours before the time of the commencement of the Sessions, the Superior Civil Governor shall hand over to the President the document relating to the capture, with the record of the steps taken and the claims presented.

Art. 26. The Sessions of the Junta shall be public. The President shall conduct the discussion, and only through him can questions be put to those who may appear before the Tribunal.

For the preservation of order he shall have all the power which for that purpose is given to the Presidents of ordinary Courts, and he shall have at his disposal such Public Force as may be considered necessary.

Art. 27. On that day, and at the hour fixed for the meeting of the Junta, the  
CLASS B.

President shall declare the Session to be open, and the Secretary shall read the nomination of the President, the document relative to the drawing of lots, mentioned in Article 12 of this Regulation, and his own nomination.

Art. 28. Immediately afterwards, the President shall proceed to receive the oaths of the Members of the Junta and of the Substitutes.

This oath must be made by each person separately, and in the following form: "I swear to take cognizance of the matter, for which I have been called, in strict conformity to the depositions in force for the suppressing and punishment of the Slave Trade."

Art. 29. The oath having been taken, the President shall invite the representatives of the parties to bring forward the grounds of objection that they may have to the Members of the Junta and the Substitutes.

The number of objections shall be limited, so that the Junta may never be composed of less than nine Members.

The right of objection shall be exercised half by those claiming the ownership of the negroes, and half by the negroes or their representatives. If the number of Members, or Substitutes objected to, be uneven, the negroes or their representatives may object to one more than those objected to by the persons claiming their ownership.

Those who may have the right of objection shall, by common consent or by majority, designate the Members or Substitutes with reference to whom they may wish to exercise it.

The Junta shall decide openly concerning the objections, after having heard the objecting party, and the President.

Art. 30. The causes for objection shall be those established by law respecting ordinary Judges.

Art. 31. The captured negroes, as well as the conductors and the persons claiming ownership, may be represented before the Junta by Lawyers.

Should the negroes not know how to speak Spanish, they shall be represented by the Senior "Promotor Fiscal" of the respective Capitals.

Art. 32. The Secretary shall at once proceed to read the documents of capture, the Record of the subsequent steps taken, and the certified documents which may have been presented, relative to claims. This having been disposed of, the Court shall proceed to examine the captured negroes, and to take the depositions of the same, of their conductors, of those who may have presented claims, and of the witnesses who may appear. The examination shall be undergone and the depositions made by each person separately, to which end all persons appearing before the Court shall be kept in custody in separate rooms within the same building in which the Junta holds its Sessions.

Only when the Junta may consider it necessary for the clearing-up of any fact can two or more deponents be examined at once.

Art. 33. The discussion shall have for sole subject the matters of fact resulting from the documents of capture, from the Record of steps taken, from the claims presented, and from the examinations and depositions of the persons appearing before the Court.

The representatives of the parties, and also the "Promotor Fiscal," shall only take part in the discussion, to beg the President to demand the explanation or proper amplification of the depositions made, and they shall, under no circumstances, make speeches for the prosecution or defence.

Art. 34. Cognizance having been taken of the matter, the President shall give a resumé of the debate, and declare it at an end.

The Junta shall at once retire to an adjoining room to deliberate, the Court Officials, the negroes, and their conductors remaining in Court.

Art. 35. The deliberation shall always take place on the same day, and shall only bear upon the facts resulting from the document of capture, the record of subsequent steps, the claims, the ocular inspection of the captured negroes, and the depositions of the parties and witnesses,

The sentence shall be decided upon by an absolute majority of votes, and its forms shall be, the Junta is of opinion that the captured negroes are free, or, the Junta is of opinion that the captured negroes are slaves belonging to Mr.

When some of the captured negroes are free, and some are private property, in the sentence of the Junta, the civil condition of each one of them shall be properly and separately set forth.

Art. 36. The deliberation being finished, the President shall give information of the report of the Junta to the Superior Civil Governor, so that he may make the proper declaration, according to that which is ordered in Article 27 of the Law.

Art. 37. The Secretary shall draw up a record of each session, setting forth all incidents, and in the last one he shall insert the report of the Junta *verbatim*.

These records shall be signed by the President, the members of the Junta, and the Secretary, and shall be sent by the President to the Superior Civil Governor, who shall make the corresponding declaration, which shall be published in the official periodicals on three consecutive days, a certified copy being sent to the Government Head-Quarters by the first post.

Should the Superior Civil Governor dissent from the opinion of the Junta, he shall communicate to the Government the reasons on which he bases his declaration.

Art. 38. Should the Superior Civil Governor declare the negroes to be slaves, he shall at once order them to be handed over to their owners, and shall immediately liberate their conductors.

Art. 39. Should he declare the negroes to be free, the captured conductors, and the ship, effects, and instruments of the crime shall be placed at the disposal of the competent Judge, to whom shall be sent literal testimony of the proceedings in the capture, of the acts of the Junta, and of the subsequent declaration, so that, according to that which is ordered in Article 27 of the Law, he may institute the proper criminal suit.

The Superior Civil Governor shall also move the Promotor Fiscal of the Court, through the Fiscal of the Royal Audiencia, to whom he shall communicate the data, and give proper instructions for the better exercise of the public service.

### Cap. III.—*Of the procedure of Ordinary Tribunals.*

Art. 40. The ordinary Tribunals, the only Courts which can take cognizance of the suits instituted in consequence of the administrative declaration which may have been made in the manner set forth in the previous Articles, shall limit themselves to judging the criminal responsibility of the accused parties, and shall under no circumstances pronounce opinion concerning the civil condition of the negroes, or make any declaration as to the non-existence of the crime.

Art. 41. The confiscation and sale of the ships captured can only be declared on pronouncing the final sentence condemning those implicated in the perpetration of the crime.

Art. 42. The breaking-up and sale of the vessel can, however, be previously decreed when, the liberty of the negroes having been administratively declared, the preservation of the vessel may become impossible, or her remaining in the ports may be the cause of grave prejudice.

In that case the breaking-up and sale shall be ordered by the Superior Civil Governor in view of a document setting forth the report of the proper marine authorities and of the Judge or Court taking cognizance of the suit, the latter issuing report after having heard the Ministerio Fiscal; the marine authorities shall show cause for the breaking-up and sale, and the Judge or Court shall say whether the preservation of the vessel be necessary for the institution of the proceedings or not.

The State shall indemnify the owners of the ship sold, should the final sentence not declare the confiscation.

Art. 43. The Governors and Lieutenant-Governors, as soon as they receive information of the committing of any of the acts mentioned in Article 1, and in paragraph 3, Article 4 of the Law, which may not come within the case provided against by Article 26, shall give immediate information of the fact to the respective Alcalde, Mayor, and shall proceed to take necessary steps to prove the criminal act, and the responsibility of the delinquents, taking into custody, if necessary, the persons of the same, and the living evidence of the crime ("cuerpo del delito").

Art. 44. If the living evidence consists of negro slaves ("bozales"), who may be inside a building, and if seventy-two hours shall have passed since the landing of the same, or twenty-four since their entrance into the building, the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor shall confine himself to watching the approaches to the farm; he shall give information of the case to the chief Alcalde, in order that he may proceed to the necessary investigation, and, as a preventative measure, and without entering the building, he shall take the proper steps to prove the entrance or existence of the negroes in the same.



Art. 45. The Chief Alcalde, accompanied by a notary, or by two witnesses, shall proceed without delay to examine the building, and to take the necessary steps to investigate the existence of the crime.

Art. 46. The Governors and Lieutenant-Governors shall lend the Chief Alcaldes the aid of the public force which they may have at their orders, and shall accompany them in the examination of the building. Should the owner of the same, or his representatives, refuse to allow an entrance, the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor shall, at the request of the Chief Alcalde, use force. In that case the armed force shall enter the building, and shall perform such preventive acts as may be ordered by the Chief Alcalde.

Art. 47. The negroes recognized as slaves ("bozales"), or suspected of being so, shall be placed in the power of the respective Governor or Lieutenant-Governor, who shall be answerable for their safe custody, and shall hold them at the disposal of the Chief Alcalde for the institution of the proceedings. When the suit shall pass to the Court of Appeal, they shall be conducted in safe custody and placed in the central depôt of the respective capital.

Art. 48. The Chief Alcaldes shall come to an understanding with the respective Governor or Lieutenant-Governor for the purpose of obtaining the aid of the police or of the public force. Should the urgency of the case be such that it would cause inconvenience to wait for the decision of that functionary, the Chief Alcaldes may have direct recourse to the Commissioners of the said force, to the Commissaries or members of the Police Force, to Captains or Lieutenants of Detachments, and to the District Commissaries; but they shall give immediate information of the same to the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor.

Art. 49. As soon as the Chief Alcaldes shall receive notice of any of the infringements of the law referred to in Article 43 of this Regulation, they shall go in person with the Promotor Fiscal to the place where the infringement shall have been committed, and they shall proceed with the greatest activity to the instituting of the Sumario.

Art. 50. When the Chief Alcalde shall present himself in the place where the Administrative Authorities are taking proceedings, the latter shall hand over to him the record of the steps which they may have taken, and shall show him officially all the data and information which up to that time may not have received proof.

Art. 51. When the Chief Alcaldes commence proceedings, they shall give information of the same to the Superior Civil Governor and to the Regente of the Royal Audiencia, to whom they shall also give fortnightly information of the state of the suit.

The Promotores shall have the same duties as above to perform with reference to the respective Fiscales as to the commencement of these suits, and as to all steps with which they may have to do in virtue of their office.

Art. 52. The Superior Civil Governors, the Regentes, and the Fiscales of the Royal Audiencias shall, by the first post, send to Government Head-Quarters a copy of the communications respectively made to them by the Chief Alcaldes and Promotores.

Art. 53. Should the Regentes or Fiscales gather from the communications mentioned in Article 51 that there are defects or uncalled-for delays in the progress of the suits, they shall without loss of time communicate the same to Government Head-Quarters, and this communication shall not interfere with the adoption by them of such measures as may come within the range of their respective disciplinarian and administrative faculties.

Art. 54. The Fiscales of the Royal Audiencias of Havanna and Porto Rico shall always represent the public service in the suits instituted on account of transgressions of the law, and this duty can, under no circumstances, be confided to the Deputy Fiscales, except in case of absence or illness.

#### Cap. IV.—*Of the Official Registration, Civil Registration, and Register-Tickets of Slaves.*

Art. 55. The General Official Registration ordered to be made in the Islands of Cuba and Porto Rico by Article 38 of the Law, shall be effected at such time as the Government may fix.

Art. 56. The Commissaries and Overseers of Police, the Captains and Lieutenants of Detachments in the Island of Cuba, and the District Commissaries in that of Porto Rico, accompanied by persons designated by the respective Governors or Lieutenant-Governors, shall, simultaneously and at the time which the Government may appoint, proceed,

according to the previous Article, to form exact lists of the slaves within their jurisdiction.

Art. 57. In those lists shall be noted down, with all due distinction and clearness, the names of the persons registered, their sex, nation, age, if known, and if not, the age they look; the name of their parents, if known; their condition, the name of their wives and children, if they have them; the work they perform, their personal marks, the name, profession, and domicile of their owners; and lastly, their position of limited slavery (*coartado*), should it exist, and a short *resumé* of the acts and contracts relating to the civil condition of the slave, or extinguishing, transferring, or modifying in any way whatever, perpetually or temporarily, his ownership or free disposal.

Art. 58. If at the time of forming the list any claims should be pending, or should be made concerning the civil condition of any one of the negroes presented, a corresponding note shall be made, for the purpose of including him in the census, in case he should be declared to be a slave.

Should these claims be presented at the time of the formation of the Register, the Commissary or Legal Officer charged with that duty, shall at once give information to the District Judge, sending him at the same time a minute description of the negro, in order that he may be forced to take cognizance of the claim as the law directs.

Art. 59. The persons charged with forming the lists shall, separately, and in the manner prescribed in Art. 57, also take information respecting those slaves who may be fugitive on the day that the lists are made, and also respecting those who may be working out any sentence in any of the prison-establishments of the two islands.

Art. 60. The Governors of the penal establishments will cause a list to be made of the slaves who may be in their custody, setting forth in that list, besides the circumstances required by Art. 57 of this Regulation, the reason of their imprisonment, the duration of their sentence, and how much of it still remains to be worked out.

Art. 61. Only those slaves who may present themselves to the functionaries charged with the formation of the lists can be registered, and the said functionaries shall be responsible for the exactness of the personal marks which they may note down.

Art. 62. The Commissaries, Legal Officers, and the helpers accompanying them, shall sign all the lists in their jurisdiction, and the slave-owners, or their representatives, shall sign those which concern them personally.

Art. 63. When the Registration has been completed, the Commissaries and Legal Officers shall send the original lists to the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor of the district, keeping in their possession certified copies of the same.

Art. 64. The Governors or Lieutenant-Governors shall order, that in view of the said lists, there be made, in alphabetical order, two schedules of the slaves existing within their jurisdiction. In the first, the names of the slaves shall serve as the key; and in the second, the names of the owners.

These schedules shall be sent to the Superior Civil Governor ten days after the receipt of the lists in the department of the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor.

Art. 65. By means of the lists there shall be formed in every capital of district a register book of slaves. Those books, which shall be numbered and signed on every sheet by the Administrator of Revenue, shall be distributed throughout the offices of that branch of the public service, a receipt being given for them, setting forth the number of sheets which they contain. The sheets shall be divided like those of a banker's cheque-book; they shall be according to the model which the Superior Civil Governor may approve, and shall be so disposed that on one half of each sheet can be drawn up the certificate, with the number of order, corresponding to the registration of each slave, and on the remaining half can exist a duplicate of the said certificate, which may serve as a proof.

This register shall be under the charge of a public functionary, named by Royal order, and proposed by the Superior Civil Governor; the salaries to be paid to these officials shall be fixed in a separate disposition.

Art. 66. When the schedules mentioned in Art. 64 of this Regulation shall have been made, the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors shall endorse the original lists sent in by the Commissaries and Legal Officers, and shall hand them over to the Registrar, which

functionary shall place them in the archives in proper order, and shall have the keeping of them, being responsible for their preservation.

Art. 67. When the registration has been concluded, only the following individuals can be included in it, and entered in the register :—

1. Slaves born subsequently.
2. Those finding themselves in the situations provided for in Article 58 of this Regulation, whose claims may be disallowed.
3. Those finding themselves in the position provided for in Article 59, who may be apprehended.
4. Slaves coming from Porto Rico to Cuba, and *vice versa*.
5. Those coming from another place under the jurisdiction of the same island.

The inclusion in the list and register can only take place by order of the Superior Civil Governor in the 3rd and 4th cases, and by order of the respective Governors or Lieutenant-Governors in the 1st, 2nd, and 5th cases. When the order proceeds from the Superior Civil Governor, the Registrar shall receive it through the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor of the district.

Art. 68. In order to procure inclusion in the cases mentioned in the previous Article, it shall be necessary to present, in the first case, the certificate of baptism of the infant, and a certificate of the civil condition of its parents, or at least of the mother, should the father not be known.

In the second, testimony of the final sentence declaring the state of slavery of the person to be inscribed.

In the third, proof of the identity of the slave and the titles of ownership, or testimony of the sentence, should it be a question of one released from confinement.

And in the fourth and fifth, the registration and register ticket coming from the island or other starting point, and the permission of the Administrative Authorities of the same for the removal.

Art. 69. Slave-owners, or their administrators and representatives, and those functionaries or notaries, or clerks, who, by reason of their office, may obtain knowledge of the limitation or emancipation of any slave, shall, within four days, give information of the same to the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor of the district.

The owners and the parish Priest shall, within the same space of time, give information of the deaths, marriages, and births of slaves.

The same duty shall be imposed upon the seller and purchaser of a slave, and upon the notary who authorizes the contract.

Within the same space of time owners shall give notice of the removal of slaves to the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor of the district in which they are registered, and to the Governor of the district to which they are going; this duty is also incumbent on the owners of negroes who may be removed from the Island of Porto Rico to that of Cuba, and *vice versa*.

Owners will also, within four days, give notice to the respective Governor or Lieutenant-Governor of the escape of any of their slaves, sending them at the same time full description of the same and their register tickets. These documents shall be returned to the owners, should the slave be recaptured.

Art. 70. The Governors and Lieutenant-Governors shall at once send the notices mentioned in the previous Article to the persons in charge of the register, in order that within three days they may make the proper alterations in the same. The Registrar who shall allow that time to go by without making the proper registrations, shall incur the penalties set-forth in Article 45 of the Law.

Art. 71. Those men of colour who may not be registered or noted down in the manner ordered by the Articles from 56 to 62 of this Regulation shall be considered free men, and can never be reduced to slavery at any time or for any cause.

Art. 72. The general Registration shall be revised yearly in the first fifteen days of the month of January, on which date the lists must be rectified and ready, and the schedules of the districts sent to the Superior Civil Governor according to the dispositions of the Articles from 52\* to 64 of this Regulation.

The alterations which may result from the above operation shall be compared with and proved by the alterations made in the census during the previous year, to which end

\* *Sic*, query 62.

the said schedules shall be accompanied by a short and succinct account of the causes which may have occasioned the said alterations.

Art. 73. All slaves of both sexes must be provided with a register ticket, which will be obtained by the owner in the form established by the present dispositions.

Art. 74. The register tickets shall contain all the details mentioned in Article 57 of this Regulation.

Art. 75. The register tickets shall be good for one year, and must always be renewed in the month of January. Those of the previous year shall be valid for the time necessary for their removal in the said month. The Superior Civil Governors can, however, when they think fit, order the annulling of the old tickets, and the issue of new ones, which in that case shall be given gratis.

Art. 76. The register tickets shall be rural or urban. Both shall be distributed by the Governors or Lieutenant-Governors.

Art. 77. For each rural ticket 40 centimes of escudo shall be paid, and 2 escudos for each urban ticket.

Art. 78. The rural tickets are intended for slaves attached to sugar-factories, tobacco-plantations, cotton-plantations, coffee-plantations, indigo-plantations, farms, cattle-farms, breeding establishments, apiaries, and estates or places of labour, and for the persons employed on the same. Town tickets are intended for all slaves not included in the above recapitulation.

Art. 79. Tickets issued to slaves under 12 years of age, over 60, or physically incapable of work, shall be given gratis.

These circumstances shall be respectively improved by the presentation of the baptismal certificate, or of a doctor's certificate.

Art. 80. In cases in which the age of slaves cannot be proved with the certificate of baptism, instead of that document the slave himself shall be presented; the want of the baptismal certificate may in doubtful cases also be supplied by showing the writing of ownership.

Art. 81. The Register ticket is a sufficient document to allow slaves to be moved from one point to another of any of the places within the jurisdiction of the island.

Art. 82. Should slaves go out of the jurisdiction of the place where the tickets shall have been issued, the tickets shall be presented to the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor within three days, under a penalty of a fine of 50 escudos for each slave; the said official shall proceed to issue fresh tickets without loss of time.

Art. 83. For the moving of slaves from one jurisdiction to another a transit-pass shall be required, and on each ticket a note shall be made by the Commissary, or Police or the Captain of the District.

Art. 84. Each Governor or Lieutenant-Governor shall give to the Superior Civil Governor of the Island a weekly account of the slaves who may have left his jurisdiction and have passed to another, stating the jurisdiction to which they have gone, and at like intervals and separately they shall also give account of those who may have entered their jurisdiction, stating that from which they come.

Art. 85. The captains and masters of coasting steamers and sailing vessels shall not take slaves on board without the previous presentation of their tickets, under a penalty of a fine of 20 escudos for each one.

Art. 86. No writing of sale of slaves shall be drawn up without previous presentation of their tickets. The Notary transgressing this order shall incur a fine of 50 escudos for each slave.

Art. 87. The owner or slave-holder who within the time specified shall not have furnished his slaves with the register-ticket, shall incur a fine of 600 escudos for each one.

Art. 88. The absence of the ticket shall be sufficient cause for the detention and depositing of the slave.

Art. 89. Of the detention and deposit mentioned in the previous Article, notice shall

be given to the owner should he be known, and when the latter claims the slaves, he must present the register-ticket, or justify its loss. Should the owner not be known, the detention and place of deposit shall be minutely announced by publishing an advertisement on three consecutive days in the official newspaper of the Government of the Island of Cuba, and in the private newspaper, or newspapers of the district in which the arrest may have been made. Under any circumstances the slave shall be at once set to work, and the respective municipality shall take the produce thereof as a compensation for expenses.

Art. 90. When three months shall have passed and the detained slave shall not have been claimed, fresh announcements shall be made on three consecutive days, and when three more months shall have passed and no claim shall have been made, the slave shall be declared free.

Art. 91. The payment of the duties established by Article 77 shall be made by means of stamps, which, spoiled in the usual manner, shall be stuck on the respective ticket. The Superior Civil Governor is hereby authorized to adopt, in accordance with the general direction of admonition, the necessary dispositions for the fulfilment of that which is established in the preceding sentence.

Art. 92. In the month of February yearly the Slave Register Books shall be collected and placed among the archives of the Royal Audiencia.

Art. 93. The Superior Civil Governor of each Island shall, on the day which the Government may fix, as to the present year, according to Article 55, and by the last post of the month of February in succeeding years, send a general alphabetical schedule of registered slaves, specifying their sex, condition, age, whether under twelve years of age or over sixty, and the occupations to which they are dedicated.

These schedules shall be accompanied by a Report on the effects of the registration, the difficulties in the way of its perfect and complete realization, and the means of overcoming them. There shall also be sent copies of the notes which, according to this regulation, must be sent to the Superior Civil Governors, by the Governors, and Lieutenant-Governors.

Art. 94. The Superior Civil Governors are hereby authorized to issue the necessary orders for the fulfilment of this Regulation, to resolve any doubts that may arise, and to take measures in any case not provided against; this to be done subject to the approval of the Supreme Government.

*Madrid, June 18, 1867.*

Approved by His Majesty.  
(Signed) MARFORI.

No. 81.

*Lord Stanley to Sir J. Crampton.*

Sir,

*Foreign Office, July 31, 1867.*

I TRANSMIT to you, herewith, copies of a despatch and its inclosures from the Acting British Consul-General in Cuba,\* relative to the recent landing of several cargoes of slaves in that island.

I have to instruct you to communicate the substance of these papers to the Spanish Government, and, in doing so, you will state that Her Majesty's Government cannot for a moment doubt that should the reports of these landings turn out to be well founded, which at present there is every reason to believe is the case, the Government of Her Catholic Majesty, in view of the recent stringent enactments for the suppression of the Cuban Slave Trade, will have no difficulty in bringing to punishment the parties who, by their persistence in this illegal Traffic, set the laws of their country at defiance, and cause doubts to be entertained as to the loyalty and good faith of the Spanish authorities in carrying out the engagements of the Spanish Crown for the suppression of the Slave Trade.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) STANLEY.

No. 82.

*Sir J. Crampton to Lord Stanley.—(Received August 13.)*

My Lord,

*San Ildefonso, August 9, 1867.*

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch of the 31st ultimo, I have the honour to transmit herewith copy of the note which, in accordance with your Lordship's instruction, I have addressed to Her Catholic Majesty's Government, embodying the details furnished by Mr. Acting Consul-General Crawford with regard to several landings of negroes, which are reported to have lately taken place in the Island of Cuba.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed) JOHN F. CRAMPTON.

Inclosure in No. 82.

*Sir J. Crampton to Señor Arrazola.*

M. le Ministre,

*San Ildefonso, August 6, 1867.*

IN accordance with instructions which I have received from Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, I have the honour to call the attention of Her Catholic Majesty's Government to the following facts in connection with the Slave Trade in Cuba:—

Her Majesty's Acting Consul-General having been informed that several landings of negroes had recently taken place in the island, he addressed two letters, dated respectively 14th June and 3rd July, to his Excellency the Captain-General, and requested to be furnished with any particulars which his Excellency might possess with regard to these reported landings.

About two of these landings Mr. Crawford does not appear to have any doubt, and believes they were actually effected—one of 300 negroes at La Esperanza, on the north side of the island, between Bahía Honda and Cape Antonio, and the other at El Rosario, on the south side, consisting of about 700 negroes (Congos), who, after passing through the estate Bela, were sold in lots at the plantation La Ninfa, the property of Señor Inero, the same person who was expelled from Cuba with his partner Durañona for similar practices during the time General Dulce was Captain-General.

Mr. Crawford had also been assured that a landing had been effected at Puerto del Padre, to the eastward of Nuevitas, but had been unable to obtain any particulars respecting it.

During an interview which Mr. Crawford had with General Manzano, his Excellency, while admitting that he had received similar information about the landing at La Esperanza, expressed his belief that it had not taken place, promising, at the same time, to do all in his power to put an end to the Traffic in Slaves.

In bringing these facts to the notice of Her Catholic Majesty's Government through your Excellency, I beg to state that the Government of Her Majesty cannot for a moment doubt that, should the reports of these landings turn out to be well founded, which at present there is every reason to believe is the case, the Government of Her Catholic Majesty, in view of the recent stringent enactments for the suppression of the Cuban Slave Trade, will have no difficulty in bringing to punishment the parties who, by their persistence in this illegal Traffic, set the laws of their country at defiance, and cause doubts to be entertained as to the loyalty and good faith of the Spanish authorities in carrying out the engagements of the Spanish Crown for the suppression of the Slave Trade.

I avail, &amp;c.

(Signed) JOHN F. CRAMPTON.

*Sir J. Crampton to Lord Stanley.—(Received August 18.)*

My Lord,

*San Ildefonso, August 14, 1867.*

WITH reference to my despatch of the 9th instant, containing copy of the note which, in accordance with your Lordship's instructions, I addressed to the Spanish Government upon the subject of the reported landings of negroes in Cuba, I have the honour to transmit herewith a translation of the reply of the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Señor Arrazola states that the question has been referred to the Minister of the Colonies, and assures me that Her Catholic Majesty's Government will instruct the Captain-General of Cuba to investigate the matter, and in any case to take care that the vigorous measures lately adopted for the prohibition of the Slave Trade are duly carried into effect.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) JOHN F. CRAMPTON.

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Inclosure in No. 83.

*Señor Arrazola to Sir J. Crampton.*

(Translation.)

Sir,

*San Ildefonso, August 9, 1867.*

I HAVE received the note which you addressed to me on the 6th instant, informing me that, according to information which has reached Her Britannic Majesty's Government, it appears that several landings of negroes have lately taken place in the Island of Cuba, amongst which landings there are two, concerning which, the English Consul-General in Cuba says that he entertains not the slightest doubt, and that one of them was effected at the Esperanza, in the northern part of the island, and the other at the Rosario, in the southern part of the same.

In reply to the said note, I have the honour to inform your Excellency that I have, to-day, given notice of its contents to the Minister of the Colonies, that the necessary steps may be taken; and I can, without hesitation, assure your Excellency that Her Majesty's Government will give the proper orders to the Captain-General of the Island of Cuba, so that in any case the vigorous measures lately adopted for the prohibition of the Slave Trade may be carried into full effect.

I avail, &c.  
(Signed) L. ARRAZOLA.

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No. 84.

*Lord Stanley to Sir J. Crampton.*

Sir,

*Foreign Office, August 31, 1867.*

WITH reference to your despatch of the 14th instant, I transmit to you, herewith, a copy of a despatch from the British Consul-General in Cuba,\* inclosing copies of his correspondence with the Captain-General, respecting the cargoes of negroes supposed to have been lately landed on that island.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) STANLEY.

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No. 85.

*Lord Stanley to Mr. West.*

Sir,

*Foreign Office, November 6, 1867.*

I TRANSMIT herewith for your information, copies of a despatch, and its inclosure, from Her Majesty's Acting Commissioner at the Havana,† containing his Report upon the Cuban Slave Trade for the year ending the 30th of September last.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) STANLEY.

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\* No. 95.

† Class A, No. 15.

No. 86.

*Lord Stanley to Mr. West.*

Sir, *Foreign Office, November 6, 1867.*  
 I TRANSMIT, herewith, for your information, a copy of a despatch from Mr. Crawford, Acting British Consul-General at the Havana, inclosing copies of a correspondence which has passed between the Captain-General of Cuba and himself,\* relative to the landing of one or more cargoes of slaves, reported to have taken place in that island in the months of May and June last.

I think it right, in communicating these papers to you, to state that there is every reason to believe, from the advices received by Her Majesty's Government from the African coast, that a vessel did succeed in shipping a cargo of slaves from thence, in the early part of the present year, and there can be little doubt that the slaves so shipped, were landed in Cuba, for there is no other country where slaves can now be landed.

It is quite possible, however, that the cargo on arriving off the Cuban coast, was divided into two lots for the convenience of landing; and this may have given rise to the report of two disembarkations having taken place, which may have been true, although, in fact, there was only one shipment from the African coast.

I am, &c.  
 (Signed) STANLEY.

No. 87.

*Lord Stanley to Mr. West.*

Sir, *Foreign Office, November 6, 1867.*  
 WITH reference to my despatch to Sir J. Crampton of the 31st August last, I inclose for your information, copies of a further despatch, and its inclosure, from the Acting British Consul-General in Cuba,† relative to the reported landing of slaves in that island, in the months of May and June last.

I am, &c.  
 (Signed) STANLEY.

No. 88.

*Lord Stanley to Mr. West.*

Sir, *Foreign Office, November 20, 1867.*  
 I TRANSMIT to you, herewith, copies of a despatch, and its inclosures, from Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Washington, containing information relative to the movements of a large barque which is supposed to have landed a cargo of slaves in Cuba; and I have to instruct you to communicate the substance of this Report to the Spanish Government. You will, at the same time, observe to the Spanish Minister that if the account of the person who is reported to have boarded the barque is to be believed, and there appears to be no reason for disbelieving him, there can be little doubt that a landing of slaves has been effected in Cuba, and that parties are not deterred from engaging in the Cuban Slave Traffic notwithstanding the recent severe enactments of the Spanish Government for its repression.

I am, &c.  
 (Signed) STANLEY.

No. 89.

*Mr. Walsham to Lord Stanley.—(Received November 29.)*

My Lord, *Madrid, November 26, 1867.*  
 IN obedience to the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch to Mr. West, of the 20th instant, I have reported to the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs the

\* No. 99.

† No. 98.



facts connected with the movements of the vessel which is supposed to have landed a cargo of slaves in Cuba towards the end of September last.

I have the honour to inclose herewith a copy of the note which I have addressed to Señor Arrazola respecting the above matter.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) JOHN WALSHAM.

Inclosure in No. 89.

*Mr. Walsham to Señor Arrazola.*

M. le Ministre,

*Madrid, November 26, 1867.*

IN accordance with instructions which I have received from Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, I have the honour to bring to your Excellency's notice, for transmission to the proper Department of State, the following facts connected with the movements of a large barque which is supposed to have landed a cargo of slaves in Cuba.

Towards the end of September last the master of a vessel belonging to Nassau states, that when sailing in those waters he came upon and boarded a large barque which was evidently a slaver. He was subsequently, it would appear, driven from the ship, but, when on board, he alleges that he saw negroes in large numbers, and had other proofs of their presence which convinced him of the nature of the traffic in which the vessel was engaged.

Her crew, it is said, were Spaniards, and the person who gave this information believes that her captain was likewise a Spaniard.

When met with the barque was bearing, it is stated, from Orange Bays, S.S.W., a course which would take her to Cay Sal or Cotton Bay, a favourite resort of slavers, whence the negroes could in a few hours be conveyed to Cuba.

This information was corroborated by the master of another vessel, and subsequently published in the "Nassau Gazette."

The vessel herself was considered to be of American build.

It is in view of these facts, which have been officially reported to Her Majesty's Government, that Lord Stanley has instructed me to address a representation to the Government of Her Catholic Majesty.

His Lordship is of opinion that if the account of the person who boarded the barque is to be believed, and there appears to be no reason for disbelieving it, there can be little doubt that a landing of slaves has been effected in Cuba, and Lord Stanley feels sure that the Spanish Government will be glad to have had the above-mentioned facts brought to their notice, as, if true, they prove that parties are not deterred from engaging in the Cuban Slave Trade notwithstanding the recent severe enactments of Her Catholic Majesty's Government for its repression.

I avail, &c.  
(Signed) JOHN WALSHAM.

No. 90.

*Lord Stanley to Mr. Walsham.*

Sir,

*Foreign Office, December 6, 1867*

WITH reference to my despatch to Mr. West, of the 6th ultimo, and to previous correspondence relative to the landings of slaves reported by Mr. Crawford, the Acting British Consul at the Havana, to have taken place in Cuba about the months of May and June last, I inclose, for your information, copies of a correspondence on this subject, which has passed between the Spanish Minister at this Court and myself.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) STANLEY.

## Inclosure 1 in No. 90.

*Count Vistahermosa to Lord Stanley.*

(Translation.)

My Lord,

*Spanish Legation, London, November 18, 1867.*

I HAVE received instructions from my Government to call your Excellency's attention to the correspondence which passed last summer between the Captain-General of the Island of Cuba and the British Consul-General *ad interim* at the Havana, respecting imaginary denouncements of the landing of negroes, entirely disproved by time and the trustworthy evidence of that superior authority. And, in order that your Excellency may be convinced how inconsiderately the aforesaid Consul proceeds in transmitting information to you in regard to disburdening ships of fresh negroes, which never took place but in his own imagination, thus endeavouring, no doubt, to make parade of an exaggerated zeal, I fulfil my duty by sending you a copy of the communication which the disappointed Captain-General, Don Joaquin del Manzano, Governor of that Antilla island, addressed, on the 8th of September last, to Mr. John V. Crawford; so that if your Excellency is not aware of it, as may be the case, you may be fully informed of what its tenor throws out, and take into consideration the expediency of not entertaining such chimerical allegations, except very sparingly, and with extreme reserve. I send at the same time a copy of his (Mr. Crawford's) answer, conceived in such evasive terms as he found himself compelled to employ in drawing it up, as he could not contradict anything that the Captain-General had asserted.

That correspondence will give your Excellency the exact standard of the value that is to be attributed to the information communicated by Mr. Crawford, and will show clearly with what levity vague rumours are received and transmitted by the General Consulate of Great Britain at that place.

The Government of the Queen my August Sovereign, being determined to do away with all doubt in regard to its loyal intentions, and the constant activity of the naval and military forces for the extirpation of the Slave Trade, in fulfilment of the International Treaties, flatters itself that those statements will serve as an example, so that in future the Government of Her Britannic Majesty may receive, as I have said, with the greatest heedfulness and caution, the denunciations which are made with lamentable facility by its agents, in their endeavours to misrepresent the effective measures adopted in perfect good faith by the superior authority of the island, and to give substance and prominence to imaginary information, which creates alarm for the time, and afterwards turns out to be utterly devoid of foundation, to the disgrace and discredit of the agents concerned in supporting such fictions, which yet for the meanwhile give rise to doubts and disagreeable consequences.

I avail, &amp;c.

(Signed) C. DE VISTAHERMOSA.

## Inclosure 2 in No. 90.

*The Captain-General of Cuba to Acting Consul-General Crawford, September 8, 1867.*

[See Inclosure 1 in No. 99.]

## Inclosure 3 in No. 90.

*Lord Stanley to Count Vistahermosa.*

M. le Comte,

*Foreign Office, December 3, 1867.*

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 18th ultimo, stating that you have been directed by your Government to call my attention to a correspondence, of which you inclose copies, which passed last summer between the Captain-General of Cuba and the Acting British Consul-General in that island respecting certain alleged landings of slaves in Cuba, which you state never took place, as is entirely proved by time and by the trustworthy evidence adduced by the Captain-General Don Joaquin del Manzano.

I beg leave, in reply, to acquaint you that Her Majesty's Government had already, before the date of your letter, received from Mr. Crawford, the Acting British Consul-General at the Havana, copies of the correspondence in question, and I had instructed Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Madrid to make known to the Government of Her Catholic Majesty the views of Her Majesty's Government respecting the alleged landings.

With regard, however, to the very strong animadversions contained in your letter upon the conduct of Mr. Crawford in denouncing the said landings, I think it only fair to that gentleman to state that, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, he did right to make known to them the reports that had reached him respecting the alleged disembarkations of slaves in Cuba.

By comparing the reports received from Cuba with the information acquired from the African coast and from other sources, Her Majesty's Government are the better enabled to form a correct judgment as to what degree of credit may be attached to the reports that reach them of slave-landings in Cuba; and with regard to the denouncements that have given rise to the present correspondence, I regret to have to state that the information received by Her Majesty's Government leaves little room to doubt that a slave expedition did leave the African coast at a period that would correspond with its reaching Cuba about the date of the supposed landings; and I think that the fact of one of the Lieutenant-Governors in Cuba having been offered a bribe of 85 dollars a head to permit of the introduction into his district of a cargo of negroes expected off the coast, but which, to his honour, he refused, is an additional reason for believing that there was some foundation for the reports that Mr. Crawford felt it his duty to forward to Her Majesty's Government.

While frankly stating the opinion of Her Majesty's Government upon this point, I think it right at the same time to add that they have entire confidence in the loyalty and good faith with which both the Government of Her Catholic Majesty and the Captains-General of Cuba have acted in their endeavours to put a stop to the Cuban Slave Traffic.

Isolated attempts will doubtless continue to be made to introduce slaves into Cuba, and such attempts may give rise, as has been the case with regard to the alleged landings in that island in the months of May and June last, to exaggerated reports as to the number of the expeditions and of slaves landed; but, whilst Her Majesty's Government will always be most anxious to weigh well before giving full credence to the reports they may receive from their Agents in Cuba on the subject of the Slave Trade, they must claim for those Agents the right to report fully to them the rumours that may reach them upon this subject, without having their good faith called in question; and, in communicating these reports to the Government at Madrid, Her Majesty's Government trust that the Government of Her Catholic Majesty will see not necessarily a desire on their part, or on the part of the British authorities, to call in question the good faith of the Cuban authorities, but rather a desire, by communicating freely on all matters connected with the Cuban Slave Trade, the better to ensure the total extinction of the traffic in that island.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) STANLEY.

No. 91.

*Lord Stanley to Mr. Walsham.*

Sir,

*Foreign Office, December 13, 1867.*

WITH reference to my despatch to Mr. West of the 6th ultimo, I inclose for your information a copy of a despatch from Mr. Crawford,\* the Acting British Consul-General at the Havana, inclosing a translation of Count Balmaseda's reply to the letter which Mr. Crawford addressed to him on the 4th of October last, relative to the reported landing of slaves in Cuba in the months of May and June last.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) STANLEY.

No. 92.

*Sir J. Crampton to Lord Stanley.—(Received December 23.)*

My Lord,

*Madrid, December 17, 1867.*

WITH reference to Mr. Walsham's despatch of the 26th ultimo, inclosing copy of a note which he had addressed to the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs, relative to the supposed landing of slaves on the Island of Cuba, I have now the honour to inclose a translation of a note which I have received from Señor Arrazola, informing me that the case has been referred to the Minister of the Colonies.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) JOHN F. CRAMPTON.

Inclosure in No. 92.

*Señor Arrazola to Sir J. Crampton.*

(Translation.)

Sir,

*Palace, December 13, 1867.*

IN reply to the note of your Legation, dated 26th of November last, relative to the presence in the waters of Orange of a ship to all appearance a slaver, I have the honour to acquaint your Excellency that I have laid its contents before the Minister of the Colonies, in order that he may take what steps he may consider necessary.

I avail, &amp;c.

(Signed) L. ARRAZOLA.

SPAIN. (*Consular*)—*Havana*.

No. 93.

*Consul-General Synge to Lord Stanley.—(Received April 15.)*

My Lord,

*Havana, March 18, 1867.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship copies of my correspondence with the Captain-General in regard to the 275 African negroes captured on the northern side of this island in March last year.

I believe that no landing of slaves has been effected, and that none will be attempted during General Manzano's administration; but I regret to say that I find it hopeless to attempt to obtain any information as to the destination of the captured Bozales; and I fear that the abuses in regard to the emancipados will be continued long after the suppression of the Slave Trade, of which they have of late years formed one of the most painful features.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed) W. W. FOLLETT SYNGE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 93.

*Consul-General Synge to the Captain-General of Cuba.*

Most Excellent Sir,

*Havana, March 4, 1867.*

I WOULD respectfully call your Excellency's attention to a letter which I had the honour of addressing to the late Captain-General, on the 14th of September last, and of which I herewith transmit a copy.

Her Britannic Majesty's Government are most anxious to know what has been decided in regard to the 275 Bozal negroes captured on the north side of the Vuelta Abajo, in March last year; and I shall feel greatly obliged if your Excellency will enable me to report to them what is to be the fate and destination of the unfortunate persons in question.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed) W. W. FOLLETT SYNGE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 93.

*Consul-General Synge to the Captain-General of Cuba.*

Most Excellent Sir,

*Havana, September 14, 1866.*

THREE months having now elapsed since your Excellency told me in private conversation, that the fate of the 275 Bozal negroes captured on the north side of the

Vuelta Abajo, in March last, was pending before the Court of "Real Audiencia;" and not having heard what decision has been arrived at in regard to those unfortunate beings, I would request your Excellency to have the goodness to give me full information respecting this matter, which is one in which the Government of my August Sovereign takes a very lively interest.

I shall also feel greatly obliged if your Excellency should feel at liberty to acquaint me what modifications, if any, are to be introduced into the laws affecting the disposal of emancipados; a class hitherto to be pitied, scarcely, if at all, less than the poor slaves themselves.

With every confidence that your Excellency will do all in your power to ameliorate the condition of those ill-used beings, I have, &c.

(Signed)

W. W. FOLLETT SYNGE.

Inclosure 3 in No. 93.

*The Secretary to the Captain-General of Cuba to Consul-General Synge.*

(Translation.)

*Havana, March 14, 1867.*

THE Most Excellent Supreme Civil Governor having taken cognizance of your letter of the 4th instant, has ordered me to state, in reply, as I have the honour now to do to your Honour, that the case of the negroes captured on Point Holandes, near Cape San Antonio, on the northern part of this island, to which your Honour refers, is pending before the Royal Audiencia, to the province of which tribunal it belongs, and with whom therefore rests the decision.

With regard to the other matter referred to in the copy of your letter to his Excellency's predecessor, the Government has the question under its consideration.

God preserve, &c.

(Signed)

A. MA. GUASEARDO.

No. 94.

*Acting Consul-General Crawford to Lord Stanley.—(Received July 29.)*

(Extract.)

*Havana, July 6, 1867.*

I HAVE the honour of transmitting herewith to your Lordship copies of two letters which I have addressed to the Captain General with reference to several landings of Bozal negroes which are reported to have taken place recently in this Island.

I have not yet received any answer from his Excellency, but I am inclined to believe that what I have stated to him is correct, and that at least two of these landings have really been effected, one of 300 negroes at La Esperanza, on the north side between Bahia Honda and Cape Antonio, and the other at El Rosaria, on the south side of the Island in the district of Güines, consisting of about 700 negroes.

The hush money in the first case was eighty-five dollars a head, the arrangements for the landing having been made with the local authorities in such an adroit manner as to baffle discovery.

The negroes landed at El Rosario were Congos, and after passing through the estate Belen, were sold in lots at the plantation La Ninfa belonging to Mr. Juero, the same person who was expelled from the Island, with his partner Durañona, in General Dulce's time, on account of their Slave-trading propensities.

I have been assured that a landing has also been effected at Puerto del Padre to the eastward of Nuevitas, and this is corroborated by the Vice-Consul at the latter port, but none of the particulars have transpired, and it is almost impossible to obtain correct information from out of the way places like Puerto del Padre.

In conversation with General Manzano he denied the landing at La Esperanza, although he admitted having received similar information to that I had on the subject.

The revival of this infamous traffic is said to be owing to the expectation of the slave-traders that another Captain-General, favourable to their interests, would have succeeded General Manzano in May or June last, and the simultaneous arrival of these adventures, seems to favour this idea.

## Inclosure 1 in No. 94.

*Acting Consul-General Crawford to the Captain-General of Cuba.**Havana, June 14, 1867.*

HAVING received intelligence that a cargo of negroes was landed a few days ago (previous to the 12th instant) near La Esperanza, between Consolacion del Norte and Candelaria, I beg leave respectfully to request your Excellency to acquaint me if such is the fact, and whether the negroes have been captured.

Any information with regard to this landing will be most acceptable to Her Britannic Majesty's Government, and I trust that the good name which your Excellency has acquired as a determined opponent of the Slave Trade, and a staunch observer of the Treaty between Great Britain and Spain for its suppression, will be exemplified on this occasion, should the landing referred to, and which I am assured has positively been effected, have really taken place.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) JOHN V. CRAWFORD.

## Inclosure 2 in No. 94.

*Acting Consul-General Crawford to the Captain-General of Cuba.*

Most Excellent Sir,

*Havana, July 3, 1867.*

HAVING received information that a cargo of Bozal negroes, of the Congo tribe, numbering about 700, was landed last week at or near El Rosario, in the jurisdiction of Guines, and that they passed through the hacienda Belen to the estancia or ingenio La Ninfa, where they were sold in lots, I shall be glad to learn whether your Excellency has any intelligence thereof, and what steps may have been taken for the seizure of these negroes and the punishment of the guilty parties.

I have also learned that the landing of which I had the honour of speaking to your Excellency on the 13th ultimo, as having occurred at Puerto del Padre, has actually taken place there, but I have not been able to learn the particulars.

From Caibarien it is reported that there was considerable excitement among the authorities there, on the evening of the 27th ultimo, in consequence of the suspected landing of a cargo of negroes at Sagua la Chica.

As it is most important that the most reliable information should be furnished by me to the British Government concerning these matters, in order not to mislead any one into the belief that such things are still tolerated in this island by those whose duty it is to suppress the disgraceful Traffic in human beings, I hope that your Excellency will see fit to furnish me with such intelligence as may have reached you regarding these reported landings.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) JOHN V. CRAWFORD.

## No. 95.

*Acting Consul-General Crawford to Lord Stanley.—(Received August 27.)*

My Lord,

*Havana, August 3, 1867.*

I HAVE the honour of transmitting to your Lordship a translation of General Manzano's answer relative to the several cargoes of negroes which I stated, in my letters of the 14th June and 3rd ultimo to his Excellency, were reported to have been landed in Cuba.

His Excellency affirms that it is impossible that any such landings can have taken place, owing to the preventive measures which he has employed, and to the careful vigilance which has been exercised in every part of the island.

In the face of this assurance, and of the notorious zeal which General Manzano has evinced for the suppression of the Slave Trade ever since his arrival here, it would be unjust to entertain any further doubt on the subject; and I trust that your Lordship will therefore approve of my answer to his Excellency, a copy of which is also inclosed herewith.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) JOHN V. CRAWFORD.

## Inclosure 1 in No. 95.

*The Captain-General of Cuba to Acting Consul-General Crawford.*

(Translation.)

*Havana, August 1, 1867.*

HIS Excellency the Superior Civil Governor duly received your Honour's communication with reference to the information which your Honour says you had of a landing of Bozals having been effected, a few days previous to the 12th of June, near La Esperanza between Consolacion del Norte and Candelaria; of another, consisting of 700 negroes, at El Rosario, near Guines; of another at Puerto del Padre; and of the excitement among the authorities of Caibarien, on the night of the 27th of June, in consequence of a suspected landing of negroes at Sagua la Chica.

In consequence thereof, his Excellency has instructed me to say to your Honour, in answer, that from the 20th of May last, when he had indications of preparations being made for the introduction of Bozals into this island, his Excellency dictated the most energetic and stringent orders to redouble the most rigid vigilance throughout the island, both by land and by sea.

From that time to this, in spite of the measures adopted, rumours, more or less vague, were circulated of the approaching arrival of negroes at different places on the coast, for which reason, notwithstanding these measures, with a view to strengthen them in order to destroy so reprobated a Traffic, his Excellency issued, on the 6th of June last, the severe Circular which your Honour may have seen published in the Government Gazette and in all other periodicals of this city, having been also the object of particular and special vigilance, notwithstanding what I have stated, both before and after the dates of your Honour's said communications, the places your Honour therein designated, and also the estates and the persons held and reputed to be old traders, which vigilance was not only general but special over certain persons, estates, and localities, parties of the mounted police (*Guardia Civil*) having likewise been detached on some estates, secret agents having been commissioned, whose inquiries produced no result, all the official and private information which his Excellency has received agreeing that no landing of negroes whatever has taken place, and that the adventure whose arrival was expected abandoned the coasts of this island for those of Brazil, seeing the impossibility of effecting its purpose.

If your Honour considers you have reason to give ready credence to the reports of your agents or of other persons, the Governor Captain-General of this island has still greater reason, and is more interested for his good name, in hoping that he will be believed in all that refers to this matter, for it is notorious that he omits nothing in order to punish even the attempt to introduce Bozal negroes; and when his Excellency affirms, as he instructs me to say to your Honour he does, that it is impossible that the landings can have taken place which your Honour imagines have occurred during the last two months, he is quite sure that every honest person will give credit to his disinterested words.

God preserve, &amp;c.

(Signed)

GUAXARDO, *Acting Secretary.*

## Inclosure 2 in No. 95.

*Acting Consul-General Crawford to the Captain-General of Cuba.*

Most Excellent Sir,

*Havana, August 3, 1867.*

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's communication of the 1st instant in answer to my letters of the 14th of June and 3rd ultimo, relative to some reported landings of negroes in this island; and I hasten to assure your Excellency that it will afford me great pleasure in forwarding a copy of that communication to Her Majesty's Government.

The assurance that no landing whatever has taken place, as was reported, cannot fail to be most satisfactory to every well-wisher of humanity.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed)

JOHN V. CRAWFORD.

No. 96.

*Lord Stanley to Acting Consul-General Crawford.*

Sir,

*Foreign Office, August 30, 1867.*

I HAVE received your despatch of the 3rd instant, together with its inclosures relative to the landings of slaves reported in your despatch of the 6th ultimo, to have taken place at La Esperanza, El Rosario, and Puerto del Padre, in Cuba.

The assurance given to you by the Captain-General, that there is no foundation whatever for these reported disembarkations of slaves in Cuba, is very satisfactory; but, at the same time, I think it right to transmit to you the accompanying copy of a letter from Commodore Hornby,\* the officer in command of Her Majesty's naval forces on the African Western Coast, by which you will see that there is reason to believe that a cargo of slaves was successfully shipped from the African coast a few months since.

The official and private information received by the Captain-General of Cuba, shows also, as will be seen from his Excellency's letter to you of the 1st instant, that a slave-vessel had been hovering off the coasts of the island, but that, not being able to land her slaves, she had abandoned the Cuban coast for that of Brazil.

It would seem more probable, that this vessel has disembarked her cargo on some one of the many uninhabited cays off the Cuban coast, to await there a more favorable opportunity for introducing them into Cuba, rather than that she should have proceeded to Brazil; for, apart from the difficulties which a vessel would find in landing slaves in Brazil, where arrangements could not have been made for their reception, the accounts received by Her Majesty's Government for some years past, tend to show that the Slave Trade in the Brazilian Empire has been entirely abandoned, and that there are no prospects of the Traffic being again resumed there.

I have to desire that you will make known the views of Her Majesty's Government upon this matter to the Captain-General.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) STANLEY.

No. 97.

*Lord Stanley to Acting Consul-General Crawford.*

Sir,

*Foreign Office, August 30, 1867.*

I INCLOSE herewith, for your information, copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Minister at Madrid,† inclosing a translation of an answer received by him to a note which he was instructed to address to the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs, upon the subject of the landings of slaves in Cuba, reported in your despatch of 6th July.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) STANLEY.

No. 98.

*Acting Consul-General Crawford to Lord Stanley.—(Received October 20.)*

My Lord,

*Havana, October 4, 1867.*

IN obedience to the instructions conveyed in your Lordship's despatch of the 30th of August, with reference to the landings of slaves which were reported to have taken place in Cuba last May and June, I have the honour of laying before your Lordship copy of a letter which I have addressed to Count Balmaseda, in which I have made known to him the views of Her Majesty's Government as regards the improbability that the slave-vessel which it was admitted had been hovering off the coasts of this island, had been obliged to abandon the Cuban shores for those of Brazil, instead of, as is much more likely, disembarking her cargo on some one of the many uninhabited cays there to await a more favourable opportunity for introducing them into Cuba.

I am not prepared, my Lord, to assert positively that the information which I received at the time of that cargo having been successfully landed at La Esperanza is correct. Perhaps my informant, who has for years given me most reliable reports in

\* Class A, No. 66.

† No. 83.



matters relating to the Slave Trade, may have been mistaken on this occasion, but I am now more than ever inclined to believe that that cargo was safely disembarked on the North Coast of the Vuelta de Abajo, if not at La Esperanza in its vicinity, owing to a number of circumstances which I know to be true. I have failed, however, in obtaining any of the particulars as to the number of negroes landed or their nationality; but this only confirms me in my opinion that the whole affair was most cleverly managed previous to the publication of the late General Manzano's Circular of 6th June, and that the Superior Authorities were completely deceived.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) JOHN V. CRAWFORD.

Inclosure in No. 98.

*Acting Consul-General Crawford to the Captain-General of Cuba.*

Most Excellent Sir

*Havana, October 4, 1867.*

HAVING transmitted to Her Britannic Majesty's Government a copy of the late Captain-General's letter to me, dated the 1st of August last, relating to the several landings of slaves which were reported to have taken place in May and June last, I am instructed to state to you that whilst, on the one hand, the assurance given by the late Captain-General that there is no foundation whatever for these reported disembarkations, is very satisfactory, on the other hand, Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that the slave-vessel which, it is admitted, has been hovering off the coasts of this island, has most probably landed her cargo on some one of the many cays to await there a more favourable opportunity for introducing them into this island, rather than she should have proceeded to Brazil; for, apart from the difficulties which a vessel would find in landing slaves in Brazil, where arrangements could not have been made for their reception, the accounts received by Her Majesty's Government for some years past tend to show that the Slave Trade in the Brazilian Empire has been entirely abandoned, and that there are no prospects of the Traffic being again renewed there.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) JOHN V. CRAWFORD.

No. 99.

*Acting Consul-General Crawford to Lord Stanley.—(Received October 29.)*

(Extract.)

*Havana, October 5, 1867.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship a copy and translation of a letter which was addressed to me on the 8th ultimo by the late Captain-General Manzano complaining of my seeming want of good-faith in reporting to your Lordship the slave landings which were said to have taken place in May and June last, and in expressing my inclination to believe that two of these reported disembarkations were true without waiting for his Excellency's answer to my communications of 14th June and 3rd July on the subject.

I also inclose a copy of my answer to his Excellency in which I decline to admit his censure and assure him that there has been no inconsistency on my part.

As it has always been my study to cultivate the most friendly relations with all the Spanish authorities, I had an interview with General Manzano, and showed him a copy of my despatch to your Lordship of the 3rd of August, with which he appeared perfectly satisfied.

General Manzano further informed me that he had done all that is possible to be done to discover the truth as to the reported disembarkations of slaves, but that he had failed in finding any foundation for these rumours and was convinced that no landing whatever had been effected.

General Manzano's character for integrity and honour has never been impeached, and there can be no doubt as to his sincerity in the arduous task of putting down the Slave Trade, but the same cannot be said of all those by whom he was surrounded; and as one of the Senators said in the discussion upon the Penal Law in the Spanish Cortes, the Captain-General of the Island of Cuba is a solitary mortal and lacks the power of ubiquity.

## Inclosure 1 in No. 99.

*The Captain-General of Cuba to Acting Consul-General Crawford.*

(Translation.)

*Havana, September 8, 1867.*

IN a communication dated the 14th of June last your Honour stated to me that you had intelligence that a disembarkation of a cargo of Bozal negroes had been effected previous to the 12th of that month, near La Esperanza, and that you wished to know if it was true, and if the negroes had been captured, so that you might report it to Her Britannic Majesty's Government.

In another communication dated the 3rd of July, your Honour said to me that having received information about a cargo of 700 Bozal Congos, landed the previous week at El Rosario, or in its neighbourhood, in the jurisdiction of Guines, passing afterwards through the estate Belen to the sugar plantation La Ninfa, where they were sold in lots; your Honour desired to know whether this Government had any information thereof, and what steps had been taken towards the capture of the negroes, and the punishment of the guilty parties. You added that you knew also of a landing which had taken place at Puerto del Padre, but were ignorant of the particulars; and that at Caibarien there had been much excitement on the evening of the 27th of June, in consequence of a suspected landing of Bozals at Sagua la Chica.

Your Honour concluded your official letter, stating that it being of the greatest importance that your Honour should furnish Her Britannic Majesty's Government with the most reliable information on the subject, you hoped that I would give you any information which this Government might have respecting said reported landings.

Your Honour will also recollect that when speaking to me at the time of the confidential information which your Honour had, I repeated to you what I had on several occasions told you, that you would do me a special favour by communicating to me either officially or privately every intelligence or suspicion which your Consulate might have regarding the Slave Trade; for that no person was more interested than I in putting down this criminal traffic, and in punishing the delinquents; and as a proof thereof I told you that for some days back I had knowledge of the rumours of the disembarkation of Bozals, and had sent to make the necessary investigation in order to operate with energy, in conformity with my dispositions of the 6th of June last. Your Honour then appearing to correspond to my confidence, and because for years you have reason to know my principles in the matter, and the loyalty of my character, said to me spontaneously, that you would await my answer to your said official letters, until after all the investigations which this Government was making, so as not to report the matter to your Government until afterwards with exactness and data.

So I ought to have believed, supposing that the credit of the Consulate General was also interested in it, because in making that spontaneous indication your Honour knew that every official and private step was being taken, and that the Government was employing every possible means to discover the truth, keeping the steamers of war incessantly cruising, establishing detachments of troops on the coast, sending others to examine certain points, detaining and searching the railway trains, and sending forces of the *Guarde Civile* to surprise the estates which were suspected; at the same time, that it commissioned Agents of entire confidence, and under disguise, to visit not only the places your Honour mentioned, but all those which I considered susceptible of serving as a cover for Bozals, and long before the Consulate General had taken the least part in it.

In consequence, therefore, of your Honour's indication I did not answer you until I could do so with certainty, and in a letter dated the 1st of August I assured your Honour that the places you had mentioned having been specially and particularly watched both before and after the receipt of your communications, as well as the estates reported and the persons reputed as being formerly slave-traders; the result of all these measures agreed with my official and private information that no landing of negroes had taken place.

To this despatch your Honour answered on the 3rd of the same month, that you would have the greatest pleasure in transmitting a copy of it to Her Britannic Majesty's Government, for the assurance it contained that no landing had been effected as it was reported; and I should have considered the matter ended believing in your Honour's sincerity, when with surprise I learn by last mail from the Peninsula, that whilst it appeared that your Honour was waiting to hear from me, whether your private information was true or not, your Honour was transmitting them as certain without the necessary proofs, because precisely to your said letters of the 14th June and 3rd July, and to what your Honour has added on the subject reference is made in a note dated the 6th of August by Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary at Madrid, for which reason your Honour's Reports to your Government must be dated precisely about the beginning of July.

It now appears, therefore, clear that whilst your Honour was telling me that you awaited the result of all I was doing, your Honour was assuring your Government that several expeditions of Bozal negroes had been recently landed, and that you had not the least doubt as to the landing of one of 300 negroes at La Esperanza, and another of 700 at El Rosario, and that you had no particulars of another at Puerto del Padre.

It is also clear that your Honour wrote that in conversation with me, I confessed having received similar intelligence respecting the landing at La Esperanza, and my belief that said landing had taken place, promising at the same time to do all in my power to put an end to the Slave Trade.

I need not say to your Honour how much I have been surprised at your proceeding in this matter on account of the confidence I showed you, and the manner in which your Honour has corresponded to it.

Her Majesty's Government have copies of all the communications with the Consulate General which I have cited, and I suppose that Her Britannic Majesty's Government will already know all that has really taken place, and can understand that if your Honour so easily gives credit to the denouncements which are made to you, the Governor Captain-General, who, long before your Honour, naturally knew all about these reports of expeditions of Bozals, and had dictated the most active measures, and has at his disposal more means of ascertaining the truths, will therefore be believed in all that refers to this matter.

As regards my promise which your Honour reports of my doing all in my power to put an end to the Slave Trade, your Honour could only have referred to my firm determination evinced in all my conversations, same with you as with every one else, to punish with the utmost rigour the Traffic in Slaves, because no promise could be admitted in the sense which might be deduced from your Honour's Report without impairing the authority which I hold.

This special promise was the more incomprehensible from its being unnecessary, for it is well known that I did not wait any other person's suggestions to adopt from the very day I took over the command of this Island, the most decisive measures for the prevention of the Slave Trade, and to dictate on the 6th of June last the severe and very special measures of which your Honour, or any one else, had any knowledge until they were read in the "Gazette."

I regret to have to address your Honour this disagreeable communication, in order to remind you of all the facts, and I am sure I shall be believed by all honourable men who know me; but it is expedient that the precipitancy should be recorded with which your Honour, in the fulfilment of your temporary office, has asserted the existence of events, whilst you were asking me officially if they were true, and were telling me confidentially that you were waiting to know the truth from me, on account of the steps which were being taken by the Captain-General, so as to enable your Honour to transmit a reliable report to your Government.

God preserve, &c.

(Signed)

JOAQN. MANZANO.

Inclosure 2 in No. 99.

*Acting Consul-General Crawford to the Captain-General of Cuba.*

*Havana, September 9, 1867*

I HAVE received your Excellency's communication of yesterday's date, referring to landings of negroes, which were reported to have taken place in this Island during the month of June last; and I beg to assure your Excellency that whatever I may have considered it my duty to state to Her Britannic Majesty's Government on the subject, there has been no inconsistency on my part, nor have I been wanting in good faith towards your Excellency in any way.

I cannot, therefore, admit the censure which your Excellency's communication would otherwise imply.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

JOHN V. CRAWFORD.

No. 100.

*Lord Stanley to Acting Consul-General Crawford.*

Sir,

*Foreign Office, November 20, 1867.*

I TRANSMIT to you herewith copies of a despatch\* and its inclosures from Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at Washington, containing information relative to the movements of a large barque which is supposed to have recently landed a cargo of slaves in Cuba; and I have to desire that you will communicate the substance of this information to the Cuban authorities, and that you will also furnish me with any particulars which you may be able to obtain respecting this slave-trading transaction.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) STANLEY.

No. 101.

*Acting Consul-General Crawford to Lord Stanley.—(Received December 4.)*

My Lord,

*Havana, October 19, 1867.*

I HAVE the honour of transmitting herewith a translation of Count Valmaseda's answer to my letter of the 4th instant, relative to the improbability of the slave-vessel which was known to have been hovering off the coast of Cuba last June, having abandoned the attempt to land her cargo in this island.

His Excellency states that General Manzano, when he assured me that such was the case, was fully satisfied that no landing of negro slaves had been effected in Cuba, and that although nothing to the contrary had transpired since that assurance was given, he, Count Valmaseda, had again ordered the adjacent cays to be searched, and had instructed his officers to redouble their vigilance.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) JOHN V. CRAWFORD.

Inclosure in No. 101.

*The Count of Valmaseda to Acting Consul-General Crawford.*

(Translation.)

*Havana, October 9, 1867.*

I HAVE received your Excellency's letter of the 4th instant, in which, notwithstanding the satisfactory assurance given by the late Captain-General, my predecessor, the opinion is insisted in that the slave-vessel which was said to be hovering in the waters off this island in May or June last, has probably disembarked her cargo in one of the many islands or cays, in order to wait for a favourable chance to introduce them.

In reply, I may say to your Excellency that when the said General, my predecessor, gave your Excellency the assurance that there was no foundation for the landings to which your Excellency alluded in your communications on the subject, it was after being completely satisfied that in no part of the island, nor in the islands or cays adjacent to it, had any landing of slaves been effected, result of the active and exquisite vigilance which was exercised both by the subaltern authorities on shore and by Her Majesty's cruisers at sea, which, landing their crews, searched the said islands or cays, creeks, and coasts.

Being interested as much as any one else in the complete extinction of so reprobated a traffic, and notwithstanding the continued vigilance with regard to it, I have again given orders to redouble it, and to have the cays again searched by the cruisers of Her Majesty, for which purpose I have written the requisite communication to his Excellency the Commandant-General of Marine on this station.

God preserve, &amp;c.

(Signed)

EL CONDE DE VALMASEDA.

SPAIN. (Consular)—Porto Rico.

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No. 102.

*Consul Cowper to Lord Stanley.—(Received February 1.)*

My Lord,

*Porto Rico, January 7, 1867.*

I HAVE the honour to report that no attempt to renew the foreign Slave Trade has been made within the district of this Consulate during the past quarter.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

H. AUGUSTUS COWPER.

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No. 103.

*Consul Cowper to Lord Stanley.—(Received May 15.)*

My Lord,

*Porto Rico, April 12, 1867.*

I HAVE the honour to report that no overt act of foreign Slave Trade has been attempted within the district of this Consulate during the quarter ended the 31st of March.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

H. AUGUSTUS COWPER.

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No. 104.

*Consul Cowper to Lord Stanley.—(Received July 29.)*

My Lord,

*Porto Rico, July 6, 1867.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that no attempt has been made to renew the African Slave Trade within the district of this Consulate during the past quarter.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

H. AUGUSTUS COWPER.

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No. 105.

*Consul Cowper to Lord Stanley.—(Received October 29.)*

My Lord,

*Porto Rico, October 1, 1867.*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that during the quarter just ended, no attempt at the African Slave Trade has been made in the districts of this island.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

FRANCIS H. COWPER.

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UNITED STATES.

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No. 106.

*Lord Stanley to Sir F. Bruce.*

Sir, *Foreign Office, January 19, 1867*  
I TRANSMIT to you herewith Lists of Her Majesty's ships furnished with warrants for the suppression of the Slave Trade, specifying the number of their guns, the names and ranks of their Commanding Officers, and the stations on which they are employed; and I have to desire that, in conformity with the stipulations contained in the second paragraph of the Article III of the Treaty between this country and the United States for the suppression of the Slave Trade, you will communicate copies of these Lists to the Government at Washington.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) STANLEY.

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No. 107.

*Sir F. Bruce to Lord Stanley.—(Received March 5.)*

My Lord, *Washington, February 13, 1867.*  
IN compliance with the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch of the 19th ultimo, I addressed a note to the Secretary of State of the United States, and have the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith copy of Mr. Seward's reply.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) FREDERICK W. A. BRUCE.

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Inclosure in No. 107.

*Mr. Seward to Sir F. Bruce.*

Sir, *Department of State, Washington, February 12, 1867.*  
I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 5th instant, transmitting, at the instance of Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, a List of Her Majesty's ships employed in the suppression of the Slave Trade, together with the number of their guns, the names and rank of their commanding officers, and the stations to which those vessels are assigned.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

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No. 108.

*Mr. Ford to Lord Stanley.—(Received October 5.)*

My Lord,

Washington, September 23, 1867.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship copy of a note that has been addressed to the late Sir F. Bruce by the Acting Secretary of the Department of State, inclosing a list of the vessels of the United States' navy which have special warrants to exercise the rights and privileges authorized under the Treaty of April 7, 1862, for the suppression of the African Slave Trade.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) FRANCIS CLARE FORD.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 108.

*Mr. Seward to Mr. Ford.*

Sir,

Department of State, Washington, September 17, 1867.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith, for the information of Her Britannic Majesty's Government, a list of the vessels of the United States' navy which have special warrants to exercise the rights and privileges authorized under the Treaty of April 7, 1862, for the suppression of the African Slave Trade.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) F. W. SEWARD, *Acting Secretary.*

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Inclosure 2 in No. 108.

LIST of the Vessels of the United States' Navy furnished with special Warrants under the Treaty of April 7, 1862, between the United States of America and Her Majesty, for the Suppression of the African Slave Trade.

Name of Steamer.	Guns.	Name of Commander Officer.	Station of Vessel.
Franklin .. .. .	48	Captain A. M. Pennock . . . . .	European and African Station jointly.
Ticonderoga .. .. .	9	Captain R. H. Wyman . . . . .	
Swatara .. .. .	10	Commander W. N. Jeffers . . . . .	
Canandaigua .. .. .	7	Captain J. H. Strong . . . . .	
Frolic .. .. .	5	Commander J. H. Upshur . . . . .	
Shamrock .. .. .	10	Commander W. E. Hopkins . . . . .	
Guerrière .. .. .	21	Captain J. G. Corbin . . . . .	
Pawnee .. .. .	12	Captain M. B. Woolsey . . . . .	
Shamokin .. .. .	10	Commander P. Crosby . . . . .	
Nipsie .. .. .	6	Lieutenant-Commander F. B. Blake . . . . .	
Kansas .. .. .	8	Commander C. H. Welles . . . . .	Brazil and African Station jointly.
Wasp .. .. .	3	Lieutenant-Commander W. A. Kirkland . . . . .	
Huron .. .. .	6	Lieutenant-Commander H. Erben, junior . . . . .	
Quinebourg .. .. .	10	Commander E. Barrett . . . . .	
Susquehanna .. .. .	14	Captain D. M. N. Fairfax . . . . .	North Atlantic and West India Station.
De Soto .. .. .	8	Commodore C. S. Boggs . . . . .	
Monongahela .. .. .	7	Commodore S. B. Bissell . . . . .	
Saco .. .. .	10	Lieutenant-Commander Henry Wilson . . . . .	
Marblehead .. .. .	7	Lieutenant-Commander Le Roy Fitch . . . . .	
Shawmat .. .. .	8	Commander E. E. Stone . . . . .	
Don .. .. .	8	Commander R. Chandler . . . . .	

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*Navy Department, September 11, 1867.*

No. 109.

*Mr. Ford to Lord Stanley.—(Received November 16.)*

My Lord,

Washington, November 4, 1867.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith to your Lordship copy of a note, together with its inclosure, that has been addressed to me by the Secretary of State, concerning the movements of a large barque which is supposed to have landed a cargo of slaves at Bay

Sal, or Cotton Bay, with a view to their transfer to Cuba, which is presumed to have been effected.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) FRANCIS CLARE FORD.

Inclosure 1 in No. 109.

*Mr. Seward to Mr. Ford.*

Sir, *Department of State, Washington, November 2, 1867.*  
I HAVE the honour to inclose, for your information, and that of your Government, a copy of a despatch of the 2nd ultimo, from Thomas Kirkpatrick, Esq., the Consul of the United States at Nassau, concerning the movements, as reported by a Mr. Curry, of one of the wrecking vessels in the adjacent waters, of a large barque engaged in the Slave Trade, which vessel is supposed to have landed her cargo of slaves at Bay Sal, or Cotton Bay, with a view to their transfer to Cuba, which is presumed to have been effected.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

Inclosure 2 in No. 109.

*Mr. Kirkpatrick to Mr. Seward.*

Sir, *Nassau, New Providence, October 2, 1867.*  
I HAVE the honour to inform you that a Mr. Curry, of one of the wrecking vessels, reported to me a day or two since, that when out a few days previous he boarded a large barque with a cargo of slaves on board; that he boarded her before the master was aware of it, but was immediately driven from the ship; but he saw the negroes in large numbers, and he speaks of the stench arising from the hold to have been terrible. She appeared to have a Spanish and American master; the crew, he thinks, were Spaniards.

The vessel was bearing from Orange Bay south-south-west, which would take her to Bay Sal, or Cotton Bay. This has been a frequent bay for them, in the port from which place they can be conveyed to Cuba in a very few hours. The story was corroborated (and published in the "Nassau Guardian") by Captain Bethel, who thinks she was of American build.

It must have been near the place described by Curry that Bethel saw her; if true, they have been probably landed in Cuba long before this.

Very respectfully, &c.  
(Signed) THOMAS KIRKPATRICK.



## ZANZIBAR.

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No. 110.

*Acting Consul Seward to Lord Stanley.—(Received January 19, 1867.)*

My Lord,

*Zanzibar, November 27, 1866.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of my despatch, dated October 25, 1866, to the address of Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for India.

I have, &c.

(Signed) G. EDWIN SEWARD.

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Inclosure in No. 110.

*Acting Consul Seward to the Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay.*

Sir,

*Zanzibar, October 25, 1866.*

I THINK Her Majesty's Government will not be averse to the consideration of a proposal, the adoption of which will open the way to the useful employment of British capital in developing the resources of this slave State, not only without adding to enslavement, but with the best promise of lessening it.

The recent Association of Englishmen with certain enterprises in Zanzibar has made the adoption of some such measure obligatory.

Englishmen have erected great factories, have planted the sugar-cane, have covered large estates with workers.

But these workers are slaves, and every rood of land thrown under cultivation, compels new felonies on African slave preservers.

To supply labour for these estates, I venture to suggest the relegation to Zanzibar, of those slave freights, contraband Treaty, and confiscated to freedom, the working force of which is now distributed to Aden or the Seychelles.

It is almost superfluous to state, that under the euphemesia of her domestic institution, Zanzibar carries on the largest foreign Slave Traffic in the world, and that from the arrest and relegation of some portion of its illicit outpour, we can certainly stock the sugar plantations with lawful labour.

For if it be not foreign export that consumes the slave, nor increase of population, nor death rate, nor expansion of territory, nor new industries exist at Zanzibar, to account for the absorption and disappearance of the yearly tens of thousands of Africans that are torn from their country, and poured through the slave State ostensibly to support its domestic institution.

It is obvious that the relegation of freedmen to Zanzibar will depend either upon the willingness of the English planter to receive them, or the power of the British Government to compel their employment.

If the planter be true to his profession of benevolent intent in setting these enterprises on foot, there can be no doubt of his willing acceptance of the labour thus provided, as a happy and preferable alternative.

Should he, however, refuse to employ this labour, it should become a question either of acceptance or the abandonment of his plantation.

I venture to think and to hope that Her Majesty's Government will not continue to tolerate the use, if not actual possession of slaves by Englishmen, who are actually under a resident British jurisdiction, and who are cultivating with slave labour, soil their own property, and *de facto* British soil, for all purposes of jurisdiction.

No imperious necessity compels men to invest their capital in a slave State in enter-

prises that must be dependent on slave labour. It is merely a question of profit. Land is cheap. Labour is cheap, and compulsory upon the slave.

But there is no reason why free labour may not be as nearly cheap, and as certainly manageable as slave labour, in Zanzibar. I do not use the word free in the sense that the freedom we have given is to bear no fruit of obligation.

Unless, by a benevolent compulsion, these freed folk are taught to labour, they probably will not; and it will be essential to the proper working of the measure that a large control, under Consular supervision, be given to the planter, and that an obligation be laid upon the quondam slave to discharge certain duties, for a certain term, as the price of his liberty and civil rights, and in return for adequate wages, quarters, clothing, food, and medical care.

On the expiration of this term he would be free to enter into a specific contract with the planter, with whom he would surely continue to labour if originally well treated.

Worked with the labour the Government could provide, these enterprises would invite our warmest support, be highly remunerative, and surely emulated.

Worked by slave labour, and a direct premium upon enslavement, it is not possible to look upon them with favour; moreover, slaves beget slaves; but, once let the nucleus of this free force be established and fostered, inherent powers of increase will come into play, and a numerous population of free descendants will dwell in Zanzibar, a stout phalanx in the path of slavery.

Short of the direct stoppage of all further man-stealing from Africa, for the behoof of the Arabs (and of the English planter) in Zanzibar, I see no scheme of more hopeful promise than the one suggested. I see in its adoption the beginning of the end of slavery, a constantly diminishing necessity for enslavement, associated with a sure and steady advancing prosperity of the slave State, the upgrowth and increment of a free working class, and the downfall of the domestic institution.

There remains for consideration the possibility of any opposition by the Sultan to the readmission of these quondam slaves into his dominions. To this I cannot conceive any tenable objection.

There is no law prohibitive of the entry of free labourers into the State, and as freedom springing from Treaty infraction is as much the issue of the slave State law as the freedom bestowed by manumission, it should be as inalienable and as Catholic. These freedmen would, of course, be regarded as British protégés.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) G. EDWIN SEWARD.

No. 111.

*Acting Consul Seward to Lord Stanley.—(Received March 15.)*

My Lord,

Zanzibar, December 10, 1866.

I SEND you the saddest news. Dr. Livingstone, in his despatch from Ngomano, informed your Lordship that he stood "on the threshold of the unexplored;" yet, as if that which should betide him had already thrown its shadow there, he added, "it is best to say little of the future."\*

My Lord, if the report of some fugitives from his party be true, this brave and good man has crossed the threshold of the unexplored, has confronted the future, and will never return.

He was slain, so it is alleged, during a sudden and unprovoked encounter with those very Zulus of whom he says, in his despatch, that they had laid waste the country round about him, and had "swept away the food from above and in the ground."

He, with an escort reduced to twenty by desertion, death, and dismissals, had traversed, as I believe, that terra incognita between the confluence of the Soende and Rovuma Rivers at Ngomano, and the eastern or north-eastern littoral of Lake Nyassa, had crossed the lake at some point, as yet unascertained, had reached a station named Compoonda, or Mpoonda, on its western, probably its north-western shores, and was pushing west, or north-west, into dangerous ground, when, between Marengo and Makhsoora, a band of implacable savages stopped the way, a mixed horde of Zulus or Mafite and Nyassa folk.

\* "The dim outline of highlands appears, even at this distance they raise the spirits, but possibly this is caused partly by the fact that this is about thirty miles beyond our former turning-point, and the threshold of the unexplored. I propose to make this, *i.e.*, Ngomano, my head-quarters till I have felt my way round Lake Nyassa. If prospects are fair there I need not return, but trust to another quarter for fresh supplies; but it is best to say little of the future."

The Nyassa folk were armed with bow and arrow, the Zulus with the traditional shield, broad bladed spears, and axes.

With Livingstone there were nine or ten muskets; his Johanna men were resting with their loads far in the rear. The Mafite instantly came on to fight; there was no parley, no avoidance of the combat; they came on with a rush, with war cries, and rattling on their shields their spears. As Livingstone and his party raised their pieces their onset was for a moment checked, but only for a moment. Livingstone fired, and two Zulus were shot dead (his boys fired too, but their fire was harmless); he was in the act of reloading, when three Mafite leapt upon him through the smoke; there was no resistance, there could be none, and one cruel axe-cut from behind put him out of life. He fell; and when he fell, his terror-stricken escort fled, hunted by the Mafite; one, at least, of the fugitives escaped, and he, the eye witness it is, who tells the tale, Ali Moosa.

The party had left the western shores of Nyassa about five days; they had started from Compoonda, on the lake's borders (they left the Havildar of Sepoys there dying of dysentery—Livingstone had dismissed the other Sepoys of the 21st at Mataka), and had rested at Marengo, where Livingstone was cautioned not to advance. The next station was Makhsoora; they were traversing a flat country, broken by small hills, and abundantly wooded; indeed, the scene of the tragedy so soon to be consummated would appear to have been an open forest glade.

Livingstone as usual led the way, his nine or ten unpractised musketeers at his heels; Moosa had nearly come up with these, having left his own Johanna men resting with their loads far in the rear.

Suddenly he heard Livingstone warn the boys that Mafite were coming; the boys in turn beckoned Moosa to press forward; Moosa saw the crowd here and there between the trees. He had just gained the party, and sunk down behind a tree to deliver his own fire, when his leader fell. Moosa fled for his life along the path he had come, meeting his Johanna men; they threw down their loads, and in a body rushed off into the deeper forest. (If the Mafite really passed Moosa, his escape and that of his people verges on the marvellous.) However, at sunset, they in great fear left their forest refuge and got back to the place where they hoped to find their baggage; it was gone; then with increasing dread they crept to where the slain traveller lay.

Near him, in front, the grim Zulus killed under his sure aim; here and there some four dead fugitives.

That one blow had killed him outright; he had no other wound but this terrible gash (it must have, from their description, gone through the neck and spine up to the throat in front); it had nearly decapitated him, and death came mercifully in its instant suddenness mercifully, for David Livingstone was "ever ready."

They found him stripped (for the Mafite had respected him when dead) of but his upper clothing. They dug with some stakes a shallow grave, and hid from the starlight the stricken temple of a grand spirit; the body of an apostle of freedom, whose martyrdom should make sacred the shores of that sea which his labours made known to us, and which, now baptized with his life's blood, men should henceforth know as "Lake Livingstone."

The names of those who stood before the Mafite with Livingstone should not be unremembered:—Adam, Maka, Simon Price, Albert Baraka, Madbrodk Jooma, James Chooma, Abraham Pariella, Edward Gardner, Lakoombo, Ali Moosa; of these four were seen dead near the corpse of Livingstone; the rest, save Ali Moosa, are missing.

The Johanna men made the best of their way back to Compoonda or Mpoonda, not venturing near any village or station. They lost themselves in the jungle, and were fourteen days on the way.

At Compoonda they witnessed the end of the Havildar of Sepoys Bombay 21st Native Infantry. He alone of all the Indians was faithful. On the threshold of this Consulate at Zanzibar, he pledged himself at the moment of starting never to forsake his leader, nor did he; to the last he struggled on worn with dysentery, but broke down hopelessly on the road to Marenga; a day or two later he would have shared his leader's fate.

Insubordinate, lazy, impracticable, and useless, Livingstone had dismissed the other sepoy at Mataka; had they been faithful as their havildar, I should not have had to inscribe a record of this sad happening. Their unfitness for African travel might have been predicted.

At Compoonda the Johanna men were deprived of their weapons by the Chief, who also kept the havildars. Here they joined an Arab slave-caravan, recrossed the Nyassa, and made for Keelwa, the great slave outlet on the Zanzibar coast. But here again, and where least expected, they encountered the Mafite. They had reached Keepareygree eight days south-west of Keelwa, when the appearance of a band of these invincible

savages scattered the caravan. Abandoning ivory, slaves, their all, the Arab leaders thought but of saving their lives. The Johanna men again made their escape and reached Keelwa, whence by the kindness of the Customs people, they were at once sent on to Zanzibar. They arrived here on the 6th of December.

It will be gratifying to the many and true friends of Dr. Livingstone to learn that when on his sad end being known the British flag was lowered at this Consulate; the French, American, and Hanseatic flags were at once flown half-mast high, the Consuls paying a spontaneous tribute to his memory, an example shortly followed by all the foreign vessels in the harbour. The Sultan's flag was also lowered.

I must reserve other details for a subsequent letter, but I may state that no papers, effects, or relicts of Livingstone are likely to be recovered.

I have, &c.

(Signed) G. EDWIN SEWARD.

P.S.—The date of Dr. Livingstone's death is left as much to conjecture as the place of his grave.

All that we certainly know is that he was at Ngomano on the 18th of May last; that he proceeded to Mataka, whence he sent a despatch to this Consulate.\*

From Mataka he is said to have made for and struck Nyassa, which he crossed, but where, or where Mataka is, cannot be ascertained.

The runaway Reuben with the sepoys, state that Livingstone left Mataka a few days before they set out on their return journey to Zanzibar.

They were one month and twenty days on the road to Keelwa, which they reached during the later dates of September.

It may be inferred from this that Livingstone left Mataka at about the middle of July last.

The Johanna men named six weeks as the probable time of their return journey from Mpoonda to Keelwa with the slave-caravan. The fight with the Zulus took place sixteen days before they set out; they reached Keelwa in November; Zanzibar, 6th of December.

Roughly then we may conjecture the death of their leader to have happened during September.

The statements of our informants as to time, distance, and direction, are distressingly vague and untrustworthy.

I purpose, however, and I shall associate Dr. John Kirk with me in the labour, to visit Keelwa, with the express purpose of conferring with the leaders of the slave-caravans there. Captain Bedingsfeld, of Her Majesty's ship "Wasp," has obligingly consented to take me there on his return from assisting a wreck in the neighbourhood.

G. E. S.

No. 112.

*Acting Consul Seward to Lord Stanley.—(Received March 15.)*

My Lord,

Zanzibar, December 23, 1866.

MY despatch of the 10th instant dealt almost wholly with the manner of Dr. Livingstone's death, and but little was said that could interest geographers.

I had, however, on the arrival of the Johanna men requested Dr. John Kirk, so long Livingstone's associate, to make the geography of their statements his peculiar care.

He has to-day, 23rd December, handed in his report, which I have the honour to submit, together with the tract chart, which he has been good enough to construct.

He has, I see, conceived Dr. Livingstone's route to be almost precisely that which the explorer himself, when my guest at Zanzibar, has over and over again pointed out on the map to me, and to Arabs of rank whom I wished to interest in his travels as the one which he had determined on.

And the intention of "feeling his way round Lake Nyassa," which Dr. Livingstone records in his despatch from Ngomano, shows that up to that time he had not given up his original plan.

I think I shall soon be able to remove any uncertainty as to the position of Mpoonda or Compoonda, on the lake littoral. I learn that it is a populous and important place on the lake borders, and one of my informants has property and a resident agent there.

It is said that Mataka first set the Zulus in motion westward by inviting them to fall upon some Arabs whom he himself was too weak to punish.

\* This despatch has miscarried.

Letters have just been received stating that many Arabs had just been killed, and that too in perilous proximity to Keelwa.

Certain it is that there is a general restlessness of the tribes between the East African Coast and the lakes of the interior, and that trade is becoming less and less possible, and it is to this unfortuitous condition of things that we may trace, perhaps, our irremediable loss.

It may not be uninteresting to state that a brilliant and persistent rain of meteors observed on the same November night both here and at Muscat has been regarded as the certain sign and portent of ills present and to come by Arabs in high places, who associate the troubles in the interior and along the Arabian coast with this splendid starfall.

In penning my previous letter, I had it in my mind to anticipate doubts as to the verity of Dr. Livingstone's death by giving reasons why the event should not be discredited.

That the Johanna men alone should have escaped, whilst all the rest were missing, was certainly doubt-inspiring.

But the defence which they at once put forward was one which could be accepted without difficulty, the more so as in Dr. Kirk's experiences the order of the little column tallied precisely with that observed in Livingstone's prior Nyassa wanderings.

He led the advance, Moosa led the baggage men. It so happened that they rested and were at the rear, and Moosa had strolled on in advance of his party, and saw what has been recorded.

It is not supposed for an instant that Moosa himself was seen by the Mafite; his escape unseen, and his ability to warn his people, account for the seeming marvel of surviving a Zulu onset.

But there was one point about which there was no prevarication, no hesitation, no difference among the nine men: it was the one wound that had killed, and the solemn declaration that they had buried their slain leader.

Again, it must be remembered that these men returned to Zanzibar, when it would have been easier and safer to have gone home to Johanna.

They came at once to the Political Agent, and invited, or, at least, laid themselves open to the scrutiny and cross-questioning which they could altogether have avoided had there been foul play or anything in their own conduct which they wished to conceal.

They well knew, too, that either in Johanna or Zanzibar punishment would surely overtake them were it ever discovered that the tale of their leader's death was spurious.

I fear that we must accept Livingstone's death as one other of those mournful sacrifices which Africa insatiably demands from those who seek to let the light fall upon the mystery of her inner lands and pagan people.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) G. EDWIN SEWARD.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 112.

*Vice-Consul Kirk to Acting Consul Seward.*

Sir,

*Zanzibar, December 20, 1866.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose a brief account of what in my opinion was the route followed by Dr. Livingstone, and with it a rough map showing what seems to me the probable positions of the leading places mentioned.

You are well aware how impossible it is from such data as we have to arrive at a certain conclusion.

I may, however, assure you that there seems nothing improbable in the narrative as I have received it, in regard to its geographical features.

The customs, moreover, of the various tribes have been kept up throughout the detailed depositions made before you, and to which I do not here refer.

One obvious source of error again meets us here, as Moosa and also one other of the Johanna men were of our party during ten years on the Zambezi, Shire, and Nyassa, and thus had the same means of learning the customs as I had.

Still I regard the sad story as true when stripped of what was obviously meant to conceal or apologise for cowardice.

The recovery of the later despatches of Dr. Livingstone, written at Mataka, is imperative, as they will give a clue to his proposed course of action. I think it very likely that Dr. Livingstone again wrote before plunging into the Maviti country, of which none knew the danger better than Dr. Livingstone.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

## Inclosure 2 in No. 112.

*Brief Outline of the probable Route followed by Dr. Livingstone and party.*

FROM the confused and contradictory statements of the nine Johanna men now in Zanzibar, representing themselves as the only survivors of Dr. Livingstone's exploring party, it is impossible to indicate with certainty the route followed, the nature of the country passed, or the spot where Dr. Livingstone is said to have been attacked and killed.

A personal knowledge of these parts and acquaintance with the various tribes has aided me in arranging what I trust may prove in its geographical points an approximation to the truth.

It will be remembered that the statements on which the following is based require verification, coming as they do from men whose cowardly behaviour give an obvious motive for concealing the truth.

After due allowance has been made, I regret being forced to the conclusion that Dr. Livingstone was attacked and killed by the Maviti, a little to the west of the north end of Nyassa.

The last letter we have from him was written on the 18th May, at the confluence of the Nieude and Rovuma, where the late Baron Von der Decken was forced to turn when in search of the papers of Dr. Albreck Roschen, murdered in 1860 on the road to Nyassa.

From Mikindany to Ngomano is a distance of 150 miles, of which the first 80 is level ground, covered with thick bush and forest; the remainder more open, and studded with isolated masses of igneous rock and low ridges of syenite and schist, which cross the river bed, and render it impassable to boats.

At Ngomano the river is joined from the south-west by the Nieude. Here Dr. Livingstone crossed the Rovuma, and remained some time with the Chief at the confluence.

The country to the north had been pillaged by the Maviti, a marauding Zulu tribe, now settled to the west of Nyassa; this, added to a general drought, rendered provisions scarce.

All the camels and many of the buffaloes had by this time died from the bite of the tsetse fly; the men were therefore forced to carry loads, and a considerable amount of baggage was left behind.

Leaving this place, they followed a westerly course, and after a day's march again saw the Rovuma for the last time.

On the third day, having passed grassy plains and forest, they ascended hill slopes clothed with bamboo jungle. On the seventh they were at Matarika, a small Waiao village, where they stayed two days.

Four days from Matarika they came to Mataka, a powerful Waiao Chief, having much cattle, and governing a populous district.

On leaving Mataka, after a considerable stay, Dr. Livingstone lost eleven of the Bombay Sepoys, and two of the educated Africans who accompanied him: his party was thus reduced to twenty-three.

After eight days' march, they came to Makata, not far from Lake Nyassa. The border of the lake presented a flat sandy shore; it seemed to be about six miles wide, and the opposite shore a white sand, and no mountain of any consequence near, although large hills rose to the south. From the natives of a small fishing village under Makata four canoes were hired, in which the party crossed. Embarking in the morning, they had all landed by noon; the water was shallow, and the canoes propelled by means of long bamboos, paddles being used only at intervals.

There is certainly no part of the Nyassa south of latitude  $11^{\circ}$ , which corresponds with this description; throughout the 200 miles formerly explained, it was found a deep blue lake, and at the only point at all narrow enough to allow of their crossing in the time mentioned, it is not only deep, but has a mountain ridge not far off its western shore. Besides the head Johanna man, our present informant was formerly one of the party on the Shire, and accompanied Dr. Livingstone on foot beyond the point referred to; and as he positively asserts that the old route lay far south, I have little hesitation in placing the spot where the lake was crossed in the unknown northern extremity, or about  $10^{\circ} 30'$  south latitude.

There is a dilatation of the River Shire soon after it escapes from the south end of Nyassa, much resembling what has been represented, and I doubt not this is the river I heard of as coming from a marsh near Mpunda. The account I received when on Nyassa, in latitude  $11^{\circ}$  was, that "Lisia, Kendorve, Photo, Shingo, Matete, Mapunda, Chisanga, and Nkaramba," were the various places passed in going round the north end of the lake from where I then was, to a point opposite.

I was told that Chikamba, the Chief of Lisia, fought with the Maviti, that at Mapunda a river entered from a marsh, but that the lake ended before Mapunda was reached.

There is good reason to think that Mapunda (or Kampunda), where Livingstone landed, is the same place as that I heard of in 1861.

From Mapunda Dr. Livingstone went to Manenga. After ten days' march west beyond, he crossed in canoes over a marsh. Thus he left the shores of the lake; and as his first object was to settle the extent northwards of Nyassa, we may presume that he had now done so, and was on his way to Ujiji, perhaps by way of Cazembe.

He would seem to have followed out the course mentioned in his letter of 18th May, wherein he announced the intention of going on at once from Nyassa for Tanganyika, if his operations on the former were successful.

Leaving Manenga, where they were well treated, a desolate country was entered, a region scoured by parties of Maviti, who are at constant war with their neighbours. At the last outpost of the lake people Dr. Livingstone was told that the Maviti were then near.

On the morning of the second day's march from Manenga about 9 A.M., when crossing a level plain, with grass three feet high, and scattered bush and forest, a band of Maviti suddenly appeared, and are said at once to have attacked, regardless of the loss of the foremost as they dropped to Dr. Livingstone's shot. The educated African boys were, as usual, near Livingstone, while Moosa with the Johanna men followed at a short distance behind. On seeing that something was wrong, Moosa went forward, and from behind a tree observed three Maviti close upon Dr. Livingstone, who was at the time endeavouring to reload his gun: while thus occupied he was cut down by a blow of a battle-axe, which divided the bone of the neck. Moosa fled, and with him the other Johanna boys. It seems that being behind at the time, and concealed in the bush, they were not observed by the Maviti. However this may be, they say they were not pursued to a distance, but lay concealed, and towards evening came up cautiously to see if the loads still remained where they had cast them down; finding none, they advanced and saw Dr. Livingstone's body where Moosa had seen him fall, the upper clothing stripped and carried off, as were also his gun and everything he carried. Near him were several of the African boys dead, and in front lay two Maviti. Having buried the body of their leader they left the spot, and after a time re-crossed the lake at Kampunda; but so confused is their story that it is impossible to indicate their path to Keelwa further than that it lay north of that by which they went.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK, *Vice-Consul*.

No. 113.

*Acting Consul Seward to Lord Stanley.—(Received March 18.)*

My Lord,

Zanzibar, January 26, 1867.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that, in pursuance of an intention expressed in my last despatch concerning the asserted death of Dr. Livingstone, I have personally made inquiries amongst the traders of Keelwa Koina and have gathered information there which tends to throw discredit on the statement of the Johanna men, who allege that they saw their leader dead.

The evidence of the Nyassa traders strengthens the suspicion that these men abandoned the traveller when he was about to traverse a Majili haunted district and, for ought they know to the contrary, Dr. Livingstone may yet be alive.

I purpose sending details by the next mail, and have, &c.

(Signed) E. EDWIN SEWARD.

No. 114.

*Acting Consul Seward to Lord Stanley.—(Received May 17.)*

(Extract.)

Zanzibar, March 15, 1867.

HIS Highness Syud Majid, the Sultan of Zanzibar, at the solicitation of Her Majesty's Consul, has freed 711 souls working under the condemned slave labour contract of an English sugar-planter (H. A. Fraser and Co.).

Their freedom carries but one obligation; they must work for some one—for whom they list, but for some one. Their wages are their own, and their liberty and civil right as free folk inalienable.

I have tried, and I trust I may succeed, to induce the Sultan to impose one other condition,—that no slave freed under this act of grace shall ever possess a slave; for the freed man's ability to work vicariously through his slave is destructive of all the invigorating influence that should spring from liberty.

No. 115.

*Acting Consul Seward to Lord Stanley.—(Received May 17.)*

My Lord,

Zanzibar, March 22, 1867.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of my despatch dated October 25, 1866, to the address of Her Majesty's Secretary to the Government of Bombay.

I have, &c.

(Signed) G. EDWIN SEWARD.

Inclosure in No. 115.

*Acting Consul Seward to the Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay.*

Sir,

Zanzibar, October 25, 1866.

IT will be remembered that a party of eight sepoys were dismissed from the Livingstone expedition at Mataka, two\* days' march from Lake Nyassa; an English-speaking Narich boy returned with them.

They were able to tell us at what cost of human suffering, at what price of crime, the domestic institution of slavery at Zanzibar is sustained; through what trouble and anguish the enslaved must pass before he can be "made happy" at Zanzibar, before his condition can be improved there, or amongst the Somali, or Arabs of the Gulf, before he can add to the wealth of our capitalist by labouring upon the present or future sugar plantations of Zanzibar.

We left Mataka with the slave-caravan of one Sulliman, an Arab. His band numbered 300 slaves, besides porters and servants, but there were many other smaller bands varying in number; altogether there started about 900. It seemed one great regiment.

The slaves were yoked together in line, with forked sticks, their hands bound; women and children were simply bound.†

We set out at daylight, and pitched camp at about 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

The slaves were compelled to sleep in either rows, head to head, under a central bar, to which the ends of their forked sticks were lashed; or they were arranged in groups of from five to ten, in such a manner that their sticks could all be brought together in the middle of the group and lashed.

They had to sleep upon their backs, their wrists bound before them, helpless and unable to move; they passed their urine and ordure where they laid.

They were fed once a-day with boiled jowarree and water.

They were cheap: an adult cost two yards of common cotton cloth; a child one yard.

They were urged forward on the march like cattle; beaten about the face and head. We witnessed many murders—many deaths; and the path was strewn with the bodies of those who had been killed.

When we passed up with Dr. Livingstone, the road stunk with the way-side corpses; it was so again when we passed down.

Every day we came upon the dead, and certainly we witnessed not less than a hundred deaths.

Men were either killed by the club, or the dagger, or strangled.

I, with my own eyes (Reuten speaks), saw six (at different times) men choked to death: the victims were forced to sit leaning against a tree, a strip of bark or a thong was looped around the throat and stem of the tree, pulled taut from behind, and the slave strangled.

\* Incorrect.

† "2,446 slaves have reached Zanzibar since the 11th of October, date of Sepoy's arrival, it is now the 25th October."—See Cover of Livingstone's Book.



I saw not less than fifteen slaves clubbed to death by heavy blows between the eyes (which bespattered their faces with blood) or upon the head.

Children were felled in this way, and put out of life by repeated blows on the head.

I have seen a porter in mercy carry a sick slave,\* but some who were so thin and worn that they could not walk, and whose death was certain, were tossed aside into the bush.

Others who had been so mercilessly beaten that but little life remained in them were unyoked, and with a kick and an oath thrown aside to take their chances in the wilderness.

An infant, not long born, was torn from its mother's breast, and pitched, screaming, into the bush. She was dragged relentlessly along.

These things were done by the servants of the Arab owners, but always by the Arab's order. One Arab was very cruel. We saw his cruel nature in his face.

The large and valuable tusks were not carried by the slaves, they were borne along by porters or the servants of the Arabs; the small tusks, so light that they could easily be carried in one hand, were carried by a few, not all, of the slaves.

The Naigue of the Sepoys gave much the same account as Reuten, but he declares to more numerous murders. In addition to the club and the noose he saw the dagger used to despatch victims who either could or would not move along with the caravan.

The other sepoy gave similar testimony.

These atrocities happened after the slaves had been collected at Mataka; but what of the crimes that waited upon their original capture?

If we ponder upon the matter—if we allow our minds to dwell upon the accumulation of horrors that are begotten of the enslavement of the 20,000 or 30,000 Africans who yearly do reach the coast alive, is it possible to recognize any political necessity so great, any commercial interests so valuable, any right of the Arab to enslave the African so absolute, any hope of ulterior good to Africa from the continuance of this sin-encompassed Traffic so well founded, as to justify its tolerance by a great Christian nation which has the power wholly to prevent it.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) G. EDWIN SEWARD.

No. 116.

*Acting Consul Seward to Lord Stanley.—(Received May 17.)*

My Lord,

Zanzibar, March 22, 1867.

ON the departure of the Johanna men for their homes, I addressed a letter to their Sultan, begging him if possible to ascertain from them the truth as to Dr. Livingstone's alleged death; I also solicited the good offices of Mr. William Sunley, late Her Majesty's Consul at Johanna, to the same end.

Thoroughly familiar with the language and idiom of the people whom he was about to interrogate, I felt that Mr. Sunley would evoke a more faithful narrative of their adventures than I perhaps had been able to record at Zanzibar.

It was hoped, too, that whilst a wholesome fear of their Ruler might not be without its effect upon the truthfulness of their story, the detection of any radical discrepancies between their evidence at Zanzibar and their statements at Johanna would shake that belief in the traveller's death which a fair account in their twin narrations would, on the other hand, tend to confirm.

My Lord, there are no such discrepancies, and the results of Mr. Sunley's inquiries, which I now beg to submit, are further verified by the knowledge that up to this time, as far as I know, no sign of Livingstone's continued existence has reached the coast.

The claim of the Johanna men for wages far exceeds the balance in hand, the residue of a small sum left here by Dr. Livingstone to pay current expenses.

I would beg instructions as to how these claims are to be met, and to whom the expenditure is to be debited.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) G. EDWIN SEWARD.

N.B.—A statement of account will be forwarded by the next opportunity.

\* N.B.—Possibly one of some promise as a speculation.

## Inclosure 1 in No. 116

*Mr. Sunley to Acting Consul Seward.*

Sir,

*Johanna, February 23, 1867.*

THE Johanna men who have returned from Livingstone's expedition give the following account of their journey and of the attack of the Maveta in which the Doctor was killed:—

"We crossed the Ravanoo at Gomaroo or Mabangania, where another river enters the Ravooma. The camels and the other animals were all dead, and the guide who was engaged at Mahindanoo received 20 dollars and was dismissed.

"We journeyed towards the west, and arrived at Malaha; then the Doctor sent back the people from India because their legs were swollen, and they could hardly walk. There now remained with the Doctor nine Africans and nine Johanna men. We think we reached Matrata about three months after we had started from Makindanoo. After several days we came to Motraba, distant about eight miles from the Nyassa. We slept near some fishermen's huts at the side of the Nyassa, and in the morning crossed the lake in canoes, and arrived at Honda, on the other side, at sunset. Ponda is a large town with plenty of people. We stopped there one day and one night. Two days after leaving Ponda we came to Malinga, and in two days more arrived at Naroosivra in Nyassa country. The village was destroyed, and we did not see any people there. We slept a short distance from Nakoosoor. Before starting the next morning, the Doctor again told us to keep up with him and the Africans, as we were near the Maveta, and if we were far behind he could not tell if anything happened to us, and he bid Moosa see that we did not lag behind. But our loads were heavy, and we could not keep up with the Doctor and the Africans, whose loads were lighter than ours. The path we were following wound among high grass and bushes. The Doctor and the Africans were a-head, Moosa a little distance behind them, and the rest of us were about five minutes behind Moosa. About noon, Moosa heard the cry of Maveta, Maveta, from the Africans, and hastening on saw a number of men rushing on the Doctor and the Africans. Three men made for the Doctor, who shot two of them, but the third creeping behind struck the Doctor down with a hatchet. Moosa fired at the man, and ran back to us, and shouted to us to throw down our loads and run, as the Doctor was killed by the Maveta. We ran as fast as we could among the grass and bushes, and when we stopped to breathe, we thought it foolish to fly like hunted beasts, and that it would be better to go back to where we started, as we did not know the direction we had taken, and might come upon the Maveta again. We returned very cautiously, and at sunset reached the spot where the Doctor was killed. We found the body of the Doctor stripped of everything but the trousers, the bodies of the two Maveta that he had shot, and the bodies of four of the Africans, but we could not find a single thing belonging to the Doctor or to the party. We scraped a hole in the ground and buried the Doctor, and then started off as fast as we could go for Honda. We travelled night and day, living on fruits and berries, and sometimes getting a little corn from Arabs whom we passed with gangs of slaves, and after suffering much from hunger, and narrowly escaping from Maveta two or three times, we reached Keelwa. We told the Governor of Keelwa what had befallen us, and he gave us food and cloths, and sent us to Zanzibar. We do not know what became of the five other Africans, but suppose that they ran away as we did.

"We could not again find the place where the Doctor is buried; there are no trees or hills, or any marks which would enable us to know the place again; it is in a large flat like the sea. We wished very much to find some papers or articles belonging to the Doctor, but we have not even a pin.

"Moosa does not know how many men attacked the Doctor and his party, but there were a great many. Moosa was the only one of us whose gun was loaded when the Maveta appeared. Our powder was tied up with the loads, and we could not get it quickly. The Doctor was told at Honda that the Maveta were in the country through which he was going, but he only laughed. There were many parties of Maveta scattered through the country on our way to the coast; we saw many villages burnt, and many dead bodies. Our guns were taken by the Governor of Ponda."

This account agrees with what they have told the Sultan and Seedy Drayman, and I believe their story; and, unless some of the Africans survive and return, we shall learn nothing more of Dr. Livingstone's fate than what Moosa and his comrades have related.

I remain, &amp;c.

(Signed) WM. SUNLEY.

## Inclosure 2 in No. 116.

*Mr. Sunley to Acting Consul Seward.*

My dear Seward,

*Johanna, February 23, 1867.*

YOUR letter and the Johanna men did not get here until the 24th of last month.

I can learn nothing more of Livingstone than you will find in the account which I send you. If for a moment I question the truth of their tale, it is only because I am unwilling to believe that Livingstone, after going through so many perils, should perish so miserably. He was killed on the first or second week of October, they say 135 days from to day; but their reckoning of time is not to be relied on. They say they could not find again the spot where they buried Livingstone, and have nothing belonging to him or to the expedition.

I remain, &c.  
(Signed) WM. SUNLEY.

## Inclosure 3 in No. 116.

*Mr. Sunley to Acting Consul Seward.*

Sir,

*Johanna, February 22, 1867.*

SULTAN ABDULLAH has requested me to inform you of the terms on which the Johanna men were engaged for Dr. Livingstone, and to ask you for the payment of their wages.

I beg to inclose a copy of the agreement which they signed before me on the 9th of March last. They claim to be paid up to the 24th January, the day on which they returned to Johanna, and the sum due to them would be as per note, 501 dollars 50 cents.

If you will send me this amount, or pay the same to Messrs. Oswald and Co. for my account, I will settle with them; I have paid them 59 dollars. Moosa-Combo died after Dr. Livingstone was killed; his family have applied to me for his wages.

Towalia deserted at Zanzibar.

I remain, &c.  
(Signed) WM. SUNLEY.

## NOTE of Wages due to the Johanna Men engaged for Dr. Livingstone.

	Dols.	c.
Moosa, 10½ months, at 10 dollars . . . . .	105	0
7 men, 10½ months, at 7 dollars each . . . . .	514	50
	619	50
Less 2 months advance . . . . .	118	0
	501	50

## Inclosure 4 in No. 116.

WE hereby engage to accompany Dr. Livingstone into the interior of Africa, and to serve him as porters, boatmen, or in any other capacity, for a period of twenty months, for the sum of 7 dollars each per month; Moosa to receive 10 dollars per month. And we acknowledge that we have received two months' pay in advance.

(Signed)

MOOSA.  
TOWALIA (deserted).  
MAHOODA.  
ALLI BACHARI.  
MADDI MIRAJI.  
ALLI MUDDI.  
MADDE MOOSA (dead).  
MOOSA COMBA.  
JUMA TOORA.  
ALOE HAMJA.

Witness to signatures:

(Signed) SEEDY DRAYMAN.

Engaged before me, at Pomony, Johanna, this 9th day of March, 1866.

(Signed) WM. SUNLEY, *Her Majesty's Consul.*

No. 117

*Lord Stanley to Acting Consul Seward.*

Sir,

*Foreign Office, June 14, 1867.*

HER Majesty's Government have read with great satisfaction your despatch of the 15th March last, in which you report that the Sultan of Zanzibar has, at your instigation, liberated 711 slaves who were working under contract with Messrs. Fraser and Co.

The question respecting the employment of slaves by that firm having been thus happily settled, I have to instruct you to inform Messrs. Fraser that Her Majesty's Government will not adopt any proceedings against them, nor enforce any penalties which they have incurred by the violation of the British laws for the prevention of the Slave Trade, provided that they will undertake on their part to abstain for the future from all similar offences.

It will be your duty, however, while interfering as little as possible with any arrangements that may be made to prevent these newly-emancipated negroes from leading a life of idleness, to see that their freedom is really guaranteed to them, and that they are not reduced again to slavery.

I avail myself of this opportunity to inquire whether any of Her Majesty's Indian subjects in Zanzibar are in the habit of holding slaves, or of otherwise infringing British laws for the suppression of the Slave Trade.

You are doubtless aware that a few years since Colonel Rigby, her Political Agent and Consul at Zanzibar, procured the release of a large number of slaves who were held in bondage by British Indian subjects settled in Zanzibar, and it would be satisfactory to know that the steps taken by Colonel Rigby have proved effective to prevent a continuance of the abuse by Her Majesty's Indian subjects of British laws for the suppression of Slave Traffic.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) STANLEY.

No. 118.

*Lord Stanley to Acting Consul Seward.*

Sir,

*Foreign Office, June 21, 1867.*

I AM directed by Lord Stanley to acquaint you, with reference to your despatch of 1867, that Her Majesty's Government are quite prepared to testify their sense of the handsome conduct of the Sultan of Zanzibar in liberating the 711 slaves, who were in the employ of Messrs. Fraser, by making His Highness a present in special recognition of his enlightened and generous conduct on this occasion.

His Lordship observes that you recommend that a portrait of the Queen should be presented to His Highness, but on referring your recommendation for the opinion of the Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Northcote, while concurring in the policy of making a present to the Sultan as an encouragement to His Highness to pursue a liberal policy in regard to the Slave Trade, at the same time suggest that a present of arms, or a diamond ring, would be a more suitable gift under the circumstances.

Before, therefore, coming to a decision in this matter, Lord Stanley would be glad if you would reconsider this question, and report to his Lordship your opinion upon Sir Stafford Northcote's suggestion.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) STANLEY.

No. 119.

*Lord Stanley to Acting Consul Seward.*

Sir,

*Foreign Office, July 10, 1867.*

WITH reference to that part of your despatch of the 22nd of March last, which relates to the payment of the wages due to the Johanna men lately attached to Dr. Livingstone's Expedition, I am directed by Lord Stanley to transmit to you the accompanying copy of a letter from Sir Robert Murchison, by which you will see that the Council of the Royal Geographical Society, who are liable for the wages due to the Johanna men, are of opinion that no payment should be made to them until it has been ascertained by the Expedition recently sent out that their report of the death of Dr. Livingstone is true.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) STANLEY.

Inclosure in No. 119.

*Sir R. Murchison to Mr. Egerton.*

Sir,

15, *Whitehall Place*, July 1, 1867.

IN reply to your letter of the 3rd June, I have to state, for the information of Lord Stanley, that the Council of this Society have authorized me to inform his Lordship that, in their opinion, no payment should be made to the Johanna men, belonging to Dr. Livingstone's Expedition, until it has been ascertained by the Search Expedition, which has been sent out, that their report of the death of Dr. Livingstone is true.

I am, &amp;c.

(Signed) ROD. C. MURCHISON.

No. 120.

*Consul Churchill to Lord Stanley.—(Received September 26.)*

My Lord,

*Zanzibar, August 14, 1867.*

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith, for your Lordship's information, an extract of my despatch of this day's date, addressed to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay, with reference to the concession that I have succeeded in bringing the Sultan of Zanzibar to make, by which the work of Her Majesty's cruizers in their efforts to suppress the Slave Trade on this coast of Africa will, I trust, be considerably facilitated.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed) HY. A. CHURCHILL.

Inclosure 1 in No. 120.

*Mr. Churchill to the Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay.*

(Extract.)

*Zanzibar, August 14, 1867.*

IN coming to Zanzibar, I was aware that the question paramount in importance, and the one that was most likely to occupy my serious attention, would be the suppression of the Slave Trade.

On taking charge of my new post I consequently made a point of reading up all that had been written by and to my predecessors on this important subject; and it became patent to me that whatever may have been, or may still be, the reasons for making an exception in favour of Sultan Majid to the rule adopted with reference to the Slave Trade, sooner or later measures would be taken on this coast, as elsewhere, for the effectual suppression of this nefarious Traffic; and my attention was particularly arrested by a paragraph contained in Earl Russell's despatch to Colonel Playfair of the 14th of March, 1864, which I shall beg leave here to quote.

Referring to the prohibition of the transport of slaves from port to port in Seyd Majid's dominions, Earl Russell says:—"If these measures are carried out in good faith by the Sultan and his authorities, you need not for the present insist on His Highness' entering into a Treaty engagement with Her Majesty's Government to prohibit the transport of slaves coastwise from one portion of his dominions to another; but you will not lose sight of this subject, and you will, should an opportunity offer, endeavour to induce His Highness to embody this concession in the existing Treaty for the suppression of the Slave Trade."

Earl Russell, further on, adds: "The object which Her Majesty's Government had in view in instructing Colonel Pelly to propose this measure to the Sultan was, to put a stop to the export of slaves by the Northern Arabs;" and, further, "that Her Majesty's Government do not claim the right to interfere in the status of domestic slavery in Zanzibar."

Now, when Colonel Pelly was instructed to insist, with Seyd Majid, on prohibiting the transport of slaves coastwise in the Sultan's dominions, it was well known that from 20,000 to 30,000 slaves were annually being imported into the Island of Zanzibar, and that this number by far exceeded the agricultural requirements of the island. On the other hand, when, at a later period, the Sultan prohibited the transport of slaves in his dominions between the 1st of January and the 30th of April—although the Sultan may have been in earnest in believing that effectual measures had been adopted to put a stop to the Slave Traffic with the North within his dominions—his good intentions were utterly frustrated by the adoption of different tactics by those engaged in the Slave Trade; for instead of purchasing, as before, slaves at Zanzibar, some went direct to Kilwa, and exported them thence direct to the coast of Arabia; while others—and, I am sorry to say,

many of the Sultan's own subjects—collected their slaves at Lamoo, to the North, or on the Island of Pemba, during the privileged season, to ship them off for Arabia when an opportunity offered, taking their chance of being arrested in their enterprise by the few cruizers on the station. Thus, although the Sultan's concession was one of peculiar importance at first, it became in the course of time completely nugatory. Thence it became evident that the time had come for Earl Russell's instructions to be pressed on the Sultan for his acceptance.

The relations between His Highness and Her Majesty's Agency, thanks to the tact and amiable disposition of Dr. Seward, were of the best.

In my conversations with the Sultan, and with his Chief Secretary, Sheikh Suliman, I made a point of making His Highness understand the necessity of proving to Her Majesty's Government his earnestness to co-operate with us, and I did not fail to make him see that, sooner or later, the transport of slaves coastwise would have to be prohibited.

I told His Highness that Her Majesty's Government did not claim the right of interference in the status of domestic slavery in his dominions, but that if domestic slavery was his sole object, I looked upon the liberty his subjects enjoyed in virtue of treaty, of carrying slaves from one end of his dominions on the coast of the other, as totally incommensurate with the object in view, inasmuch as his subjects could procure enough slaves from the coast opposite Zanzibar to supply the agricultural wants of the island, and therefore, if he was sincere in his assurances of friendship and fellow-feeling with us he could not refuse to reduce the limits within which the transport of slavery for domestic purposes would be permitted, and I pointed out to him on the map Ras ya Dege in south latitude  $7^{\circ}$  as the southern, and Membas, in latitude  $4^{\circ}$ , as the northern limit, between which points he might have the privilege of transporting slaves without interference, provided he agreed to abandon the rest.

His Highness did not appear surprised at the magnitude of my demand, comprising as it does, three-fifths of his seaboard. He appeared to have been quite prepared for this demand, and he promised to assemble his Court Council, and bring his reply in person to Her Majesty's Consulate in two days.

On the day appointed the Sultan came, and taking me apart with his Secretary expressed himself thus:—

“What you have asked on the part of Her Majesty's Government is no small concession; it is more than we ever expected to be called upon to concede, and we therefore had to consult our Council of Chiefs of the tribes on the subject. When your propositions were laid before them they were surprised, and pointed out the detriment that such a measure would give rise to, as well to the public treasury as in other respects which it would be too long to enumerate. But they all admitted that the English Government must be satisfied, and we therefore accept your proposition, but will do so on one condition, which will only cost the British Government one word.” His Highness went on to say, “My brother Seyd Theweynee has, as you are aware, been foully murdered by his own son, who is now on the throne of Muscat. I only ask of the English Government to permit me to proceed to Oman to seek my brother's blood at the hands of Salim, his murderer. If this be too much, and it be decided, contrary to our holy law, that Seyd Salim shall reign in peace in his father's kingdom, then all that we solicit of Her Majesty's Government is that we hear nothing more of Salim, the murderer, or of his claims.”

I replied to his Highness, that with regard to his request to be allowed to avenge the murder of his brother Theweynee, apart from the consideration that in asking for the blood of Salim, he might be suspected of wishing to profit by his own brother's murder, I ventured to think that his Highness' vengeance, in comparison with the punishment that God could award the murderer, if he so pleased, would be very small. That already Salim, from the accounts I had received, was feeling the effects of remorse; that he could neither eat nor sleep in peace, fancying he sees his father's ghost in everything that surrounds him; that already his people are against him, and Seyd Turkee at the gates of Muscat.

For precision's sake I have caused the Sultan's declaration to be put down in writing, and I have the honour to transmit it herewith inclosed, in translation, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council.

The importance of the Sultan's concession his Excellency will readily appreciate when I repeat Captain Pasley's words, that it is the most complete check to the Slave Trade that will have been effected since Her Majesty's Government commenced to suppress it. I beg leave to inclose a copy of Captain Pasley's letter to me on this subject.

It now, indeed, as the Senior Officer on the station says, remains for Her Majesty's

Government to follow up the blow so hardly dealt to the Slave Trade, to annihilate it altogether; and I venture to say, that it will cost less in men and money, to do it effectually, than to attempt to do it by inadequate means as before.

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Inclosure 2 in No. 120.

*The Sultan of Zanzibar to Mr. Churchill.*

(Translation.)

IN the name of God. You have asked of us in the name of Her Majesty's Government the reduction of the limits allowed us by the Treaty between the British Government and our father the Imam, within which we are at liberty to carry slaves, so that the limits within which we shall be enabled to transport slaves in future by sea shall be comprised between Cape Dege and Matepa,\* including the islands of Pemba, Zanzibar, and Chewley,† with permission to Her Majesty's cruisers to seize any vessel on the shores of Pemba, that may be found there without a pass or colours, and that may have slaves on board without permission, and having seized it to bring it to you at Zanzibar for adjudication; and provided also that Chewley being beyond Cape Dege, special vessels be appointed to carry thereto the slaves the island may require for itself, with this understanding: that Her Majesty's cruisers shall cease to molest or interfere with the shipping of our subjects within the said limits.

We have, in consequence, assembled the members of our Council, and have acquainted them with your request. They were all of one accord in saying that your proposition would prove very detrimental to our Government in many ways which it would be too long to enumerate, but that, nevertheless it was incumbent on us to satisfy the British Government.

But we also have something to ask of the British Government which will cost them nothing to grant us, and that is, we be allowed to avenge on Salim the murder of our brother, and if this be found difficult to allow, we beg of the Government that we be no longer asked to pay the subsidy or any of the claims forwarded to us, for our own claims in Oman are greater than those put forward against us in Zanzibar. Be this known. Written on the 13th Rebbi ussame, 1284.

From your friend Majid-bin-Said. In the Sultan's own handwriting.

If the exalted Government accepts the wishes you have expressed to us and those we have ourselves expressed, and they be pleased with them, we will either add them to the original Treaty, or sign a new one, just as they please.

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Inclosure 3 in No. 120.

*Captain Pasley to Consul Churchill.*

Sir,

*"Highflyer," at Zanzibar, August 13, 1867.*

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of to-day's date, in which you request me to express my opinion as to the effect that certain measures, in contemplation between yourself and the Sultan of Zanzibar, would have on the Slave Trade, namely, the abandonment by the Sultan in our favour of His Highness' rights over the territorial waters of those parts of the Eastern coast of Africa comprised between Membaza and the northern limit of His Highness' dominions, and between Cape Benillen and the southern extremity of the Zanzibar territory and the islands belonging to His Highness except that of Zanzibar and those on the immediate coast between Membaza and Cape Benillen.

Should your negotiations succeed, I have no hesitation in saying it will be a more complete check to the Slave Trade than has ever been effected since Her Majesty's Government commenced to suppress it, and it will be our fault if the Slave Trade between Zanzibar and Arabia is not effectually stopped. This will require, of course, a larger number of cruisers in the immediate vicinity of Zanzibar than heretofore, but I should think that were the coast of Africa from Mogadoxa to Membaza, and from Cape Benillen to Cape Delgado, as well as the islands of Pemba and Monfia, strictly guarded all the year round, no slavers could possibly run either to Arabia and the Persian Gulf, or to the Red Sea.

My reason for thinking this coast ought to be guarded all the year round is, that I

\* Nine miles north of Membas.

† Monfia.

have learnt that almost all the slaves of the Red Sea run from this coast during the north-east monsoon, and that the actual export of slaves from the Zanzibar territory is not confined to the period of the south-west monsoon, when the Red Sea dhows are unable to beat up the Gulf of Aden.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) T. M. SABINE PASLEY.

No. 121.

*Consul Churchill to Lord Stanley.—(Received November 23.)*

My Lord,

Zanzibar, September 28, 1867.

A NATIVE boat being on the point of leaving this for Makulla, near Aden, I hasten to transmit to your Lordship the copy of a despatch of this day's date that I have addressed to the Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay, acquainting him with the intelligence gathered within the last two days from people who have come from the interior of Africa, with reference to a white man having been seen seven months ago at a place called Marungu, 650 miles due west of Zanzibar.

Since writing the accompanying despatch, the slave on whose information more particularly the belief of Dr. Livingstone being alive may be based, has, among a hundred photographs, recognized the portrait of Dr. Livingstone, the man he saw at Marunga.

This is indeed glorious news; and Dr. Kirk and I leave this for Bagamoyo as soon as possible to gather further information from the other members of the caravan to which the slave in question is attached.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) HY. A. CHURCHILL.

Inclosure 1 in No. 121.

*Mr. Churchill to the Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay.*

Sir,

Zanzibar, September 27, 1867.

DR. KIRK has been good enough to show me a letter that he has lately received from Mozambique, stating that the expedition sent from England in search of Dr. Livingstone had, according to a letter dated the 20th August, reached the mouth of the Zambezi, and one of the steamers in which the Expedition had embarked: the smaller one, had proceeded up the river, while the larger one had remained at the mouth of it.

On the other hand, a Banián has just arrived here from Bagamoyo stating that, from accounts he has received from people coming from the interior of Africa, a white man had been seen in Rua, quite alone and engaged in no trade.

This Banián has been examined by Dr. Kirk, together with a slave who has seen the white man; and I cannot do better than give you Dr. Kirk's report on this subject in his own words.

The ship that conveys this despatch leaves in half an hour, and there is no time for further investigation; but Dr. Kirk or I will go to Bagamoyo, if necessary, to learn more on this interesting subject.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) HY. A. CHURCHILL.

Inclosure 2 in No. 121.

*Statement made in the Suaheli language before Dr. Kirk, Her Majesty's Vice-Consul, by a Native lately returned from the Interior of Africa.*

THE caravan to which this native belonged left Bagamoyo and followed the usual trade route by Magara, Urori, and Wemba, to Marungu. While they remained in one of the villages of Marungu a white man came from the south, having with him a party of thirteen natives, who spoke Suaheli. He was of moderate height and not stout, was dressed in white, and wore a piece of cloth folded round his head. His party were all armed, six with double-barrelled guns, the remainder with flint muskets.



This white man gave the Chief a looking-glass, and on being offered ivory in return declined it, saying that he was not a trader, but was passing on to the next Chief, but that he would accept any small thing as a token of friendship. To a Balooch of the trading party he gave a pistol; but whether this man is now in Zanzibar is uncertain.

It is now seven months since this white man was seen in the country of Marungu.

Our informant gives the following particulars of his return route:—

Marungu is a level country. There are two rivers in it; one, the Chambezi, is full of hippopotami; the other is smaller; in both the water flows gently to the north.

The Head Chief of Marungu is named Kitumbwa. There are four others, viz., Chuga, Kasouzo, Charika, and Chauza.

From Marungu to Wemba is seven days' march. The Chief of Wemba is named Chubanaŋga; there are under him Mivamba, M'tuka, Mwirwa, Marurani, and Kombe. From Wemba to Mambwe is two days; to Umyamwanga seven days; to Wiwa two days. Nitra is close to Wiwa. From Nitra to Uraga three days; to Mafua three days; to Urori one day. From Urori to Uhehe is one month; to Usagara three days.

This statement was made only two hours before the departure of the mails. The Banian who brought our present informant also states that at Bagamoyo there is a rumour that a white man has been seen alone in the country of Kuwa,\* to the west of the Sea of Ujiji.

It will be necessary to go to Bagamoyo for the purpose of obtaining further information.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

Zanzibar, September 28, 1867.

No. 122.

*Consul Churchill to Lord Stanley.—(Received December 12.)*

My Lord,

Zanzibar, October 5, 1867.

DR. KIRK and I have just returned from Bagamoyo.

The news that a European had been seen at Marungu, is confirmed by two other eye witnesses, Ramjee, one of the head men of a caravan of sixty men, and Meshaka one of its members.

Dr. Livingstone's photograph was not, it is true, recognized by either of these, but great allowances must be made with Africans on this score. Ramjee informed us, on the other hand, in a very circumstantial manner, that he had lived for five days, within a few hundred yards of the house in which this traveller was quartered; that this traveller, a white man, dressed in European clothes, was provided with scientific instruments, and that he did not trade, and, further, that he had left M'tuka's village, or district, for that of Moamba, a neighbouring chief, whose feudal estates were to the north of those of M'tuka.

When Ramjee was asked how it was that this European traveller had not given him any letters for the coast, knowing, as he must have done, that his caravan would shortly proceed thither, he at once replied that letters had been given to Bundouky, of the same caravan, who had represented himself as one of the Consul of Zanzibar's servants. I at first considered this assertion as an unpardonable presumption, but since my return to Zanzibar, I have learned from Ludda Damjee that this Bundouk was one of the men who accompanied Captains Burton and Speke on their first expedition to the Tanganyika.

This traveller was further described as being acquainted with the Soahili tongue, which he spoke with the Nyassa idiom.

That a European traveller has been seen at Marungu, or in the country of Wemba, (which may be the same thing, as frequently in those regions, a man's name passes for the name of a country) in a country that has hitherto been unexplored, for these names are not to be found in any map, is a fact beyond doubt. To all appearances this enterprising traveller is Dr. Livingstone and no other. But how then is one to account for the story of the Johanna men, that he was killed? I take it that it was got up by these men in order to get paid wages that were, perhaps, not due to them, having most likely abandoned their master; and Dr. Seward, Her Majesty's Acting Consul, was justified in refusing to pay them before their assertion was confirmed. Nothing positive can, however, be said before the letters, that are now on their way, reach us. The expedition in search of Dr. Livingstone was not yet out of England when these people saw the white man at Wemba and he was, moreover, alone; but however this may be, we have this consolation, that,

\* Uruwa, in Captain Speke's map.

with a little patience, we shall soon have this doubt cleared up, and instructions have been repeated along the coast, to inquire of the caravans that are daily coming in with ivory, if anything more can be learned of this traveller.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) HY. A. CHURCHILL.

P.S.—I have the honour to inclose, for your Lordship's information, the depositions of the individual catechized by me at Bagamoyo on this important subject, together with Dr. Kirk's valuable appreciation of the facts before us, and his version of the above depositions written down by him from the Soahili, in which they were made.

H. A. C.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 122.

*Statement made by Ramjee, and taken down on the spot by Mr. Churchill as it was translated to him in Arabic by the Sheik of Bagamoyo.*

MY name is Ramjee. I am one of the head men of a caravan that left Bagamoyo in the month of Ribbi-ul-ewwel of last year. We were sixty, all told, when we started, and seventy when we returned. We were exactly thirteen months, from the day of our departure from, to the day of our return to, Bagamoyo; and the most distant point we reached was Wemba. The object of our journey was to collect ivory, and we remained three months in Marungu for this purpose. The Chief of Marungu is Ketimba, but the most powerful Sultan of that neighbourhood is Kasundzo. Our business was with Ketimba, who trades, while the great Chief does not. Besides these two Chiefs, there are others, namely, Chungo, Charika, and Reebueh; they inhabit villages within three hours' distance of each other; but the great Chief's abode is a day's journey off.

Being asked to delineate the country to which he has referred, on the sand, Ramjee says that Mukomopee (the lad whose information was given at Zanzibar) could do so better than he could; and Mukomopee sat down on the ground accordingly, and drew a line on the sand, which he named the Tanganyika. At one end of this line he placed Ujiji, at the other end Nyassa. From the middle of the Tanganyika he drew a line, which he described as a narrow river running towards the Chambesé; and he placed Marungu between this river and Ujiji, and Itawa on the other side of Tanganyika.

The statement of Ramjee is continued.

It would take about four hours to cross the Tanganyika, opposite Marungu, of which the waters are very deep. The river leading to Chambesé is narrow, about twenty or thirty yards wide. It goes far, but he does not know how far. Its water is not very rapid. Chambesé is in the country of the Wemba.

Saw a white man in the territory of M'tuka, in the country of Wemba. Twelve men with him, some of whom understood Soahili. M'tuka offered this white man ivory, as a present; but he refused it, saying he was no trader, and accepted a cow in lieu thereof. He gave a looking-glass (about 1 foot by 1 foot and a half), a tin box, two pieces of red cloth, and 8 theru'as (4 yards) of white flannel, in return. He was dressed in white; his trousers and coat were both white, and on his head he wore a cap. Deponent thinks it was black, but he also saw it with a white cloth round it. Cannot tell his age. Was neither stout nor spare, and of Mr. Churchill's stature (5 feet 7 inches).

Deponent says he was at Wemba some time before this traveller arrived. The latter only remained there five days, and left for the dominions of Moamba, M'tuka's brother. Moamba is a more powerful Chief than M'tuka. The white man had twelve men with him, of whom, four carried boxes, and three carried various other articles.

Deponent had frequent opportunities of seeing this traveller, being quartered within a few hundred paces of his house; but he could not tell which was his portrait in the album. Mukomopee could do that, he said; but the album was placed into Mukomopee's hands without his being able to recognise the features of the great traveller, as he had done at Zanzibar.

Deponent saw a compass and other instruments with the white man. Had spoken to him in Soahili, which he spoke like Dr. Kirk. Had told him that he, Ramjee, was going to the coast, but had not received letters, as these had been given to a man named Bundouky, who will be here in the course of a month. Does not know if the said white man was an Englishman or not.

Bagamoyo, October 2, 1867.

(Signed) HY. A. CHURCHILL.

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## Inclosure 2 in No. 122.

*Statement made by Meshaka, and taken down on the spot by Mr. Churchill as it was translated to him in Arabic by the Sheik of Bagamoyo.*

SAW a white man with M'tuka, who received as a present a looking-glass, a tin box, and other things, which he, deponent, cannot enumerate, not having seen them with his own eyes. Had heard that M'tuka had offered him ivory in return for these presents, which was refused.

The white man came in after their caravan, and remained there only five days, after which he went towards Chungu, in the west.

The distance between Tanganyka and Marungu is about five or six days. Deponent only saw the traveller once, and was unable to describe his features, not having seen them distinctly.

Bundouky has letters, for the conveyance of which he has received a present of cloth. He and Sherif are travelling together. Their native country is Kawelee, and they will be here in the course of a month. Bundouky had thirty men with him and Sherif forty.

*Bagamoyo, October 2, 1867.*

(Signed) HY. A. CHURCHILL.

## Inclosure 3 in No. 122.

*Vice-Consul Kirk to Consul Churchill.*

Sir,

*Zanzibar, October 6, 1867.*

AT your request I lay before you a few remarks on the evidence collected during the recent visit to Bagamoyo, for the purpose of ascertaining the foundation of a story told in Zanzibar, that a white man had been seen in the interior of Africa, on which visit I had the honour to accompany you.

This tale, as you are aware, was first brought to Zanzibar by a Banian merchant, who heard it from the people of a caravan who were carelessly speaking in his shop. The Banian himself knew as little as his informants that any especial interest attached to what they said.

The first statement was made to me in Zanzibar by a negro of the coast who had accompanied the caravan referred to. His manner convinced me that he spoke truth, and was not inventing a story to please. The subsequent stories of his two companions, taken at Bagamoyo in your presence, agree with the first in all important points, and differ only in minor detail.

To my mind it has been placed beyond doubt that a white man was seen about six months ago in the country of Marungu, given in Captain Speke's map to the south of Tanganyka. He was certainly not an Arab, who in many parts of Africa are designated "Muzungu," or white men, as our informants are well able to distinguish, and are no doubt personally acquainted with many of the coast Arabs travelling in those parts. That he was a European appears from his dress, which consisted of white coat and trousers, with black cap.

The fact that he refused money and accepted food as a return for a small complimentary present, shows that he was no trader; while the compass and other instruments clearly indicate his true nature to be that of a scientific traveller passing quickly through the country northwards. The knowledge of Suaheli, or of cognate dialects possessed by himself and some of his companions, shows that both he and his men came from the East, and not the West, Coast of Africa.

We might, however, possibly think him some Portuguese traveller, had we any reason to believe that such had set out from the Zambesi or Mozambique, but we know of none.

We are therefore forced to the conclusion that, in all probability, we have now obtained information of Dr. Livingstone, who started from the east coast to explore the Lake Regions, and was last heard of on the shores of Nyassa. It would now appear that having overcome the difficulties of an unknown region, little, if at all, visited by caravans, he is now pushing north, and following his proposed route.

The description given by our informants of the white man seen by them in Urungu agrees well with Dr. Livingstone, except in the trifling particular of his having a beard, which he never wore on any of his former travels.

I have the honour to inclose a copy of the statement made to me in Zanzibar by

Mukomopee, in which you you will find it mentioned that a pistol was given to a Balooch at Marungu, whereas I now find that the Balooch's name is Bunduki, which means a gun.

I also add the statements of the two men, Remji and Mashaka, taken down by me as they replied in Suaheli to your questions translated from the Arabic.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

Inclosure 4 in No. 122.

*Statement made in the Suaheli language before Dr. Kirk, Her Majesty's Vice-Consul, by a Native lately returned from the Interior of Africa.*

[See Inclosure 2 in No. 122.]

Inclosure 5 in No. 122.

*Statement of Remji, a native Suaheli, one of the head men of a Caravan which went from Bagamoyo to the country of Marungu, for the purchase of Ivory, and returned to the coast one month ago; made at Bagamoyo, before Mr. Churchill and Dr. Kirk, on the 1st October, 1867.*

REMJI was one of the head men of a caravan which went to Marungu for the purchase of ivory. Mukomopee, the native who spoke to Dr. Kirk in Zanzibar, was a servant in the same. The caravan numbered sixty on setting out from the coast, but returned when laden with ivory, seventy strong. They were thirteen months absent, including three months residence in the country of Marungu and Wemba. The feudal chief of Marungu is named Kasongo; but one of the minor chiefs, Kitimbwa, is the greatest trader, and is most visited by caravans. Chungu, Charika, and Kibwe, are minor chiefs, whose villages are about a day's journey apart.

Remji describes the country of Marungu as on the east of Tanganyika, which, he says, unites the sea of Ujiji and Nyassa. In the dry season the Tanganyika shrinks so that a man is visible on the other side, but during the rains, the surrounding country is flooded for a great distance. Itawa is the land on the opposite side. From the Tanganyika a small, narrow stream, flowing slowly, branches off through Marungu, to join the Chambezé, a river of considerable size, full of hippopotami, and navigated by large canoes. The course of the Chambezé, he says, is unknown, but he believes it flows to the ocean, after passing through many countries.

While the caravan to which Remji belonged, remained at the village of M'tuka, in the country of Wemba, a white man arrived, followed by eleven natives. He was a man of prosperity, wanted nothing. His dress consisted of white coat and trousers, he had a black cloth cap on his head, on which he sometimes tied a cloth, there was nothing further noticeable about it. He was not stout, about the height of Mr. Churchill (5 feet 7 inches), had a beard, and seemed to be young. Of his party, some spoke Suaheli; he himself could converse, but did so as a white man, and with the Nyassa idiom, like Dr. Kirk. M'tuka offered him a tusk, which he declined, but accepted an ox. He gave a rug, eight yards of flannel, an iron box, and a looking-glass. After remaining five days with M'tuka, he set out northwards, to the village of that chief's brother. Three of the party carried boxes, four had bags of beads, the others had miscellaneous articles. The white man had a compass, and other instruments which he used at night. Of this he (Remji) was aware, being at the time in the same village. He gave a letter to Bunduki, who was then trading in the same town, and who is expected to return to the coast in about a month.

A photographic album, with Livingstone's portrait among others, on being shown did not enable him to identify anyone as like the man he had seen.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK, Vice-Consul.

Inclosure 6 in No. 122.

*Statement of Mashaka, a Suaheli man, who was with the same Caravan at Marungu.*

AT M'tuka's Town he saw a white man, who gave cloth, an iron box, and looking-glass to the chief, but would not accept ivory in return. Their party was at M'tuka's

when he arrived, but he himself did not see the things given. He saw the white man only once, and cannot describe his personal appearance. He wore white coat and trousers. After remaining five days at M'tuka's, in the country of Marungu, he went to Chungu and Sama. It is six day's journey from Sama to a stream which joins the Zambezi, and he does not know how much further beyond to Tanganyika. The caravan of Bunduki and Sherif, men of Kaole, was with them at M'tuka's. Bunduki had about thirty men. Sherif, forty. Bunduki told the white man that he knew the Consul at Zanzibar, and received a piece of cloth (handkerchief stuff) to take letters to the coast for the Consul. The caravan of Bunduki and Sherif is expected in a month at Kaole; they remained behind, having still some powder to sell.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK, *Vice-Consul.*

No. 123.

*Lord Stanley to Consul Churchill.*

Sir,

*Foreign Office, December 27, 1867.*

WITH reference to the proceedings of the firm of Messrs. Fraser and Co., in contracting with certain Arab slave-owners for a supply of slaves, I now inclose, for your information, copies of a letter from Messrs. Fraser, and of the reply which, by my directions, has been returned to their communication upon the subject of the employment of slaves by their firm at Zanzibar.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) STANLEY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 123.

*Mr. Fraser to Mr. Egerton.*

Sir,

*18, Leadenhall Street, August 14, 1867.*

IN accordance with the suggestion you made during the interview you favoured Mr. Fleming and myself with on the 12th instant, I here beg to note the specific points which, on behalf of my firm, I am desirous of submitting for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government.

1. Are British subjects authorized to enter into contracts with native slave-owners in Zanzibar, similar in tenor to the appended copy of a contract drafted and sanctioned by Lieutenant-Colonel Playfair, late British Consul and Political Agent at Zanzibar.

2. If not, is there any mode of employing slave labour in Zanzibar by British subjects which would be permitted by Her Majesty's Government.

3. In submitting these questions, I crave leave to add a few remarks in reference to the important bearing any decision thereon will necessarily have on British interests connected with Zanzibar.

4. Free labour is not procurable to any extent in Zanzibar. Therefore, under existing circumstances, if the employment of slave labour is wholly interdicted, British trade must of necessity be driven from Zanzibar and East Africa.

5. As an illustration of the entire dependence of the merchant, of whatever nation, on slave labour, I may mention that the exclusive right of supplying hammies, or porters, to load, discharge, and store cargoes is possessed by a few Arabs, who own trained slaves, and supply them to the various mercantile firms and parties requiring their services, according to a regular tariff of charges, rendering and adjusting their accounts generally half-yearly, and all attempts to interfere with this system have signally failed; so that such labour must either be used or none at all.

6. I deprecate any interference with the existing state of matters at Zanzibar that may drive British subjects from the trade, and throw the entire commerce of East Africa wholly into the hands of foreigners, without substantially improving the condition of the slave population of the island or of the people of East Africa; and, considering the grave interests at stake, I trust the subject may obtain the full and serious consideration of Her Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) H. A. FRASER.

## Inclosure 2 in No. 123.

*Articles of Agreement entered into between His Highness Seyd Majid bin Saed Sultan of Zanzibar, of the first part, and Hugh Alexander Fraser, representing the Firm of Messrs H. A. Fraser and Co., of Zanzibar, Merchants, of the second part, this 25th day of March, 1864 of the Christian era, corresponding to the 16th day of Shawal, 1280 of the era of the Hejira.*

TO Wit,—The parties above described, for themselves, their heirs, and successors, agree to enter into partnership for the cultivation and manufacture of sugar in the Island of Zanzibar on the following terms:—

Article 1. Messrs. H. A. Fraser and Co. agree to provide all the machinery necessary for the manufacture of sugar, and to keep the same in repair at their own expense. All such machinery they may provide will remain their property.

Art. 2. Messrs. H. A. Fraser and Co. engage to supply the skilled labour necessary to work the said machinery, and to supply the cultivation of the cane.

Art. 3. Messrs. H. A. Fraser and Co. agree to supply to the unskilled labourers provided by His Highness Seyd Majid, the usual allowance of food and clothing.

Art. 4. His Highness Seyd Majid agrees to supply 500 unskilled labourers, not exceeding children, who shall receive no wages from Messrs. H. A. Fraser and Co.; and further that if, through any reason, the number should fall below 500, and if His Highness Seyd Majid, after being duly warned of the fact, should fail to complete the complement, it shall be competent to Messrs. H. A. Fraser and Co. to engage the number of labourers necessary to complete the number, and debit the amount thus expended to His Highness Seyd Majid.

Art. 5. The buildings necessary for the machinery, for storing the sugar, and the residences for those employed on the works, shall be erected by His Highness Seyd Majid, and the cost thereof shall be deducted from the gross quantity of sugar manufactured before partition. The houses in question shall be the joint property of the partnership.

Art. 6. His Highness shall assign for the cultivation of sugar-cane the Shamba of Moira and the Shamba of Showein, belonging to Seyd Suliman Bin Ahmed, or such portion of it as may be necessary.

Art. 7. The Government of Zanzibar shall impose no duty on the sugar grown by the partnership for five years from the manufacture of the first crop, and none afterwards exceeding 5 per cent. *ad valorem*.

Art. 8. His Highness Seyd Majid assigns, for the purpose of the partnership, all his sugar machinery, which will, however, remain his property.

Art. 9. Such roads, bridges, water-courses, and general repairs to them as may be necessary, shall be executed by Messrs. H. A. Fraser and Co., and the expense thereof shall be shared by them and by His Highness Seyd Majid, and shall be deducted from the value of the sugar manufactured.

Art 10. The gross produce of the sugar manufactured shall be divided equally between His Highness Seyd Majid and Messrs. H. A. Fraser and Co., subject to the deductions before specified.

Art. 11. This agreement will hold good for twenty-one years, when it may be renewed by mutual consent. If both parties desire a release from the partnership after twenty-one years, the property of the partnership shall be divided. If His Highness Seyd Majid desires a release, and Messrs. H. A. Fraser and Co. do not, then Messrs. H. A. Fraser and Co. shall pay to His Highness Seyd Majid half the value of the property of the partnership, and shall purchase or rent the land under cultivation, and the value to be paid for such rent shall be determined, in case of dispute, by arbitration. Should the land be rented, then His Highness Seyd Majid agrees not to resume it so long as Messrs. H. A. Fraser and Co. shall pay the rent which may be agreed on for it. Further, should His Highness Seyd Majid desire a renewal of the agreement, and Messrs. H. A. Fraser and Co. object thereto, then His Highness Seyd Majid shall purchase the machinery belonging to Messrs. H. A. Fraser and Co. at a valuation, to be fixed, in case of dispute, by arbitration, and shall also pay half the value of the property of the partnership.

Art. 12. In the event of no profit being derived by His Highness Seyd Majid in ten years from this date, he shall be at liberty to withdraw from the partnership on the terms specified in the preceding section, marked 11.

In witness whereof the subscribing parties have hereunto set their hands and seals at Zanzibar, the day, month, and year before mentioned.

(His Highness Seyd Majid's stamped signature in Arabic.)

(Signed)

H. A. FRASER AND Co.

I, Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Lambert Playfair, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul and Political Agent at Zanzibar, do hereby certify that the preceding contract has been made with my cognizance, and that the Arabic version thereof is a correct translation of the original English version, and that both the Contracting Parties understand the meaning thereof.

Given under my hand and seal of office at Zanzibar, this twenty-fifth day of March, in the year of Christ 1864.

(Signed) R. L. PLAYFAIR.

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Inclosure 3 in No. 123.

*Mr. Egerton to Messrs. Fraser and Co.*

Gentlemen,

*Foreign Office, December 19, 1867.*

YOUR letter of the 14th of August last, requesting information upon certain points connected with the employment by British subjects of slave labour at Zanzibar having, by Lord Stanley's direction, been referred for the consideration of the proper Law Officers of the Crown, I am now directed by his Lordship to make known to you the opinion of Her Majesty's Government upon several of the points touched upon in your letter.

As regards the contract agreed to in 1864 between your firm and the Sultan of Zanzibar, having for its object the cultivation of sugar plantations in that Island, I am to state to you that the contract in question is not by the Law of this country an illegal or invalid contract, and that British subjects entering into contracts with natives who may hold slaves in Zanzibar, similar in tenor to the contract of 1864, will not infringe the Law of this country.

In the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, as at present advised, there is nothing to prevent a British subject out of Her Majesty's dominions employing a slave as his servant or labourer, so long as such employment does not involve a dealing or trading in, purchase, sale, barter or transfer, carrying away, removing, &c., of such slave. Such employment would not appear to be forbidden by the Act 5 Geo. IV, nor by any other Statute.

The purchase of slaves by a British subject, within or without Her Majesty's dominions, even in a country where the sale is sanctioned by the Territorial Law, is however, Her Majesty's Government apprehend, clearly forbidden by British Law to any of Her Majesty's subjects.

The purchase of a slave in a foreign country by a British subject being thus prohibited, an important question for consideration is, whether a transfer by a native to a British subject of slaves, *e.g.*, for a term of years, or for the lives of the slaves, to be employed in the foreign country in which the slaves are, is such a "transfer" as is contemplated by the Acts. Her Majesty's Government are disposed to think that it would be such a transfer, and that contracts for supplying slave labour, where particular slaves are made over to the British subject for particular terms or periods, to be under the control of the latter, and in his possession, are forbidden by the Statute.

Where the contract, as in the case of the one concluded by your firm in 1864 with the Sultan of Zanzibar, provides that the latter is to find a certain number of labourers to be employed for the benefit, or partial benefit of the former, there would, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, be no "transfer" within the Act, and such contract would not appear to violate the Acts.

As regards your request to be informed whether there is any mode of employing slave labour in Zanzibar by British subjects, which would be permitted by Her Majesty's Government, Lord Stanley desires me to state that he must decline to express any opinion as to whether any particular mode of employment of slaves would, or would not be illegal, for it is obvious that there are many contracts which might be entered into for the employment of slaves, which, upon their face, might not appear to violate British Law, the carrying out of which, however, might involve the British subject in an infringement of the statutes.

I am, &c.

(Signed) E. C. EGERTON.

No. 124.

*The Governor of Bombay in Council to Sir S. Northcote.—(Communicated by the India Office, May 10.)*

My Lord,

Bombay Castle, March 28, 1867.

WITH reference to our despatch dated the 13th May, 1864, we do ourselves the honour to forward, for the information of Her Majesty's Government, papers relative to the Slave Trade on the Muscat Coast.

2. The suggestion contained in Colonel Pelly's letter of the 3rd ultimo, as to the necessity for employing cruizers at the mouth of the Gulf, between Jask and Mussendom, seems to us sound and practical, and we trust that means may be devised for carrying it into effect.

We have, &c.  
(Signed) W. R. S. V. FITZGERALD.  
B. H. ELLIS.  
C. J. ERSKINE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 124.

*The Political Agent, Muscat, to the Secretary to Government, Bombay.*

Sir,

Poona, September 13, 1866.

I DO myself the honour to submit, for the information of Government, extracts from the diary of my journey, performed overland from Muscat, in the Indian Ocean, to Ras-el-Khymah, in the Persian Gulf.

2. The journey was performed during the close of the spring and the opening of the summer of the year 1865, and the extracts refer to the Slave Trade as existing between Muscat and Mussendom.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) H. F. DISBROWE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 124.

SLAVE TRADE.—EASTERN COAST OF ARABIA.

*Extracts from Lieutenant-Colonel Disbrowe's Diary of his Journey (overland) from Muscat, Capital of the Sultan of Muscat's Dominions, to Ras-el-Khymah, Capital of the Joasmee Chief's Dominions.*

Extract 1.

Musnaah,\* March 16, 1865.

I gained other information to-day. If my informants can be relied on, the curse of slavery still lies heavy upon the people of Batinah, and many hundred slaves are yearly brought from the Zanzibar districts, and landed at places on the coast between Muscat and Mussendom. I was told, but cannot believe, that some 500 in number reach every year the neighbourhood of Musnaah alone.

On enquiry into the reason of this, I gathered that it was owing to the influence of the wild and uncivilized Bedouins. The Bedouins inhabiting the numberless villages that stretch along the Batinah plain in vicinity to the sea-shore, are more powerful than of yore. They have built for themselves fortlets. They own date plantations. They own vessels. They disregard the commands and authority of the Al-boo-Saeed.†

Slaves are landed not precisely at Musnaah, but secretly at places on the shore opposite Bedouin strongholds. Once landed, they are disposed of by private sale, regular brokers being the go-betweens to conduct the sale operations. The selling price may range from 10 dollars minimum to 40 dollars maximum, young slave girls fetching the highest.

Extract 2.

Musnaah, March 29, 1865.

A fresh proof, I fear, of Slave Trade on the Batinah shores. This afternoon I stood talking to Bedouins and Musnahites collected around my tent. Almost every†

\* Musnaah is about sixty miles by land north of Muscat.

† The members of the reigning family of Muscat are called the Al-boo-Saeed.

‡ I speak only of the Arabs of Batinah and Oman.



Arab you meet holds in his hand a short cane or stick. Though armed with sword, shield, dagger, matchlock, and spear, a cane is nearly sure to form portion of his accoutrements.

Observing amongst the parties assembled sticks innumerable, but of many kinds, I asked from what tree most of the sticks were drawn, and was told that the sidr branches and kurrut roots provided the bulk of them. I then said, "Do none of them come from the Sohahil?"\* "No," they rejoined, "unless such as are owned by the slaves." Poor slaves, thought I, and I came to my tent to chronicle a remark pregnant with so much meaning.

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Extract 3.

*Murrayr, † April 15, 1865.*

From enquiries I quietly instituted relative to Slave Traffic at Murrayr, I gleaned the following:—

Murrayr vessels proceed annually to the African slave-coast laden with salt-fish, effect on arrival a meeting with slave-dealers, and order these heartless wretches to march overland with their slaves to some fixed spot on the shore respectably distant from Zanzibar. The slave-purchasers, meanwhile, discharge their salt-fish, sail in the direction of the rendezvous, purposely throw themselves in the way of the English cruisers, subject themselves to a rigid search, are found devoid of slaves, and are permitted to pursue their course. The cruisers, thus blinded by the native vessel's pretended honesty, cruize elsewhere, and the native vessel hastens to the appointed spot, takes in her cargo of human flesh, and puts boldly out to sea on her way back to Murrayr.

On arrival at Murrayr, the unfortunate creatures are landed, and a tax of 2 dollars per head is levied by the elders.

As many as 500 slaves have been known to reach Murrayr in one season, but Colonel Playfair's strenuous efforts to eradicate the traffic, ‡ have, I was given to understand, caused a strong reduction of late in the number of imports.

Colonel Playfair's name was familiarly mentioned to me by the Arabs.

I likewise learned that, though Murrayrites are able to bring slaves a great portion of the journey overland, they generally carry them entirely by sea, for the land trip is attended with considerable extra labour and expense.

Murrayr vessels are still said to bring annually from 100 to 150 head of slaves.

Murrayr has from fifteen to twenty vessels and boats of sizes.

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Extract 4.

*Ghallut Kulbah, § April 16, 1865.*

Ghallat Kulbah has twelve vessels. Eight of these are engaged in the fisheries, and go short voyages. The largest four proceed to Bussorah and the Sowahil. Those which visit the Sohahil carry from Ghallut Kulbah nothing but salt-fish, and return with slaves. Some 50 or 60 slaves are annually imported. A tax of 4 dollars is levied on each slave landed, but a portion only of the tax reaches the Joasmee Chief's coffers. The slaves are chiefly sold to Bedouins in the interior. Selling price ranges from 15 to 35 dollars.

The course pursued in Slave Traffic by Ghallut Kulbahites is in the main similar to that pursued by Murrayrites.

At Ghallut Kulbah I gathered that the further a slave-carrying-vessel lies out at sea, the more secure she feels until she reaches abreast of, or north of, Muscat, when she hugs the land, and sails close in shore to port.

The degree to which Slave Traffic is prosecuted on the Batinah shores I had no conception of, until I made the present trip up the coast.

I am of opinion that until the ports of import be as effectually blockaded as the ports of export, the abominable Traffic will continue.

The African slave coast has been for years, and still is, under blockade by Royal Navy vessels stationed off Zanzibar; but since the abolition of the Indian navy the system of watch and cruize, so constant and regular off Ras-el-Hudd and Ras-el-Hudd neighbourhood in Arabia during the first few years of my service in the Persian Gulf, has, of

\* Slave coast.

† Murrayr, about 180 miles north of Muscat by land.

‡ I should be wrong did I not here mention that both Colonel Rigby and Colonel Pelly, predecessors in office of Colonel Playfair, strove hard to put down Slave Traffic. Colonel Playfair, being the present incumbent in power, his name was naturally uppermost in the mouths of the Arabs.—H. F. D.

§ Ghallut Kulbah about 195 miles (by land route) north of Muscat. Ghallut Kulbah was wrested from the Muscat Sultan in 1850.—H. F. D.

necessity, relaxed, and slave-purchasers in Oman, looking upon one, at least, of the "barriers to success as loosened," have become buoyant with hope, and persevere in sending their vessels for human cargoes.

Soor has long contained more slave-carriers and dealers than any other port probably in Oman, and as regularly as the slave-season came round, it was customary for one, at least, of the Indian navy vessels to cruize or lie in wait off Ras-el-Hudd for expected slavers. The duty was a most arduous one, and involved, to say nothing of the exhausting monotony of such a life on such a coast, considerable exposure to heat and fatigue in a harassing climate. The blockading vessels were generally sailing ones, and officers and men were frequently away in boats under a burning sun giving chase to suspected craft.

Judging from particulars now gleamed on the Batinah coast, a single sailing-ship stationed off Ras-el-Hudd, though doubtless productive of much good, was and is insufficient to cause an extinction of the imports.

Slave-dealers and carriers possess "long experience, and are closely combined." Slave Trade is with them emphatically a secret service. The moment a locality is effectually watched, the slave-carriers receive accurate information of the fact, information also of the subsequent movements and whereabouts of the blockading vessels, keep aloof during the day, and probably contrive to run in shore or part the vessel during the night.

I think the following course, if strictly adopted (the opinion, however, is submitted with deference to more valuable opinions available), would, in a few years, go far to extinguish, probably extinguish, the Oman traffic, go far also to extinguish the Persian and Turkish traffic viâ the Gulf.

One vessel, sailing or steam, fully equipped for boat service, to be off Ras-el-Hudd, to be mostly at anchor, but occasionally to move a little north and south of her appointed anchorage.

A second vessel, a steamer of light draught, likewise well equipped with boats, to be on the move between Ras-el-Hudd and the entrance to the Gulf, searching every vessel Treaty engagements permit her to search.

This vessel to be essentially erratic.

The above measures might prove sufficient to stop importations into Muscat territory, but to render victory more certain, and more especially to prevent slaves entering the Persian Gulf waters, I would recommend that a steamer should, during the slave-season, be constantly cruising across the entrance to the Gulf.

In this way the Persians, who, viâ Lingah and Bunder Abbas, receive large instalments of slaves, would, as it seems to me, be foiled. The maritime Arabs, Joasmees, Beni-yas, Ejmanees, Boo Fulasaites, and Amulgavinities, would be foiled. Turkish vessels bound to Bussorah with human cargo, would be foiled, and slave-dealers of all the States named would find Slave Trade so precarious and so unremunerative that the Traffic might reasonably be expected to cease.

In the case of Persian vessels, the search would have to be effected in co-operation with Persian officials; and Turkish vessels found carrying slaves, would have to be conveyed to the nearest Turkish port for adjudication. These considerations would, of course, be borne in mind by the English cruisers.

A few other points seem deserving of remembrance.

Firstly. When is the slave-season in and about the Persian Gulf? In other words, from what date unto what date would slave search have to be prosecuted in the Gulf quarter?

The season for vessels to cruize after slavers coming from Zanzibar and the African coast, is from the 15th of March to the 1st, or perhaps 15th, of June; for slavers coming from the Red Sea, from August 20th to October 30th yearly.

Secondly. We must be prepared to cause intense and increased irritation, should we carry into effect with increased vigour our determination to crush Slave Traffic. To quote only one instance that has come to my knowledge.

It is known that the slave-dealers from Soor, who, during their visits to Muscat, frequent a coffee-shop called Hajee Furruj's, were in the habit of talking all manner of abuse against Colonel Rigby, at the time when he moved so actively with the Zanzibar Sultan in slave matters, and took part in so many successful captures of slave-crafts. Royal Navy vessels captured our vessels, said the Soorees, but Colonel Rigby was at the bottom of the mischief. If we feared not the English, they said, we would go in broad noonday to the Political Agency, and tear Colonel Rigby to pieces, so intense is our hatred of him.

Thirdly. The greater our struggle to extinguish Slave Traffic, the greater the sufferings of the slaves, who are exported and imported. Some, perhaps, of these will, owing to our

pursuit of the vessels they are borne in, be committed to the deep by their heartless carriers. Many, perhaps, most of these will, owing to the barbarous measures that are sure to be resorted to to ensure their concealment, be subjected to inconceivable cruelty during the voyage from Africa to Arabia.

Lastly, I cannot help recording that, as a rule, the treatment of the African slave by his master in eastern Arabia is kind and humane. Once domiciled, the slave appears to forget his degraded position, and becomes seemingly happier far than his master. In Muscat, the Arab, be he rich, be he poor, is little given to merriment, hospitality, or good fellowship; whereas the Sowahilees hold frequent "réunions," and, to judge from their countenances and demeanour, are veritably happy. Girls, boys, women and men meet, laugh, dance, sing and amuse themselves. The same holds good in the districts and villages outside Muscat, with this exception that the Arab of the country is more open-handed and sociable than the Arab of the capital.

I passed on the 14th of March a village nestled apparently among date groves. The moon was shining bright. Sounds of merriment reached my ears. I asked my guide whence they proceeded. He replied, "It is only 'Blacky' amusing himself." He spoke almost in a tone of contempt. The village's name was, I believe, Boo Abeyleu, and Boo Abeyleu, I am told, is next to Soor, the greatest entrepôt for slaves between Muscat and Mussendom.

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Extract 5.

*Fujeerah, April 1865.*

Khumees bin Ahmed, Lord of Fujeerah, visited me. I did not like him. I found him repulsive and unpolished. There was, too, something mysterious about him. He seemed afraid to move beyond the limits of his domain. I could not help, however, admiring his independence of bearing in other respects.

Fujeerah has two vessels. One is hauled up at Khood Kulbah.\* The other has gone to the African coast, no doubt for slaves.

The number of slaves annually bought I ascertained to range between twenty and sixty.

(Signed) HERBERT DISBROWE, *Lieutenant-Colonel,*  
*Political Agent, Muscat.*

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Inclosure 3 in No. 124.

*Bombay Castle, October 11, 1866.*

THE Political Agent, Muscat, dated the 13th September, 1866.

Submits extracts from the diary of his journey performed from Muscat, in the Indian Ocean, to Ras-el-Khymah, in the Persian Gulf, referring to the Slave Trade as existing between Muscat and Mussendom.

*Resolution.*—A copy of this letter, and of its accompaniments, should be forwarded to the Resident in the Persian Gulf for any remarks he has to offer.

Meanwhile, as the subject is one of importance, the Commodore Commanding in the Indian Seas should be requested to give his attention to the suggestions made for the suppression of the Slave Trade on the Muscat coast, which, from Lieutenant-Colonel Disbrowe's narrative, appears to be carried on with undisguised activity in that quarter.

Extract 3 from Lieutenant-Colonel Disbrowe's Diary should be forwarded to the Acting Political Agent at Zanzibar.

(Signed) C. GONNE, *Secretary to Government.*

To

The Political Resident, Persian Gulf. (With copy of the Political Agent's letter, and of its accompaniments.)

The Acting Political Agent, Zanzibar. (With Extract 3 from Lieutenant-Colonel Disbrowe's Diary.)

The Commodore Commanding the Indian Division of the Royal Navy. (By letter.)

The Political Agent, Muscat.

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\* "Khood" signifies creek.

## Inclosure 4 in No. 124.

*The Secretary to Government, Bombay, to the Commodore Commanding the Indian Division of the Royal Navy.*

Sir, *Bombay Castle, October 11, 1866.*  
I AM instructed by his Excellency the Governor in Council to forward to you the accompanying extracts\* from the diary of Lieutenant-Colonel Disbrowe, Political Agent, Muscat, of a journey made by him overland from Muscat to Ras-el-Khymah, and to invite your attention to the suggestions therein made for suppression of the Slave Trade on the coast of Muscat, which, from Lieutenant-Colonel Disbrowe's narrative, appears to be carried on with undisguised activity in that quarter.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) C. GONNE.

## Inclosure 5 in No. 124.

*Commodore Hillyar to the Governor of Bombay in Council.*

Sir, *"Octavia," Trincomalee, October 24, 1866.*  
I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of a letter from the Secretary to Government, Bombay, of the 11th instant, and to tender your Excellency my best thanks for forwarding to me extracts from the diary of Lieutenant-Colonel Disbrowe, Political Agent, Muscat, of a journey made by him overland from Muscat to Ras-el-Khymah, and inviting my attention to the suggestions therein made for the suppression of the Slave Trade.

2. I beg to assure your Excellency that my best endeavours will be made to suppress this nefarious Traffic in Slaves on the coast of Arabia and Muscat, with the small squadron under my command, which has lately been reduced by the "Pantaloons" having been sent to England, and the "Vigilant" and "Penguin" being in the hands of the dockyard at Bombay, with defective boilers; they will not be available for this service for the next two or three months.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) C. T. HILLYAR.

P.S.—Your Excellency will be glad to know that a great blow has been struck to this Slave Traffic between Arabian and the East Coast of Africa this year, by the destruction of 21 dhows, and the capture of 567 slaves by Her Majesty's cruisers under my command.

(Signed) C. T. H.

## Inclosure 6 in No. 124.

*Bombay Castle, November 21, 1866.*

THE Commodore commanding the Indian Division of the Royal Navy, dated the 24th October, 1866.

Tenders his best thanks for the extracts from the diary of Lieutenant-Colonel Disbrowe, Political Agent, Muscat, of a journey made by him overland from Muscat to Ras-el-Khyma, forwarded to him, with a request to give his attention to the suggestions therein made for the suppression of the Slave Trade.

The Commodore offers assurances that his best endeavours will be exerted to suppress the Traffic in Slaves on the Coast of Arabia and Muscat with the small squadron under his command.

*Resolution.*—Copies of this letter should be forwarded to the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, and to the Political Agents, Muscat and Zanzibar, with reference to the Government Resolution No. 3,029 of the 11th ultimo.

*Secretary to Government.*

To

The Political Resident, Persian Gulf.  
The Acting Political Agent, Zanzibar.  
The Political Agent, Muscat.

(With copy to each of the above letter.)

\* Received with letter No. 231, dated the 13th September, 1866.

## Inclosure 7 in No. 124.

*The Officiating Under-Secretary to the Government of India to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay.*

Sir, *Fort William, December 15, 1866.*  
 WITH reference to the Bombay Government's abstract of proceedings in the Political Department for the month of October last, I am directed to request that a copy of the correspondence regarding the Slave Trade on the Muscat Coast, noted in page 27 of the Abstract, may be furnished for the perusal of the Governor-General in Council.

I have, &c.  
 (Signed) H. LE POER WYNNE.

## Inclosure 8 in No. 124.

*The Acting Secretary to the Government, Bombay, to the Secretary to the Government of India.*

Sir, *Bombay Castle, January 16, 1867.*  
 WITH reference to Mr. Under-Secretary Wynne's letter dated the 15th ultimo, I am directed to forward for submission to his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council, the accompanying copy of correspondence relating to the Slave Trade on the Muscat Coast.

2. The report of the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf on the subject is awaited.

I have, &c.  
 (Signed) W. WEDDERBURN.

## Inclosure 9 in No. 124.

*Political Resident, Persian Gulf, to the Secretary to Government.*

Sir, *British Residency, Bushire, December 18, 1866.*  
 WITH reference to Government Resolution and correspondence as per margin,\* I have the honour to transmit copies of reports bearing upon the question of the Slave Trade, received from the British Agents at Muscat and Lingeh.

I have, &c.  
 (Signed) LEWIS PELLY.

## Inclosure 10 in No. 124.

*Report from the Acting Native Agent at Muscat, dated 25th Rajab, 1283 (November 4, 1866), to the Resident in the Persian Gulf.*

(Translation.)  
 (After compliments.)

IN regard to slaves brought from Africa to Muscat, I beg to inform you that the season when they are brought is called "Daymanee," being the months of August, September, and October. They are brought in bughlas belonging to the people of Mutrah. It is said that 300 or 400 slaves were brought this year. Some of them were landed in Batinah, and thence taken by land and sea to the Osuman (pirate) Coast. Some were landed at Burkeh, Mutrah, Sedab, and Kalboo, and thence were shipped by nights secretly to the Persian Coast. Most of these are landed at Dayer, where they are either purchased by the Chiefs for presentation, or sent to Shiraz for sale. The people of Dayer take wheat to Muscat for sale, and there deposit the value thereof with the brokers for the purchase of slaves. Latterly, slaves were openly sold in brokers' houses, and in the bazaars by auction. When slaves are brought in bughlas they are transhipped into badars (small boats), and carried for sale along the coasts. Government vessels do not suspect such small boats as carrying slaves; and even if they are informed they cannot approach the coast, and by the time they lower their boats these native craft immediately land their slaves and hide them somewhere. Abyssinian slaves are sold at Muskat at 100 dollars each, and Africans from 40 to 50 and 60 dollars.

(Signed) MIRZA MAHOMED HOSSAIN,  
*Residency Moonshee, late Acting Agent at Muskat.*

\* Dated October 11 and November 21, 1866.

Inclosure 11 in No. 124.

*The British Agent at Lingeh to the Resident in the Persian Gulf.*2 *Jemadi el Akher*, 1283.

THIS year slaves have been brought from Yemen. I wrote to Shaikh Khalifeh ben Saeed, the Chief of Lingeh, about it. He was very polite, but up to the present he has done nothing in the matter. I wrote to him again, and stated that native craft had brought slaves from Soor and Batinah, and landed them in Koong and Hassinah, and that these places were under his control. The slaves were given to an auctioneer named Jassem, for the purpose of being sold. I informed him of the terms of the Treaty that existed between England and Persia, and told him that if he did not seize them, it will become necessary for me to report the matter to the Resident. I made inquiries as to the whereabouts of the slaves, and learned that they were scattered here and there about the place, but I cannot discover whose boats they were brought in.

(True translated purport.)

Inclosure 12 in No. 124.

(After compliments.)

*Bombay Castle, January 31, 1867.*

THE Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, dated the 18th December, 1866.

Transmits, with reference to the Government Resolutions dated respectively the 11th October and the 21st November last, copies of reports received from the British Agents at Muscat and Lingah on the question of the Slave Trade.

*Resolution.*—Copies of these reports should be forwarded to Commodore Hillyar and the Government of India, in continuation of previous correspondence.

It is to be regretted that, though Lieutenant-Colonel Disbrowe's journey was performed in the spring and early summer of 1865, nothing appears to have been reported on the subject of slavery on this Coast till September 1866, long after all the facts of importance had been published and brought to notice by Mr. Gifford Palgrave.

(Signed)

W. WEDDERBURN,

*Acting Secretary to Government.*

To

The Political Resident, Persian Gulf.

The Political Agent, Muscat.

Do. Zanzibar.

Commodore Hillyar. (By letter.)

The Government of India. (By letter.)

Inclosure 13 in No. 124.

*The Acting Secretary to Government, Bombay, to the Commodore Commanding the Indi Division of the Royal Navy.*

Sir, *Bombay Castle, January 31, 1867.*  
IN continuation of previous correspondence, terminating with your letter of the 24th October last, I am directed to forward to you the accompanying copy of a letter from the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, dated the 18th ultimo, and of its accompaniments, relative to the Slave Trade on the Coast of Muscat.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed)

W. WEDDERBURN.

Inclosure 14 in No. 124.

*The Acting Secretary to Government, Bombay, to the Secretary to the Government of India.*

Sir, *Bombay Castle, January 31, 1867.*  
IN continuation of my letter of the 16th instant, I am directed to forward to you the accompanying copy of a letter from the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, dated the 18th ultimo, and of its accompaniments, relative to the Slave Trade on the coast of Muscat.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed)

W. WEDDERBURN.

## Inclosure 15 in No. 124.

*The Commodore Commanding the Indian Division of the Royal Navy to the Governor of Bombay.*

Sir,

"Octavia," at Bombay, February 1, 1867.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of a letter from W. Wedderburn, Esquire, Acting Secretary to Government, Political Department, of yesterday's date, and its inclosures, relative to the Slave Trade on the coast of Muscat; and I beg to tender to your Excellency my thanks for causing me to be furnished with the valuable information contained therein.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) C. T. HILLYAR.

## Inclosure 16 in No. 124.

*The Political Resident, Persian Gulf, to the Secretary to Government, Bombay.*

Sir,

Bushire, February 3, 1867.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the Government Resolution, as per margin,\* calling on me for any remarks I may have to offer concerning the suppression of the Slave Trade as existing between Muscat and Mussendom, in reference to Lieutenant-Colonel Disbrowe's journal.

2. The question divides itself as follows :—

- (1.) The means whereby this Slave Trade may be hoped to be forcibly suppressed;
- (2.) The strategic points to be occupied for this purpose.

3. On the strategic question I have already fully occupied the time of Government in a series of letters written in 1860-61, and in subsequent correspondence, from which extracts are now appended.

4. As regards the means to be employed, Government are aware that no slaver can be touched unless by a person or ship specially commissioned to seize slavers. So far as I am informed, the only persons and ships so authorized are Her Majesty's ships of war and their Commanders. But these ships are not permitted to visit the gulf regions during the hot season, which extends from April to November; while the slavers, nearly without exception, reach these regions during that period. The only resource, then, seems to be, either to commission Her Majesty's ships to cruize in these regions during the hot season, or to commission other ships for this purpose.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) LEWIS PELLY.

## Inclosure 17 in No. 124.

*Extract of paragraph 1 from Lieutenant-Colonel Pelly's Memorandum No. 1 A, dated January 13, 1863, addressed to the Political Secretary to Government, Bombay.*

8. THAT Bushire was not well selected for the prevention of the Slave Trade, is obvious, because a glance at the map shows that the strategic point for throttling this Trade is the narrow strait at the entrance of the gulf; and that one steamer lying mid-channel between Cape Mussendom and Jask, with her boats out as flankers, might visit any craft entering the gulf, and more effectually prevent slaves being passed than could a dozen vessels of war cruizing about the gulf and searching after coasting craft along dangerous shallow shores, when these craft had once entered the gulf.

## Inclosure 18 in No. 124.

*Extract of paragraph 1 from Lieutenant-Colonel Lewis Pelly's despatch dated Lingah, December 5, 1863, to the Address of the Hon. H. L. Anderson, Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay.*

3. IT recurs to me to re-submit for any consideration the Government and Colonel Playfair may deem the suggestion to merit, that Her Majesty's naval division detached to

\* Dated October 11, 1866.

the East Coast of Africa for the prevention of the Slave Trade between that coast and Asia, might operate with more effect, and less risk of erroneous seizures, if it was stationed on the coast line of Arabia. At present its operations are mainly carried on between Cape Delgado and the line along the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar, with whom our Slave Trade is of a character to hamper seizures of slave-crafts, and to throw on us the suspicion of using the authority which we possess under that Treaty towards an illegal interference with the slave status which that same Treaty sanctions; thus exciting against us the doubts, opposition, and hatred of those whom the action of the Treaty should rather convince and conciliate. In the second place, a craft really engaged in the Slave Trade stands a better chance of escaping when she is simply watched as far as the line, to which point she can dodge in and out along the coast of a slave-preserve, than she would stand if after crossing the line she should have to run the gauntlet of a division cruising along the coast of Asia in waters where there could be no question that every craft found with slaves on board was a lawful prize.

\* \* \* \* \*

And for the prevention of the Slave Trade in these waters, the best naval strategical position is obviously the Straits of Mussendom; for, as I have before had the honour of submitting, a cruiser passing the slave season, with her boats laid out in that narrow passage, would probably prove more efficient than would several cruisers watching an open and lengthened line of sea-coast. Still, even when so stationed, a cruiser would not make a very great number of seizures for more than one or two seasons, since the slave-runners would doubtless land their slaves before entering the straits, and contrive to pass them overland to market. And the margin for profits as between the price of a slave bought in East Africa at from 6 to 12 dollars, and the price of a slave sold in the market of Asia at from 60 to 100 or 200 dollars, is so great, that it is worth the while of a dealer to run almost any risk and sustain almost any losses, provided he eventually succeed in selling a moderate per-centage of his drove. On the whole, however, my personal observation of Slave Trade, as well along the East Coast of Africa as along the coasts of Arabia and Southern Persia, induces me to think that if one cruiser were stationed in the Straits of Mussendom, a second at the turning-point of Rasul Hudd with boats near Soor, and a third in the neighbourhood of Socotra, with boats towards Makulla, these vessels would find themselves in the best position practicable for suppressing the Slave Trade between East Africa, the Berbera coast, and Southern Central Asia; because a craft taking her departure from Africa would be compelled to sight one of these points, whether for the sake of water, or of verifying her position. Again, these cruisers would prove of great and, since the abolition of Her Majesty's Indian navy, of almost essential importance for our continually-increasing interests along these shores.

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Inclosure 19 in No. 124.

*The Acting Secretary to Government, Bombay, to the Commodore Commanding the Indian Division of the Royal Navy.*

Sir, *Bombay Castle, March 15, 1867.*  
 IN continuation of the Government letter dated the 11th of October last, I am directed to forward to you the inclosed copy of a letter from the Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, dated the 3rd ultimo, and of its accompaniments, relative to the Slave Trade as existing between Muscat and Mussendom.

I have, &  
 (Signed) W. WEDDERBURN.

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Inclosure 20 in No. 124.

*Bombay Castle, March 15, 1867.*

THE Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, No. 27, dated the 3rd February, 1867.

With reference to Government Resolution No. 3,029 of 1856, submits suggestions for the suppression of the Slave Trade as existing between Muscat and Mussendom.

*Resolution.*—Copy of this further correspondence should be forwarded to Commodore Hillyar, in continuation of Government letter No. 3,031 of 1866.

The whole of the correspondence should be forwarded to Her Majesty's Secretary of State, with reference to the former despatch.



The suggestion of Lieutenant-Colonel Pelly, in regard to the necessity for cruizers at the mouth of the gulf between Jask and Mussendom, seems sound and practical, and it may be hoped that means may be devised for carrying it into effect.

(Signed)

W. WEDDERBURN,  
*Acting Secretary to Government.*

To

The Commodore Commanding the Indian Division of the Royal Navy. (By letter.)  
The Acting Political Agent, Muscat. (With copy of these papers.)  
Ditto ditto Zanzibar. (Ditto.)  
The Political Resident, Persian Gulf.

No. 125.

*The Governor of Bombay in Council to Sir C. Wood.—(Communicated by the India Office, August 15.)*

(Extract.)

Bombay Castle, June 24, 1867.

THE proceedings as reported in the accompanying papers have reference to the approaching advent of the northern Arabs at Zanzibar, and to a feeling of uneasiness among the European inhabitants in consequence.

Inclosure 1 in No. 125.

*The Political Agent, Zanzibar, to the Secretary to Government, Bombay.*

Sir,

Zanzibar, August 27, 1866.

I BELIEVE that I am right in stating that a feeling of apprehension affects the European population of Zanzibar, in relation to the annual advent of the Northern Arabs at this port.

It is one in which I may be pardoned for sharing, when I state that we shall be defenceless in the midst of some thousands of armed men, incensed and vengeful on account of our recent hostile proceedings in the Persian Gulf and on the Arabian littoral.

The Sultan would be powerless to protect us, and would bitterly deplore the occasion, which at any time might prove his inability.

I would therefore beg the Government to consider the propriety of stationing permanently at this port some efficient vessel of the East African squadron during the approaching season.

The "Lyra" is at present south, the "Highflyer" north, of Zanzibar; the remaining vessels of the squadron are either in Indian waters, or under orders to proceed to Trincomalee.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed) G. E. SEWARD.

Inclosure 2 in No. 125.

*The Secretary to Government, Bombay, to the Secretary to the Government of India.*

Sir,

Bombay Castle, October 22, 1866.

I AM instructed to forward to you (for submission to the Government of India) the accompanying copy of a letter from the Acting Political Agent at Zanzibar, dated the 27th August last, relative to a feeling of apprehension on the part of the European population of Zanzibar in connection with the approaching advent of the Northern Arabs at that port.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed) C. GONNE.

Bombay Castle, October 22, 1866.

A similar letter, omitting the words in brackets, to be addressed to the Commodore commanding the Indian division of the Royal Navy.

(Signed) C. GONNE.

## Inclosure 3 in No. 125.

*Commodore Commanding the Indian Division of the Royal Navy to the Governor of Bombay.*

Sir, "Octavia," Trincomalee, November 5, 1866.  
I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency, with reference to the letter of the Secretary to Government, Bombay, of the 22nd ultimo, and its inclosure, relative to a feeling of apprehension on the part of the European population at Zanzibar, in connection with the approaching advent of the Northern Arabs at that port, that I have given orders to the Senior Officer on the South-east Coast of Africa, to direct a vessel to touch at Zanzibar, and place himself in communication with the Political Agent there.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) C. T. HILLYAR.

## Inclosure 4 in No. 125.

*The Secretary to Government, Bombay, to the Commodore commanding the Indian Division of the Royal Navy.*

Sir, Bombay Castle, November 30, 1866.  
I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 5th instant, intimating the intended despatch of a vessel of war to Zanzibar for the protection of British interests during the approaching advent of the Northern Arabs, and to convey to you an expression of the thanks of his Excellency the Governor in Council for the prompt attention you have given to the representation of this Government in the matter.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) C. GONNE.

## Inclosure 5 in No. 125.

*The Secretary to Government Bombay, to the Acting Political Agent, Zanzibar.*

Sir, Bombay Castle, November 30, 1866.  
WITH reference to your letter dated the 27th August last, I am directed to forward for your information, the inclosed copy of a letter dated the 5th instant, from the Commodore commanding the Indian Division of the Royal Navy, intimating the intended despatch of a vessel of war to Zanzibar, for the protection of British interests during the approaching advent of the Northern Arabs.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) C. GONNE.

## Inclosure 6 in No. 125.

*The Secretary to Government, Bombay, to the Secretary to the Government of India.*

Sir, Bombay Castle, November 30, 1866.  
IN continuation of my letter to your address, dated the 22nd ultimo, regarding the feeling of apprehension on the part of the European population at Zanzibar, in connection with the approaching advent of the Northern Arabs at that port, I am directed to forward for submission of the Government of India, the accompanying letter dated the 5th instant, from the Commodore commanding the Indian Division of the Royal Navy, stating that he has instructed the Senior Officer on the South-east Coast of Africa to direct a vessel to touch at Zanzibar, and place himself in communication with the Political Agent there.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) C. GONNE.

## Inclosure 7 in No. 125.

*Commodore commanding the Indian Division of the Royal Navy to the Governor of Bombay.*

Sir, "Octavia" at Bombay, February 6, 1867.  
WITH reference to the letter addressed to me by C. Gonne, Esq., Secretary to Government, Bombay (Political Department), of the 22nd October last, relative to a

feeling of apprehension on the part of the European population of Zanzibar in connection with the advent of the Northern Arabs at that port, and my letter of the 5th November on the same subject, informing your Excellency of my having directed the senior officer on the East Coast of Africa to keep a man-of-war at Zanzibar, or its immediate vicinity, I beg now to forward, for your Excellency's information, a copy of a letter from Captain Bedingfeld, Her Majesty's ship "Wasp," dated Zanzibar, 1st December, 1866, and of its inclosure, received yesterday, relative to those apprehended disturbances, and his opinion connected with the Slave Trade as carried on at that place.

2. I beg to invite your Excellency's attention to paragraph 4 of Captain Bedingfeld's letter, wherein he states that "I am told that all the crews of the Bombay dhows are slaves belonging to people here; they are paid nominally two or three dollars for the voyage to Bombay and back; many of them, however, never find their way back, and are taken on to the Persian Gulf," and would suggest that the Arab dhows arriving at Bombay, and the ports along the coast from the Mozambique and that part of the Coast of Africa, as also those bound to the Persian Gulf, should undergo a most strict search by the Custom House authorities at the respective ports of arrival and departure, for the purpose of ascertaining whether this nefarious practice actually exists.

I have, &c.

(Signed) C. G. HILLYAR.

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Inclosure 8 in No. 125.

*Captain Bedingfeld to the Commodore commanding the Indian Division of the Royal Navy.*

Sir,

"Wasp," Zanzibar, December 1, 1866.

IN the absence of the Senior Officer of the Division, I have the honour to inform you that grave apprehensions are entertained of serious disturbances here when the Northern Arabs arrive, in about a month from this time; and I have received an appeal from Her Majesty's Political Agent (a copy of whose letter I annex) to keep a man-of-war in the vicinity.

2. I fully concur with him that there is grave cause for apprehension when those northern fanatics hear of the escape of the Sultan's sister in an English man-of-war; the muster, most probably, will be unusually large this year, as upwards of 20,000 negroes have already been imported, and they are daily arriving in large numbers.

3. The attempt to put down the Slave Trade under the present system, or even to check it, is simply a farce, and it is painful to hear and see all that is going on here, with our flag flying in the harbour. These dhows, crammed with wretched negroes from Kilwa, are paraded so as we may see them; men on shore openly boast of the number that are sent north every year, and of even selling slaves in Bombay.

4. The proclamation of the Sultan, of the 1st January, 1864, prohibiting slaves being carried between the 1st January and the 1st May is the next bit of Eastern diplomacy, the "important concession" as it is called, being during the five months when it is next to impossible to bring the slaves over, the other seven they have fair wind and weather, and the average importation is, I hear, over 20,000 a season. I am told that all the crews of the Bombay dhows are slaves belonging to people here; they are paid nominally 2 or 3 dollars for the voyage to Bombay and back, many of them, however, never find their way back, and are taken on to the Persian Gulf.

5. The Collector of Customs on Slaves, of 2 dollars a head, is a British subject, and still enjoying British protection, and has done so for many years. The Consul has, I believe, written for instructions about him.

6. By British protection alone the Sultan is kept on the Throne at this great depôt for slaves and grand rendezvous of all the Arab pirates from the north. As soon as these scoundrels arrive the people confine themselves to their houses after sunset, and you may see "Juros" swaggering about the streets in parties of eight or ten, fully armed, and neither the Sultan or his officers dare molest them; they have complete command of the place, and were it not for fear of the man-of-war making reprisals upon their dhows, I believe the lives of the British subjects here would never be safe.

7. The Sultan, with most of his soldiers, will most probably be away at least six weeks. The Governor of the town is not particularly friendly with the English, and we shall therefore have to keep a sharp look-out.

I have, &c.

(Signed) M. B. BEDINGFELD.

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## Inclosure 9 in No. 125.

*The Acting Political Agent, Zanzibar, to Captain Bedingfeld.*

Sir, *Zanzibar, November 27, 1866.*  
 THE yearly rendezvous at Zanzibar of some thousands of armed pirates and slave stealers from the Arabian littoral is always a menace to order, and a danger to the large population under British jurisdiction in this Sultanat.

2. An accident may at any moment provoke these lawless hordes to a combination, and move them to the commission of outrages which the local Government would be powerless to avert.

3. The coming season promises to be one of more than ordinary hazard in this respect, for the Northern Arabs have something to avenge. Recent acts of the "Highflyer" can have by no means added to their forbearance or lessened their enmity towards us, and retaliation upon the virtually defenceless English and British-Indian population, would be both easy and inviting.

4. Having reasonable and more than ordinary cause of appeal to the naval authorities for protection, I would solicit the safeguard of one of Her Majesty's ships of war during the coming pirate gathering. Its presence here or in the close vicinity of Zanzibar would allay apprehension and avert disaster.

I have, &c.  
 (Signed) G. EDWIN SEWARD.

## Inclosure 10 in No. 125.

*Bombay Castle, February 25, 1867.*

THE Commodore commanding the Indian Division of the Royal Navy, dated the 6th February, 1867.

Forwards copy of a communication from Captain Bedingfeld of Her Majesty's ship "Wasp," offering certain remarks regarding the Slave Trade at Zanzibar, and suggests that the Arab dhows arriving at Bombay and other Indian ports as also those outward bound to the Persian Gulf, should be strictly searched by the Custom-house authorities with the view of ascertaining whether this practice exists.

*Resolution.*—Paragraph 2 of the Commodore's letter should be forwarded, in the first instance to the Commissioner of Police, with a request that he will, after consulting the Commissioner of Customs, submit any observations or suggestions he may have to make.

(Signed) W. WEDDERBURN,  
*Acting Secretary to Government.*

To  
 The Commissioner of Police, Bombay.  
 The Commissioner of Customs, Bombay.  
 (With an extract of paragraph 2 to each, from Commodore Hillyar's letter dated February 6, 1867.)

## Inclosure 11 in No. 125.

*The Commissioner of Police, Bombay, to the Secretary to Government, Bombay.*

Sir, *Bombay, March 6, 1867.*  
 WITH reference to the resolution of Government dated 25th ultimo, calling upon me to consult with the Commissioner of Customs, and to submit any observations or suggestions I might have to afford, with regard to the Report made by Captain Bedingfeld, R.N., to the effect "that all the crews of the Bombay dhows are slaves," I have the honour to submit my reply.

I beg to state that every precaution is taken by the Water Police to guard against the importation or exportation of slaves.

On the arrival of all Arab dhows in Bombay harbour, they are immediately boarded by the Water Police and well searched, their crews and passengers are mustered, and previous to their being allowed to leave the port again, the same precautions are adopted, and if all is found to be satisfactory, a certificate to this effect is signed by the Deputy Commissioner of the Water Police and the Senior Magistrate, without which the Nacoda is unable to obtain his port clearance from the Customs authorities.

After consulting with the Commissioner of Customs and Deputy Commissioner of the Water Police, an officer of long experience in the harbour, I am of opinion that the crews of the Arab dhows arriving in Bombay are not slaves; they are constantly on shore, and never complain of undue restraint, though they have every opportunity for doing so, and in this opinion the Commissioner of Customs has authorized me to say that he fully agrees.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) F. H. SOUTER.

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Inclosure 12 in No. 125.

*Bombay Castle, March 16, 1867.*

THE Commissioner of Police, Bombay, No. 359, dated the 6th March, 1867.

With reference to Government Resolution No. 668 of 1867, reports that the crews of the Arab dhows arriving in Bombay are not slaves.

*Resolution.*—The Commissioner of Police should be informed that the Government is glad to receive the assurances contained in this Report, a copy of which should be furnished to Commodore Hillyar, with reference to paragraph 2 of his letter, dated the 6th ultimo.

Copy of the present correspondence should now be forwarded to the Political Agent at Zanzibar, the Government of India, and Her Majesty's Secretary of State.

(Signed) W. WEDDERBURN,  
*Acting Secretary to Government.*

To

The Commissioner of Police, Bombay.  
The Commissioner of Customs, Bombay.  
The Political Agent, Zanzibar. (With a copy of the present correspondence.)  
Commodore C. T. Hillyar. (By letter.)  
The Government of India. (Ditto.)

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Inclosure 13 in No. 125.

*The Acting Secretary to Government, Bombay, to the Commodore commanding the Indian Division of the Royal Navy.*

Sir,

*Bombay Castle, March 16, 1867.*

I HAVE the honour, under the instructions of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council, to forward to you, with reference to the second paragraph of your letter dated the 6th ultimo, the inclosed copy of a letter from the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, dated the 6th instant, from which it will be seen that the crews of the Arab dhows arriving in Bombay are said not to be slaves.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) W. WEDDERBURN.

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