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Class B.

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, 1868.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
1869.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

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Class B.

CORRESPONDENCE

WITH

FOREIGN POWERS.

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

No. 1.

Consul Livingstone to Lord Stanley.—(Received February 3, 1868.)

My Lord,

Fernando Po, December 25, 1867.

I HAVE the honour to transmit, herewith, Inclosures Nos. 1 and 2, received from the English merchants and missionaries in Old Calabar; and to state that through the kindness of his Excellency the Spanish Governor-General, the women referred to were placed in families where they can easily earn their own livelihood. The money, about 20*l.*, was expended by the Governor in purchasing clothing for the women.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

CHARLES LIVINGSTONE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 1.

Minutes of a Meeting of English Missionaries and Merchants in Old Calabar River.

Old Calabar River, September 26, 1867.

AT a meeting of the Europeans resident in the Old Calabar River, held on board the Royal mail steam-ship "Lagos," the Rev. William Anderson in the chair,

The following circular convening the meeting was then read:—

"A meeting of Europeans resident in this river will be held on board the Royal mail steam-ship 'Lagos' this evening for the purpose of deciding in what way the two women and child rescued from the late massacre are to be disposed of; say at 7 o'clock."

The Chairman then briefly recapitulated the atrocities which had been committed in the neighbourhood, and the steps which had already been taken to stop them. A letter from King Archibong II was read, which was understood to be a complaint of the manner in which the Europeans had interfered in going ashore and taking possession of the prisoners, and a demand that they should be at once restored to him; but as the letter contained no guarantee that their lives would be spared, Mr. Hird proposed—

"That the rescued women now on board the hulk "Orozimbo," be sent to Fernando Po by this steamer, and consigned to the care of Her Britannic Majesty's Consul there."

And was seconded by Mr. Jansin. As an amendment, Mr. Adam proposed, and Captain J. A. White seconded, the proposition—

"That they may be kept here until the arrival of the next steamer, and that, meanwhile, steps be taken to force the King to give up those who are still held prisoners."

Another motion was brought before the meeting by Captain Croft—

“That a strong protest be forwarded to Her Britannic Majesty’s Consul at Fernando Po, signed by all the residents in the river, urging him to come over and use his influence to get a guarantee from King Archibong for the security of the unfortunate prisoners at present in his custody, and to prevent a repetition of like atrocities.”

And having been seconded by Mr. Kinloch, Mr. Hird and Mr. Adam, with the consent of their seconders, agreed to withdraw their motions in favour of that brought forward by Captain Croft, which was unanimously adopted. Mr. Anderson was then requested to draw up the protest to be sent to the Consul, and submit it to the meeting.

Mr. Haining proposed, and Mr. Lewis seconded—

“That a deputation, consisting of Messrs. Louch and Simpson, go to the King, and inform him of the decision of the meeting, and demand the delivery of those at present in his hands.”

This was at once unanimously agreed to, and Messrs. Louch and Timson proceeded at once to the King’s residence. The meeting was then adjourned until their return.

The deputation having returned, Mr. Anderson again took the chair, and Mr. Louch reported that they had seen the King, and told him the decision of the meeting. The King then promised that if the women at present in the hands of the Europeans were sent to him to-morrow morning, that he would deliver them himself into the hands of the deputation, along with the others in his possession. This was agreed to, and Mr. Kinloch was instructed to give those in his care to the deputation, to be disposed of accordingly.

A letter was then addressed to Captain Croft, requesting him to convey them to Fernando Po, and place them under the protection of Her Britannic Majesty’s Consul there, to which he kindly consented; and it was agreed to record our deep sense of Captain Croft’s generosity, and to express to him the cordial thanks of the meeting for his generous offer.

Mr. Anderson then read the document he had prepared for signature, to be forwarded to the Consul; also a letter of thanks to be handed to Captain Croft, both of which were cordially approved of.

Votes of thanks were then proposed to the deputation, and to Captain Croft for his kindness in allowing the meeting to be held in the saloon of the Royal mail steam-ship “Lagos.”

Mr. Neish was then directed to have the letters ready for signature, and placed on board the Royal mail steam-ship “Lagos” at 11 o’clock to-morrow; and after a cordial and hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Anderson for his conduct in the chair, the meeting separated.

(Signed)

WM. ANDERSON, *Chairman.*
J. NEISH, *Clerk of Meeting.*

Inclosure 2 in No. 1.

English Merchants and Missionaries to Consul Livingstone.

Sir,

“Lagos,” *Old Calabar River, September 26, 1867.*

WE, the Undersigned European traders and other residents in the Old Calabar River and country, have the honour of reporting to you that we have rescued five women and one girl from being butchered by the native authorities here. The only condition on which King Archibong, of Duke Town, would permit us to save three of these was, that we should send them away from the country. This being the case, we feel impelled to apply to you for aid, and we, therefore, take the liberty of sending the six persons referred to to Fernando Po, with the earnest request that you would take them under your protection.

This seems the only course open to us, and that you may not be burdened with their support, we have subscribed the sum of _____ for their temporary sustenance, till they can find employment. This sum will be handed to you by _____ Banning, Esq., purser of the steam-ship “Lagos.”

We would also embrace the opportunity of reporting to you that there has been a violation of Treaty on the part of the native Chiefs at Old Town, who a few days ago murdered several persons by the ordeal of the poison bean.

It would be of great importance that you visit this river at your earliest convenience, and lend your powerful aid for the abolition of those brutal and bloody exhibitions which are so frequently taking place among the natives of this country.

Trusting that you will take our request and suggestion into your favourable consideration, we remain, &c.

(Signed)

DAVID KINLOCH, *Agent for the Glasgow West African Company (Limited), of Glasgow.*

WM. HAINING, *Agent for C. Horsfall and Sons, Liverpool.*

J. A. WHITE, *Agent for Messrs. Stuart and Taylor, Liverpool.*

AARON ELLIS, *Agent for Messrs. Thomas Harrison and Co.*

WM. ANDERSON, *Missionary, Duke Town.*

WILLIAM TIMSON, *Missionary, Ikorofiong.*

D. E. LEWIS, *Missionary, Old Town.*

D. J. B. JANSEN, *per Wm. Anderson.*

H. R. ADAM, *Agent for Messrs. Wm. Cowper and Co.*

S. B. HALL, *Agent for C. Townsend, Liverpool.*

Per RUETTER, *Agent for Company of African Merchants (Limited).*

ROBERT MURRAY, *Agent for Messrs. Taylor, Laughland, and Co.*

JOHN HOWISON, M.D.

No. 2.

Consul Livingstone to Lord Stanley.—(Received February 3, 1868.)

My Lord,

Fernando Po, December 25, 1867.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith copy of a note sent by me to the Chairmen of the Courts of Equity in Bonny, Brass, and New Calabar.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

CHARLES LIVINGSTONE.

Inclosure in No. 2.

Consul Livingstone to the Chairman of the Court of Equity, Bonny River.

Sir,

"Oberon," Bonny, November 28, 1867.

OWING to the recent massacre of the women and children of a Calabar village by Brass people, and the critical state of their country, the King and Chiefs of Calabar have stopped the passage of all canoes and goods through the Brass Creek. I have, therefore, to request that no trader attempt at present to pass either goods or canoes through the above creek. They will allow an English boat to pass, provided it has no goods or Brass men in it.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

CHARLES LIVINGSTONE.

No. 3.

Consul Livingstone to Lord Stanley.—(Received February 3, 1868.)

My Lord,

Fernando Po, December 26, 1867.

I SUMMONED King Archibong, of Duke Town, to meet me on board the "Oberon," on the 3rd instant, to answer the charge of breach of Treaty, as preferred against him by the merchants and missionaries.

He came off in great pomp, attended by his Chiefs in their war canoes. The King was clean and decently dressed for the occasion; though for two years before he had not washed, nor combed his hair, nor changed his clothes, having been engaged in the dirty work of "making devil" for a deceased brother, whose widows have been locked up in their dead husband's house all the time.

The charge was, that, having been offended by two persons in one of his own outlying villages, Archibong sent a force by night, and butchered every man, woman, and child in

the village, except seven women, two of whom he afterwards offered in sacrifice; the others were rescued by the English traders.

Archibong's defence was, that it was war, and, therefore, necessary to kill every man capable of carrying a gun; and he killed the women because, in a former war, their fathers had spared the women, who rose the next night and killed all the men that were sleeping with them; he denied having put women to death in Duke Town, and though he told the white deputation that he would kill these women, it was only "fool mouth;" he did not mean it. I replied that, to pounce by night on one of his own helpless villages, and kill every one in it, was not war, but murder; and that Her Majesty's Government would be much displeased to hear that he was guilty of infamous and cold-blooded butchery after having traders and missionaries for so many years. As there was clear proof from the testimony of trustworthy witnesses that Archibong had sacrificed two girls, and sent their heads round Duke Town, in open violation of the Treaty of March 1848 (Hertslet's Commercial Treaties, vol viii, p. 41), I fined him twenty puncheons for this breach of Treaty.

Finding, on my return from Creek Town, that Archibong did not intend to pay the fine, and was threatening to blow Egbo on the English cask-houses, so that any one might plunder them without fear of punishment, I sent him notice, on Friday the 6th, that for every day the "Oberon" remained in the river after Saturday the 7th, I should fine him five puncheons besides a bullock and a hundred yams for the ship's company. On Saturday a man-of-war's boat was sent to sound the river opposite Duke Town. Two ships prepared to drop down the river and the traders began to hurry their beach goods on board their ships. The King was informed that trade would be stopped after Saturday, and that he should have twenty-four hours' notice on Monday to remove the women and children from the town.

On Saturday afternoon a deputation of three Chiefs came from the King with Inclosure No. 1, which prevented further proceedings. Archibong came off to the ships on Sunday afternoon with all his Chiefs; he brought me a present of a fine bullock and a hundred yams, as he had heard that the "Oberon" was to sail early the next morning; his Chiefs gave five goats and another hundred yams, all of which were handed over to the ship's company. On landing, Archibong saluted the English flag with twenty-one guns, which were returned with six, as the King was anxious to have all his people know that the difficulty was amicably arranged. Inclosure No. 2 was received from the merchants and missionaries. Inclosure No. 3 is a request to the Senior Officer, Bights Division, for a cruiser to visit Duke Town in February.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES LIVINGSTONE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 3.

Agreement.

WE hereby promise to Charles Livingstone, Esq., Her Britannic Majesty's Consul that we will, without fail pay to the Chairman of the Court of Equity, or any other gentleman in river the Consul may appoint to receive the same on his behalf, twenty puncheons of good palm-oil before the 10th day of February, 1868, and we beg the Consul to accept this our bond for the same, as we can honestly declare that we are not able to pay the same this day. Further if we fail to pay the twenty puncheons by the 10th day of February next, we hereby bind ourselves to pay thirty puncheons instead of twenty at a later date.

At King Archibong House, Duke Town.

Witness our hands, this 7th day of December, 1867.

(Signed)

KING ARCHIBONG II.
ADAM ARCHIBONG.
YELLOW DUKE.
BLACK DAVIS.
EPHRAIM DUKE.
GEORGE DUKE.
BOCO DUKE.
EYHO YOUNG HOGAN.
DAVID KING.
YOUNG EYAMBAR.
EPHRAIM ADAM.
PRINCE EYAMBAR.
OFFIONG EFEW EWAT.

(Signed)

WM. ANDERSON, *Witness.*

Inclosure 2 in No. 3.

English Merchants and Missionaries to Consul Livingstone.

Sir,

Old Calabar River, December 6, 1867.

WE, the undersigned European merchants and missionaries in Old Calabar, feel that we are only discharging a duty in expressing to you our gratitude for your prompt attention to our request that you should visit this river for the purpose of seconding our efforts in the cause of humanity. We feel thankful that you have lent us the aid of your powerful influence in reprobating the massacring in cold blood of men, women, and children, captured as prisoners of (so-called) war; and also the barbarous custom of subjecting persons foolishly suspected of witchcraft to the generally fatal ordeal of the poison bean. We trust that the measure taken by you will prevent further infractions of Treaties entered into by the natives with Her Britannic Majesty's Government in regard to such practices.

It is gratifying to us, and it must be so to you, to know that many of the most intelligent among the natives are of one mind with ourselves as to the atrocity of the practices referred to. It is their opinion that you have not erred on the side of severity, and that the fine imposed on King Archibong (of twenty puncheons palm-oil), might well have been doubled in amount.

With heartfelt thanks, and with best wishes, we have, &c.

(Signed)

JOHN HOWISON, M.D.

H. R. ADAM.

J. A. WILSON.

A. U. CAIRNS.

J. NEISH, Jun.

SAML. B. HALL.

WM. ANDERSON.

D. E. LEWIS.

DAVID KINLOCH.

J. A. WHITE.

AARON ELLIS.

R. M. HIRD.

E. HIRD.

SAN. SUME.

Inclosure 3 in No. 3.

Consul Livingstone to Captain Stirling.

Sir,

Fernando Po, December 24, 1867.

I HAVE the honour to request that you will be pleased to place a cruizer at my disposal on the 10th of February, 1868, to proceed to Duke Town, Old Calabar, in order to obtain for Her Majesty's Government the payment of a bond given me by King Archibong and his twelve Chiefs for twenty puncheons of saleable palm-oil; being a fine imposed on King Archibong for barbarously sacrificing two innocent girls, contrary to the Treaty made with Her Majesty's Government in March 1848.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

CHARLES LIVINGSTONE.

No. 4.

Consul Livingstone to Lord Stanley.—(Received February 3, 1868.)

My Lord,

Fernando Po, December 27, 1867.

KING EKENSO, of Old Town, on being accused of breach of Treaty in having caused the death of five of his people by the ordeal of the esere poison bean, denied having done so. He asserted that it was the work of a powerful body of slaves who came into the town suddenly, and the deed was done without his consent or even knowledge. The missionary at Old Town testified that, after the five persons had eaten the fatal bean, he called on Ekenso and asked permission to give them water, which would have saved their lives, but Ekenso refused to give it. Ekenso flatly denied this; the missionary had never

asked for anything of the kind, nor had he even seen him that day. As there was no other evidence to support the charge, I told Ekenso that, though I strongly suspected that he was guilty in the matter, yet I should give him the benefit of the doubt and not punish him; but there must be no more esere poisoning in his town.

The missionary remarked that Ekenso and his Chiefs had expressed their firm determination never to have another case of the esere ordeal.

King Archibong and his Chiefs said they would have tried to stop the poisoning, as bound by Treaty, but the whole affair was so sudden that it was all over before they even heard of it.

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

No. 5.

Consul Livingstone to Lord Stanley.—(Received February 3, 1868.)

My Lord,

Fernando Po, December 28, 1867.

ON the 5th instant I went by boat to Creek Town, and met King John Eyo V and his Chiefs.

By Treaty, King Eyo receives half the comey; the other half is paid to King Archibong of Duke Town. Eyo complained that two of the agents refused to pay his comey; one had sent a note offering to pay the comey, provided the King sold him twenty puncheons and made his people sell seventy.

As the agents were present, I explained that the comey seemed to be guaranteed to the Kings of the oil rivers as compensation for giving up the Slave Trade; but however that might be, the amount of comey to be paid to the King of Creek Town was clearly defined in the Treaty made with Her Majesty's Government, and must therefore be paid promptly by every ship, whether the King traded with that ship or not. The two agents, both young men, said they would pay it next day.

Another complaint was that a Creek Town man had been detained for a Duke Town man's debt; but as the culprit had returned to England, I could only express disapprobation of the lawless act.

King Eyo is one of the best African Kings I have met; he is striving to abolish the cruel customs of his country, but is opposed by a few of his Chiefs. The revolting practice of killing twin infants is suppressed, but the unlucky mothers are still banished from the town. I told the King that it would gratify Her Majesty's Government to hear that they were allowed to return to their homes; as it seemed unfair to punish the mothers and not the fathers as well.

King Eyo gave us a grand dinner, and sent a bullock and a hundred yams to the ship.

I learned, afterwards, that Eyo called his Chiefs together next day, and spoke strongly against their cruelty to the mothers of twins, and against locking up widows in the house of their dead husband. He punished, by a heavy fine, one of his Chiefs who had in some way aided King Archibong of Duke Town in the massacre of his village.

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

No. 6.

Lord Stanley to Consul Livingstone.

Sir,

Foreign Office, February 14, 1868.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 25th of December last, I have to instruct you to express to the European traders and other residents in the Old Calabar River the satisfaction with which Her Majesty's Government have learnt their successful interference in saving the lives of five women and a girl who were about to be butchered by the native authorities there.

I am, &c.
(Signed) STANLEY.

No. 7.

Lord Stanley to Consul Livingstone.

Sir, *Foreign Office, February 14, 1868.*
 I HAVE received your despatch of the 26th of December last, reporting the circumstances under which you fined King Archibong of Duke Town, for having, in violation of his Treaty engagements with Her Majesty's Government, sacrificed two out of seven women, the sole survivors of a village which was attacked, and whose inhabitants were butchered by the King's orders; and I have to acquaint you that I approve the prompt and energetic action displayed by you in this affair.

I am, &c.
 (Signed) STANLEY.

No. 8.

Lord Stanley to Consul Livingstone.

Sir, *Foreign Office, February 14, 1868.*
 I HAVE received your despatch of the 28th of December last, reporting your visit to Creek Town, and the steps taken by you to arrange certain differences that had arisen between King Eyo and two British traders respecting the payment of comey; and I have to acquaint you that I approve your proceedings in this matter, as well as your having used your good offices with the King to procure the abolition of the barbarous custom of punishing the mothers of twin children.

I have, at the same time, to add that you did quite right in expressing your disapprobation of the custom which is practised by some British traders of detaining one man, who may not be indebted to them, for the debts of another, and you will omit no opportunity of discountenancing this lawless practice.

I am, &c.
 (Signed) STANLEY.

No. 9.

Consul Livingstone to Lord Stanley.—(Received April 6.)

My Lord, *Fernando Po, February 24, 1868.*
 I HAVE the honour to state that I visited Old Calabar on the 10th instant in Her Majesty's ship "Jaseur," Commander Hotham, and same day sent a note to King Archibong, of which Inclosure No. 1 is a copy. The twenty puncheons fine were all paid next day and sold by public auction to the highest bidder, all the Agents in the river being present. The oil was sold for 8*l.* sterling a puncheon. Inclosure No. 2 is a bill of exchange for 160*l.* on Messrs. Charles Horsfall and Sons, James Street, Liverpool.

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

Inclosure in No. 9.

Consul Livingstone to King Archibong.

King Archibong, *"Jaseur," off Duke Town, February 10, 1868.*
 I HAVE come for the twenty puncheons of palm-oil, which you and your Chiefs promised to pay this day. The whole of the twenty puncheons must be brought alongside the hulk "True Britain" by to-morrow noon, otherwise I shall place the collection of it in the hands of the captain of this man-of-war.

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

Consul Livingstone to Lord Stanley.—(Received April 6.)

My Lord,

Fernando Po, February 25, 1868.

I HAVE the honour to report that I met the Chiefs of Benin and the English traders on board Her Majesty's ship "Investigator" on the 18th instant. Mr. Moore, Agent for Messrs. Thompson, complained of a "frantic attack of natives" which imperilled his life. From testimony, which was sufficiently conflicting, it appears that ten natives of Warre, a town 150 miles up the river, came down in canoe to sell a puncheon or two of oil; Mr. Moore's kroomen tested the oil twice, and insisted on doing so a third time, although the natives objected. The kroomen, by accident or design, smeared with palm-oil the gay new shirt of the head man, and as the natives, and probably the kroomen also, had been imbibing trade rum rather freely, a drunken row was the result. The uproar drew Mr. Moore and his clerk to the spot, and after the most marvellous escapes, as pictured by Mr. Moore, they overpowered the natives and secured six; three were handed to the Chief Jerry for punishment, and three sent to a ship outside the bar, to remain there until the Consul came to punish them. The three prisoners were produced, and their emaciated appearance showed that they had suffered much on board the ship; one bore the marks of a recent severe flogging. I told the traders that Her Majesty's Government did not wish to take the administration of the criminal laws of the country out of the hands of the Chiefs, but required the Chiefs to punish, in accordance with Treaty obligations, any of their people who injured British subjects. The Agents were requested not to send natives out of the country again, and the prisoners were discharged.

The palaver between the Chiefs Jerry and Aluma was next considered. It seems that two years ago Jerry's canoes were robbed at the oil market of Oshippo; to punish the Oshippo people Jerry closed their market, but Aluma reopened it last year, and this led to a fight in September, in which Jerry lost several canoes. There has been no fighting since September, and at no time have the Agents been molested. Dr. Henry is trading at Warre, and the other traders can go where they please. Aluma and the Agents wished me to compel Jerry to swear Juju, not to go to war, but I declined to interfere, except by good offices, in a purely native quarrel which seemed to be lying dormant. Jerry promised me that he would not go to war, but his promise did not satisfy Aluma and the Agents.

Chinome, son of Dolo, Queen of Warre, did not think trade had been injured, the past three months was the dull season every year; he anticipated a brisk trade soon, and thought as much oil would be sold this year as in any former year. The Agents supposed that trade would be better if I compelled Jerry to swear Juju.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES LIVINGSTONE.

No. 11.

Consul Livingstone to Lord Stanley.—(Received April 6.)

My Lord,

Fernando Po, February 25, 1868.

IN my recent visit to Benin the English Agents informed me that, for nearly a year, they have declined to pay comey, though required to do so by Article IV of the Treaty of 1851 (see Hertlet's "Commercial Treaties," vol. ix., p. 15).

They allege that last year Commander Robinson, late of Her Majesty's ship "Mullet," in a visit to Benin, ordered them to suspend payment of comey, but they could produce no written order from Commander Robinson in proof of their assertion.

They likewise affirm that Commodore Wilmot made a new Treaty with the Chiefs of Benin, but neither the Agents nor the Chiefs have any copy of a Treaty made by Commodore Wilmot. I said I should make inquiry about this new Treaty, and Her Majesty's Government would doubtless require the Agents, as well as the Chiefs, to comply with the Treaty obligations.

The Chiefs did not allude to the matter of the comey.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CHARLES LIVINGSTONE.

No. 12.

Mr. Egerton to Consul Livingstone.

Sir,

Foreign Office, April 13, 1868.

WITH reference to your despatch of the 25th of February, I am directed by Lord Stanley to acquaint you that there is no record in this Department of the new Treaty with the Benin Chiefs, which the English agents trading in the Benin River allege to have been concluded by Commodore Wilmot.

I am at the same time to inform you that Lord Stanley, having learnt from a Report from Captain Stirling, of Her Majesty's ship "Greyhound," which was communicated to his Lordship by the Admiralty, that the English traders in the Benin had declined to pay to the native Chiefs the comeys stipulated for by the IVth Article of the Treaty of 1851, has expressed to the African Association of Liverpool his regret at the non-fulfilment by their agents of their Treaty engagements with the African Chiefs; and I am to desire that you will point out to the British traders in the Benin that they must not expect Her Majesty's Government to enforce upon the African Chiefs an observance of their Treaty engagements, unless British subjects on their part set an example by fulfilling their Treaty obligations.

I am, &c.

(Signed) E. C. EGERTON.

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

No. 13.

Mr. Egerton to Consul McLeod.

Sir,

Foreign Office, June 9, 1868.

I AM directed by Lord Stanley to acquaint you that his Lordship has caused a case containing a sword, as a present from Her Majesty's Government to King Masaba, to be sent out by the packet of the 10th instant from Liverpool.

The case in question has been forwarded to Captain Glover, administering the Government of Lagos, to be delivered to the officer in charge of the expedition about to ascend the Niger; and I am to desire that you will present the sword to King Masaba with suitable expressions on the part of Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) E. C. EGERTON.

No. 14.

Consul McLeod to Lord Stanley.—(Received November 14.)

My Lord,

Lukoja, January 1, 1868.

I SENT to apprise King Massaba of my arrival, and that I had been appointed by the Queen to be Her Majesty's Consul for the Niger Districts, and that it is the earnest desire of Her Majesty's Government in making this appointment to draw closer the bonds of friendship which have now for some years so happily subsisted between the King and Her Majesty, and between his people and the British traders who have visited his country; and I also, my Lord, took the opportunity of requesting the King to continue to extend to me and to Her Majesty's subjects the same kind protection and assistance that he has hitherto afforded to Dr. Baikie and the other British officers who have remained in charge of the establishment at Lukoja.

The King kindly replied that he had been informed that I was a Mayaki, a war Chief, and that he always had respect for war Chiefs. That, for myself, he hoped that I would always consider myself as his son. He expressed his deep regret at the death of Mr. Fell, and said that what the pirates had done to me by killing Mr. Fell they had done to him; and that he would never be happy until he had punished them. He would hasten to send to my assistance a large army under one of his best Generals, Damaraki, who would protect me by land, but that he had no force to act on the water; and that, unless I got a steamer always at Lukoja, these people would come up every year and stop the trade, for they live by plunder alone.

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

No. 15.

Consul McLeod to Lord Stanley.—(Received November 14.)

My Lord,

Madeira, November 7, 1868.

HEREWITH I have the honour to forward to your Lordship copy of my despatch, dated Lagos, September 25, 1868, to Captain Sir Malcolm MacGregor, Bart., R.N., Senior Officer of the Bights Division, thanking that officer for the services of Her Majesty's ships

“Pioneer” and “Investigator” in the Niger and Binuwe, and covering my despatch of the same date to Commodore Dowell, C.B., copy of which I herewith transmit.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. LYONS Mc LEOD.

Inclosure 1 in No. 15.

Consul Mc Leod to Captain Sir M. Mac Gregor, Bart.

Sir,

Lagos, September 25, 1868.

HEREWITH I have the honour to forward, under flying seal, for your information, my letter of this day's date, thanking the Commodore commanding Her Majesty's naval forces on the West Coast of Africa, for the services rendered to me by Her Majesty's ships “Pioneer” and “Investigator.” Meanwhile, as Senior Officer of the Division, will you do me the favour of conveying to Lieutenant Sandys, R.N., the Commanders of those ships, their officers and crews, my warmest thanks for the services performed under fire, and for the cheerful alacrity with which they, on all occasions, responded to the call of duty in the successful Niger Expedition of 1868?

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. LYONS Mc LEOD.

Inclosure 2 in No. 15.

Consul Mc Leod to Commodore Dowell.

Sir,

Lagos, September 25, 1868.

I HAVE the honour to thank you for the services rendered by Her Majesty's ships “Pioneer” and “Investigator,” under the command of Lieutenant Henry Stair Sandys, during the Niger Expedition of the present year.

On the arrival of the expedition at Lukoja, I explained to Lieutenant Sandys the state of affairs at that place during the past twelve months.

From the departure of the steamers last year, three piratical Chieftains named Semicoja, Abagee, and Agabadoko, with 1,200 men, invested the town, and demanded 200 of the Lukoja people to be sold into slavery, or the sum of 1,000*l.*, as the ransom for the Bishop of the Niger. The Bishop had been released from the hands of Aboko through the exertions of the late Mr. Fell, who in performing this service lost his life. They threatened to sack the factory of the West Africa Company at Lukoja should I not comply with their demands; and as I refused to pay this sum, they invested the town on the north by establishing a camp of 1,000 men on the point of land opposite Lukoja, at the confluence of the Niger and Binuwe; and on the south, by a camp of 200 men on Duck Island. From these positions they, from the 31st October, 1867, to the 27th July of this year, attacked the town in canoes from three to four times during each week, thereby destroying the trade, and rendering the utmost vigilance necessary to prevent their attaining their object.

On the 21st July, I at last obtained the assistance of the Kakunda people with their canoes; and on the 27th July succeeded in dislodging the enemy, when Semicoja, with 200 men, took refuge up the Binuwe, in the villages of Atipo, while Abagee and Agabadoko, the latter mortally wounded, retired to Beaufort Island, with the intention of again attacking Lukoja, when the “Pioneer” and “Investigator” left the river this year.

On my requisition of the 22nd of August, Lieutenant Sandys destroyed both villages of Atipo; and also, on my requisition of 15th September, 1868, the towns and villages on Beaufort Island. From the punishment these pirates received, I have every reason to believe that they will not attempt any hostile measures against Lukoja during the ensuing year.

As an old naval officer, I could not help admiring the way in which both ships took up their positions at Atipo; and likewise the manner in which the “Pioneer” was manœuvred at Beaufort Island, where the very rapid current and the rocky and uncertain nature of the bottom rendered any service most difficult.

I would here remark that during our several interviews at Bidda with King Massaba, His Highness most strongly insisted that it was absolutely necessary that at least two white men should remain at Lukoja; in consequence of which, and on Lieutenant Dixon's request, Mr. Black, Sub-Lieutenant, has been left as the companion of the Acting Consul.

As, from personal experience, I can in every way declare that a companion is absolutely necessary, I trust that Lieutenant Sandys' proceedings in leaving Mr. Black at Lukoja will meet with your approval.

I beg again to thank you, most sincerely, for the very efficient state of the ships composing the expedition, and for the way in which both vessels were officered and manned; but more especially for your having entrusted the command to Lieutenant Sandys, whose exertions were most indefatigable to insure the success of the expedition, and to whose tact and previous knowledge of the river the successful issue of the expedition is mainly due. Should succeeding expeditions be as efficiently commanded and equipped, we shall hear no more of disasters occurring to Her Majesty's ships in the Niger.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. LYONS McLEOD.

No. 16.

Consul McLeod to Lord Stanley.—(Received November 14.)

My Lord,

Madeira, November 7, 1868.

I HAVE the honour, herewith, to forward to your Lordship a letter, in Arabic, from His Highness Massaba, King of Nupé, to Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen.

I had hoped to have done myself the honour of placing this letter in your Lordship's hands, but severe illness detains me at Madeira.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. LYONS McLEOD.

Inclosure in No. 16.

King Muhammad Sab, of Nufi, to Her Majesty.

(Translation.)

IN the name of God.

And may God be propitious unto the great Prophet!

Praise be unto God, who hath united us in good, and advantage, and fidelity to engagements!

Now then. This letter is from the King of Nufi, Muhammad Sab, son of the Shaykh, unto the Queen of the Christians, after perfect greeting and perfect salutation, and satisfaction, and honour, from me unto her, and a prayer for good that God may prolong her life, and perpetuate her glory and her victory over her enemies. Amen.

And then. This is a notice unto thee, that thy letter (or messenger) reached unto us with thy letter [sic] present, with much property.

And I thank thee for that, with many thanks. And I say, may God reward thee with good for us.

And also a notice unto thee, that he whom thou [sic] you have appointed Chief of the Merchants they have pointed him out (or presented him) to us, that we may know him of positive knowledge, so that the multitude of merchants may not be doubtful unto us, and that we may not be ignorant as to who is chief of them.

And also a notice unto thee, that he whom you have appointed a judge among us, to reside in the town of Luquja; verily, if you will not dismiss him by recalling him from that place, excepting on our complaint against his causing mischief—otherwise you will not dismiss him, for our custom is not so (?).

Then thou wilt see two great ostrich birds, with two large and beautiful young rams, with ten carpets, as a present from me to her, and as a sign.

Peace be unto whosoever follows the true direction.

(No date, seal, or signature.)

INTERIOR OF AFRICA.

No. 17.

Dr. Livingstone to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received April 18, 1868.)

*East Africa, Lat. 11° 18' S., Long. 37° 10' E.,
June 11, 1866.*

My Lord,

HAVING been specially instructed "to confine one series of reports to geographical subjects, and matters connected with them; and to make distinct and separate reports to you upon political subjects and on the Slave Trade," I accordingly devoted part of the time of my detention at the Island of Zanzibar to a careful and earnest study of our political relations with the Sultan, and to a minute investigation of the causes which have prevented those parts of eastern Africa, subject to Arab influences, from reaping the same advantages by the policy of Her Majesty's Government against the Slave Trade which have been realized in large portions of Western Africa inhabited by less promising races of people.

The subject seemed of the more importance, inasmuch as the Island of Zanzibar is now about the only spot in the world where from 100 to 300 slaves are daily exposed for sale in open market. This disgraceful scene I several times personally witnessed; and on the adjacent seas, the Slave Trade, which everywhere else is declared to be a grievous offence against public law is, by Treaty, allowed to be a legal Traffic.

But I could not bring my mind to a hasty condemnation of a policy which emanated from officers eminent for the zeal and ability with which they have long and earnestly laboured to promote the welfare of both oppressors and oppressed; and it was only after pondering deeply on the sad facts revealed at Zanzibar, and on the still more sorrowful scenes which now at the source of the Slave Trade meet the eye, that I felt forced to express my overpowering conviction that our policy on the East Coast requires reconsideration.

Whatever the motive for legalizing the Slave Trade on the seas adjacent to Zanzibar may have been, the actual purchasers before my eyes were Northern Arabs and Persians, whose dhows lay anchored in the harbour, or beached for repairs in the Creek; and on the strength of the exception in our Treaty, virtually made in their favour, these men were daily at their occupation, examining the teeth, limbs, and gait of the slaves that were to form their cargoes, as openly as horse dealers engage in their business in England.

These preparations were of peculiar significance, because made during certain months, in which, by the Sultan's prohibition, no slaves may be carried coastwise; and this prohibition applies only, but precisely, to those months when the northerly monsoon blows so strongly that, as a rule, no dhows can proceed to the North. When, however, the monsoon changes, and southerly winds blow, the preparations will all be completed; the prohibition will no longer be in force, and the late busy frequenters of the Zanzibar slave market may even obtain the Sultan's legal pass, which will screen their slave cargoes as far north of Lamoo on their way homewards to the Red Sea and Persian Gulf.

The reasons assigned for the continuance of this very unsatisfactory state of affairs, derive their force and speciousness partly from political considerations, and partly from forebodings of the evils involved in change, though that change might be for the better. A bright hope, too, that by the slow and steady influence of trade and imported civilization, the Arabs may be led to change their ways, gilds the whole subject.

Among the political considerations are specified, that these Northern Arab slave traders are lawless pirates, whom the Sultan, however willing, cannot coerce. His power on the Island of Zanzibar is very limited, and on the coast line of the adjacent continent he possesses but a mere shadow of power. In fact, to the Arabs he represents that leader only who first guided them down the east coast for conquest. They acknowledge him as

their Chief (Syed), but not their Sultan; and since the present occupant of the Chieftainship has been separated from those possessions in Asia whence his father, the old Imaum of Muscat, drew all his military power, Syed Majid, the son, can muster no force to control either the Zanzibar or the Northern Arab slave traders. His utter powerlessness to withstand the slaving propensities of the pirates and kidnappers who annually infest his island and seas has been thus forcibly, though hypothetically, expressed. Should the Sultan attempt the abolition of the Slave Trade in his dominions, so intimately linked is that Traffic with the whole system of slavery in which he is placed, the proclamation would ensure a revolution, his own expulsion, or even death.

In judging of the weight due to these and similar assertions, it must never be left out of view for a moment that Syed Majid is the creature of English power alone. When his elder brother, the present Sultan of Muscat, was on the point of asserting his right of primogeniture, and, by means of the military force he inherited in Arabia, taking possession of all the dominions of his deceased father, we interfered, and by our arms gave effect to a will which apportioned Zanzibar to the younger brother, and confined the elder to Muscat, and it is by the continued influence of English power that Syed Majid still retains his place. He resembles one of the Indian protected Princes, but destitute of any organized force by land or sea, which his Political Resident might wield for his or his subjects' benefit.

Our Treaty with the Sultan's father furnishes a more important consideration than anything else. This Treaty allowed the Slave Trade to be carried on within certain specified limits, and for the avowed object of permitting supplies of labour to be carried to the more southerly territories of the late Imaum. This concession of a limited use of the Slave Trade was no doubt made in the hope that at some no very distant date the way would be paved for the complete cessation of the Trade in Slaves. It certainly never was contemplated by either of the Contracting Parties that a special stipulation for a small and well-defined remission of the Traffic should be made, as now it is made, the means of erecting the Island of Zanzibar into a great slave emporium, and extending the ocean Slave Trade to the Red Sea and Persian Gulf. An argument based on entirely unknown data, that if the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba were not supplied with a continuous stream of slaves from the mainland, would soon become depopulated, seems to have been entirely an after-thought. The open sale and annual export of slaves from both these islands show but small concern for the permanence of the population. Still, though our object in the Treaty has been perverted, and we have been practically over-reached, Treaty obligations ought to be respected till that alteration is made in the stipulations which the present aspect of the ocean Slave Trade throughout the world demands.

That His Highness the Sultan has not been pressed with greater emphasis to make an alteration in the Treaty of his late father, which would render the trade in slaves by sea everywhere illegal, has of late years been owing a very curious anxiety not to interfere with what is called the "status of slavery in the Island of Zanzibar." Recognizing to the utmost extent that common sense will allow, the broad principle that however much we may detest slavery, we have no right to meddle with the internal policy or domestic institutions of other nations, it is yet quite clear that if we overstrain this principle we must desist from all our noble efforts on the coast of Africa lest we should interfere with the *status* of slavery in Cuba and elsewhere. Anxiety to preserve the *status* of slavery in Zanzibar intact, at the expense even of rendering the efforts of our cruisers to suppress the Traffic unavailing, and of leaving out of view an enormous inland Slave Trade, which is fast depopulating large districts of the adjacent continent, is so very remarkable in Englishmen, who cannot be conceived as nursing a delicate sensibility to the rights of the wrong-doers, and a total insensibility to the woes of their victims, that it will be worth while to examine certain forebodings which have been made to serve as arguments for the continuance of the present system.

It has been alleged that if we should interfere with the Zanzibar Slave Trade so as to stop that stream of slaves that annually flows to the island, but ultimately goes on to the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, we shall risk the expulsion of a King. The utter depreciation of existing property—social confusion—the slaves themselves might become foodless, landless, hutless; no one can conceive the ruin that would ensue when the Island of Zanzibar is tramped by 100,000 discarded slaves.

These sombre anticipations were the result of viewing the helplessness of the Sultan without police, without land or sea forces, and in the midst of large numbers of northern Arabs infuriated by the capture of their vessels. But let us calmly view the subject of stopping the external Slave Trade in connection with what is universally admitted to be the normal condition of slavery among the Arabs. It is of the mildest possible form; the master lives with his slaves as the father of a family. He dislikes toil, and is too indolent

to force others to work for more than the mere necessities of life. This indolence is frankly avowed at Zanzibar, and as the Arabs there form no exception to the generality of Arabian slaveholders, it does not appear very obvious why the mere cessation of large additions to the existing number of slaves should produce the frightful convulsions predicted. The abolition of the external Slave Trade would leave the relationship of master and slave exactly as it is at present, with the exception that the slave would be of increased value, and therefore less likely to be discarded than before.

But there is a sort of charm in the prospect of gradual amelioration of the state of slavery by the steady advance of trade and civilization; yet all experience proves the prospect to be delusive. It is in the patriarchal state alone that slavery is endurable. So long as that state continues, there is but little disparity between master and man. Each enjoys the general indolence; but, let society advance, artificial wants increase, and luxuries become necessities, the distance between owner and slave becomes proportionably widened. In fact, just as the love of gain is developed in the master, the lot of the slaves becomes the harder; for as soon as labour becomes compulsory and for the sole profit of the master, the interests of owner and slave diverge, and this divergence increases with every advance in trade, civilization, and luxury. The frightful evils of American slavery arose, not because our cousins had less humanity in their nature than Arabs, but because the divergence mentioned had become excessive. To anticipate, therefore, a gradual change to freedom by the influence of trade and civilization, is to expect improvement, though all experience shows that the lot of slaves does not improve with the advance of the masters; and to look for a gradual reformation of society where the tendency is to become congealed in oppression, is to hope for a gradual growth of fitness for freedom under a system whose curse is to unfit for a better, and towards that point where change by violent convulsion becomes inevitable.

Another of those gloomy forebodings which have formed a sort of setting round the argument for the continuance of the Zanzibar Slave Trade is, that the stoppage of the present system would have the evil result of locating a series of Arab colonies on the East Coast in which slavery would be as rife as ever, and where slaves would be more plentiful and cheaper than at Zanzibar, where also they could carry on the Slave Trade more easily than they do at present, and quite beyond any efficient control. This theory, though unquestionably advanced in all sincerity, is purely imaginary, and founded on a misapprehension as to what is essential to the successful existence of a slave-trading Colony on the coast of Africa. An island or spot, with a natural barrier that can be easily guarded, is quite indispensable for the safety of slave property. Neither Mozambique nor Zanzibar could ever have been slave emporia but for their insular situation. The very existence of many Portuguese settlements depended on the regular payment of native Chiefs to catch their runaway slaves. Kilwa and Mombas might become slave-trading Colonies in the sense intended, but no such settlement could be formed in the interior. The ease with which slaves can escape in their own country forms an effectual barrier to the erection of any important slave State by Arabs or by any one else.

(Extract.)

Lake Nyassa, August 20, 1866.

I FIND it quite impossible to transmit any letters to the sea-coast. I have nearly met seven slave-traders on their way from this district to Kilwa, but all, save one, took to their heels as soon as they heard that the English were coming, and scoured across the country in the pathless forest. The man we met was just on the point of entering a tract of very fine, well-watered but depopulated country, which took us eight days' hard marching to cross. We were nearly famished. In the last two days I had made forced marches to buy food, and send it back to the men, most of whom were unable to keep up with the four who bore me company; and this Arab met and presented an ox and bag of flour. He could not wait till I had written. I guessed the number of slaves he had at about 800. The number of under slave-traders seemed between forty and fifty. The other caravans did not give me a chance of estimating their numbers. The depopulated country was about 100 miles broad, and so long, there was no possibility of going round either end. It bore all the marks of having been densely peopled at some former period. The ridges on which the natives plant grain and beans were everywhere visible; and from the numbers of calcined clay pipes used in furnaces it is evident that they worked extensively in iron. The country was very beautiful, mountainous, well-wooded, and watered. I counted in one day's march fifteen running burns, though it was the dry season, and some were from four to ten yards broad. The sound of gushing water, though not associated in our minds with Africa, became quite familiar. It was too cold to bathe in with pleasure, the elevation above the sea being between 3,000 and 4,000 feet.

The process of depopulation to which I have adverted in the first part of this despatch goes on annually. The coast Arabs from Kilwa come up with plenty of ammunition and calico to the tribe called Waiyau or Ajawa, and say that they want slaves. Marauding parties immediately start off to the Manganja or Wanyassa villages, and, having plenty of powder and guns, overpower and bring back the chief portion of the inhabitants. Those who escape usually die of starvation. This process is identical with that of which we formerly saw so much in the lands of the Portuguese in the Shire Valley. I cannot write about it without a painful apprehension that to persons at a distance I must appear guilty of exaggeration. But I beg your Lordship to remember, whenever my statements have been tested on the spot, they have been found within not beyond the truth. Even the grand Victoria sales were put down at less than half their size. It was ignorance of this gigantic evil, while I was familiar only with the mild industrious tribes of the great interior, that led me formerly to believe that much might be made of their labour. I still believe in their capabilities, but this woeful system, that flourishes chiefly within 300 miles of the coast, must be first put down.

The perpetrators of the great annual mischief would themselves be shocked were the guilt not sub-divided. The Kilwa and Zanzibar slave-traders do not personally make forays. These are the work of the Waiyau, or Waiiau, known in the Shire Valley as Ajawa. Those who perish by starvation after a foray, are probably never seen by the marauders after their flight from their villages. Then those who die on their way to the coast, do so piece-meal. The only victims which might disturb the Arab conscience, are those who are tied to trees and allowed to perish. We saw three adult bodies fastened by the neck to trees, and their hands secured. It was declared by all the country people that the Arabs when vexed at losing their money by a slave being able no longer to march, vent their spleen in this inhuman way; but it is probably only the work of those vile half-castes that swarm about every caravan.

I took occasion to explain to different Chiefs that those who sold their people, participated in the guilt of the deaths, evidence of which we had seen strewed along the way to the coast. It always caused evident alarm, and especially when it was asserted that, in selling their people, they were as guilty, before Him who saw the whole from the bargain to the ensuing death, as if they had held the victim while the Arab cut his throat. Their uneasy excuses were somewhat those of children. "If so-and-so gives up selling, so will me. He is the greatest offender in the country." "It is the fault of the Arabs who tempt us with fine clothes, powder, and guns." "I would fain keep all my people to cultivate more land, but my next neighbour allows his people to kidnap mine, and I must have ammunition to defend them," &c.

I would therefore earnestly recommend that His Highness the Sultan be pressed so to alter the Treaty with his late father as to cancel our permission of a limited Slave Trade. It puts us in a false position, and unless all *bonâ fide* slavers are to be legal captures wherever found at sea, the great evils touched on above will still go on unchecked.

This alteration cannot fairly be called injurious to the status of slavery on the Island of Zanzibar. It is a sheer absurdity to imagine that the reigning family imports 3,000 slaves annually for domestic purposes, and that the inhabitants generally import 12,000 for similar purposes. They are all intended for exportation to the north, and the coast towns, Kilwa, Mombas, &c., receive far more slaves from the interior than they ever make use of for cultivation.

To render the measure I have ventured to propose efficient, an English man-of-war should always be present in the harbour of Zanzibar during the visits of the Northern Arabs, and during the months when the dhows are known to run slaves, the force usually stationed on their route should have a depôt in their vicinity, so that after a single capture the cruizer may not, as usually happens, be obliged to retire and land the slaves at the most important crisis for action.

The lack of information as to the benefits which have been the result of the repressive measures of Her Majesty's Government, has often struck me in conversing with the officers of our cruizers.

An epitome of the advantages which have accrued to lawful commerce on the West Coast:—

The entire suppression of piracy there; the comparative smallness of the present export of slaves; the establishment of missions and schools at various points on the seaboard, and the prevention of wars inland. Say, such information as is contained in Lord Russell's despatch to the French Government which led to the abolition of the *engage* system, and also in the Report of Colonel Ord, were put into the hands of officers about to proceed to either coast, we should not hear the ignorant doubts we have been pained to hear. Another suggestion as to the time which might be counted as service would, with the

increased information proposed, greatly increase the zeal of all the officers employed, and being the result of much thought and a great deal of intercourse may, should it please your Lordship, be submitted to the Lords of the Admiralty.

No. 18.

Dr. Livingstone to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received April 18, 1868.)

Bembo, Lat. 10° 10' S., Long. 31° 50' E.,

February 1, 1867.

My Lord,

ON our arrival yesterday at this town, we found that a party of black Arab slave-traders was ready to start for Bagamoio, near Zanzibar, and would remain only half a day to allow of our writing. The geographical matter must, therefore, be short.

We could not go round the northern end of Lake Nyassa as we intended, partly because the country had been swept of provisions by Zulu marauders, and partly because I felt sure that the Johanna men would flee at sight of danger, as they afterwards actually did on mere report at its southern end. By striking southwards we passed through a depopulated tract of about 100 miles, but became acquainted with Mataka, the most influential chief on the watershed between the coast and the lake. His town consists of at least 1,000 houses, and the altitude above the sea being over 3,000 feet, the climate is cold in July. Some of his people had gone to Lake Nyassa to plunder without his knowledge, and he had ordered the captives and cattle to be sent back. It was gratifying to find that this was his spontaneous act, and I accidentally got a sight of the party, and found it to consist of fifty-four women and children, a dozen boys and about thirty head of cattle. We remained a considerable time in his town and longer in his district, which extends down to Lake Nyassa, fifty miles distant. He was very anxious that some of the freed boys from Nassick School should remain with him to show the use that could be made of his cattle in agriculture, but I could not prevail on any one to remain. One lad discovered two uncles in the town, but refused to live with them. "How can I remain where I have no mother and no sister?" was his invariable answer to the request for him to stop. I promised to endeavour to get some lads from the same school who had acquired a knowledge of modern agriculture to show him how to make and use ploughs.

Mataka provided amply for our wants and safety while in his district, but he could not control the Arabs who have placed two dhows on the lake and kept them out of our reach lest we should burn them as slavers. I was therefore forced to go round the southern extremity of the lake instead of across the middle. There we visited the three most important Waiyau Chiefs, and those who are still the greatest slave-traders in the country. I do not know what effect, if any, our protests and explanations will have, but it seemed to be the first time they had heard their conduct condemned. They were very hospitable; and then an Arab belonging to a slaving party which had been plundered of its slaves, came to us and so wrought on the fears of the Johanna men by tales of the terrible Mazitu or Zulus, that their eyes actually stood out with terror. They ran away under the sole influence of fear, and left me with only five Nassick boys. The Johanna men had proved themselves such inveterate thieves in the way that it was a relief to get rid of them.

We had been in Mataka's district from the middle of July to the end of September; and in the beginning of October tried to go westwards so as to avoid the Mazitu altogether, but the people of Katosa or Kiemasusa were afraid to take us up Kirk's range because some Arab slave-traders had been driven thence by the exasperated inhabitants. Katosa tried to get carriers for us in vain, and being an old friend, he at last turned out with his wives to do the work himself. Six stout ladies took up our loads, and soon shamed the young men with their sharp tongues. The range is only the edge of a high plateau where the people, all Manganja, have not yet been led into buying and selling each other. We found them to be equally afraid of the people below, and like all the interior people who have not been in contact with slavery, very kind. I gave a present of a cloth, and got ample provisions cooked for supper to the whole party, and breakfast next morning. The people were supposed to be Maravi, but are, in fact, Manganja under different names, as Kanthunda, Chipeta, Echewa, &c. Their land is high and cold, their huts are plastered all over even on the roofs for the sake of heat by night. They are great agriculturists, and so many in number that one village is scarcely ever a mile from some other. We made short marches, and had a great deal of intercourse with these mountaineers, and possibly our account of the evils of the Slave Trade may keep them from engaging in it headlong, as most Africans of this race are but too ready to do. The Chief who had driven off the

CLASS B.

Arabs was delighted when I said I wished he would treat in the same manner all slaving parties of whatever colour, but complained that his countrymen would not join with him in expelling an invasion—this is true, for each village being independent of every other, they have no more cohesion than a rope of sand.

As we went westwards to avoid the Mazitu, we turned northwards as soon as we were past the longitude of their country, and nearly walked into the hands of a party out plundering. We met two villages fleeing from them to some mountains, and went in the same direction in order to defend ourselves and them, but the Mazitu, after plundering the villages to which we were proceeding, turned off to the south-east. As we went northwards, we saw more and more of their devastations, and suffered considerably from want of provisions. Crossing the Loangwa, and the great valley in which it flows—the bed of an ancient lake—we entered Lobisa, or country of the Babisa, and for the first time got information as to the route the Portuguese followed in going to Cazembe. It is placed by the map-makers very much too far east. We never came upon it, so trod on new ground. It will enable one to form an idea of the way we went if he conceives us going westwards from Kalosas, and then northwards till we take up the point at which we left off in 1863. The watershed between the Loangwa and Chambeze, as the Zambesi is here called, rises up to 6,600 feet: the Chambeze was crossed in latitude $10^{\circ} 34'$ south. It had flooded all its banks with clear water, but the lines of trees which showed its actual size were not more than forty yards apart. I think that we are now on the watershed, though not the highest part of it; between Chambeze and Loapula we have suffered a great deal from gnawing hunger. The Babisa, who were among the first natives to engage in slaving, have suffered its usual effects; their country is depopulated, and the few inhabitants now living at wide intervals from each other had no provisions to sell. In the Loangwa valley, and also in that of the Chambeze, I had no difficulty in securing supplies of meat with the rifle; but Lobisa had no animals, and we had hard lines in marching through its dripping forests. We had no difficulties with the natives other than those petty annoyances which are not wanting in even the smoothest life, and certainly not such as an explorer should moan over. This town has a treble line of stockades, and a deep ditch round the inner one. The Chief seems a frank, jolly person, and having cattle we mean to rest a little with him. We are all very much emaciated, but like certain races of pigs take on fat kindly. Our sorest loss has been all our medicines. We are 4,500 feet above the sea, but having rains every day feel that we need, like the cattle of the people, the protection of huts.

I regret that my geographical notes must be so scanty, but hope to send fuller information from Tanganyika. Our progress hitherto has been very slow; the boys cannot go more than seven or eight miles a-day with their loads, and that is enough for me too, with only a heavy rifle.

I am, &c.
(Signed) DAVID LIVINGSTONE.

BRAZIL.

No. 19.

Mr. Mathew to Lord Stanley.—(Received May 2.)

My Lord,

Rio de Janeiro, April 18, 1868.

THE most important question hanging over the future of this magnificent Empire is that of negro slavery, and it has naturally occupied much of my attention since my arrival in Brazil.

It has momentarily been set aside by the engrossing interest of the Paraguayan war, which has wholly monopolized the consideration both of the Government and of the people, but it appears certain, that on the restoration of peace, the case of negro emancipation must be brought to a speedy issue.

I am not one of those who apprehend detriment to this country, or who look to any diminution in its most valuable crops—of coffee, sugar, or tobacco—from the passage of any well-matured act for this great object. As a West Indian proprietor, I am enabled to confirm the success of the immediate abolition of slavery in the British colonies, and I see every reason to expect a similar result of emancipation in Brazil. Legal enactments, and the yet stronger influence of public opinion, have operated with increasing power of late years, against cruelty or severity towards the slave, and he may be said to be generally treated with kindness, and with a sort of familiarity unknown in other slave-lands; it must also be borne in mind that the Brazilian slaves are members of the same Church as their masters, and that the ministers of religion would undoubtedly retain an influence over them in a state of freedom, no less beneficial to their own interests, than to those of the country.

The earnest desire for the total abolition of slavery entertained by the excellent Emperor of Brazil, whose life appears to be devoted to the public good and service, is matter of notoriety; the majority, I believe, of the land-owners possessing slaves, have discovered the unquestionable fact that slave-labour ceases to be profitable when the supply from abroad has ceased; and I am assured that every Brazilian of education is painfully conscious of the social demoralization too often caused in families by domestic slavery.

Thus, I take it, the mass of the proprietors have become sensible of the loss, and of the evils produced by slavery, and are abolitionists for the sake of their own interests; some too, I readily believe, are guided by the increasing opinion of the culpability of slaveholding.

I admit that there exists a considerable opponent body, among which must be classed the masters of slaves who live by hiring them out for mining or other laborious purposes, and as domestic servants, a custom, which I regret to say, the law still permits; but I apprehend that it forms no considerable minority.

As I am persuaded that it is the earnest desire of Her Majesty's Government to give any moral support they properly can to the cause of slave emancipation, I have not hesitated to take this early opportunity of bringing the position of this question to your Lordship's notice.

The Brazilians are a proud and a sensitive people, and I am strongly impressed with the conviction, that in any coming struggle, the upholders of slavery will derive a weighty support from the continued existence of the Act of Parliament of August 8, 1845, commonly called the Aberdeen Act, which, as your Lordship is aware, was framed under peculiar circumstances, with a view of putting a stop to the Slave Trade then supposed to be in existence, in all its iniquity and its horrors, between the coast of Africa and Brazil.

I need not enter upon the state of affairs at the time of the passing of this Act, which

inevitably caused much umbrage, both to those who were affected by it and to those who condemned the Slave Trade.

I have made the matter a subject of strict investigation since I entered upon my duties in Brazil, and I hold myself to be warranted in stating to your Lordship that no instance of foreign slave-trading, or of attempted foreign slave-trading, has occurred for some years, and I feel assured that none such could occur, under the existing laws, which would be rigidly enforced by the authorities, and warmly upheld by public opinion.

Under these circumstances, I am induced to submit to your Lordship's consideration, the propriety and justice of the repeal of the Aberdeen Act.

I entertain the sanguine hope, that any embittered feeling that may have been the result of the late differences between Great Britain and Brazil is gradually decreasing, and I am bound to express my high opinion of the conciliatory course of my predecessor, Mr. Thornton, in carrying out this object; the adoption of the step I have had the honour to suggest would unquestionably tend greatly to obliterate any unfriendly recollections that may yet exist.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE BUCKLEY MATHEW.

BRAZIL. (Consular)—Bahia.

No. 20.

Consul Morgan to Lord Stanley.—(Received February 4.)

My Lord,

Bahia, December 31, 1867.

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 MORGAN, Jun.

Inclosure in No. 20.

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

Description.	For the half-year ending June 30, 1867.		For the half-year ending December 31, 1867.
	Currency.	Sterling.	
	Reis.	£ s. d.	
African Males	1,500 000	162 10 0	} Without alteration.
„ 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, 1867.

(Signed) JOHN MORGAN, Acting Consul.

No. 21.

Consul Morgan to Lord Stanley.—(Received August 3.)

My Lord,

Bahia, June 30, 1868.

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 MORGAN.

Inclosure in No. 21.

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

Description.	For the half-year ending December 31, 1867.		For the half-year ending June 30, 1868.
	Currency.	Sterling.	
	Reis.	£ s. d.	
African Males	1,500,000	162 10 0	} Without alteration.
" Females	1,000 000	108 6 8	
Creole Males	1,200 000	130 0 0	
" " with professions	2,000 000	216 13 4	
" Females	800 000	86 13 4	

British Consulate, Bahia, June 30, 1868.

(Signed)

JOHN MORGAN, Consul.

BRAZIL (Consular)—Pará.

No. 22.

Consul Hay to Lord Stanley.—(Received March 3, 1868.)

My Lord,

Pará, December 31, 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 six months ended this day.

I inclose herewith a Return showing the average prices of slaves in these northern Provinces of Brazil during the half-year ending this 31st December, 1867.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

JAMES DE V. DRUMMOND HAY.

Inclosure in No. 22.

RETURN showing the Average Prices of Slaves in the Provinces of Pará and Amazonas, during the six months ended the 31st of December, 1867.

African slaves. Males, 1,000 milreis, or equal, at the average exchange to	..	89l.
" Females, 800 milreis	.. ..	71l.
Creole slaves. Males, 900 milreis to 1,200 milreis, ditto .	.. ..	80l. to 107l.
" Females, 800 milreis, ditto ..	.. ..	71l.
Male slaves, with trades, 1,200 milreis to 1,600 milreis, ditto	.. ..	107l. to 144l.
Female slaves, with trades, 1,000 milreis to 1,200 milreis, ditto	.. ..	89l. to 107l.
Infants, under 5 years, 150 milreis to 400 milreis, ditto ..	.. ..	13l. to 35l.
Children from 5 to 14 years, 400 milreis to 700 milreis, ditto	.. ..	35l. to 62l.

British Consulate, Pará, December 31, 1867.

(Signed)

JAMES DE V. DRUMMOND HAY, Consul.

No. 23.

Consul Hay to Lord Stanley —(Received May 2.)

My Lord,

Pará, April 8, 1868.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship there has been no renewal of the African Slave Trade during the quarter ended the 31st of March.

The manumission of slaves in these provinces is a matter of constant occurrence, the

aspect of slavery is more propitious, and the general feeling, even amongst slave-holders appears to lean towards emancipation.

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

No. 24.

Consul Hay to Lord Stanley.—(Received November 3.)

My Lord,

Pará, September 30, 1868.

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 six months ending this day.

The average price of slaves in the Provinces of Para, Amazonas, and Maranham is given in the annexed Return.

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

Inclosure in No. 24.

RETURN showing the Prices of Slaves in the Provinces of Pará, Amazonas, and Maranham, during the six months ended the 30th of September, 1868.

Description.	Value in Currency.		In Sterling.	
	Reis.	Reis.	£	£
African, Males	1,000 000		75	
„ Females	800 000		60	
Creole, Males	900 000	to 1,200 000	67	to 90
„ Females	800 000		60	
Males, with trades	1,200 000	1,600 000	90	to 120
Females, ditto	1,000 000	1,200 000	75	90
Infants under 5 years	200 000	400 000	15	30
Children from 5 to 14 years	500 000	700 000	37	55

Average rate of exchange, 18*d.* to the milreis.

British Consulate, Pará, September 30, 1868.

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

BRAZIL. (Consular)—Rio Grande do Sul.

No. 25.

Consul Callander to Lord Stanley.—(Received April 6.)

My Lord,

Rio Grande do Sul, January 17, 1868.

I HAVE the satisfaction of being able to report that there has been no attempt to revive the foreign Slave Trade within the limits of this Consular district during the half-year ended the 31st December last.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RANDAL CALLANDER.

No. 26.

Consul Callander to Lord Stanley.—(Received April 24.)

My Lord,

Rio Grande do Sul, February 15, 1868.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith for your Lordship's information, a Return of the prices of slaves in this province, during the half-year ended the 31st of December last.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RANDAL CALLANDER.

Inclosure in No. 26.

RETURN of the Prices of Slaves in the Province of Rio Grande do Sul, for the Half-year ended the 31st of December, 1867.

Description.	Currency.		Sterling.						
	Reis.	Reis.	£	s.	d.				
African, Males, aged	300,000	to 400,000	26	5	0	to	35	0	0
„ „ middle-aged, strong and healthy	800 000	1,200 000	70	0	0		105	0	0
„ Females, aged	250 000	300 000	21	17	6		26	5	0
„ „ able-bodied	800 000	1,000 000	70	0	0		87	10	0
„ „ young	1,000 000	1,200 000	87	10	0		105	0	0
Creoles, Males, according to age and ability	320 000	1,400 000	28	0	0		122	10	0
Children, 5 to 8 years		500,000		43	15		0		
„ 8 to 12 years		800 000		70	0		0		
„ 12 to 14 years		1,600 000		140	0		0		

Exchange at 21*d.* to the milreis.

British Consulate, Rio Grande do Sul, December 31, 1867.

(Signed) RANDALL CALLANDER, Consul.

No. 27.

Consul Callander to Lord Stanley.—(Received October 21.)

My Lord,

Rio Grande do Sul, August 10, 1868.

SINCE my last half-yearly Report, there have been no indications of any attempt to renew the foreign Slave Trade in the three provinces comprised in this Consular district.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RANDAL CALLANDER.

No. 28.

Consul Callander to Lord Stanley.—(Received October 31.)

My Lord,

Rio Grande do Sul, August 17, 1868.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a Return showing the lowest and highest prices of slaves within this province during the half-year ended the 30th of June last.

Not having received Reports from the other parts of my Consular district, this Return is necessarily incomplete.

The acceptance by Government of substitutes in lieu of personal military service, and the purchase by Government, till very lately, of slaves for soldiers and sailors, have caused a great diminution in the number of slaves, and tended to keep up the prices; the speedy termination of the war, however, will doubtless lower the value of slave property.

In this province there are now very few African slaves under thirty years of age. The last acknowledged direct importation on this coast, took place in March or April 1852, near a place called Tramãdahy; and in the slave cargo there were but few children under ten years of age.

Of that cargo many individuals were captured by the Brazilian authorities and given as apprentices to the hospital at Porto Alegre, and to some private individuals.

The nature of the climate of the provinces of Rio Grande do Sul, St. Catharine's, and Paraná, and the immigration for some years past, especially into this province, are, in the opinion of those best qualified to judge, the great influences towards the extinction of slavery in this direction.

Notwithstanding the assertion of interested individuals that "the abolition of the the African Slave Trade and the emancipation of the slaves will be the death-blow to the prosperity of Brazil," the general feeling in this province with respect to slavery is, that the sooner it ceases, the better it will be for the country.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RANDAL CALLANDER.

Inclosure in No. 28.

RETURN of the Prices of Slaves in the Province of Rio Grande do Sul, for the Half-year ended the 30th of June, 1868.

	Currency.		Sterling.						
	Reis.	Reis.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	
African, Males, aged	300,000	to 600,000	23	15	0	to	47	10	0
" " middle-aged, healthy and strong ..	800 000	1,400 000	63	6	8		110	16	8
" Females, aged	250 000	500 000	19	5	10		39	11	8
" " middle-aged, able-bodied ..	800 000	1,200 000	63	6	8		95	0	0
Creoles (blacks born in this country), and mulattos (both sexes) young, and according to ability ..	1,000 000	1,600 000	79	3	4		126	13	4
Children, black and mulattos, 5 to 8 years ..	500 000	800 000	39	11	8		63	6	8
" " 8 to 12 years ..	800 000	1,200 000	63	6	8		95	0	0
" " 12 to 14 years ..	800 000	1,200 000	63	6	8		95	0	0
Slaves bought up by Government for military and naval service	800 000	1,200 000	63	6	8		95	0	0

Exchange at 19*d.* to the milreis.

British Consulate, Rio Grande do Sul, June 30, 1868.

(Signed) RANDAL CALLANDER, Consul.

EGYPT. (*Consular*)—*Alexandria.*

No. 29.

Lord Stanley to Colonel Stanton.

Sir, *Foreign Office, April 22, 1868.*
 YOU will doubtless have learnt from the public journals that accounts have been received from the African traveller Dr. Livingstone, which prove that the reports of his death, that were circulated last year by some Johanna men, who deserted the Doctor and spread a report of his having been murdered, are quite unfounded.

I have received despatches from Dr. Livingstone himself, dated the 2nd of February, 1867, latitude 10° 10' south, longitude 31° 50' east, and native accounts of a later date report him to have reached Ujiji on Lake Tanganyika some time in the course of the month of October last.

In the uncertainty as to the route which the Doctor may take in returning from his present expedition, I have to instruct you to request the Egyptian Government to be good enough to give directions to their authorities at Khartoum and in the neighbourhood of the White Nile to afford Dr. Livingstone any assistance or facilities of which he may stand in need, in the event of his making his appearance on the Egyptian frontiers.

I am, &c.
 (Signed) STANLEY.

No. 30.

Colonel Stanton to Lord Stanley.—(Received May 18.)

My Lord, *Alexandria, May 8, 1868.*

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt this day of your Lordship's despatch of the 22nd of April, instructing me to request the Egyptian Government to be good enough to give directions to their authorities at Khartoum and in the neighbourhood of the White Nile to afford Dr. Livingstone any assistance or facilities of which he may stand in need in the event of his making his appearance on the Egyptian frontier; and I beg to inform your Lordship that I have addressed a letter to the Egyptian Government in the spirit of these instructions, and requesting that these directions may be transmitted to the Governor-General of the Soudan with as little delay as possible

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

No. 31.

Lord Stanley to Colonel Stanton.

Sir, *Foreign Office, August 31, 1868.*

I TRANSMIT herewith, for your information, a copy of a Memorandum prepared by Mr. Consul Reade,* calling the attention of Her Majesty's Government to the difficulties with which he states Consuls in Egypt have to contend when they are called upon to assist refugee slaves in obtaining their liberty; and I also inclose a copy of a despatch which by my directions has been addressed to Mr. Reade in reply to his Memorandum.†

I am, &c.
 (Signed) STANLEY.

* No. 32.

† No. 33.

EGYPT. (*Consular*)—Cairo.

No. 32.

Memorandum by Consul Reade respecting Slave Trade in Egypt.

THE attention of Her Majesty's Government is hereby very respectfully called to the difficulties with which Consuls in Egypt have to contend whenever they are called upon to assist refugee slaves in obtaining their liberty.

For the slave in Egypt to become a free man, it is necessary he should be provided by the police authorities with a certificate of manumission, and this is obtained, in most cases, through the intervention of the British Consul.

Although, generally speaking, very little difficulty is experienced in obtaining the required certificate, its delivery is almost invariably accompanied by conditions which render it a very questionable matter whether the social position of the recipient is at all bettered by the acquirement of such a document.

After receipt of his certificate, the slave is detained at the Zaptia, or Prefecture of Police,—sometimes for a considerable period—until some person of respectable appearance presents himself there and engages to take him to his house and treat him as an ordinary domestic. Now, whether engagements of this nature are, as a general rule, faithfully carried into effect it is impossible for the Undersigned to satisfactorily determine; but he has reason to apprehend, from the difficulties which have so often been thrown in his way by the police authorities with a view to thwart all endeavours on his part to ascertain what had become of a manumitted slave after his departure from the Zaptia, that in some, if not in most, cases, the slaves when freed are restored to their former state of bondage.

The unsatisfactory state of things referred to above will, perhaps, be better understood after perusal of the inclosed copy of a correspondence which the Undersigned lately had with the Prefect of Police at Cairo, regarding the illegal imprisonment of a slave whose liberty he had demanded.

As stated in that correspondence, the Undersigned did not fail to report the matter to Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General, and he has no doubt the serious attention of the Egyptian Government has been duly called to it by Colonel Stanton. Should, however, Her Majesty's Government be graciously pleased to further strengthen the hands of Her Majesty's Consuls in Egypt, by taking some additional notice of the subject, he is persuaded the difficulties which he has now ventured to submit for consideration would very soon disappear.

The Undersigned begs, in conclusion, to accompany this Memorandum with a list of slaves who, during a period of two years, obtained their manumission through the intervention of Her Majesty's Consulate at Cairo.

4, Suffolk Place, London, August 13, 1868.

(Signed)

THOMAS F. READE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 32.

Consul Reade to Omar Bey.

(Translation.)
Excellency,

Cairo, May 27, 1868.

HAVING sent to your Excellency yesterday two slaves who had taken refuge at this Consulate in order that they should be furnished with certificates of manumission, I learn with much surprise that one of them named Mousa is detained in prison at the Zaptia, I regret to say I can only regard this case as a proof in addition to the many others that have been afforded of the little inclination evinced by the police authorities of this city to

aid Her Britannic Majesty's Consulate Office here in the course prescribed to it by Her Majesty's Government for obtaining, on the faith of the Imperial Firman of January 1857, and of the engagements so frequently made by His Highness the Viceroy to the same effect, the liberty of persons held in slavery who may invoke its assistance and protection. This assistance and protection by the Consulate, your Excellency will perceive, does not infringe in any way upon the integrity of the Viceroy's Government; for, slavery being abolished by supreme authority, no person of foreign origin held in compulsory servitude is thereby converted into an Ottoman subject, and on recovering his or her liberty, that person has a right to revert to his or her original foreign nationality. The slave Mousa having sought the protection of this Consulate, I must insist upon his immediate liberation. As to the precautionary measures adopted by your Excellency's Department for the alleged purpose of ascertaining the residence and occupation of the freed slave, and of thereby exercising over him a rigid surveillance, they lead naturally to a very general belief or conviction that he has only acquired the semblance of liberty without being actually free. I know not why there should be any difficulty in the case. A manumitted slave can earn his livelihood like any one else, and would not, as your Excellency seems to fear, be more prone than other persons to commit offences, nor, considering the comparatively small number of manumissions sought, would the country under the power of the Viceroy be exposed to any social conflict by making the liberty it grants unrestricted and real, on the delivery of the certificate of freedom to the applicant. With a view, however, to bring about for the future some more satisfactory understanding on the subject of the manumission of slaves, it will be my duty to report at once to Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General the difficulties and hardships that have to be encountered by slaves seeking their liberty.

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

Inclosure 2 in No. 32.

Omar Bey to Consul Reade.

(Translation.)

Sir,

Cairo, 6 Safar, 1285 (May 28, 1868.)

I REGRET very much that the report made to you, and in consequence of which you address the police authorities the letter dated 5th instant, No. 158, are contrary to the real state of things. The proceedings attributed to the police are not true. We perceive that you acted under the impression that the reports made to you are true. The police, as you are aware, does not cease to do the duty imposed upon it. In the matter of Slavery, the police is conducting itself in a manner deserving encomium, for, in addition to the immediate delivery of the certificates of manumission to those who apply for them, the police, according to the wish of the slaves, allow them to remain in the service of whomsoever they may wish to serve.

The two Nubians sent by the British Consulate obtained, both of them, their manumission paper. On one of them asking the police to provide him with the means of obtaining a livelihood, on the plea that he knew nobody who would maintain him, he was sent to the Military Service, in the same way as free men go for the purpose of earning their livelihood; the other, wishing to enter the service of a person whom he named, he was conducted to the latter's house, but that person being absent, he returned to the Zaptia; and after remaining there two or three hours, was taken back to the house of the person in whose service he wished to enter; but that person would not admit him; so he returned to Zaptia, and then absconded altogether. Notwithstanding all this, the person who caused his detention for the few hours mentioned, has been punished, as it was deemed necessary. The facts being as above stated, I address the present for your information.

(Seal of Omar Sulfy Bey, Prefect of Police, Cairo.)

Inclosure 3 in No. 32.

Consul Reade to Omar Bey.

(Translation.)

Excellency,

Cairo, June 4, 1868.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, in reply to the one I addressed to your Excellency on the 27th May last, with reference to a slave named

Mousa, who, on obtaining, in conformity with my request, a certificate of manumission, had been put into prison at the Zaptia.

Although, so long as the police authorities persist in enforcing, with regard to manumitted slaves, measures which no other class of the community is subjected to, and which render it very questionable whether the condition of a slave in this country is at all bettered by the acquirement of a manumission certificate, an explanation similar to the one contained in your Excellency's letter, cannot be deemed entirely satisfactory, I am happy to learn that the complaint I had put forward was so promptly redressed by your Excellency.

I have, &c.

(Signed) THOS. F. READE.

Inclosure 4 in No. 32.

LIST of Slaves Freed by Her Majesty's Consul at Cairo, from June 26, 1866, to June 19, 1868.

Date of Manumission.	Names of Slaves.	Names of their last Masters.
1866		
June 26	Ambar Aga (eunuch)	Mohamed Bey, son of the late Khursheed Pasha, ex-Governor of Alexandria.
30	Farag Maccawee (male)	Emin Effendi, a merchant at Khan Khaleeli.
July 7	Nasra (female)	Raffia Hanem, daughter of Hussey Bey Tabbuzz Oglu.
12	Mansoor (male)	Hassan Bey, ex-Mudeer of Sudan.
30	Besheer (ditto)	Sabet Pasha, ex-Governor of Cairo.
30	Almas (ditto)	Sheik Abdel Kader, Mufti of the Wuakf Divan.
September 1	Rehav (ditto)	The late Saleh el Barrad, timber merchant at Boulae.
5	Mabruka (female)	The late Jacob Rolo, indigo merchant.
5	Beheta (ditto)	Ditto.
10	Haleel Tawfik Sharkas (male)	Mustafa Emin, son of the late Emin Pasha.
12	Mariam (female)	Zeinab, wife of Mustafa Aga Gheridli, a zawas in the Zaptia.
19	Farag (male)	Abdalla Abu Shadli, a clerk.
22	Farag (ditto)	Slave dealer at Assouan.
October 18	Belal (ditto)	Hamed, son of the late Mustafa, el Helwe, a merchant at Gorieh.
18	Beheet (ditto)	Mohamed el Zayat, at Benha.
18	Fadlallah (ditto)	Ditto.
November 3	Ahmed (ditto)	Besheer Aga Daoodee, a eunuch in the harem of the late Abbas Pasha.
22	Mabruka (female)	Mustafa el Adeely, a merchant at Gamalia.
22	Mabruk (male)	Ahmed Bey Shukri, in the service of the Military Divan.
28	Osman (ditto)	Mohamed Shuer, a butcher at Wuarrak el Hadr.
December 24	Zeid el Mal (female)	Autoon el Sabbah.
1867		
January 8	Zuhra (female)	Autoon Saleeb.
29	Tereza (an Abyssinian girl)	Ghirghis and Farag Shalabi.
February 2	Nahma (female)	Mustafa Effendi, in the Military Divan.
2	Hamad (son of Namah)	Ditto.
28	Ambar (male)	The mother of Ali Pasha.
April 22	Fazl el Kerim (female)	Sherif Mussa, a slave-dealer.
June 1	Saluanas (ditto)	Hassan Pasha Topal, President of the Benha Council.
July 22	Hkeir Allah (male)	Hussein Bey, of the Divan of Public Works.
22	Hadeega (wife of Hkeir Allah)	Ditto.
22	Marruf (son of ditto)	Ditto.
25	Hassan Ali Sharkas (male)	Abdel Hafeez, a slave-dealer at Gamalieh.
29	Abdallah (ditto)	Mohamed Sharawee, Chief of a village named Simbel Rhoda.
29	Um el Hauna (wife of Abdallah)	Ditto.
31	Murgau (male)	Sayeb Pasha.
August 6	Marsila (female)	Mohamed Seir el Din.
October 1	Kadam Kheir (ditto)	Saad el Din Bey.
1	Murgau (male)	Ismael Bey Bushuak.
November 5	Baheeta (female)	Autoon Hareef, of Hamlah.
5	Mahbuba (her daughter)	Ditto.
11	Emin (male)	Haggi Hamad Karamani, a slave-dealer in the Sukkaria.
13	Besheer (ditto)	Heidar Pasha.
19	Anbar (ditto)	Kamel Bey, in the military service.
20	Zeinab (female)	Haleel Aga, zawas of the Wuakf Divan, and slave-dealer.
30	Surur (male)	Mustafa Hewee, a slave-dealer at Haret el Room.
December 10	Khursheed Sharkas (ditto)	The late Mohamed Effendi Fehmi.
10	Murgau (male)	Ibrahim Abu Rizk, a clerk at Kafr Attallah.
14	Agamia (female)	Ibrahim Effendi el Hawari, of Tauta.
17	Tawfik (male)	Ahmed Bey, son of the late Ibrahim Bey, ex-Nazer of the Verko Divan.
21	Fatma (female)	Haggi Ahmed, a slave-dealer at Darb Ahmar.
26	Nesim (male)	Besheer Aga, a eunuch in the harem of Halim Pasha.
26	Mohamed (ditto)	Sabet Pasha, the wuakil of Raghieb Pasha.
26	Ali (ditto)	Ditto.
1868		
January 5	Almas (ditto)	Abbas el Gamal, a slave-dealer at Dawdeych.
5	Murgau (ditto)	Abdel Nabi Fayet, a fellah at Sharkia.
5	Abdel Salem (ditto)	Ditto.
10	Zuhra (female)	Karabet Kalest.
20	Danesh (male)	Heidar Pasha.
27	Murgau (ditto)	Ahmed Rashid, cultivator of land at Geeza.
29	El-Atta-Minnu (ditto)	Arbab Ebn Taha, a miller at Manfalut.
February 8	Zuhra (female)	The late Mohamed Effendi Fahmi.
10	Danish Aga (eunuch)	Mohamed Bey, son of Ismael Pasha Hassa.
15	Barazina (female)	Stifau Macari, of Boulae.
17	Kurunfila (ditto)	Maunæ, daughter of Ghurghee, in the service of Aslau.
17	Kahb Kheir (ditto)	The late Mustafa Raghah.

Date of Manumission.	Names of Slaves.	Names of their Masters.
1868		
February 17	Saheeda (female)	Mushrekee, a Coptic merchant.
21	Hadem Alla (ditto)	Ellias, a merchant at Gheeza.
28	Farahat Aga (eunuch)	Haleel Pasha, son of Ibrahim Pasha Yagau.
29	Khursheed (male)	Sheik el Bakri.
March 10	Saeed (ditto)	Haggi Hussein Simbi, a fellah.
23	Halema (female)	Jacob Kattawee, a Jew banker.
April 7	Amb-r Aga (eunuch)	Ibrahim Bey Helim, son of Khursheed Pasha, Member of Meglis Istinaf.
21	Farahat Belal Aga (ditto)	Ahmed Bey, son of Hussein Aga Kufri.
21	Saeed (male)	Haggi Ali, a cultivator of lands at Mansura.
28	Zeinab (Abyssinian girl)	Ibrahim Fallah, wheat merchant at Old Cairo.
30	Haleema (female)	Suleyman Abu Daood.
30	Fatma (ditto)	Ditto.
May 6	Selim Aga (eunuch)	Rateb Pasha, Commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army.
6	Kadam Kheir (female)	Rustum, a merchant at Khan Haleel.
9	Zeid el mal (ditto)	Hagga Husna.
12	Mohamed (male)	Mohamed Sarhau, a cultivator at Bahtush.
15	Zubra (female)	Hussein Bey Kassem, in the military service.
23	Saeed (male)	Sid Ahmed Amr, a cultivator of lands at Kaliub.
26	Mussa (ditto)	Mohamed Mausur, ditto.
June 2	Belal (ditto)	Barber Bashi of the Viceroy.
2	Issa (ditto)	Ismael Pasha Abu Gabal.
5	Hassan (ditto)	Mussa Aga, in the harem of Kamel Pasha.
5	Rasem Aga (eunuch)	Mohamed Bey Sid Ahmed, in the Ministry of the Interior.
14	Ibrahim (male)	Mahbub Aga, in the harem of Kamel Pasha.

No. 33.

Mr. Egerton to Consul Reade.

Sir,

Foreign Office, August 28, 1868.

I AM directed by Lord Stanley to acknowledge the receipt of a Memorandum prepared by you and dated the 13th instant, calling the attention of Her Majesty's Government to the difficulties with which Consuls in Egypt have to contend when they are called upon to assist refugee slaves in obtaining their liberty, and inclosing copies of a correspondence which passed between you and the Prefect of Police at Cairo, regarding the illegal imprisonment of a slave whose liberty you had demanded.

I am, in reply, to state to you that Lord Stanley is not aware of the existence of any Treaty or other engagements which would give Her Majesty's Government the right to interfere with the status of domestic slavery in the Turkish dominions, or to demand the manumission of any slave who may take refuge at a British Consulate. It is no doubt true that on the demand of Her Majesty's Consular officers in Turkey and Egypt numerous slaves who have sought their protection have, from time to time, been liberated, and the list which accompanies your memorandum of slaves who have been liberated by the Egyptian authorities on your application within the last two years, numbering nearly 100, would seem to prove that there is no disinclination on the part of those authorities to attend to any well-founded applications that may be made to them on behalf of refugee slaves.

Under these circumstances Lord Stanley is not prepared to authorize any official representation to the Egyptian Government in the sense suggested in your Memorandum; and his Lordship would, on the contrary, recommend that, except in well authenticated cases of cruelty on the part of masters towards their slaves, when considerations of humanity might justify their interference, the official action of British Consular officers should be limited to preventing, as far as practicable, the importation of slaves into the Egyptian territories, and to procuring the manumission of such as may have been illegally imported.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

E. C. EGERTON.

MADAGASCAR.

No. 34.

Consul Pakenham to Lord Stanley.—(Received July 17.)

My Lord,

Tamatave, June 8, 1868.

I HAVE the honour to report, for your Lordship's information, that I embarked yesterday on board the British barque "Admiral," O.N., 31,713, for the Mauritius, 17 Mozambique slaves, whom I claimed, seized, and manumitted, as having been introduced into Madagascar contrary to the provisions of our Treaty.

Although the Hova authorities so far admitted my right to seize these slaves as to deliver them up to me on the requisition which I had addressed to the Prime Minister as far back as the 9th of last November, a copy of which is inclosed, I still feel sure that such a right has been reluctantly conceded by most of the members of the Hova Government, the more so as this successful seizure enables me fully to substantiate the gravest of the charges contained in my note to the Prime Minister of the 4th September, 1867, respecting the illegal introduction to, and sale of, slaves from beyond sea at some of the military stations on the north-east of Madagascar.

I beg to inclose a note of the names, sexes, and ages of these slaves, who appear to have been landed at Diego Suarez during the early part of last year; and also a copy of the certificate which I delivered to the local authorities when I seized them.

I have, &c.

(Signed) T. C. PAKENHAM.

Inclosure 1 in No. 34.

Consul Pakenham to the Prime Minister of Madagascar.

Sir,

Tamatave, November 9, 1867.

I HAVE the honour to bring to Her Majesty Queen Rasoherina's notice that it has come to my knowledge that a considerable number of Mozambique slaves have lately been landed at Diego Suarez, on the North-East Coast of Madagascar, from Arab dhows, and there sold, some of them having been, it is reported, sent to Antananarivo, others to different stations in the interior, and fifteen to Vohemaro.

I beg to point out that such proceedings constitute a very grave infraction of the provisions of our Treaty, and to request that you will move Her Majesty to issue orders that all slaves from beyond sea introduced into Madagascar since the 27th of June, 1865, be at once sent down to Tamatave, with a view to their immediate manumission. I have further to request that the Arab dhows engaged in this abominable traffic, as well as their owners and crews, may be seized and held at the disposal of the Commander-in-chief of Her Majesty's naval forces on the East India station.

I am, &c.

(Signed) T. C. PAKENHAM.

Inclosure 2 in No. 34.

Certificate of Seizure and Manumission of Seventeen Mozambique Slaves, illegally introduced into Madagascar.

THE Undersigned, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul for Madagascar, hereby certifies that 17 Mozambique slaves, of whom 2 male adults and 10 boys, with 1 female adult and

4 girls, have this day, on his requisition, been delivered to him by his Excellency the Governor and the officers of Tamatave, under orders from his Excellency the Prime Minister of Madagascar.

The Undersigned further certifies that the said Mozambique slaves have been claimed, seized, and manumitted by him as having been landed and sold in Madagascar, contrary to the provisions of the Treaty concluded between Her Britannic Majesty and her late Majesty Rasoherina, Queen of Madagascar, on the 27th June, 1865, and their respective heirs and successors.

*Her Britannic Majesty's Consulate, Madagascar,
Tamatave, June 7, 1868.*

(Signed) T. C. PAKENHAM.

Inclosure 3 in No. 34.

NOTE of Seventeen Mozambique Slaves seized and Manumitted by Her Britannic Majesty's Consul for Madagascar, as having been landed and sold contrary to the provisions of the English Treaty, embarked on board the British barque "Admiral," for the Mauritius.

1. Toledy (male), 10 years.
2. Imbarakala (ditto), adult.
3. Takomalia (ditto), 15 years.
4. Imanamiaka (ditto), 12 years.
5. Ikiazoambo (ditto), 16 years.
6. Imoraopava (ditto), 10 years.
7. Innasalavisy (ditto), 14 years.
8. Ironto (ditto), 12 years.
9. Imilikonie (ditto), adult.

10. Aoalila (male), 10 years.
11. Imitetioa (ditto), 10 years.
12. Ibeloke (ditto), 10 years.
13. Imilaliva (female), 10 years.
14. Avania (ditto), adult.
15. Halima (ditto), 9 years.
16. Vantanana (ditto), 13 years.
17. Iverielia (ditto), 16 years.

*Her Britannic Majesty's Consulate in Madagascar,
Tamatave, June 7, 1868.*

(Signed) T. C. PAKENHAM.

No. 35.

Lord Stanley to Consul Pakenham.

Sir,

Foreign Office, July 24, 1868.

I HAVE received your despatch of 8th June last, reporting your having procured the liberation of 17 Mozambique slaves which had been illegally introduced into Madagascar; and I have to inform you that I approve of the course which you pursued in this matter

I am, &c.

(Signed) STANLEY.

No. 36.

Consul Pakenham to Lord Stanley.—(Received August 13.)

My Lord,

Tamatave, June 15, 1868.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, the copy of a letter which I have addressed to the Prime Minister of Madagascar respecting the Slave Trade, alleged by Commander Brown of Her Majesty's steam-sloop "Vigilant," to be carried on at the Hova Military Stations of Angoncy, Vohemar, and Diego Suarez, to the north of Tamatave, in the exact manner mentioned in my report to that officer, a copy of which was inclosed in my despatch of the 22nd of last August.

I fear, my Lord, that there can now be no longer any doubt that the Prime Minister must have been fully aware that the nefarious Traffic of which I had complained, was being really carried on at those stations at the very time he wrote to me, on the 1st November, 1867, denying the fact.

I have, &c.

(Signed) T. C. PAKENHAM.

Inclosure in No. 36.

Consul Pakenham to the Prime Minister of Madagascar.

Sir,

Tamatave, June 15, 1868.

I HAVE the honour to inclose, for the information of Her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar, an extract from Commodore Heath's Report to the Secretary to the Admiralty, and a copy of Commander Brown's Report therein mentioned,* and I beg to call Her Majesty's serious attention to the Slave Trade distinctly alleged by Commander Brown to be carried on at the Military Stations of Angoney, Vohemaro, and Diego Suarez, on the north-east coast of Madagascar; and this in presence of the formal assurances to the contrary, which your Excellency has so repeatedly given me.

I may add, that both the Extract and the Report in question have been published, and are amongst the Slave Trade papers presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty Queen Victoria.

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

No. 37.

Consul Pakenham to Lord Stanley.—(Received August 13.)

My Lord,

Tamatave, June 16, 1868.

INFORMATION, which I believe to be perfectly trustworthy, having reached me, that the 17 Mozambique slaves seized and manumitted by me on the 7th instant, are only part of a cargo of 200 landed and sold at Diego Suarez, on the north-east coast of Madagascar, in May or June last year; and also that two other cargoes, one consisting of 200, the other of 300 Mozambique slaves, were landed and sold at Passandava Bay, on the north-west coast, during the months of August and September last year; I have considered it my duty to address the Prime Minister on the subject, and I have the honour to inclose copies of my letters to him.

I cannot but believe that his Excellency must have been in possession of the information which has been communicated to me in respect to these alleged slave-dealings, long before it reached me. If such be really the case, the fact of no report having been made on the subject, reflects gravely on the good faith of the Hova Government in respect to their Treaty engagements.

I shall not fail to report to Commodore Heath the slave-dealings alleged to have taken place at Diego Suarez and Passandava Bay.

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

Inclosure 1 in No. 37.

Consul Pakenham to the Prime Minister of Madagascar.

Sir,

Tamatave, June 16, 1868.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that a report has reached me, which I believe to be perfectly true, that the 17 Mozambique slaves whom I seized and manumitted on the 7th instant, are only part of a cargo of 200 landed at Diego Suarez during the early part of last year.

I beg, therefore, to request, that you will be so good as to let me know whether you have received any information respecting the despatch of the remaining 183; and also what steps have been taken to bring to trial the subjects of the Queen of Madagascar, who have thus openly violated the provisions of the English Treaty by introducing to, and selling in, Madagascar, slaves from beyond the sea.

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

* Papers relating to the Slave Trade, 1867, Class A, page 73, No. 88.

Inclosure 2 in No. 37.

Consul Pakenham to the Prime Minister of Madagascar.

Sir,

Tamatave, June 16, 1868.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that it has been reported to me by a person present at the time, and who saw these slaves landed, and to whom they were offered for sale, that 300 Mozambique slaves were landed and sold at Izousa, Passandava Bay, the end of last August; and also that during the night of the 22nd September following, a further cargo, consisting of 200 Mozambiques, was landed at the village of Ambasbiti, Passandava Bay.

I beg, therefore, to request that you will move Her Majesty to cause immediate steps to be taken to ascertain what has become of these 500 slaves from beyond sea, who have been landed and sold in Madagascar, in open violation of the provisions of the English Treaty.

In your note to me of the 1st of last November, your Excellency inquires where Passandava Bay is situated. Whilst I certainly feel disappointed that so important a part of the dominions of the Queen of Madagascar as Passandava Bay should not be known to your Excellency, I beg to state that this bay is situated on the north-west coast of Madagascar, about sixty miles north of Nourousanga, in the immediate vicinity of, and directly opposite to, the French Island of Nossibé.

I trust that being now in possession of these particulars as to the exact position of Passandava Bay, your Excellency will find no difficulty in discovering the parties who have carried on slave-dealing in those parts; and I look forward with hopeful confidence to having these 500 slaves delivered up to me, with a view to their manumission.

I am, &c.

(Signed) T. C. PAKENHAM.

No. 38.

Lord Stanley to Consul Pakenham.

Sir,

Foreign Office, August 21, 1868.

I HAVE received your despatches of the 15th and 16th of June last, inclosing copies of the letters addressed by you to the Prime Minister of Madagascar, on the subject of slave-dealings, which there is too much reason to fear are carried on in that island with the connivance of the Hova authorities, and in violation of the Treaty engagements of Madagascar with this country; and I have to instruct you to inform the Prime Minister that you have communicated to Her Majesty's Government copies of the letters addressed by you to his Excellency on the 15th and 16th of June, and that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve the tenor of those communications.

I have, &c.

(Signed) STANLEY.

No. 39.

Consul Pakenham to Lord Stanley.—(Received November 19.)

My Lord,

Tamatave, June 22, 1868.

HAVING reference to the concluding paragraph in my despatch of the 16th instant, I have now the honour to transmit, for your Lordship's information, a copy of my Report to Commodore Heath, commanding the East India station, respecting alleged slave-dealings on the north-east coast of Madagascar and at Passandava Bay.

I have, &c.

(Signed) T. C. PAKENHAM.

Inclosure in No. 39.

Consul Pakenham to Commodore Heath.

Sir,

Tamatave, June 16, 1868.

I HAVE the honour to report that on the 7th instant I obtained possession of 17 Mozambique slaves, of whom 2 adult males with 10 boys and 1 adult female with 4 girls; and that I manumitted these slaves as having been landed and sold in Madagascar contrary to the provisions of the English Treaty, and embarked them on board the British barque "Admiral," O. N. 51,713, which left this port for the Mauritius on the 8th instant. I have reason to believe that these slaves formed part of a cargo of 200 landed and sold at Diego Suarez, to the north of Tamatave, in May or June last year.

I beg further to state that I am informed, on good authority, that two cargoes of Mozambique slaves were landed and disposed of at Passandava Bay, on the north-west coast of Madagascar, during the months of August and September last year. One, consisting of 300 Mozambiques, was landed at the village of Izousa, the latter end of August; the other, consisting of 200, was disembarked at the village of Ambasbiti, during the night of the 22nd September following.

I therefore venture to submit the desirability, as appears to me, of Her Majesty's vessels of war on the station visiting the north-east as well as the north-west coast of Madagascar, as often as the requirements of the service will admit of.

I have, &c.

(Signed) T. C. PAKENHAM.

No. 40.

Consul Pakenham to Lord Stanley.—(Received November 19.)

My Lord,

Tamatave, September 10, 1868.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith copies of a correspondence which has passed between the Hova Government and myself relative to the arrest and attempted trial by Hova Law of a British subject named "Luckman" belonging to Bombay.

A report reached me some time back that Luckman, who had been residing at Vohemaro on the north-east coast of Madagascar, had been engaged in the Slave Trade; but, as Hovas of high rank had shared in his ventures, that an attempt would be made to make him out a Malagasy subject, in order to prevent the matter coming before me for adjudication; and what has occurred certainly lends consistency to the rumour.

Your Lordship will observe that the Prime Minister of Madagascar seeks to justify the course which has been pursued on the ground that Luckman has addressed a letter in Malagasy to the Hova Government, in which he claims to be a Malagasy subject; but, as this happened after my complaint, it cannot possibly justify anterior proceedings; and, besides, there is every reason to believe that the letter in question was written under advice, if not pressure, from the parties to whom it was addressed.

I have, therefore, considered it my duty to inform the local authorities at Tamatave that, unless the engagement taken in the concluding paragraph of the Prime Minister's letter to me, to deliver up Luckman, be fulfilled, I shall be compelled to make a formal demand for his surrender.

I have, &c.

(Signed) T. C. PAKENHAM.

Inclosure 1 in No. 40.

Consul Pakenham to the Prime Minister of Madagascar.

Sir,

Tamatave, June 20, 1868.

I HAVE the honour to call your attention to the following fact which has come to my knowledge:—

An Anglo-Indian subject of Her Britannic Majesty named Luckman, residing at Vohemaro, who had already lately been summoned to the capital by the Hova authorities to attend a Rabar, has, I am informed, been again called up there.

I have on more than one occasion complained to your Excellency of the assumption, by the Hova authorities, of powers of jurisdiction over British subjects which, under the

provisions of the English Treaty, exclusively belong to Her Britannic Majesty's Consular officers in Madagascar; and I beg now again to invite your Excellency's serious attention to this subject, as you must be fully aware how carefully I myself have always abstained from exercising or endeavouring to exercise any jurisdiction over Malagasy subjects.

Being desirous, as far as possible, not to do anything which might lower Hova authority in the eyes of foreigners residing in Madagascar, I shall not issue any orders on the subject to British residents until I receive your Excellency's reply to the present communication.

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

Inclosure 2 in No. 40.

The Prime Minister of Madagascar to Consul Pakenham.

(Translation.)

Sir, *Antananarivo, 5 Adimizana (July 24, 1868).*

I HAVE received the letter you wrote to me on the 20th of June last, and I am surprised to see you accusing us, saying that the great ones among the Hovas take power to judge English subjects.

Wherefore, this, I say to you, neither in time past, nor at the present, have we yet judged English subjects, and we do not like to trouble ourselves with judging English subjects: and who is our Governor who you told me judged English subjects? or, is it I who have judged? Wherefore, I would like you to think well, having begun to accuse us; for it is not right that a great man should accuse vainly: yet, if there are true witnesses who saw us judging English subjects, then tell (who they are).

And this also I say to you. In the days of Queen Rasoherina, Queen of Madagascar, that Queen liked peace, and it was exceedingly hateful to her when any person transgressed the Treaty she made with the Sovereign of Great Britain; and when she heard that there were people who brought in Mozambiques, she was angry, and gave word to the Governor of Hiarana to seize the people who brought Mozambiques, that she may be informed who traded and who did not: and you say that Lokoman is an English subject who has therefore been seized, and on the day in which Lokoman was taken by the Governor of Hiarana, he did not say, I am an English subject; and, granting that it even be so, we have not yet judged Lokoman. And behold! the letter written by Lokoman, declaring himself to be a subject of the Queen of Madagascar, I have caused to be inclosed in this that you may see.

And this also I say to you: our accusing Lokoman at Tananarivo resulted in making him out to be a subject of the Queen of Madagascar, and we determined that he should be judged; but we do not shelter him that he may not be judged by you by English law if he is an English subject. If he carries on that bad Traffic, and if you still say that he is indeed an English subject, then look well to your English subjects. And, granted that he even be so, we have not yet judged Lokoman, and do not yet know the truth whether he traded in Mozambiques or not; and when he declared to us that he was a subject of the Queen of Madagascar, and I received your letter saying he is an English subject, behold, I have sent him down to you there at Tamatave to stand before you that you may see what he says.

May you live and be happy; God bless you, says your friend.

(Signed) RAINILAIARIVONY.

Inclosure 3 in No. 40.

Consul Pakenham to the Prime Minister of Madagascar.

Sir, *Tamatave, August 20, 1868.*

I HAVE before me a translation of the Prime Minister's note in reply to mine of the 20th of June last, in which his Excellency charges me with accusing the great ones amongst the Hovas of judging British subjects; but as I have referred to the copy of my note, and find no such charge preferred therein, I can only presume that the misunderstanding has been caused by an incorrect translation.

In stating that, on more than one occasion, I have complained of the assumption by the Hova authorities of powers of jurisdiction over British subjects, I cannot admit that this statement necessarily applied to the "great ones" at Antananarivo. The cases to

which I alluded are those of the village Chief of Tranocoditra, who judged and punished a British subject in July last year; and also that of Fairlambie, a Hova police officer, who openly violated the domicile of a British subject at Tamatave in August 1867, by breaking into his premises and forcibly carrying off one of his Malagasy servants, and this at night and during the absence of the party whose domicile was thus violated. Both these cases have been settled, and I only now refer to them in order to show that the statements contained in my note to the Prime Minister are based on facts.

As regards the case of Luckman, a British subject, who, as his Excellency himself admits, had been summoned up to the capital for the purpose of being judged by Malagasy law, the facts of the case are precisely as I represented them; and I beg, therefore, to request that in future great care may be taken to avoid similar infractions of the English Treaty. Luckman's letter in no way proves that he is a Malagasy subject; whilst the fact of his being a British subject, and its being rumoured that in carrying on the Slave Trade in the north he has only been a tool in the hands of others, renders it desirable that a full and searching inquiry should take place into the whole of the circumstances connected with his arrest and seizure by the Governor of Vohemaro.

In conclusion, and with reference to the censure of my official acts implied in the second paragraph of the Prime Minister's note, I beg to state that I must leave my own Government to judge of my official duties, which I am always desirous of performing with every feeling of friendship towards the Malagasy Government, but which are nevertheless imposed upon me by my instructions.

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

Inclosure 4 in No. 40.

Luckman, a British Subject, to the Hova Government,

(Translation. *Antananarivo, 24 Asombola (July 13, 1868.)*
AND may you live to be old, and not be sick, ye great ones, and tell ye this to my Lady. May God bless you all, Sirs.
And I went to Mojanga, and stayed there. I followed the law of Ranavalona, the Queen, the mother (of the late Sovereign), with Rainimanjy, fifteen honours, in 1854.
And I dwelt at Anonroutsanga five years, following the law of the Queen; and my house was next to Ralaizato, ten honours, for it is hereditary property.
And I arrived at Hiarana in 1860, and I came there with Rainikotomavo, twelve honours, and I offered hasina to the Queen, for I followed the law of my Lady.
And I am no longer a British subject, but a subject of Queen Ranavalona.
And this is my word.
May you live to be old, and not be sick; and tell ye this to my Lady.
God bless you, says your servant.

(Signed) LUCKMAN.

No. 41.

Lord Stanley to Consul Pakenham.

Sir, *Foreign Office, November 24, 1868.*
WITH reference to your despatch of the 22nd of June last, I have to acquaint you that I approve the letter addressed by you to Commodore Heath on the subject of the Slave Traffic stated to be carried on at Passandava Bay and on the north-east coast of Madagascar.

I am, &c.
(Signed) STANLEY.

No. 42.

Lord Stanley to Consul Pakenham.

Sir,

Foreign Office, November 24, 1868.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 10th of September last, inclosing copies of a correspondence which has passed between the Hova Government and yourself relative to the arrest and attempted trial by Hova law of a British subject named Luckman, belonging to Bombay, who is suspected of having been engaged in Slave Traffic, and I have to acquaint you that, assuming that you had good and sufficient grounds for believing Luckman to be a British subject, I approve your proceedings in this matter.

I am, &c.

(Signed) STANLEY.

No. 43.

Consul Pakenham to Lord Stanley.—(Received December 21.)

My Lord,

Tamatave, September 24, 1868.

WITH reference to my despatches of the 15th and 16th of June last, I have now the honour to transmit copies of further correspondence which has passed between the Prime Minister of Madagascar, the Chief Secretary of State, and myself on the subject of alleged slave-dealings reported in my former despatches.

The Prime Minister's reply to my letters of the 15th and 16th June is extremely unsatisfactory, and leaves the question in very much the same position as before.

His Excellency endeavours, as usual, to deny, without in any way disproving facts, which, nevertheless, are public and notorious; and at the same time suggests the adoption of measures which, even if practicable, could scarcely prove effectual in checking the Slave Trade in Madagascar.

Under these circumstances, as on the one hand, I fully believe that the Slave Trade has been, and is still carried on in Madagascar under the circumstances and at the places mentioned in my former despatches; and, on the other, as I am unable to report that any effectual steps have hitherto been taken by the Hova authorities for the suppression of this abominable Traffic, I beg to submit for your Lordship's favourable consideration the desirability as appears to me of a small steamer of about seventy tons being stationed at Tamatave, to enable me to visit, as often as may be practicable, at least a portion of the extensive sea-board which is under my political and consular charge.

I have, &c.

(Signed) T. C. PAKENHAM.

Inclosure 1 in No. 43.

The Prime Minister of Madagascar to Consul Pakenham.

(Translation.)

Sir,

Antananarivo, July 24, 1868.

I HAVE received the letters you wrote to me on the 15th and 16th of June, and the copies of the letters written by Commodore Heath and Commander Brown, and I have also told the Queen the contents of your letters.

And this I say to you, since the exchanging of the ratifications of the Treaty, Queen Rasoherina gave strict injunctions to stop the introduction of slaves from across the sea, and to carry out the Treaty which had been concluded between Great Britain and Madagascar, on account of the peace which she liked to exist with Queen Victoria. Since that time, and especially after the journeying to the sea-coast, she herself enjoined and warned the governors strictly to observe the Treaty which had been concluded, for she viewed their faults as those of persons who had transgressed it; and then again she did not hold Kabars only, but was always writing to confirm those Kabars. And when I received the letter you wrote which said there were persons who introduced Mozambiques on the north-east coast of Madagascar, that also I told her, and she sent with all haste to look after that, and those seventeen who were made over to you were taken. And now you say again, there were 500 introduced; and you inquire of me whether I have heard, wherefore, I tell you I had not yet heard that until you told me; and with regard to what you say, "the person who saw them introduced told me," that

makes me glad, and now, send that person who told you that, to go with an officer from Tamatave to the Governor of that place where the Mozambiques were introduced, for I have given letters to the officers there (Tamatave) to send together with him whom you send to search into the lie of that Governor, who reports and gives confidence, saying:— There are no slaves introduced, as far as the country is concerned of which I am Governor, and if there are persons whom we understand to be persons stolen, even from across the sea, there is no one of us who buys, and if that be true he will be condemned, for he is always lying to the Queen, and also that you may see the justice of your constant complaints, and it will rejoice me also because the liar will be condemned by his lie; and if it be not true, that your constant complaints may cease.

And also I say to you that there are not Governors and soldiers at all the ports of Madagascar; and lest there should be any one coming from across the sea introducing Mozambiques into those ports, you should tell your ships to be careful and prevent slaves crossing the sea, so that they be not brought here; for both and each of us engage to stop that in the Treaty, for the Queen relies on your ships to prevent that kidnapping by the Arab ships, for you see there were subjects of the Queen of Madagascar who live a considerable distance from the military stations, who were killed by that wicked man Tsimiharo, when they endeavoured to prevent slaves being introduced into Madagascar, and we have not captured Tsimiharo, but he has escaped across the sea, although Raharolahy, fifteen honours O.D.P., showed you the letter from the Governor of Hiarana reporting that. Wherefore, I would wish you to reflect on this, and this I say, warn your ships that they may stop that, for if it truly exists, it may be traced across the sea.

And this also I say to you: When Queen Ranavalona, Queen of Madagascar, commenced to reign, for the purpose of carrying out the Treaty which had been concluded, for she desires exceedingly that there should be peace with Queen Victoria, she commanded all the Governors strictly to observe the Treaty, and that no Mozambiques, not even those derived from ancestors, and who may long have been Mozambique slaves, should be conveyed into the interior. And should there be persons who introduce [such slaves], she has determined that they be held as having transgressed the laws of the Kingdom, and more particularly those who shall buy slaves newly landed, coming from across the sea.

And as regards the copy of the letter you sent, saying: The copy of the letter of Commander Brown to Commodore Heath, which says: "Angoncy, Vohemar, and Diego-Suarez, are places whence slaves are introduced into the interior of Madagascar." I ask you to give me the proof of that. For I have not yet seen fresh Mozambiques bought here into the interior. Yet, if you know and tell me, the doer of such things will be easily condemned, in order that he break not the law in future.

And as regards the ports of Antomboko, and Hiarano, and Amorontsanga, where you are always saying that Mozambique slaves are introduced from across the sea, it would be best if you appointed a Vice-Consul there to take charge, together with our Governor, and to be a witness whether it is true so or not, for you have seen the denial of the Governor when he met Commander Brown, saying it is not so, though he says it is indeed so.

And as to what you say with regard to Passandava Bay, as far as I know, there is, as it were, no military station in that part of the country. And as regards the Governor of Antomboka, the Queen has determined that he shall be replaced, because he did not see the introduction of Mozambiques into the district of which he is the Governor, and when he shall have arrived here he will be judged according to the law of Madagascar, both he and the Malagasy subjects who did it. And it will rejoice the Queen exceedingly if you appoint a Vice-Consul at those ports where you are always saying that slaves are introduced that you may ascertain the truth.

May you live and be happy. God bless you, says your friend.

(Signed) RAINILAIARIVONY.

Inclosure 2 in No. 43.

Consul Pakenham to the Chief Secretary of State, Madagascar.

Sir,

Tamatave, September 24, 1868.

I HAVE before me a translation of the Prime Minister's letter dated the 24th of July last in reply to certain communications from myself on the subject of the Slave Trade carried on on the north-east coast of Madagascar, and at Passandava Bay.

In that letter his Excellency recapitulates the steps taken by Her late Majesty Queen

Rasoherina with a view to the suppression of that abominable Traffic, and mentions those adopted by Her Majesty Queen Ranavaloa.

His Excellency also suggests that the party who informed me of the landing of 500 Mozambique slaves at Passandava Bay be sent with a Hova officer to confront the Governor of the place where such landing was effected; requests to be furnished with proof of the accuracy of the statements contained in Commander Brown's report to Commodore Heath respecting alleged slave-dealings on the coast north of Tamatave; urges the necessity for increased vigilance on the part of Her Britannic Majesty's cruizers; and, finally, recommends the appointment of British Vice-Consuls to different ports on the coast of Madagascar.

In reply, I have the honour to submit that the Slave Trade Reports of Her Britannic Majesty's Consular and naval officers are in every respect accurate, and consequently deserving of attention at the hands of the Hova Government; whilst those emanating from parties, who are themselves engaged in the Slave Trade, and whose interest consequently lies in concealing the truth from the Prime Minister, are unworthy of credit. I beg further to represent that my residence on the coast furnishes me with sources of information which the Members of the Hova Government, who constantly reside at Antananarivo do not possess; and this probably accounts for the Prime Minister being in ignorance of the existence of abuses notorious to every one who has resided at, or visited the sea-port towns of Madagascar.

With reference to his Excellency's request that the party who saw the 500 Mozambique slaves landed at Passandava Bay should accompany a Hova officer to that place, in order to point out the Governor in whose district they were landed, I regret being unable to accede to this request, as I possess no means of forcing my informant to undertake so long, tedious, and dangerous a journey, and one, which if accomplished, could not, in my opinion, be attended with useful results, inasmuch as his Excellency states that there are no military stations at Passandava Bay. Nor do I feel it my duty under existing circumstances, to recommend to Her Britannic Majesty's Secretary of State the appointment of British Vice-Consuls to those ports in Madagascar where the Slave Trade has been carried on, as it appears to me that the reports of such subordinate officers could not carry greater weight than those of their immediate superiors.

In conclusion, I beg to assure the Hova Government that nothing is further from my wish or intention than to trouble them with unfounded or vexatious complaints; but as I am satisfied of the accuracy of the reports which I have received, and that the parties implicated are subjects of the Queen of Madagascar, I feel it my duty again to urge the subject on the serious consideration of the Hova Government, expressing a hope that the utmost diligence may be used to discover the parties who introduced, sold, or purchased 200 Mozambiques at Diego-Suarez in May last year, and also those who landed, sold, or purchased 500 Mozambiques at Passandava Bay in the following months of August and September. The seizure and manumission of these slaves could not fail to have a most salutary effect in checking future ventures; whilst the loss to, and punishment of, the parties who introduced, sold, or purchased them consequent thereon, would in all probability deter others from engaging in such an abominable Traffic.

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

No. 44.

Consul Pakenham to Lord Stanley.—(Received December 21.)

My Lord,

Tamatave, September 24, 1868.

I HAD the honour of reporting to your Lordship on the 10th instant, certain proceedings of the Hova Government at Antananarivo in regard to Luckman, an Anglo-Indian subject of Her Majesty, and I beg now to submit the following additional particulars:—

Luckman appeared before me on the 22nd instant. At first he begged me not to question him as to what had lately passed between himself and the Hova Government, alleging that, if he spoke the truth, he would be sure to incur the enmity of the "great men of the Kingdom."

I told Luckman that he need not fear, as England was powerful and able to protect her subjects in the remotest parts of Madagascar: at the same time I fully explained to him that anything he stated would be taken down in writing, and might be used as

evidence, and that I did not, therefore, require him to make any statement incriminating himself.

He said that he would speak, provided I granted him a pass to show that he was under British protection, which I did in the terms of Inclosure No. 1.

I beg to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, a copy of Luckman's deposition.

This document speaks for itself and requires little comment at my hands. It proves more clearly than anything I can advance that no reliance whatever is to be placed on the anti-slavery protestations of the present Hova Government. It also discloses the means resorted to by them to justify infractions of the Treaty between Great Britain and Madagascar.

After illegally seizing Luckman and compelling him to abandon his property and trade, and undertake a long, tedious, and dangerous journey, without ever notifying to Her Majesty's Representative in Madagascar the nature of the offence of which he was accused, the Hovas seek to justify such a course by producing a letter, which Luckman himself was made to write by Rainimaharavo, Chief Secretary of State, with a view to deceive British authority as to his nationality. Thus, not satisfied himself with deceiving Her Majesty's Consul, the Chief Secretary induces a British subject, under Consular jurisdiction, to follow his example. But as the cause of truth in the end always prevails, so the whole proceedings of the Hova Government in connection with this case have been brought to light by Luckman's own deposition; and the reason for their reluctance to allow him to appear before me is at once accounted for.

Prior to Luckman's arrest, considerable numbers of Mozambique slaves had been openly introduced at Diego-Suarez and thence conveyed to Vohemaro. Some of the leading men engaged in this abominable Traffic, Allybarack, Tophikia, and Masikio, had been discovered in the very act of slave-dealing and conducted to the capital; but, instead of receiving the punishment they deserved, they had been set at liberty and the whole matter studiously concealed from Her Majesty's Consul; and this in presence of the most formal assurances from the Hova authorities that no Slave Trade was carried on, either at Vohemaro or Diego-Suarez. Luckman knew all that had taken place, and might have communicated what he knew to Her Majesty's Consul, hence the necessity for preventing any communication between the Consul and Luckman.

It is evident, my Lord, if the Hova Government had been really desirous that the whole truth, in connection with the Slave Trade which is carried on in Madagascar, should be known, that Allybarack, Tophikia, and Masikio, with the whole of the other witnesses, would have been brought before me and interrogated in my presence. No more favourable opportunity could have been offered to the Hova Government for vindicating their conduct and disproving any connivance on their part in regard to slave-dealings carried on in Madagascar in direct violation of the Treaty between that country and Great Britain. But the course which they have adopted and followed necessarily leads to directly an opposite conclusion.

I beg to inclose for your Lordship's information a copy of my letter to the Chief Secretary of State on the subject of Luckman's appearance and deposition, and trusting that my proceedings in this matter will meet with your Lordship's approval.

I have, &c.

(Signed) T. C. PAKENHAM.

Inclosure 1 in No. 44.

Pass from Consul Pakenham to Luckman.

THE bearer of this, Luckman, a native of Kutch, is under British protection. So long, therefore, as the said Luckman engages in lawful trade, and does not deal in slaves, the Malagasy authorities are requested to protect and assist him in case of necessity.

Given under our hand and seal of office, at Her Britannic Majesty's Consulate, Madagascar, Tamatave, the 24th day of September, 1868.

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

Inclosure 2 in No. 44.

Deposition of Luckman, a British Subject.

Appearance and deposition of Luckman, on solemn affirmation, before me, T. C. Pakenham, Esquire, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul for Madagascar, this 22nd day of September, 1868, who saith :—

I AM a native of Kutch, but for the last fourteen years I have resided in Madagascar, and since 1860 at Vohemaro. I know the letter now shown to me: it is in my own handwriting. I wrote it at the instance of Rainimaharavo, whom I know perfectly well, and whom I saw daily whilst at Antananarivo. He himself dictated it, and, if he had not done so, I should never have written it.

About fourteen months ago, 15 Mozambique slaves, 6 of whom were in the possession of an Arab named Ally Barack, and 9 belonging to a Hova officer named Tsimvadimandri, ten honours, the whole having been purchased at Diego Suarez, were seized by the Governor of Vohemaro; and at the same time two Mozambique children given to me by my brother Adamjee, who resides at Nossi-bé, were taken from me.

About nine months ago, Tsimvadimandri, Ally Barack, myself, and two Antalotes, from Diego Suarez, named Tophikia and Masikio, were conducted by Hova officers to Tamatave, and then to Antananarivo. After being detained at the latter place nearly a month, Ally Barack and the two Antalotes were dismissed, and I was told that I might also go; but I complained of having been compelled to abandon my property and business at Vohemaro; and I requested a letter from the Hova Government, setting forth their reasons for thus treating a British subject. I was told to return to Tamatave, and that the letter would be sent. I did so; but instead of receiving any letter, I was summoned up a second time to Antananarivo, and detained there until after the Coronation of the Queen of Madagascar, when I was sent down to Tamatave.

Before the seizure of the 17 Mozambiques, Mozambique slaves were daily brought from Diego Suarez, and sold at Vohemaro.

Signed in the Guzerattee character by

LUCKMAN.

At Tamatave, Madagascar, before me, the date first-before written.

(Signed) T. C. PAKENHAM.

Inclosure 3 in No. 44.

Consul Pakenham to the Chief Secretary of State, Madagascar.

Sir,

Tamatave, September 24, 1868.

HIS Excellency the Prime Minister, writing to me on the 24th of July, informed me that the British subject named Luckman, had been sent down to Tamatave, to appear before me. I have now the honour to state, that Luckman only arrived here a few days ago, and that he appeared before me on the 22nd instant.

I have carefully taken down Luckman's deposition, which discloses many important features in connection with his case; but as the Hova Government have not produced any evidence against him, I have been unable to detain him. In order, however, to protect him from future molestation, I have given a certificate that he is under British protection, and entitled to that of the Malagasy authorities so long as he is engaged in legitimate trade.

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

No. 45.

Consul Pakenham to Lord Stanley.—(Received December 21.)

My Lord,

Tamatave, October 26, 1868.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 21st August, in reply to my despatches of the 15th and 16th of June last, in which I had transmitted copies of the letters addressed by me to the Prime Minister of Madagascar, on the subject of alleged slave-dealings carried on in that island, and instructing me

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to inform the Prime Minister that I had communicated to Her Majesty's Government copies of the letters addressed by me to his Excellency on the 15th and 16th of June, and that Her Majesty's Government entirely approve the tenor of those communications.

In obedience to your Lordship's instructions, I addressed the Prime Minister on the 22nd instant, and I beg now to inclose, for your Lordship's information, a copy of my note to his Excellency on the subject.

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

Inclosure in No. 45.

Consul Pakenham to the Prime Minister of Madagascar.

Sir,

Tamatave, October 22, 1868.

HAVING submitted to Lord Stanley copies of my letters addressed to your Excellency on the 15th and 16th of June last, on the subject of the Slave Trade carried on at the military stations of Angoncy, Vohemaro, and Diego Suarez, on the north-east, and at Passandava Bay on the north-west coast of Madagascar, in violation of the Treaty engagements of Madagascar with Great Britain, I have received his Lordship's instructions to inform your Excellency that copies of those letters have been communicated to Her Britannic Majesty's Government, and that Her Britannic Majesty's Government entirely approve the tenor of those communications.

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

No. 46.

The Earl of Clarendon to Consul Pakenham.

Sir,

Foreign Office, December 28, 1868.

I HAVE received your two despatches of the 24th of September last, addressed to Lord Stanley, inclosing copies of a further correspondence which has passed between you and the Hova Government, respecting the alleged slave-dealings on the north-east coast of Madagascar, and in Passandava Bay, and in the matter of the protected Indian subject named Luckman; and I have to acquaint you that I approve your conduct in these matters as reported in your above-mentioned despatches.

You will inform the Hova Prime Minister that the accounts received by Her Majesty's Government from the Commanders of British cruizers engaged in the suppression of the Slave Trade on the East Coast of Africa confirm your reports, and leave no room for doubting that slaves, occasionally in considerable numbers, are introduced into Madagascar, and you will add that this could not be done without the connivance of the authorities where the disembarkations are effected.

You will further state that Arab dhows have been captured by British cruizers engaged in conveying slaves to Madagascar, and that while the Commanders of Her Majesty's ships will do their best to prevent the introduction of slaves into Madagascar, it is nevertheless the duty of the Hova authorities to prevent the landing of slaves in their territories, and that Her Majesty's Government must regard the Hova Government as responsible for any infraction of their Treaty engagements, by which they are bound to discountenance the Slave Trade, and to punish Hova subjects engaging in the Traffic.

I am, &c.
(Signed) CLARENDON

PORTUGAL.

No. 47.

Mr. Lytton to Lord Stanley.—(Received January 13.)

My Lord,

Lisbon, January 3, 1868.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch dated the 29th of November, 1867, I have the honour to inclose herewith, translation of a note which I have received from M. Cazal Ribeiro in reply to the extract from Her Majesty's Acting Commissioner at Loanda, which, by your Lordship's above-mentioned despatch, I was instructed to communicate to the Portuguese Government. M. Cazal Ribeiro expresses himself in this note with some irritation.

I have, &c.

(Signed) RT. LYTTON.

Inclosure in No. 47.

Senhor Ribeiro to Mr. Lytton.

(Translation.)

Foreign Office, Lisbon, December 28, 1868.

I HAVE received the note which you were pleased to address to me on the 14th instant, communicating to me, in accordance with the instructions of your Government, an extract from the Annual Report of Mr. Hewett, British Commissioner *ad interim* at Loanda. This officer asserts that the conveyance of negroes under the name of libertos to the Islands of San Thomé and Prince, not only from the coast opposite those islands, but also from the ports of Angola, still continues, though it be on a smaller scale; and he concludes by saying that he cannot imagine how, if His Most Faithful Majesty's Government are really in earnest in suppressing the Traffic, there can be any great difficulty in discovering, if they have not already been discovered, the persons guilty, and punishing them according to law.

In your sagacity you will hardly have failed to note the vague character of Mr. Hewett's statement, the more to be wondered at from the fact that he considers himself authorized, without pointing out a single fact, or furnishing any clue, to express a doubt as to the sincerity of the earnestness of His Most Faithful Majesty's Government in suppressing all unlawful Traffic. On the 17th of April last Sir A. Paget wrote to me that the Governor-General of Angola had stopped the conveyance of libertos to San Thomé, and expressed the satisfaction of his Government at that fact. On the 20th of May of this year I made known to Sir A. Paget the instructions which had been issued to the Governor-General of Angola upon that subject.

The information received by the Government up to the present time, confirms the opinion which I expressed in the note of the 20th of May, that those instructions would be rigorously carried out. For Mr. Hewett's statement to counterbalance the official reports to the contrary, for it to diminish the value of Sir A. Paget's declaration, something more is certainly required than a mere generic affirmation, unaccompanied not only by any proofs, but even by the slightest mention of any fact, concerning which the proper authorities might be able to institute an inquiry.

Mr. Hewett speaks of the conveyance of negroes to San Thomé, but to what kind of conveyance does he allude? Is it a question of any clandestine or of any authorized Acts? If it be of the former, where, how, and by whom is it suspected that they were committed? What clue is there with a view to the discovery and punishment of the crime? And if the Commissioner *ad interim* alludes to negroes who have left Angola for San Thomé,

provided with passports, what are the circumstances of the cases to which he alludes? It is absolutely necessary to mention the same in order to ascertain the legality or illegality of the conduct of the authorities, and to enforce their responsibility, should they have committed any contravention of the express orders of the Government.

The Treaty of the 3rd of July, 1842, lays down in the Vth Article the strict conditions under which the conveyance of slaves is allowed from one Portuguese possession to another. According to the letter of that Article, any Portuguese subject on a voyage can be accompanied by two slaves *bond fide* in his service; and when a colonist together with his family definitively changes his place of residence in a Portuguese possession on the coast of Africa, he can carry with him as many as ten slaves who are *bond fide* his domestic servants. Within these limits, and provided the other conditions mentioned in the aforesaid Article V shall have been proved, the conveyance of slaves is lawful. Should the number, however, be greater in any of these hypotheses, or should any of the other conditions be wanting, then the conveyance of slaves acquires a criminal character, and remains liable to the legal penalties.

The Treaty does not speak of libertos, but only of slaves. Nevertheless, a dispute has arisen between the Governments of His Most Faithful Majesty and that of Her Britannic Majesty as to the interpretation of the Treaty to libertos who were declared to be such by the Decree of the 14th December, 1854. Although the latter were not included in the express letter of the stipulations, the Portuguese Government, however, being desirous to carry its scrupulous good faith as far as possible, and to prove, even at the cost of valuable interests, its earnest wish to remove from the Portuguese Colonies any pretext for, or even the slightest appearance of the Traffic, did not hesitate, without, however, giving up the point of law as settled, to issue express orders to the Governor-General of Angola, in order that the conveyance of libertos to the Islands of San Thomé and Prince, or to any other place, should not be tolerated, except under the very precise conditions in which the conveyance of slaves is allowed.

With respect to the conveyance of free negroes, it is not prohibited either by the laws or by the Treaty. Whenever the proper authority shall have duly ascertained the free condition of any one, it would be absurd to confound the emigration of free negroes with the Slave Trade. The laws and principles which condemn the Traffic, with the object of protecting the African race, could not condemn the latter to be deprived of the natural liberty of looking out for a place of residence, and for labour wherever it might suit their convenience. And in no other manner are the laws understood and carried out by the British cruizers, when, instead of conveying the liberated slaves to their native country, they carry them as free men to the British Colonies, as, it appears, was the case last year with respect to a great number of negroes found in a dhow which was captured on the eastern coast of Madagascar, and who were landed at Port Victoria Mahé, and at other places, for the purpose of being employed as labourers by the inhabitants of Mauritius.

The entrance of negroes into the islands of San Thomé and Prince is subject to the same rules as their departure from Angola, or from any other point. With respect to the mainland opposite those islands, the Government is in no way responsible for what is done there, because that part of the coast is not under the dominion and in the possession of Portugal.

The statements of the Commissioner *ad interim* might be taken into consideration, if, on his specifying the facts, it should be ascertained that they constituted a contravention of the provisions of the Treaty, or even of the rules laid down by His Majesty's Government with respect to libertos. But in the terms in which they are drawn up, and being contradictory to the information furnished by the Portuguese authorities, and even with the declarations made in the note of the 17th of April by Her Britannic Majesty's Representative at this Court, such statements are altogether void of any importance whatsoever.

In the concluding part of the extract an appreciation is expressed which it would be my duty energetically to repel, if I did not possess beforehand the certainty that the sincerity of the wishes of the Portuguese Government in putting in practice everything that can tend to repress the Traffic, is duly appreciated by Her Britannic Majesty's Government.

Without any need of appealing to other testimonies, it suffices that I should quote the notes which you did me the honour to address to me on the 15th of June and 14th of August, 1866, in which you furnish a loyal and valuable testimony to the endeavours of Governors Cardozo and Andrade, and of other Portuguese functionaries. This, however, is not the first time that British functionaries persist in maintaining vague propositions, and void of all proofs or clue as far as regards the Traffic in the Portuguese

Possessions. This kind of tradition, which resists every kind of evidence, has sometimes caused a justification of such propositions to be sought by means hardly compatible with the spirit of impartiality which ought always to animate those who are discharging functions, whose object it is to protect the interests of humanity, and not to oppress lawful trade with insupportable vexations. A fact of this nature was that which occurred on the trial for the demand of compensation to the owners of the barque "*Dahomey*," and also the false denunciation received from the sailor Baxter.

It is not my intention to revert at present to an examination of these facts which were fully made known to Her Britannic Majesty's Government, or to re-open a discussion which I consider at an end in view of the note which, on the 17th of September last, I received from Mr. Harriss, then Her Britannic Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires at this Court; but it is my duty to observe that the note in question is limited to general statements respecting the character of the existing relations between the British Commissioner at Loanda and the Colonial authorities, and does not contain any explanation of the facts in question, among them there being that most serious one relative to the trial of the "*Dahomey*."

It would be sufficient to oppose a simple denial to the groundless assertions of Mr. Hewett, without entering into any further details, if I did not think it necessary once more to call the attention of Her Britannic Majesty's Government to the inconvenience caused by the exaggerated zeal or inveterate prejudices of some of their Agents to the very cause which both Governments have at heart to promote.

It is not by fostering suspicion and mistrust among themselves that the authorities of both countries can effectually combine for the destruction of the last vestiges of the Traffic; it is by rivalling each other in zeal, and inspiring mutual confidence, that their functions will be advantageously discharged. The Portuguese Government, on its part, has maintained, and is disposed to maintain, even beyond the strict letter of the Treaties, the humanitarian engagements into which it has entered; and it considers itself entitled to expect that Her Britannic Majesty's Government, having on several occasions acknowledged the spirit of loyalty which exists on our part, will become convinced of the necessity of instilling into their Agents that confidence which they have themselves expressed, and which is the best guarantee of our common efforts being crowned with success.

I avail, &c.

(Signed) CAZAL RIBEIRO.

No. 48.

Lord Stanley to Mr. Lytton.

Sir,

Foreign Office, January 23, 1868.

I TRANSMIT herewith, for your information, copies of a despatch and its inclosures from Mr. Hewett, the Acting British Commissioner at Loanda,* reporting the circumstances under which the Portuguese vessel "*Pepito*," formerly the "*Paquete do Havre*," was destroyed whilst engaged in shipping a cargo of slaves between Mangue Grande and Mangue Pequena in the month of October last, and inclosing also copies of a correspondence which has passed between Mr. Hewett and the Captain-General of Angola relative to this affair.

I have instructed Mr. Hewett to express to the Captain-General the acknowledgments of Her Majesty's Government for the energy which his Excellency has acted in his endeavours to bring to justice the master and crew of the "*Pepito*," and in bringing this affair to the notice of the Portuguese Government, which it will be right that you should do, I have to desire that you will express to the Portuguese Minister the earnest hope of Her Majesty's Government that every effort will be made on the part of the Government of His Most Faithful Majesty to discover and to punish the owners of the "*Pepito*," or other parties in Portugal engaged in this slave-trading transaction.

You will see it is stated that a Senhor Leivas was the originator of the enterprise, the same individual who has the credit of being the promoter of all the slave-trading transactions that have taken place within the last few years, and with regard to whom Sir A. Paget was instructed, in a despatch dated the 5th of February last, to make inquiries, which did not result, however, in his procuring any information whatever respecting this person.

I am, &c.

(Signed) STANLEY.

No. 49.

Mr. Lytton to Lord Stanley.—(Received January 28.)

My Lord,

Lisbon, January 3, 1868.

I HAVE the honour to inclose, herewith, translation (by Mr. Duff) of a note which I have received from Senhor Cazal Ribeiro, expressing the satisfaction of the Portuguese Government at the contents of an extract from a despatch from the British Commissioner at the Cape of Good Hope, dated October 1, 1866, which I was instructed by your Lordship's despatch of the 5th of December last, to communicate to the Portuguese Government.

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

Inclosure in No. 49.

Senhor Ribeiro to Mr. Lytton.

(Translation.)

Foreign Department, Lisbon, December 24, 1867.

I HAD the honour to receive the note which you addressed to me on the 4th instant, transmitting to me copy of a part of a despatch from the British Commissioner in the Mixed Commission Court established at the Cape of Good Hope, dated the 1st of October of last year, in which he relates a conversation which he had held with the new Governor-General of the Portuguese Settlements on the East Coast of Africa. In the same note you express the pleasure felt by Her Britannic Majesty's Government on learning the praiseworthy intentions of that officer with respect to the suppression of the Slave Trade, and to the efforts which he proposes to make in favour of lawful trade and for the encouragement of agriculture in that part of Africa.

Having taken cognizance of the contents of your above-mentioned note, I thank you for the communication which you were pleased to make to me; and His Majesty's Government cannot but feel grateful for the recognition on the part of Her Britannic Majesty's Government of the endeavours of the Portuguese authorities for the suppression of the Slave Trade. The effectual co-operation of the authorities of the two countries, rivalling each other in the loyal and zealous discharge of their duties, has produced the advantageous results of which mention is made in the last annual Report from the Mixed Portuguese and British Commission Court at the Cape of Good Hope. This Report closed on the 31st of December, 1866, and published in the "Diario de Lisboa," No. 80, of the 9th of April last, mentions the fact, which I had already the occasion to point out in my note addressed to Sir A. B. Paget on the 20th of March of this year, that no case of Slave Trade had been brought before the Mixed Commission Court in the course of the year 1866.

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

No. 50.

Lord Stanley to Mr. Lytton.

Sir,

Foreign Office, February 5, 1868.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 23rd ultimo, I inclose for your information, a copy of a further despatch from the Acting British Commissioner at Loanda* respecting the case of the Portuguese vessel "*Pepito*," formerly the "*Paquete do Havre*," which lately attempted to ship a cargo of slaves on the African coast, between Mangué Grande and Mangué Pequena.

I am, &c.
(Signed) STANLEY.

No. 51.

Mr. Lytton to Lord Stanley.—(Received March 5.)

My Lord,

Lisbon, February 23, 1868.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatches of the 23rd ultimo and 5th instant, relative to the circumstances of the burning of the Portuguese slave-trading ship "*Pepito*," and the escape of her captain.

I have lost no time in communicating with the Portuguese Government on this subject, with a view to the discovery and punishment of the persons connected with the undertaking on which that vessel was engaged.

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

No. 52.

Mr. Lytton to Lord Stanley.—(Received March 9.)

My Lord,

Lisbon, March 3, 1868.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatches of the 23rd of January and 5th ultimo, I have the honour to inclose herewith translation (by Mr. Duff) of a note from Count d'Avila, acknowledging the receipt of one which conformably with your Lordship's above-mentioned instructions, I addressed to his Excellency relative to the circumstances of the burning of the Portuguese vessel "*Pepito*," engaged in the Slave Trade.

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

Inclosure in No. 52.

Count d'Avila to Mr. Lytton.

(Translation.)

Foreign Department, Lisbon, February 26, 1868.

I HAVE received the note which you addressed to me on the 19th instant, communicating to me a despatch in which the British Commissioner in the Mixed Commission Court at Loanda reports to his Government the circumstances which took place concerning the Portuguese ship "*Pepito*," formerly "*Paquete do Havre*," destroyed in October last, between Mangue Grande and Mangue Pequeno, at the time when she was preparing to receive a cargo of slaves.

Having taken notice of what you state, I have the honour to inform you that I write this day to the Minister of Marine, calling his Excellency's attention to the contents of your above-mentioned note and of the document inclosed therein, especially as far as regards the measures adopted by the Governor-General of Angola on the conjuncture in question. I must, however, state to you that His Majesty's Government was highly gratified to learn that the prompt measures adopted by the said Governor-General, for the purpose of discovering the authors of that slave-trading attempt, had merited the approbation of the British Government.

I avail, &c.
(Signed) COUNT D'AVILA.

No. 53.

Sir C. Murray to Lord Stanley.—(Received July 3.)

My Lord,

Lisbon, June 23, 1868.

ON the 20th instant, the Marquis Sá de Bandeira introduced a Bill into the Chamber of Peers for the immediate abolition of slavery in all the Portuguese Possessions. This Bill is the same as that which was presented by the Marquis on the 21st of January of last year. His Excellency on the occasion of laying his Bill before the Chamber, remarked that it is impossible that Portugal should still persist in keeping up slavery when all nations possessing Colonies had either abolished it, or were on the point of doing so, without

excepting Brazil, where several projects of law for that purpose had been laid before the Chambers.

Although his Excellency stated that the Minister of Marine had promised to give the Bill his best support as soon as the Committee shall have reported upon it, and although there does not appear to be any opposition to this Bill, yet the backward state of the many measures presented by the Government to the Chamber of Deputies, and the exceedingly dilatory manner in which public business is conducted in the Cortes, do not allow me to hope that this important and useful measure will become law in this session.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

No. 54.

Lord Stanley to Sir C. Murray.

Sir,

Foreign Office, September 12, 1868.

WITH reference to Mr. Lytton's despatch of the 3rd March last, and to former correspondence relating to complaints preferred against Mr. Vredenburg by the authorities of Loanda, I inclose for your information copy of a despatch which I have received from Her Majesty's Acting Commissioner at Loanda,* inclosing a letter from the Governor-General of the province, commenting in the highest terms upon the good understanding which has always existed between himself and the British officials with whom he has had to act, and upon the friendly consideration which they have manifested towards him; and I have to instruct you to communicate this letter from the Governor-General to the Portuguese Government, and to express to them the satisfaction of Her Majesty's Government at the harmony existing between the British and Portuguese officers at Loanda, and the high value which they set upon its continuance.

I am, &c.
(Signed) STANLEY.

No. 55.

Sir C. Murray to Lord Stanley.—(Received September 15.)

My Lord,

Lisbon, September 9, 1868.

I HAVE the honour to inclose translation of a note addressed to me by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, stating, for the information of Her Majesty's Government, that the gun-boat "Guadiana," 3 guns and 60 horse-power, left Lisbon on the 3rd instant for the West Coast of Africa, to be employed in the suppression of the Slave Trade, in accordance with the Treaty of July 3, 1842, between Great Britain and Portugal.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CH. A. MURRAY.

Inclosure in No. 55.

Senhor da Silva to Sir C. Murray.

(Translation.)

Most Illustrious and Excellent Sir, *Foreign Department, Lisbon, September 8, 1868.*

IN accordance with what is laid down in the second paragraph of the IIIrd Article of the Treaty between Portugal and Great Britain of the 3rd of July, 1842, for the complete abolition of the Slave Trade, I have the honour to state to your Excellency, for the information of your Government, that, according to a communication which I have received from the Minister of Marine, under date of the 3rd instant, the gun-boat "Guadiana," 60 horse-power, 270 tons, and armed with a 40-pounder pivot gun of Blakely and two other small guns under the command of the 2nd Lieutenant of the Portuguese Royal Navy, Pedro Guilherme dos Santos Diniz, sailed from the Port of Lisbon on that day for the purpose of reinforcing the naval stations on the West Coast of Africa.

I avail, &c.
(Signed) CARLOS BENTO DA SILVA.

No. 56.

Mr. Doria to Lord Stanley.—(Received October 5.)

My Lord,

Lisbon, September 23, 1868.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 12th instant addressed to Sir Charles A. Murray, and to inform your Lordship that in obedience to the instructions contained therein, I have addressed a note to the Portuguese Government inclosing copy of the letter addressed by the Governor-General of the Province of Angola to Her Majesty's Acting Commissioner, bearing witness to the perfect harmony which has existed uninterruptedly between him and the British officials there.

In my note of which I have the honour to inclose a copy, I did not fail to express the satisfaction of Her Majesty's Government at the good understanding existing between the authorities of both countries in that Province.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WM. DORIA.

Inclosure in No. 56.

Mr. Doria to Senhor da Silva.

M. le Minister,

Lisbon, September 23, 1868.

I HAVE received from Her Majesty's Minister for Foreign Affairs, Lord Stanley, with an instruction to communicate it to your Excellency, the inclosed copy of a letter from the Governor-General of Angola, addressed to Her Majesty's Acting Commissioner in that Province; and I am further instructed by Lord Stanley to express to the Portuguese Government the satisfaction experienced by that of Her Majesty at the harmony existing between the British and Portuguese officers at Loanda, and the high value which they set upon its continuance.

I avail, &c.
(Signed) WM. DORIA.

No. 57.

Mr. Doria to Lord Stanley.—(Received October 29.)

My Lord,

Lisbon, October 21, 1868.

I HAVE the honour to inclose to your Lordship a translation of the answer I received from Senhor Carlos Bento da Silva, relative to the good understanding existing between the English and Portuguese authorities at Loanda.

His Excellency states, that it his duty to notify to me the gratification experienced by his Government on hearing that the relations between the British Agent and the Chief Authority of the Province of Angola were marked by such harmony and good intelligence.

I have, &c.
(Signed) WM. DORIA.

Inclosure in No. 57.

Senhor da Silva to M. Doria.

(Translation.)

Foreign Department, Lisbon, October 17, 1868.

I HAVE before me the note which you addressed to me on the 23rd of last September, inclosing the translation of a despatch which the Governor-General of Angola addressed to the *ad interim* Commissioners of Her Britannic Majesty in that province, in reply to the communication which that employé had made to him, giving him information as to the instructions which he had received from his Government relative to the means employed by the above-mentioned Governor for the prevention of the Slave Trade, and especially as far as regards the steps taken in the case of the ship "Pepito," wrecked to the north of Ambriz.

Having taken notice of the contents of that note, I beg to inform you, that I am about to acquaint the Minister of Marine therewith, as well as with the document inclosed therein; and it is my duty to state to you that His Majesty's Government was highly pleased to see the good intelligence and harmony which subsists between the Chief Authority of the Province of Angola and the British Agent.

I avail, &c.
(Signed) CARLOS BENTO DA SILVA.

SPAIN.

No. 58.

Lord Stanley to Sir J. Crampton.

Sir,

Foreign Office, January 18, 1868.

I INCLOSE herewith a memorial to Her Catholic Majesty, praying for the abolition of slavery in all Spanish possessions, which was delivered to me on the 10th instant, by a deputation of the Society of Friends; and I have to instruct you take an opportunity of placing this document unoffically in the hands of the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs.

I am, &c.
(Signed) STANLEY.

No. 59.

Lord Stanley to Sir J. Crampton.

Sir,

Foreign Office, January 28, 1868.

I INCLOSE herewith for your information copy of a despatch which I have received from the Acting Commissary Judge in the Havana,* inclosing a translation of the circular which Captain-General Lersundi has issued, relative to the Slave Trade, upon his reassuming the Government of the Island of Cuba.

I am, &c.
(Signed) STANLEY.

No. 60.

Lord Stanley to Sir J. Crampton.

Sir,

Foreign Office, March 6, 1868.

I INCLOSE herewith an extract of a despatch from Commander Parry of Her Majesty's gun-vessel "Speedwell,"† which has been communicated to this Office by the Admiralty, reporting that a brig with 96 slaves on board was run ashore to escape capture, and set fire to in the neighbourhood of the River Congo.

I have to instruct you to communicate this information to the Spanish Government, and at the same time to call their attention to the evidence it affords that the slave dealers have not yet given up the idea of introducing slaves into Cuba.

I am, &c.
(Signed) STANLEY.

No. 61.

Sir J. Crampton to Lord Stanley.—(Received March 7.)

My Lord,

Madrid, March 3, 1868.

IN obedience to the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch of the 18th of January last, I have the honour to state that I have this day forwarded unofficially to the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Memorial to Her Catholic Majesty from the Society of Friends, inclosed therein, praying for the abolition of slavery in all Spanish Possessions.

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

* Class A, No. 6.

† Ibid., No. 39.

No. 62.

Sir J. Crampton to Lord Stanley.—(Received March 14.)

My Lord,

Madrid, March 10, 1868.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 6th instant, in which I am instructed to communicate to Her Catholic Majesty's Government, that a brig with 96 slaves on board was run ashore in order to escape capture; and I now beg to inform your Lordship that I have this day addressed a note to the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs on the subject.

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

No. 63.

Sir J. Crampton to Lord Stanley.—(Received March 21.)

My Lord,

Madrid, March 17, 1868.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 3rd instant, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs has placed in the hands of the Minister for the Colonies the Memorial from the Society of Friends, which, in accordance with your Lordship's instruction, I had forwarded unofficially to Señor Arrazola.

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

No. 64.

Lord Stanley to Sir J. Crampton.

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 30, 1868.

I INCLOSE herewith copies of a correspondence which has passed between Mr. John Crawford, Acting Consul-General at the Havana, and the Captain-General,* relative to the destruction of a slave brig on the West Coast of Africa; and I have to inform you that I have approved the answer returned by Mr. Crawford to the Captain-General's note.

I am, &c.
(Signed) STANLEY.

No. 65.

Sir J. Crampton to Lord Stanley.—(Received July 14.)

My Lord,

San Ildefonso, July 8, 1868.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 17th March last, in which I stated that the Memorial of the Society of Friends, which your Lordship instructed me to forward unofficially to the Spanish Government, in your despatch of the 18th of January last, was in the hands of the Minister of the Colonies, I have now the honour to inclose a copy of the reply of the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs to the communication which I made to his Excellency on the subject.

In this the Marquis de Roncali, after observing that the acts of the Spanish Government can leave no doubt as to their determination to repress the Slave Trade, states that the Department of the Colonies continues to make the subject of slavery the object of its attentive study, although for the present, and in view of the peculiar position of the Spanish West Indies, it is not possible to resolve the question in a manner so ample as that proposed by the Society of Friends in England.

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

Inclosure in No. 65.

The Marquis de Roncali to Sir J. Crampton.

(Translation.)

Palace, July 2, 1868.

IN reply to a note which you were pleased to address to my predecessor in office dated the 3rd of March last, I have the honour to inform you, that well-known by everyone, as the noble and humane sentiments of the Queen, my Mistress, are, it is to be hoped that she will take into consideration the petition addressed to her by the Religious Society of Friends of Great Britain. In support of what I have stated, permit me to remind you of the energetic measures lately adopted by Her Majesty's Government for the suppression and punishment of the Slave Trade, which clearly proves what are the desires which animate it with regard to so important a question. Moreover, the Minister of the Colonies in acknowledging the receipt of the above-mentioned petition, informs me that he is studying the matter attentively in order to arrive at a proper solution of it, although at present, and in view of the peculiar position of the Spanish West Indies, it is not possible to attend to the request in as ample a manner as the Members of the Society propose.

I avail, &c.

(Signed) THE MARQUIS RONCALI.

SPAIN. (*Consular*)—*Havana*.

No. 66.

Lord Stanley to Acting Consul-General Crawford.

Sir,

Foreign Office, March 10, 1868.

I INCLOSE herewith an extract of a despatch from Commander Parry, of Her Majesty's gun-vessel "Speedwell,"* which has been communicated to this office by the Admiralty, reporting that a brig, with 96 slaves on board, was run ashore to escape capture and set fire to in the neighbourhood of the River Congo.

I have to instruct you to communicate this information to the Captain-General, and, at the same time, to call his attention to the evidence it affords that the slave-dealers have not yet given up the idea of introducing slaves into Cuba.

I am, &c.

(Signed) STANLEY.

No. 67.

Acting Consul-General Crawford to Lord Stanley.—(Received May 28.)

My Lord,

Havana, April 30, 1868.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 10th ultimo, inclosing an extract of a report received from Commander Parry of Her Majesty's gun-vessel "Speedwell," that a brig with 96 slaves on board was run ashore to escape capture, and set fire to in the neighbourhood of the River Congo on the 10th of December last, which information your Lordship instructs me to communicate to the Captain-General of Cuba, and at the same time to call his attention to the evidence it affords that the slave-dealers have not yet given up the idea of introducing slaves into this island.

I have the honour of laying before your Lordship a copy of the correspondence which has passed between me and the Captain-General on the subject, by which your Lordship

will observe the manner in which General Lersundi has answered my letter, affecting to ignore its official character, and stating that he neither admits any such information nor will he allow his attention to be called thereto.

As such an answer could not be allowed to pass unnoticed I trust that your Lordship will approve of my last letter to his Excellency dated the 20th instant.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN V. CRAWFORD.

Inclosure 1 in No. 67.

Acting Consul-General Crawford to the Captain-General of Cuba.

Most Excellent Sir,

Havana, April 15, 1868.

I AM instructed by Lord Stanley, Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to inform your Excellency that on the 10th of December last, the cutter of Her Majesty's ship "Speedwell," boarded a brig, name and nation unknown, which which was run ashore and set fire to, in order to escape capture, at a place on the west coast of Africa, about two miles north of Blackwater Point.

Ninety-six slaves which were on board at the time, were seized by the native Chiefs, and it appears that there were 700 slaves ready for embarkation at a barracoon close to the beach, about five miles north of Mangue Grande; but that on the "Speedwell's" anchoring off that place they were all marched inland.

I beg leave to call your Excellency's attention to the evidence this information affords that the slave-dealers have not yet given up the idea of introducing slaves into this island.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN V. CRAWFORD.

Inclosure 2 in No. 67.

The Captain-General of Cuba to Acting Consul-General Crawford.

(Translation.)

Havana, April 19, 1868.

I HAVE received your Honour's writing informing me by its tenor that Her Britannic Majesty's Secretary of State, Lord Stanley, has acquainted you that a vessel, name and nation unknown, was boarded by the "Speedwell" near the coast of Africa, north of Blackwater Point, which was set fire to in order to escape capture, 96 slaves who were on board having been seized by the native Chiefs and, on the approach of the "Speedwell," were marched into the interior with 700 more slaves that were ready to be embarked in Mangue Grande, on which account you take the liberty to call my attention to the evidence that the slave-traders have not abandoned the idea of introducing slaves into this island.

In answer, I have to say to your Honour that the Slave Trade being abolished in all the dominions of Her Majesty the Queen my august Sovereign, by no means, nor under any pretext, so long as I govern this island, shall the slave-dealers be able to introduce any slave; for should any imprudent person attempt it, I shall be inexorable in the strict fulfilment of Her Majesty's orders concerning this reprobated Traffic, and consequently I do not admit your Report, nor still less do I permit your Honour to call my attention unto the subject: for it involves an offence, inasmuch as this Government cannot prevent the slave-traders from embarking negroes on the coasts of Africa when there are other countries to which they can go.

God preserve, &c.

(Signed) FRANCO. LERSUNDI.

Inclosure 3 in No. 67.

Acting Consul-General Crawford to the Captain-General of Cuba.

Most Excellent Sir,

Havana, April 20, 1868.

I HAVE received your Excellency's letter of yesterday, from the tone of which it is evident that your Excellency has entirely misunderstood the purport of the communication which, under instruction from Lord Stanley, I had the honour of addressing to your

Excellency on the 15th instant, inasmuch as by bringing under your Excellency's notice any information which may lead to frustrate the attempts of the slave-traders whose temerity has so often set all law at defiance, Her Britannic Majesty's Government only gives a proof of its sincere desire to act in concert with that of Her Catholic Majesty, whose most worthy representative you are in this island, in putting an end for ever to a Traffic which is reprobated by both.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN V. CRAWFORD.

No. 68.

Acting Consul-General Crawford to Lord Stanley.—(Received May 28.)

My Lord,

Havana, May 1, 1868.

I HAVE the honour of transmitting herewith to your Lordship a list of the arrivals of Chinese labourers at this port since the last Return which was made in September 1866, showing that up to the present date, 274 vessels measuring 198,239 tons, have landed 96,581 Chinese alive in Cuba, of which large number only 52 were women.

These importations come from Macao, and are effected in any but British or United States' vessels.

The expenses attending this Traffic have greatly increased, owing to the number of persons who have engaged in it, the crimp or agency money being double what it used to be at Macao.

The cost of each emigrant to the importer is about 225 dollars, but this varies according to the mortality or sickness which occurs on the voyage. The last sales of the eight years' contracts were at 374 dollars, such is the demand here for labourers.

There can be no doubt whatever that this trade will be most vigorously prosecuted, but it can never prove a successful or beneficial emigration for this island, in the way it is, and has been hitherto carried on.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN V. CRAWFORD.

Inclosure in No. 68.

CHINESE Labourers imported at Havana since September 1866.

Arrived.	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Chinese Landed.
1866			
Oct. 26	French barque "St. Croix"	754	432
1867			
Feb. 2	Ditto, "Medoc"	604	324
14	Russian barque "Suomi"	792	510
March 8	Portuguese barque "Gica"	340	281
11	Ditto, "Nina"	1,099	514
11	Spanish barque "Loyola"	567	372
13	Portuguese barque "Joven Tomas"	350	356
15	Spanish barque "Aureliana"	587	296
20	Russian barque "Glenlee"	635	393
26	French barque "Eugène et Adèle"	853	376
April 13	Portuguese barque "San Vicente de Paul"	422	286
14	Russian barque "Avon"	1,086	473
14	Spanish barque "Luisita"	1,049	516
14	Ditto, "Manila"	428	236
19	Spanish ship "Bilbaina"	673	367
20	Belgian ship "Egmont and Horn"	700	361
20	Spanish brig "Dos Hermanos"	305	225
20	French barque "Sagitaire"	329	128
21	Ditto, "Nizam"	460	254
22	French ship "Henri IV"	757	447
22	Spanish barque "Hong Kong"	470	313
May 3	French barque "Delangle"	352	270
7	Hanseatic barque "Confucius"	342	213
25	French barque "Bangkok"	399	229
June 3	Spanish barque "Reina de los Angeles"	504	343
3	Ditto, "Esperanza"	1,067	474
8	Portuguese ship "Josefita y Almira"	1,142	511
12	Spanish barque "Mina"	435	282
13	Austrian barque "Victoria"	352	274
27	Dutch barque "Krimpen Ed Leek"	604	363
July 12	Spanish barque "Alta Gracia"	420	303
18	Ditto, "Justa"	334	273
19	Ditto, "I. A. V."	525	312
19	Ditto, "Encarnacion"	433	298
22	Ditto "Alavesa"	501	324
Aug. 2	French barque "Ephrem"	389	278
11	Austrian barque "Niemen"	644	396
19	French barque "Arioste"	783	409
Feb. 9	Russian barque "Falcon"	412	250
Aug. 27	Dutch barque "Onrust"	907	436
31	Spanish barque "Cervantes"	1,025	370
Sept. 4	Spanish steamer "Cataluna"	371	430
Oct. 6	French barque "Nouvelle Penelope"	490	318
1868			
Jan. 26	Ditto, "Claire"	498	243
Feb. 10	Ditto, "Tamatave"	509	255
19	Ditto, "Antifer"	426	425
Mar. 17	Ditto, "Nelly"	830	433
25	Portuguese barque "Donna Maria Pia"	671	200
Apr. 3	French barque "Orixa"	937	540
25	Spanish barque "Hong Kong"	443	316
25	French barque "Malabar"	815	493
	Total 51 vessels.	30,820	17,721

Grand total to May 1, 1868 :—
274 vessels, 198,239 tons.

Chinese landed—

Males	..	..	..	..	..	96,529
Females	..	..	..	..	..	52

96,581

Havana, April 30, 1868.

(Signed)

JOHN V. CRAWFORD,
Acting Consul-General in Cuba.

No. 69.

Lord Stanley to Acting Consul-General Crawford.

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 30, 1868.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 30th of April last, containing copies of your correspondence with the Captain-General relative to the destruction of a slaver-brig by Her Majesty's ship "Speedwell," on the West Coast of Africa; and I have to inform you, in reply, that I approve the answer which you returned to the Captain-General's note.

I am, &c.
(Signed) STANLEY.

No. 70.

Acting Consul-General Crawford to Lord Stanley.—(Received July 29.)

My Lord,

Havana, June 20, 1868.

I HAVE the honour of acknowledging the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 30th ultimo, conveying your Lordship's approval of the answer which I returned to the Captain-General's note relative to the destruction of a slaver-brig by Her Majesty's ship "Speedwell," on the West Coast of Africa. There has been no further correspondence on the subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN V. CRAWFORD.

No. 71.

Acting Consul-General Crawford to Lord Stanley.—(Received December 28.)

My Lord,

Havana, December 5, 1868.

I HAVE the honour of inclosing, herewith, a list of the importations of Chinese labourers during the period which has elapsed since my last Report of the 1st of May, showing that of 5,489 embarked at Macao, 5,016 were landed at this port.

The unusual mortality which occurred is owing to the heavy loss by sickness on board of the French ship "Carmeline," that vessel having been obliged to put into Mauritius dismasted, and having been eleven months on her voyage here.

The total number of Chinese imported up to this date is 101,597, but I estimate that there are not over 70,000 at present alive in this island.

They are a most intelligent and hard-working race, and if a suitable proportion of women was permitted to be imported, the emigration would be highly beneficial to Cuba, but, as at present conducted, it cannot be considered as either very successful or very moral.

I have, &c.
(Signed) JOHN V. CRAWFORD.

Inclosure in No. 71.

CHINESE Labourers imported at Havana, from May 20, 1868, to this day.

Arrived.	Days at Sea.	Vessel's			Tonnage.	Chinese.			From.
		Rigging.	Nationality.	Names.		Shipped.	Landed.	Dead.	
1868									
May 20	112	Barque	Central America ..	America	1,545	610	607	3	Macao.
31	131	Ditto	French	Esperanza	443	300	279	21	Ditto.
June 9	112	Ship	Russian	Avon	1,163	553	538	15	Ditto.
21	119	Barque	Spanish	Alta Gracia	420	360	326	34	Ditto.
26	114	Ditto	French	Ville de St. Lo	374	281	274	7	Ditto.
July 2	124	Ditto	Ditto	Mysore	443	294	279	15	Ditto.
5	102	Ditto	Spanish	Encarnacion	432	302	286	16	Ditto.
11	123	Ship	French	Eugène et Adèle	853	466	455	11	Ditto.
Aug. 1	121	Barque	Spanish	Alavesa	501	418	406	12	Ditto.
4	112	Ship	Russian	Suomi	950	525	508	17	Ditto.
29	175	Barque	French	Guantánamo	319	213	205	8	Ditto.
Sept. 16	Months 11	Ship	Ditto	Carméline	1,255	650	350	300	Ditto.
	Days 93	Steamer	Spanish	Cataluña	361	517	503	14	Ditto.
				Total	9,059	5,489	5,016	473	

Previously imported Chinese. 96,581
5,016
Grand total 101,597

Havana, December 5, 1868.

(Signed)

JOHN V. CRAWFORD,
Acting Consul-General in Cuba.

SPAIN. (Consular)—Porto Rico.

No. 72.

Acting Consul Cowper to Lord Stanley.—(Received January 28.)

My Lord.

Porto Rico, January 1, 1868.

I HAVE much satisfaction in reporting to your Lordship that no attempt at the African Slave Trade has been made in this island during the whole of the year ended yesterday.

I have, &c.

(Signed) FRANCIS H. COWPER.

No. 73.

Acting Consul Cowper to Lord Stanley.—(Received April 29.)

My Lord.

Porto Rico, April 1, 1868.

I HAVE the honour to report to your Lordship that there has been no attempt at the African Slave Trade during the past quarter.

I have, &c.

(Signed) FRANCIS H. COWPER

No. 74.

Acting Consul Cowper to Lord Stanley.—(Received July 29.)

My Lord,

Porto Rico, July 1, 1868.

I HAVE much satisfaction in reporting to your Lordship that no attempt at the African Slave Trade has been made in this island during the quarter ended June 30, 1868.

I have, &c.

(Signed) FRANCIS H. COWPER.

TUNIS.

No. 75.

Mr. Wood to Lord Stanley.—(Received May 11)

My Lord,

Tunis, April 24, 1868.

I HAVE the honour to report that 5 female slaves having escaped and taken refuge in Her Majesty's Consulate-General, His Highness the Bey furnished them, upon my application, with the necessary manumission papers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RICHARD WOOD.

ZANZIBAR.

No. 76.

Consul Churchill to Lord Stanley.—(Received January 27, 1868.)

My Lord

Zanzibar, November 30, 1867.

TAKING into consideration the important fact of Sultan Majid's having acquiesced, in writing, to the establishment of a Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar, provided always that a delegate of His Highness be present when ships of his subjects are brought to the said Court for adjudication, I have taken upon myself the responsibility of waving Dr. Seward's objections to the establishment of the Court in question at Zanzibar, and have condemned two dhows engaged in the Traffic of slaves, which have recently been seized by Her Majesty's ship "Penguin," the one off the coast of Madagascar, and the other in the River Lindy, within the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar.

Although the latter belonged to Arabs of the Coast of Arabia, the capture having been made within the Sultan's territorial waters, it appeared to me expedient to invite the Sultan's delegate to be present at the adjudication.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HY. A. CHURCHILL.

No. 77.

Lord Stanley to Consul Churchill.

Sir,

Foreign Office, February 6, 1868.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 30th November last, reporting that you had established a Vice-Admiralty Court, at which you had invited a delegate of the Sultan's to attend, and had condemned two dhows for slave-trading; and I have to inform you that I approve of the steps which you took in dealing with these cases.

I am, &c.

(Signed) STANLEY.

No. 78.

Consul Churchill to Lord Stanley.—(Received February 18, 1868.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, November 14, 1867.

I HAVE the honour to report that I have received no information from Bagamoyo respecting Dr. Livingstone, further than that the individual named Benduky, who is said to be the bearer of letters from the Doctor, is detained on the way by a larger quantity of ivory than he and his companions can carry at a time.

On the other hand, His Highness Seyd Majid sent me his Secretary, a few days ago, to inform me that a Chief had latterly reached Rilwa, from the neighbourhood of the Lake Nyassa, with a large retinue; and that, according to his report, people coming from the north-west had seen, some eight months ago, a white man on a river between Nyassa and Moniamwezi, at a place called M'roua.

The only M'roua, or Roua, that I can see on the maps is to the west of Ujiji, and he could scarcely have been seen there and at Marungu at the same time, unless the maps are incorrect and make the distance between the two places greater than it actually is.

We have no news of the expedition sent in search of Dr. Livingstone. Her Majesty's

ship "Racoon," that was here last week, will, according to instructions, proceed to the mouth of the Zambezi, and remain there until the 15th December, for the purpose of embarking the said expedition on its way home.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HY. A. CHURCHILL.

No. 79.

Consul Churchill to Lord Stanley.—(Received March 12, 1868.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, December 30, 1867.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of my despatch dated 22nd December, addressed to Mr. Gonne, Secretary to Government, Bombay, on the subject of British jurisdiction over Indian subjects and the Slave Trade.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HY. A. CHURCHILL

Inclosure 1 in No. 79.

Consul Churchill to the Secretary to Government of Bombay.

Sir,

Zanzibar, December 22, 1867.

IN a despatch addressed by the Right Honourable Lord Stanley to Dr. Seward, of which I beg leave to transmit to you a copy, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council, I am requested to inform Her Majesty's Government "whether any of Her Majesty's Indian subjects in Zanzibar are in the habit of holding slaves," and am told "that it would be satisfactory to know that the steps taken by Colonel Rigby in releasing a large number of slaves held in bondage by British Indian subjects have proved effective to prevent a continuance of the abuse by Her Majesty's Indian subjects of British laws for the suppression of the Slave Trade."

Already, on my arrival at Zanzibar, I had learnt with no little concern the fact that although Colonel Rigby had succeeded in emancipating all the slaves in the possession of the natives of India established in the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar, upwards of 1,200 slaves were still held in bondage by natives of that country, and that they enjoyed this privilege because they were under the protection of His Highness Said Majid. It struck me as being a circumstance worthy of notice that the Sultan should call himself the best friend of the British Government and yet assist natives of India, by the protection he extended to them, in frustrating the efforts of the British Government to put a stop to the Slave Trade, and I did not fail to draw His Highness' attention to this anomaly. I told His Highness that it was a matter of much importance that the existence of this state of things should cease, and that I should soon do myself the honour to speak to him seriously on the subject; but from His Highness' evasive reply, I felt that he was not over anxious to discuss the question with me; and as I was desirous, on my part, to read up the instructions and see how far I should be borne out by Government in promoting the liberation of the said slaves, I was not sorry to put off, for a while, the discussion.

3. I learnt from an attentive perusal of the instructions:—

(1.) That up to Colonel Rigby's departure from Zanzibar no native of India had dared to possess a slave, after the sweeping emancipation prosecuted by that energetic officer.

(2.) That Colonel Rigby had received the approval of Government in all his proceedings with regard to the Slave Trade and the emancipation of the slaves above alluded to.

(3.) That it was after Colonel Rigby's departure that natives of India were allowed to place themselves under the Sultan's protection.

From other sources I ascertained that the natives of India under the Sultan's protection, in whose country domestic slavery had ceased to exist for a considerable time, had within the last five or six years purchased many slaves, and were inducing their countrymen, under British protection, to reap the advantages of slave-labour through their instrumentality, and several cases in which Banyans under British protection were accused in Her Majesty's Consular Court of holding slaves had to be dismissed, from the simple assertion that the slaves did not belong to the accused individual, but to his brother or his uncle, who were under the Sultan's protection, and as this plea proved to be a

sufficient one, for it was invariably well supported by evidence, it soon became obviously fruitless for the poor slaves to come to the Consulate and complain that they were held in bondage by British subjects.

4. But my predecessor's resolution to protect no subject of the protected States of India who had not applied for such protection, was fully borne out by the instructions of the Honourable the Bombay Government, and had there been no later instructions than those of the 25th July, 1863, I should have hesitated to take any steps in the matter. In a letter, however, from the Secretary to the Government of India, of the 3rd February, 1866, addressed to the Secretary to Government of Bombay, it is ruled, "that the natives of any native State bound, as Kutch is, to have no relations with foreign Powers, are morally entitled to be admitted in foreign territory to all the privileges which natives of India enjoy in the same locality, and as the Sultan of Muscat and the subjects of Kutch resident in his dominions seem, from the passages marginally quoted, neither of them to entertain any doubt on this point, his Excellency in Council concurs that there can be no obstacle to the Political Agent at Muscat exercising the same authority in respect to Kutchees as in respect to British subjects. The Political Agent should be authorized to act in accordance with this opinion."

5. It is obvious that the above quoted resolution of his Excellency the Governor-General in Council is meant for Zanzibar as well as for Muscat; and His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar, like the Ruler of Muscat, has never doubted the right of the British Government to exercise jurisdiction over the natives of Kutch or any other protected State of India; but, since the abandonment by my predecessors of the right of protecting such of these natives of India who did not seek our protection, His Highness assumes that we have no further right of jurisdiction over them.

6. While weighing these considerations I received the Right Honourable the Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs' despatch, inclosed herewith, expressing a hope that the steps taken by Colonel Rigby had proved effective to prevent a continuance of the abuse, by Her Majesty's Indian subjects, of British laws for the suppression of the Slave Trade.

7. Now as ninety-nine out of a hundred of the slaves liberated by Colonel Rigby were the property of Kutchees, the Secretary of State evidently referred to the subjects of British Protected States in India residing in the dominions of Sultan Majid, including those who have since sought the protection of His Highness Said Majid; and I hesitated no longer in addressing the Sultan two letters which I beg leave to inclose in translation. The first claiming at his hands, for trial, a native of Kutch, under His Highness' protection, who had committed a misdemeanor; and the second, attacking the whole question of jurisdiction.

8. His Highness may be said to have tacitly admitted my right to exercise Consular jurisdiction over the natives of India under his protection by having sent me, without any comment, the accused person, and by having allowed me, without protest, to try him and sentence him to imprisonment in His Highness' own fort; but he may also be said to have done this out of courtesy, and I believe this to be the case.

9. My second letter resulted in his calling upon me to explain matters.

In the interview that ensued, His Highness argued that, had not my predecessors allowed it, no native of India would this day be holding slaves in his dominions; but that, having been told that Kutchees and subjects of other protected States of India might be looked on as His Highness' Arab subjects, His Highness had allowed them to purchase slaves, and that it was not now fair to punish them for what they had done innocently, believing that they were doing no wrong. This argument I thought a fair one, for though I have never seen the document by which Colonel Pelly and Colonel Playfair authorized the natives of India under the Sultan's protection to possess slaves, they may, by the policy of non-interference adopted by these officers, have led them and the Sultan to infer that Her Majesty's Consul would not take cognizance of anything they did; and I therefore made known to Said Majid my readiness to refer the matter to his Excellency the Governor in Council.

I have the honour to transmit to you, in translation, Said Majid's letter in reply to mine on this subject.

10. I have reason to believe that His Highness would be satisfied if the Kutchees who had become slave-owners through his instrumentality were indemnified on being deprived of their slaves.

Under any circumstances it will be necessary for me, before the receipt of your reply, to ascertain the exact number of slaves held by these people, as I apprehend an increase or a decrease in the number of the said slaves according to the chances they have of being indemnified or not.

Their craftiness is beyond conception; nor would they hesitate to get free men to swear that they were their slaves if they had a chance of getting paid for them.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HY. A. CHURCHILL.

Inclosure 2 in No. 79.

Consul Churchill to the Sultan of Zanzibar.

(After compliments.)

Zanzibar, December 10, 1867.

FOR some time past theft has been rife in Zanzibar, and, notwithstanding the exertions of your officers intrusted with the police of the town, houses and shops are being broken into or opened with false keys, and property is stolen.

Within the last few days it has been discovered that a native of Kutch, Jeyram Waljee by name, was at the head of a gang of thieves, whom he furnished with information and with the necessary implements to penetrate into the premises containing valuable property.

Certain depositions having been made at this Consular Court by British subjects with reference to a quantity of stolen goods found in the possession of Jeyram Waljee, it becomes my imperative duty to cause this individual to be apprehended and to be tried for his misdeeds; and although he has forfeited the protection of Her Majesty's Government by not inscribing his name in the Register of British protected subjects, and has placed himself under your Highness' protection, I do not consider that he has in so doing deprived me of the power I have over all British subjects and British protected subjects in your Highness' dominions.

As the said person is under your Highness' protection, however, I shall feel diffident in causing him to be arrested by my own men, and I have therefore the honour to request that your Highness will issue such orders as will insure his appearance before Her Majesty's Criminal Court as soon as possible.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HY. A. CHURCHILL.

Inclosure 3 in No. 79.

Consul Churchill to the Sultan of Zanzibar.

(After compliments.)

Zanzibar, December 16, 1867.

I HAVE on several occasions had the honour to draw your Highness' attention to the fact that, notwithstanding the Proclamation of the late Seyd Saeed and your Highness' own, issued soon after your father's death, that no slaves be sold to natives of India, and notwithstanding the stringent measures taken by Colonel Rigby to emancipate the slaves held at Zanzibar by natives of India, there are still in the possession of the latter many slaves which it was incumbent on me to liberate.

In my first conversation with your Highness on this important subject, I am afraid that I failed to make clear to your Highness the difference existing between protection and jurisdiction. It will be my task in this communication to explain this difference.

In Colonel Hamerton and Colonel Rigby's time, as your Highness is well aware, all natives of India at Zanzibar were under British protection, and hence it is that no particular mention is made of the subjects of the Rao of Kutch.

It is only of late years that natives of India have been allowed to place themselves under your Highness' protection, and this because they have been deprived of British protection in consequence of their not having inscribed their names in the Register of Her Majesty's Consulate; but these individuals enjoy your Highness' protection in the same way that all foreigners in your Highness' service enjoy it, and in an equal degree with your Highness' subjects who may be in the service of Europeans at Zanzibar who enjoy the protection of the Sovereign of whom their masters may be the subjects.

If, for instance, one of your Highness' subjects in the service of a European at Zanzibar were to commit a crime punishable by your laws, would not your Highness claim the culprit of the protective Consul of that European, and would not that Consul, on being convinced of the culpability of the accused person, cause him to be given up to your Highness? This mode of proceeding would be in strict accordance with the Treaties; and it is but just that your Highness should punish your own subjects, and that

Her Majesty's Government should punish theirs and those of Chiefs under their protection.

The act of buying, selling, or possessing slaves is, according to the criminal laws of India, a crime punishable in a manner less severe than murder but more so than theft, and it is a crime that it behoves me to punish whenever it is committed by a British subject in your Highness' dominions.

The subjects of the Rao of Kutch who have forfeited British protection in Zanzibar are, in my opinion, as much under the jurisdiction of Her Majesty's Consul as all other British subjects who may not have inscribed their names in the Register of the British Consulate; and if I have not hitherto acted up to this principle it is out of deference to your Highness that I have not done so. But now that I have explained to you the difference between protection and jurisdiction, I deem it to be my duty definitely to put a stop to the holding of slaves by natives of India in your Highness' dominions.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HY. A. CHURCHILL.

Inclosure 4 in No. 79.

The Sultan of Zanzibar to Consul Churchill.

(Translation.)

(After compliments.)

Zanzibar, Shaaban 23, 1284 (December 21, 1867).

I HAVE received your honoured letter and have understood its meaning.

Let it not be hid from your honour that in the days of our late father, Seyd Saeed, Colonel Hamerton asked him in the name of the British Government to issue an order requiring all natives of India in his dominions to free their slaves; and our father replied that he would do so, but asked for the natives of India two years time, and this on account of friendship.

This request was complied with, but before the expiration of the two years both my father and Colonel Hamerton died, and Colonel Rigby arrived, and acting up to what had been agreed between my late father and Colonel Hamerton, he liberated all the slaves belonging to the natives of India.

On Colonel Rigby's departure from Zanzibar, Colonel Pelly came and made known to me in writing his wish that all British subjects in our dominions present themselves before him and subscribe themselves in a register; and they accordingly presented themselves before him.

Then came Colonel Playfair and sent us a register containing the names of all British subjects residing in our dominions, and wrote to explain to us that the names of all British protected subjects were in that register, and that with the exception of British subjects born on British soil, none others whose names were not in the register should enjoy British protection.

A few days subsequently our good father, Suleiman bin Hamed, issued a notice which did not meet with Colonel Playfair's approval, and the latter wrote to us a letter stating that all such as had not entered their names in the Consular Register that he had sent us should be considered as Arabs, and that those alone who had caused their names to be written in the book were under British protection.

We agreed to this decision, for Colonel Playfair had brought us a letter from the Honourable the Governor of Bombay requesting us to accept without hesitation all Colonel Playfair's suggestions in matters connected with the British Government and their subjects dwelling in our dominions, adding that the British Government reposing full confidence in that officer's discretion, capacity, and experience, had sent him to Zanzibar.

We thereupon abided by what had been done by Colonel Playfair, and considered the *status* of all such as had not entered their names in the Consular Register as assimilated to that of the Arabs in reference to jurisdiction, and at liberty to buy slaves.

Colonel Playfair knows this very well, and will not deny it.

This continued during Dr. Seward's tenure of office, and until your arrival.

Such, Sir, is the true state of the case, but now we perceive the advent of different policy, namely, that slaves shall not be held by natives of India of any denomination, whether they have registered their names or not, and that although they are not under your protection, they continue, nevertheless, to be under your jurisdiction.

This view of the case is at variance with that entertained by your predecessors at Zanzibar.

Those who have not entered their names in the Consular Register have committed no crime in possessing slaves, for we gave them permission to do so: their *status* having been

assimilated by Colonel Playfair, in his letter to us, to that of the Arabs, having been abandoned to our jurisdiction.

We urgently request your Honour to represent this to the Government, and to await their reply.

I have now, moreover, many natives of India in our service whom we consider as being under our protection, and as Arabs, so long as they remain in our service, many of these, although of Indian parentage, are born in the country, some of them as far back as fifty years ago, and we look upon these and their children as our subjects the Arabs.

We expect a reply from Government on all these matters, and may peace be with you.

(Signed) SEYD MAJID BIN SAEED BIN SULTAN.

No. 80.

Lord Stanley to Consul Churchill.

Sir,

Foreign Office, April 1, 1868.

I TRANSMIT to you herewith an Address to the Sultan of Zanzibar on the subject of the Slave Trade, which the Committee of the Paris Anti-slavery Society are anxious should be presented to His Highness, and I have to instruct you to take an opportunity of presenting this address to the Sultan, and of explaining to His Highness the deep interest which Her Majesty's Government take in the attainment of the objects which the Address has in view.

I inclose for your information a copy of the Address.

I am, &c.

(Signed) STANLEY.

Inclosure in No. 80.

Address from the Committee of the Paris Anti-Slavery Society to the Sultan of Zanzibar.

Altesse,

Paris, le 25 Mars, 1868.

LES Soussignés sont les représentants de plusieurs Sociétés coopérant pour l'extinction de l'esclavage et de la traite dans le monde entier.

Au mois d'Août dernier, les amis de la cause anti-esclavagiste tinrent une Conférence à Paris, où assistèrent les délégués de presque toutes les parties du monde, qui se réunirent pour protester solennellement contre la continuation de l'esclavage et de la traite. Il chargèrent le Comité de la Conférence d'adresser un Mémoire à tous les Souverains dans les Etats desquels sévissent encore ces deux terribles fléaux de l'humanité.

Des documents présentés à la Conférence prouvent que, non seulement l'esclavage existe dans les Etats de votre Altesse, mais encore qu'ils y font un Commerce d'Esclaves très-étendu; il en résulte des souffrances de la plus terrible nature, et en même temps une mortalité si grande; qu'elle a cause le presqu'entier dépeuplement de plusieurs districts Africains, d'où l'on tire des victimes de ce Trafic.

Votre Altesse ayant accepté les Traités que le père de votre Altesse, feu l'Iman de Muscat, avait conclus en 1840 et 1850, avec le Gouvernement Anglais pour la suppression de la Traite, les Soussignés aiment à croire que votre Altesse est convaincue de l'immoralité de ce Trafic, le regardant comme une violation de la justice et des droits de l'humanité; c'est pourquoi ils voudraient vous représenter que le Commerce des Esclaves étant admis comme un mal moral immense, il ne peut exister aucune excuse pour l'esclavage même, cause première de la Traite et par conséquent beaucoup plus blâmable que ce Trafic.

Les Soussignés se permettent de rappeler à votre Altesse que le Coran reprouve l'institution de l'esclavage, en défendant aux Musulmans de réduire leurs coreligionnaires en servitude; or, s'il est mal à un Musulman d'en tenir un autre en servitude il est mal également à un Musulman de réduire en esclavage et de vendre un être humain, quel qu'il soit.

Les Soussignés espèrent que votre Altesse, ayant égard seulement aux grands principes de la justice, de l'humanité, et de la religion, voudra bien prendre des mesures pour l'extinction de l'esclavage et de la Traite dans ses Etats.

L'expérience prouve qu'il est de l'intérêt des Souverains, comme des nations, de commencer par faire ce qui est juste et équitable. Les bénéfices résultant de l'esclavage et de la Traite ne pourront jamais former la base d'une prospérité durable; au contraire ils seront toujours une cause féconde de démoralisation et de corruption. D'un autre côté, nous croyons que votre Altesse, en faisant disparaître ces maux, et en ouvrant ses ports et ses rivières au commerce légal de toutes les nations, augmentera grandement le bonheur et la prospérité de son peuple et fortifiera la stabilité de son Gouvernement.

Nous avons,

Pour le Comité Français,

(Signé)

EDOUARD LABOULAYE, *Président du Comité.*

AUGUSTIN COCHIN, *Sécretaire.*

EUG. GUNG, *Sécretaire.*

Pour la Société Abolitionniste Espagnole,

JULIO DE VIZCARRONDO.

Pour la Comité Anglais,

JOSEPH COOPER, *Vice-Président.*

L. A. CHAMEROVZOW, *Sécretaire.*

No. 81.

Consul Churchill to Lord Stanley.—(Received April 18.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, January 27, 1868.

I HAVE the honour to report the receipt of letters from Dr. Livingstone.

Bundouky (gun), or Maguru Mafupee (short legs), as his real name appears to be, who was said, some four months ago, to be on his way to the coast, arrived on the 24th instant, and delivered the long-expected and welcome letters into my hands.

While others who had left Wemba with Bundouky had reached this months ago, he had been, within a few days, a whole year on his journey. His excuse, which is after all a good one, is that he was detained in the interior by business.

Dr. Livingstone's letters, which I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship as per accompanying list, will speak for themselves.

He was first deterred from passing to the north of the Nyassa by the dread his followers had conceived of the merciless Zulu or Mafitu tribe inhabiting the north-western border of the lake. In proceeding towards the southern extremity, the behaviour of the Sepoys was such, killing, as they did the beasts of burden with the hope of inducing the traveller to return, that they had to be dismissed. The Hawildar had to be sent away next and on attaining the southern end of the Nyassa, the Johanna men left in a body. Dr. Livingstone, little disheartened by the dismemberment of his party, proceeded on his journey with only nine lads hardly capable of carrying his lighter loads, and after many difficulties and privations, of which he will, it is to be hoped, live to give an account, he arrived on the 1st February, 1867, at Bembo or Wemba. He expected to reach the Tanganyika by the month of May last, and will have been at Ujiji in June. At Ujiji he will have found provisions and medicines sent to him in July 1866, by Dr. Seward. It is little likely that further provisions sent to him now, reaching Ujiji as they probably would a year after his expected arrival there would ever be received, particularly as no direction of his course is given after that place.

Bundouky and his two companions, one of whom had accompanied Dr. Burton to the Tanganyika as one of the "sons of Ramjee," were questioned with reference to the geography of the country between Wemba and the coast, and from their description it would appear that no river of any magnitude had been crossed anywhere. Nor does Dr. Livingstone mention the existence of a river of any size other than the Chambese or Zambezi, and the Loapula, which do not join the Tanganyika or the Nyassa. Under such circumstances (a complete circle having been described round the Nyassa conjointly by Dr. Livingstone and Bundouky's party) the important question of the disconnection of the Nyassa and the Tanganyika, as Dr. Kirk well observes, appears to be satisfactorily solved.

It may be interesting to your Lordship to read what Bundouky and his companions say relative to the country they have travelled over, and although information of this nature cannot be implicitly relied on, it is, nevertheless, not quite valueless.

I beg leave to transmit to your Lordship a transcript of Bundouky's replies to my questions.

The Johanna men deserve punishment for the want of truth they have exhibited

CLASS B.

in reporting Dr. Livingstone's death. I propose addressing His Highness Sultan Abdallah and Mr. Sunley on the subject as soon as an opportunity offers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HY. A. CHURCHILL.

P.S.—We have further news of Dr. Livingstone's arrival at Ujiji towards the middle of last October, as your Lordship will perceive from Issa bin Abdallah's statements.

February 7, 1868.

H. A. C.

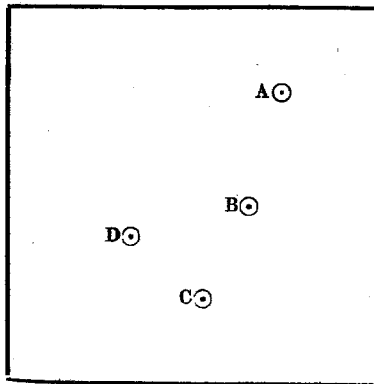
Inclosure 1 in No. 81.

Statement of Bundouky, the bearer of Dr. Livingstone's Letters to the Coast.

Zanzibar, January 25, 1868.

I ARRIVED here on the evening of the 24th from Wemba, which I left almost a year ago. I quitted Wemba in company with one Sherif, who had about as many porters with him as I had. Mine were thirty-five in number; his were a few more. We parted company before we reached the coast, I having business on the way. Ouled, one of my fellow travellers, was with Haji Abdallah's (Captain Burton's) expedition to Ujiji some yeas ago. My name is, properly, Magur Mafupee—short legs—but I am also called Bundouky. We were on the point of starting for the coast when the Mzungu, the white man, requested me to take charge of a packet of letters for the Consul at Zanzibar. The Mzungu looked in very good health; he had allowed his beard to grow, and wore a white cloth round his cap, as if it had been spoiled. M'toka is the Sultan of Wemba. Marungu is not Wemba, which is some distance from the former.

If, for instance, we suppose Tanganyika to be at point A, and Marungu at B, Wemba would be at point C, and M'taka's at D.



There is no large river near Wemba. The streamlets are small, and I don't know what river they join, but I think they go towards the west. I have crossed the Chambese. It is a large river, and it would take one five days to get to it from M'takas. I crossed no large river between Wemba and Bagamoyo.

I ascertained from Bundouky and his companions that it would take at least three months for letters or provisions to reach Ujiji, provided that no stoppages were experienced on the way. The distance between Wemba and Marungu is said by Makanjeera (the third individual) to be nineteen marches, namely, one day from Wemba to M'lenda, one day to Mwirwa, one to Ungara Kusuma, one to Keebué, and fifteen days' journey to the Samu (the title of the Chief of Marungu). No rivers were crossed as far as Keebué. It was in the rainy season that Makanjeera made this journey. The Chambese flows towards the setting sun. The streamlets crossed on the way go in the opposite direction. The country is not mountainous; it is very wooded, and the forests are extensive. Canoes are not in use there, but boats are made of basket-work, covered with the bark of a tree. They are swum on the Chambese and in the Ruaha. Merere is the chief of Urori. It is ten days from this to Usafa, seven from thence to Twaga, whose chief is Zunda, six days to Nika, where there are many streams running to the Ruaha, then eight days to Wiwa, a level country, twelve days to Unyamwenga, and fourteen to Mambue. This is near to Wemba, only one day's distance. A small river from Wemba passes Marungu.

The people of Urua and those of Uguha frequently fight. Those of Urua are the more powerful of the two. No slaves come from thence, it being too far in the interior. Caravans go beyond Urua for ivory. Urua is a large town, governed by the Chief Kecombo. There are other large towns in the neighbourhood of Urua. Kasanga is the chief of Uguha, which is on the border of the Tanganyika. -Very little ivory is produced in the district of Urua.

Statement of Issa bin Abdalla Kharrusee, an Ivory Merchant, who has just arrived from Ujiji.

I LEFT Ujiji on the 6th October and went to Sabusee, where I remained ten days, previous to setting out for the coast. While there I learned that an European, an Englishman, had arrived at Ujiji. Mussa, a Persian established at Ujiji, was expecting him when I was at Ujiji.

Zanzibar, February 5, 1868.

Inclosure 2 in No. 81.

LIST of Despatches and Letters for England from Dr. Livingstone.

	No.
The Right Hon. the Earl of Clarendon, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs	2
The Rev. Norman Macleod, Glasgow	1
W. Webb, Esq., Newstead Abbey	1
His Excellency Sir Bartle Frere, K.C.B.	1
W. H. Wyld, Esq., Foreign Office	1
The Rev. Professor Sedgwick, Cambridge	1
T. Livingstone, Hamilton	1
Charles Braithwaite, Westmoreland	1
James Young, West Calden	1
Sir R. J. Murchison	1
Miss Agnes Livingstone, care of John Murray	1
Horace Waller, Esq., 1, Warnford Court	1
Total	13

No. 82.

Consul Churchill to Lord Stanley.—(Received April 18.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, February 8, 1868.

IT may be interesting to your Lordship to read Dr. Livingstone's letter to Her Majesty's Political Agent at Zanzibar forwarding to him his despatches; I therefore beg leave to inclose herewith a copy of it for your Lordship's information.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HY. A. CHURCHILL.

Inclosure in No. 82.

Dr. Livingstone to Dr. Seward.

My dear Seward,

Bemba, February 1, 1867.

I SEND you my despatch to Lord Clarendon, and beg you to send a copy for Sir Bartle Frere's private information; I cannot possibly copy it, and have not taken a copy of the concluding sheet, nor of the geographical despatch.

We found a party of Bagamoyo slavers here, all ready to start and hungry, so could not expect them to wait longer than a day. One of them was with Speke, so understands the nature of despatches, and I think they will be delivered. I send at same time the documents you kindly lent, with many and sincere thanks.

I sent a letter to go with the sepoys, but in charge of an Arab slaver named Suliman, and fear that these fellows may have destroyed it. I shall first give you from memory the heads of the indictment.

The sepoys seem to have planned my compulsory return as soon as they had killed all the beasts of burden; one camel they beat with the butts of their guns till he expired on the spot, and a mule was killed. Certain sores were cruelly probed and lacerated when I was not in sight, and I came upon them one day when one was mauling a poor camel with a stick thicker than his arm; next day we had to leave it with inflammation of the hip joint, the point where I saw the blows directed. They gave or paid 8 rupees into the hand of (A) our Arab guide to feed and take them down to the coast, when the animals were nearly all done for, so sure were they of returning with their scheme triumphant. The havildar was seen paying the money by one of the Nassick boys. Then when we came to a part where provisions were scanty they refused to obey orders to come up to me, whither I had gone to secure provisions; they would not rise in the morning though

called by the havildars, but I saw reason afterwards to believe that the havildars and Naik were out and part in the plot. A great deal of blubbering took place when I hauled them up and was about to send them back as prisoners. I sentenced the Naik to disratment, and all to carry small loads as punishment; but they were such a disgraceful looking lot, and by disobedience had prevented my carrying out the only plan of getting provisions, namely, by my going forward and sending in all directions to purchase them, that they had to suffer hunger. They stole and sold their cartridges, gave their muskets and belts to people to carry for them, telling them that I would pay for carriage, lay down perpetually on the march and went to sleep. This was their custom all the way from the coast, and so filthy in their habits while we had plenty of food, gorging themselves, then putting the finger down the throat to relieve their stomachs, and, lastly, threatened to shoot the Nassick boys, when away from English power, in some quiet place, because, as they supposed, the boys were my informants.

I sent them back from Mataka's, leaving sixty yards of cloth with that Chief to give to the trader Suliman, who was expected and came a few days afterwards to convey them to the coast. This cloth was amply sufficient for all their expenses; but I heard that the seven Mahometans did not go with Suliman, but remained at Mataka's, where food was abundant, and where their pay would be running on. They had their belts and ammunition pouches and muskets and bayonets all complete then. The havildar pretended that he still wanted to go on with me; he thought I did not understand the part he had played. "They won't obey me, and what am I to do," was his way of speaking. Bring the first man to me who refuses a lawful order, and I shall make him obey; none was ever brought. When he talked of going to die with me I said nothing. He soon got sulky; was a useless drag. I had to pay two yards of calico per day for carriage of his bed and cooking things, and could make no use of him. He could not divide provisions even without partiality, nor measure off cloth to the natives without cheating them. He complained at last of unaccountable pains in his feet, ate a whole fowl for supper, slept soundly till daylight, and then commenced furious groaning. He carried his bed one mile the night before without orders; then gave off his musket and belt to a native to blind me as to his having stolen and sold the cartridges. The native carriers would not follow us through a portion of jungle, and when I sent back for the loads, the gallant havildar was found sitting by his own baggage and looking on while the carriers paid themselves by opening one of the loads; he then turned back to join his fellows at Mataka. The country abounded in provisions, and the people were very liberal.

The Johanna men fled from mere terror of an enemy they never saw. I shall pay them what they deserve, but certain advances were made to them besides 29l. 4s. by Captain Ganforth, and I must deduct.

We have lately had a great deal of hunger, not want of fine dishes, but want of all dishes except mushrooms. The rains are very heavy, and for six weeks we have had hard lines. The Babisa country is depopulated by their own slaving. We are going to rest here a little, and may be at Tanganyika by May, but we travel slowly.

I have had no information whatever from the coast. If you can send anything more to Ujiji at Tanganyika, 50 lbs. of coffee, a small box of candles, a stick of sealing-wax, a cheese in tin, a small box of soap, some French preserved meats, half-a-dozen bottles of port wine, well packed, and some quinine, and calomel, and resin of jalap. Don't exceed these things please, for heavy things we cannot carry. Please pay them with what you have in hand. The severest loss I ever sustained was that of my medicines; every grain of them, except a little extract of hyoseyamus. We had plenty of provisions after we left Lake Nyassa, but latterly got into severe hunger.

Don't think, please, that I make a moan over nothing but a little sharpness of appetite. I am a mere ruckle of bones. Did all the hunting myself, and wet and hunger with fatigue took away the flesh.

Captain Fraser's rifle did good service; it is a splendid weapon; I feel extremely thankful for it.

If Dr. Kirk is with you will you give him all the information, with kind regards. I cannot write at present.

The head man of the slaving-party is named Maguru Mafupi Nadim Sirkar a Lamji. I told him to take the packet to the Sultan as a letter for His Highness is on the outside, and you would pay whatever was right for the service on my account.

Despatches are open, they may adhere from damp.

Remember me kindly to Captain Garforth if he is still on the station; they were very kind. Please gum the despatches when you send them on. I send twelve letters large, and (if I can) two notes.

(Signed)

DAVID LIVINGSTONE.

No. 83.

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

My Lord,

Zanzibar, February 20, 1868.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith, for your Lordship's information, the copy of a despatch I have addressed to the Sultan of Johanna relative to the punishment of the Johanna men who deserted Dr. Livingstone.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HY. A. CHURCHILL.

 Inclosure in No. 83.
Consul Churchill to the Sultan of Johanna.

May it please your Highness,

Zanzibar, February 15, 1868.

SOME time since I had the honour to receive from your Highness a letter by which you requested the payment of the arrears of salary claimed by the subjects of your Highness, who had returned from the interior of Africa more than fifteen months ago, reporting the death of Dr. Livingstone. In my reply to your Highness I had the honour to observe that an expedition having recently been sent by the British Government to verify the declarations made regarding Dr. Livingstone's fate, I could not take upon myself the responsibility of paying the claimants before the result of the expedition's researches was made known; the more so, that reports had reached Zanzibar of the existence of an European traveller between the Nyassa and Tanganyika, whose description tallied much with that of Dr. Livingstone.

I have now much pleasure in announcing to your Highness the receipt of letters from the Doctor, dated Bembo, the 2nd February, 1867, that is to say, several months after his reported death. From these letters it is proved that the Johanna men abandoned the man they had pledged themselves to follow at the southern extremity of the Nyassa, and at a time when no danger of any kind was at hand; and they doubtless concocted the story of the Doctor's death with a view to receiving pay and perhaps a reward after having basely deserted their Chief and left him to pursue alone the object of his researches.

The result of their misrepresentations they are little likely to conceive, for it is not usually given to lying cowards to appreciate the bereavement of a parent or the grief of a nation over the loss of one of their most enterprising explorers. These men will perhaps better understand the expense to which England has, through their cupidity, been put, in fitting-out an expedition to ascertain the truth of their statements, when I say, and I think I am far within the mark, that that expense will have amounted, in the end, to more than one hundred times the sum the Johanna men would probably have received had their tale proved true.

Far, then, from receiving remuneration for services rendered, these individuals are deserving of the most severe punishment for their dishonesty. They made a declaration which a public servant was authorized, if he was not bound by law, to receive as evidence of a fact which they knew to be false. When they made this declaration they were under the jurisdiction of Her Majesty's Consulate at Zanzibar, and were consequently liable, in accordance with the 193rd and 199th paragraphs of the Criminal Code of India, to be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three years, and also with fine.

These individuals having now ceased to be under the jurisdiction of this Consulate, and having returned to that of your Highness, it remains for your Highness to punish them in a manner commensurate with the offence they have been guilty of, so that a repetition of it should be obviated in future.

I trust your Highness will honour me with a reply stating the nature of the punishment that it has pleased your Highness to inflict on these men.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HY. A. CHURCHILL.

No. 84.

Lord Stanley to Consul Churchill.

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 6, 1868.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 20th of February last, inclosing a copy of a letter addressed by you to the Sultan of Johanna suggesting that the Johanna men who deserted Dr. Livingstone and spread a report of his having been murdered, should be punished, and I have to acquaint you that I approve the communication addressed by you to His Highness on this matter.

I am, &c.
(Signed) STANLEY.

No. 85.

Consul Churchill to Lord Stanley.—(Received May 28.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, April 14, 1868.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of my despatch of the 4th March, addressed to the Secretary to Government at Bombay, relative to the proceedings of the Maviti at Kilwa.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HY. A. CHURCHILL.

Inclosure 1 in No. 85.

Consul Churchill to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay.

Sir,

Zanzibar, March 4, 1868.

A REPORT reached Zanzibar from Kilwa (Quilwa), some time ago, of the approach of a considerable body of the Maviti, a tribe in Central Africa renowned for their courage and dreaded by their neighbours on account of their ferocity.

Some of the Banyans established at Kilwa had left the place precipitately, fearful of a sudden attack on the town, as the same tribe had done some twenty-five years before, but the enemy was still at a distance, and the only thing that denoted their presence was the stoppage of all coastward bound slave caravans.

Some time after the reports of the approach of the Maviti were circulated, and the Arab garrison of Kilwa, some forty strong, together with about 200 indifferently armed slaves—slaves belonging to the Banyans it is said—went out to meet them: a first encounter took place at a few miles distance from the town with the outposts of the enemy, in which the naked horde was driven back. The Arab party advanced and repelled the enemy a second time, but there the soldiery stopped, while the armed slaves, elated with victory, went on. The Maviti withdrew before them until they had advanced too far into the waterless plains to insure an orderly retreat. They there attacked the slaves in good earnest and made them fly in terror. The soldiers, on seeing this quasi stampede, instead of offering resistance joined the flying column, and those who reached Kilwa told the sad tale of their utter defeat. The report of the number of killed and missing varies between 40 and 200, but it is not likely that the fugitives were spared.

Dr. Kirk, in his travels with Dr. Livingstone, had once come across this warlike tribe, and I have requested him to give me a succinct account of them. He has drawn up a very interesting report on their origin, their ways, and their habits, which I have the honour to forward, herewith inclosed.

The steps taken by the Central Government of Zanzibar can scarcely be called prompt, although they may prove to be effective in the end. 600 men have been sent to protect Kilwa. Like the Locust tribe, the Maviti are never known to remain long in the country they have overrun, and, as it is only cattle they hunt after, they may not be expected to remain long before Kilwa. The results of this raid on trade will be twofold. It will have for effect the stoppage, for a time, of the importation trade, consisting principally in cotton cloths, brass-wire, and beads, and it will prevent the slave caravans, coming from the Nyassa, from reaching the coast.

The general export trade of Kilwa consists of slaves. It is an error to think that the slaves brought down the coast are made to carry ivory. They are brought down in gangs

chained together lest they should run away, and they are so poorly fed on the way that they can scarcely carry their own weight when they reach Kilwa. They cost so little in the interior, and they are worth so little on the coast at the end of their land journey—their value at Kilwa being but 5 dollars—that it would not pay to feed them properly; besides, if they were strong they might take it into their heads to overpower their masters. The presence of the Maviti near Kilwa would, perhaps, prove a blessing if it could only last, for it would effectually put a stop to the exportation of slaves from that place; unfortunately, after their departure, slave caravans will come in as usual. In former days slaves were brought down to all parts of the coast; now Kilwa appears to have monopolized the trade entirely, and it has, to some extent, increased of late years at that port.

The following figures will show the exportation during the last five years. Counting from September to September:—

In 1862-63	..	..	..	..	..	18,500
1863-64	..	..	..	..	..	17,500
1864-65	..	..	..	..	..	16,821
1865-66	..	..	..	..	..	22,344
1866-67	..	..	..	..	..	22,038

Making an average of 19,440 a-year.

They were exported to Zanzibar and other places, including Mombassa, Lamoo, Pemba, Moufia, and Madagascar, in the following manner:—

Year.	Zanzibar.	Elsewhere.
1862-63 ..	13,000	5,500
1863-64 ..	14,000	3,500
1864-65 ..	13,821	3,000
1865-66 ..	18,344	4,000
1866-67 ..	17,538	4,500

From these figures it will be seen that in the course of the last five years nearly 100,000 registered slaves have been exported from Kilwa, besides those who may have been smuggled away, while 76,703 of these were brought to Zanzibar alone. Now, is it a fair question to ask if Zanzibar really requires all those slaves for the cultivation of its plantations?

The reply is undoubtedly negative. Then why should these slaves be brought to Zanzibar when 2½ dollars per head are paid at Kilwa for every slave exported to Zanzibar, and 2 dollars per head are again paid on every slave exported from Zanzibar?

The reply is, that it is not safe for a slave-dealer to keep his stock-in-trade on the mainland, as he would run the risk of its disappearing. By bringing the slaves to Zanzibar, or to any island away from the coast, they cut off from the poor slaves all hope of flight.

Zanzibar is preferred to the other islands because it is a central place, and the rendezvous of those who generally act as agents to the people of the north, with whom slaves are in great demand. To please Her Majesty's Government some show of obstruction is made by the Sultan, but it is not serious. His Highness' own brothers and sisters run slaves, and his courtiers are all involved in the Trade. When a pressure is exercised at Zanzibar the slaves are by stealth shipped off to some other island away from all other supervision. About 3,000 slaves are yearly shipped at Kilwa direct for Pemba, and about 3,000 more are smuggled out of this island; these, together with about 2,000 that are yearly stolen by the northern Arabs, and 1,000 more, who are taken up the coast, find their way, one way or another, to Arabia.

The pressure of Her Majesty's cruisers has some effect on the Trade, and if it does not put a stop to it, it modifies the way in which it is carried on, for some slavers now risk the passage direct from Kilwa to the coast of Arabia, while many get up the Lamoo, where the cruisers cannot chase them, and thence the poor slaves are driven by land and up creeks to Tola, where they are shipped for the north.

From 1,000 to 2,000 are said to go up this way.

This year it was first believed that, owing to the Abyssinian war, but a few dhows would come from the north. It was soon rumoured, however, that the cruisers had left the station, as they really had done; and now the harbour of Zanzibar is crammed with dhows waiting, no doubt, for the south-west monsoon, to take in their live cargo and be off.

Many more dhows are waiting at Monfia Pemba and other places for the same fair wind. They are all prepared to make the most of our difficulties.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HY. A. CHURCHILL.

Inclosure 2 in No. 85.

Vice-Consul Kirk to Consul Churchill.

Sir,

Zanzibar, March 6, 1868.

THE natives attribute the present disorders at Quiloa to the Maviti, a people well known on the Nyassa Lake, and of whom many rumours reach the coast by the trading Arabs. The true Maviti of the hills west of Nyassa came originally from Zulu land, where their Chief rules as feudal lord from Delagoa Bay to Senna on the Zambezi, exacting tribute from the Crown estates of Portugal on the south bank of that river.

The founder of this branch of the Kaffir family was Ziti, brother of Zulu. On the death of successive Chiefs it has been the custom in Zulu land, as among the Arabs of Oman, for the members of the Chief's family to strive for superior power, the unsuccessful claimants being either killed or quitting the country with their followers, and amalgamating with the outlying people, or, if powerful enough, taking the country that best suits them. In this way Mosilikatze founded the Matibele, a people whose name is still the terror of Southern Africa. In like manner, about the time when Manakhouse, the late Chief of the Maziti (people of Ziti), began to rule the country south of the Zambezi, a small band crossed that river near Senna, and taking the tribal name of Maziti, fought their way along the mountain ranges which overhang the eastern side of the Shire and Lake Nyassa.

The lands of the Bororo, of the Manganja, and Waiao were desolated in their line of march. Men and women were remorselessly killed, only those between the ages of 5 and 10 being spared. These the Maziti took to bring up, not as slaves, but as free men of their tribe. In the Waiao country they found abundance of cattle, which they drove off.

At last, having gone round the north end of Lake Nyassa, they settled on a high plateau, 4,000 feet above the sea, in a healthy land, well suited for cattle, in which their only riches consist.

In 1860, Dr. Livingstone and myself met the outlying guards of these people, but were unable to gain access to their Chief. We were fortunate then in having among our escort one Matibele, who had been taken in war, and others, who spoke fluently the Zulu language.

In dress, as in language, those we saw corresponded exactly with the natives of Natal.

On the Nyassa they are known as Mafiti or Maviti, a native corruption of their proper name, meaning, as modified in the Nyassa tongue, "sorcerers" or "witches;" so in the island of Zanzibar it gives to the native mind the idea of "warriors."

Although these Maviti have the language, mode of warfare, and habits of the southern Zulus, the individuals we saw had certainly no Zulu blood; but their filed teeth proclaimed them to be children, now grown up, of the tribe through which the conquerors had passed.

These people are in the habit of sending out marauding parties to keep their borders a desert, and thus protect their cattle posts from sudden attacks, and make war on all who possess herds and flocks.

The Maravo, Manganja, and A-Bisa have thus in succession suffered, and I have been myself a witness to the utter destruction which follows in their track.

This system of plunder they have lately carried out along the Roomna, and the Arabs believe that the marauders who are causing so much bloodshed in the present time in the neighbourhood of Quiloa are the genuine Maviti of the lake.

From the crude reports which reach us it is impossible to form a definite opinion as to whether this is or is not the case, but for my own part I am inclined to think that these people are a mixed band of Waiao and other tribes, who from contact with the Maviti of the interior have adopted in part their mode of warfare and dress.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

No. 86.

Consul Churchill to Lord Stanley.—(Received May 28.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, April 14, 1868.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of my despatch of the 9th of April addressed to the Secretary to Government, Bombay, relative to the efforts of Seyd Majid to put a stop to the Slave Trade.

I have, &c.

(Signed) HY. A. CHURCHILL.

Inclosure 1 in No. 86.

Consul Churchill to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay.

Sir,

Zanzibar, April 9, 1868.

HIS Highness Seyd Majid has latterly, on my suggestion, issued certain rules and regulations calculated to check the Traffic in Slaves, which this year, owing to the recall of Her Majesty's cruizers or their temporary absence from the station, promised to be one of remarkable activity.

I beg leave to forward to you a copy of the above-mentioned rules, in translation, for the information of his Excellency the Governor in Council. His Highness the Sultan, far from hesitating to adopt the measures I deemed expedient to suggest to him, added some very stringent clauses to them, which shows that he, at least, has no personal interest in favouring the Muscat and Persian Gulf pirates.

Her Majesty's Government will be pleased to learn that some few days after the publication of the regulations in question the "Penguin" steamed into the harbour, and her commander, Lieutenant J. J. Martin, having immediately placed himself in communication with me, I was fortunate enough to be in possession of sufficient evidence concerning a dhow that was preparing to sail with a cargo of slaves, to enable this officer to seize her.

With the concurrence of Seyd Majid, who sent his Secretary to be present at the trial, I lost no time in adjudicating on the said dhow, and she was condemned and burned within twenty-four hours of her seizure. The slaves and the crew of the dhow were handed over to the Sultan, and out of the 9 former, 6 were graciously sent by the Sultan to the English Missionary Society established at Zanzibar, and the remaining 3, who were of an age to attend to their own wants, received their papers of freedom. The crew were sent to the fort, and put in chains until further orders. Nor have the Sultan's efforts to check this trade stopped here. The slaves were questioned one by one, and the individuals who had sold them were discovered and are now on their trial.

These stringent measures, followed up as they have been by others of equal earnestness, have somewhat surprised the Northern Arabs. They might have been adopted at an earlier season had any of Her Majesty's ships of war been here, but in their absence nothing could be attempted until half of them had left; that half may have been made up of the cargoes in which the grandees of Zanzibar are interested, but, however this may be, His Highness seemed to be in earnest when he congratulated Lieutenant-commanding Martin on his arrival, and expressed to him his hope that he would co-operate with him in checking the Slave Trade. Nor did His Highness' subsequent conduct denote weakness or hesitation, for he allowed his Vizier to accompany me in a tour of inspection of the northern dhows in the port, and we were fully prepared, with a joint escort of British marines and Arab soldiers, to lay hands on any slaver; but the Northern Arabs were keen enough to remove all proof of their secret pursuits.

I subsequently advised Lieutenant-commanding Martin to proceed northward, keeping well out so as not to be seen, and then closing in with the coast and coming south against the wind, by which means many of the dhows that left Zanzibar previous to the "Penguin's" arrival might be captured. Lieutenant Martin is now occupied in carrying out this suggestion.

But the more I think of the best means of checking this execrable Trade, the more I am inclined to opine that it is not so much at the source as at the destination, that the check should be attempted. Obstacles may, with some degree of success, it is true, be thrown in the way of those engaged in this Trade, but so long as an article of trade is in demand, and it is profitable to procure it, so long will men be found ready to risk their lives and fortunes to procure it.

The Slave Trade, as all other trades, is regulated by the principle of supply and demand, and so long as there is a slave-market in any part of the world slaves will be taken there. Seyd Majid, with his limited authority and his weak Government, may do his best to check the Trade, and our cruizers may here and there burn a slaver, but the high price that slaves fetch in Arabia will always induce adventurers to embark in this Trade, if some serious check is not applied on that coast.

Now, it is a known fact that many of the dhows that come here for slaves bring letters from the Sheikhs on the Arabian coast line. These Sheikhs, who are all, more or less, bound to observe the Treaties, know that the said dhows come here for no other purpose than to run a cargo of slaves. They, furthermore, allow the dhows to land the slaves they have succeeded in smuggling out of the Sultan's dominions. Seyd Majid shows himself ready to punish the Arabs he detects engaged in the Trade, whether they be his own subjects or those of the Sultan of Oman. Could not the Sultan of Oman and the

CLASS B.

other Chiefs in the Persian Gulf be induced to issue orders calculated to prevent their subjects from carrying on this Trade? Those orders, once issued, we should have the power of enforcing. At the present moment there is at Zanzibar a Sheikh, Abdalla bin Abdalla, whose dhows have been burnt three years in succession, and he is now here with no other object, although it is not avowed, than to embark a cargo of slaves. They can be obtained here for a trifle—nay, many are stolen—and in Oman they are worth 50 or 60 dollars.

When the Northern Arabs come here in force, as they have done this year, the Sultan's authority is simply defied. A few days ago an instance of this occurred. In a quarrel amongst the Northern Arabs, that is said to have originated in an old blood feud, but which was renewed by a question of precedence on the grand feast of the sacrifice, a fight took place in the streets of Zanzibar, in which upwards of twenty individuals were hacked to pieces. One poor woman who was passing by was killed by a stray shot, and others who had nothing to do with the dispute were severely injured. During this time the Sultan's troops were looking on. The day before, 150 men had been sent to a part of the town inhabited by the Northern Arabs to rescue slaves who had been collected preparatory to their being embarked. The soldiers were defied, and the Sultan deemed it his best policy to leave the poor slaves to their fate. We may well laugh at the Sultan's soldiers, with their antiquated matchlocks, and their shields, and those long-handed straight swords; but how could His Highness' crippled finances, already heavily tried by the payment of the Oman subsidy, bear the outlay of an organized army required solely to keep the Oman slave-stealers in order?

I have, &c.
(Signed) HY. A. CHURCHILL.

Inclosure 2 in No. 86.

Decree by the Sultan of Zanzibar, prohibiting the Traffic of Slaves in his Dominions during the Monsoon, namely, from the 1st of January to the 30th of May.

In the name of God, the forgiving and the merciful.

From him who is in the keeping of God, Majid bin Saeed.

BE it known to all men, that all vessels proved to be carrying slaves during the monsoon, between the known limits of Kilwa and Lamoo, shall be burned: also all vessels in which there shall exist proofs of their being fitted-out for the purpose of carrying slaves; an extra quantity of tanks and food, and the presence of irons, shall be deemed to be sufficient proofs to condemn the vessel.

2. Also all persons of our subjects proved to be engaged in the Slave Trade with the Coast of Arabia, shall be exiled from Zanzibar, and shall be further fined, for every slave so exported, 10 dollars; and their property shall be sold, if necessary, to pay the said fine.

3. All persons concealing slaves for the Northern Arabs, and others (from the Coast of Arabia), shall be fined, for every slave so concealed, 10 dollars; and their property shall be sold, if necessary, to pay the fine.

4. Whosoever shall give information regarding slaves having been hidden in houses occupied by Northern Arabs, shall receive 1 rupee for every slave so discovered; and whosoever shall give information of a vessel with slaves on board, shall receive 20 dollars on its being proved that such is the case.

5. Whosoever shall sell slaves to the Arabs other than our subjects shall be fined, for every slave so sold, 20 dollars; and he shall be further subjected to imprisonment in irons for two calendar months. Likewise auctioneers, unknown to the authorities, shall not sell slaves during the monsoon; and whosoever shall sell slaves contrary to the orders of the Slave Bazaar Master, shall be fined, for every slave so sold, 5 dollars; and he shall further be punished with imprisonment in irons for two months. Also, all auctioneers selling slaves during the monsoon, shall make a report of the number of the slaves sold, their names, and the names of the purchasers, to the Slave Bazaar Master, so that he may make the necessary entries in the books; and all persons acting contrary to this shall be fined, for every slave so sold, 10 dollars; and they shall be further punished with two months imprisonment in irons. And, likewise, every person found to be buying more slaves in the monsoon than his means will warrant, shall be reported by the auctioneers to the Government, who shall cause an inquiry to be made in the matter; and if the slaves so purchased are found to be in the possession of the said purchaser, or if they have been

sold to our subjects, well and good, otherwise such individuals shall be fined, for every slave so purchased, 10 dollars; and they shall be subjected to six months' imprisonment in irons.

(Sealed) MAJID BIN SAEED BIN, *Sultan*.
Dated the 27th Dhelkaada, 1284 (March 22, 1868.)

No. 87.

Lord Stanley to Consul Churchill.

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 30, 1868.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 14th April, and I have in reply to instruct you to express to the Sultan of Zanzibar the satisfaction of Her Majesty's Government at the decree issued by His Highness, prohibiting the Traffic in Slaves during the south-west monsoon.

I am, &c.
(Signed) STANLEY.

No. 88.

Consul Churchill to Lord Stanley.—(Received July 4.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, May 8, 1868.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of my despatch of the 8th instant, addressed to C. Gonne, Esq., Bombay, relative to the late resolution of Seyd Majid to burn all Northern dhows coming in future to Zanzibar.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HY. A. CHURCHILL.

Inclosure 1 in No. 88.

Consul Churchill to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay.

Sir,

Zanzibar, May 8, 1868.

AS a proof of His Highness' earnest wish to throw obstacles in the way of the Slave Trade, Seyd Majid has addressed letters to the Sheiks along the coast of Arabia, giving them notice, that as the Northern Arabs repair to the East Coast of Africa with no other motive than that of running slaves to the Persian Gulf, henceforward all dhows coming to Zanzibar, or any part of the Sultan's dominions from the slave-trading coast of Arabia, shall be seized and burned forthwith.

His Highness has addressed me a letter in this sense, a copy of which I have the honour most respectfully to subjoin.

It is a known fact, that not one out of a hundred dhows that come here from the Persian Gulf, comes for any other purpose then to carry a cargo of slaves stolen from the inhabitants of Zanzibar, and yet Seyd Majid gets the credit of these proceedings. Our Indian mercantile marine will, moreover, shortly replace the Arab dhows in any traffic that may be carried on legitimately between Zanzibar and Muskat.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HY. A. CHURCHILL.

Inclosure 2 in No. 88.

The Sultan of Zanzibar to Consul Churchill.

(Translation.)

(After compliments.)

10 Moharrem, 1285 (May 3, 1868.)

BE it known to your Honour that we have written letters to the Chiefs of the Northern Arabs to prevent their people from coming to Zanzibar; and we warn them that, in future, every Northern dhow reaching Zanzibar shall be burned forthwith, as their sole business here is to steal the children of the inhabitants of Zanzibar and their slaves.

Be this known to you.

This is from your friend, Majid bin Saeed.

Consul Churchill to Lord Stanley.—(Received July 4.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, June 8, 1868.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of my despatch of the 24th May addressed to the Secretary to Government, Bombay, relative to the Slave Trade.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HY. A. CHURCHILL.

Inclosure 1 in No. 89.

Consul Churchill to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay.

Sir,

Zanzibar, May 24, 1868.

IN my despatch of the 7th May I had the honour to transmit to you, for the information of his Excellency the Governor in Council, the original of a letter in Arabic that I had received from the Sultan of Zanzibar, with reference to His Highness' determination to destroy every Northern Arab dhow arriving at Zanzibar.

Although this measure did appear to me to be a somewhat sweeping one when it was first suggested by His Highness, I did not oppose it on the ground that it was undoubtedly a well-aimed blow against the Traffic in Slaves, and it was, moreover, notorious that few, if any, of the dhows coming from the Persian Gulf were unconnected with this illicit Trade; but, in reading over our Treaty engagements with the Arabs of the Persian Gulf, I perceived that Her Majesty's Government were bound to take notice of any hostile proceedings evinced against the Arabs with whom we were in Treaty, so long as they did not engage in the Slave Traffic; and having pointed out to His Highness, Seyd Majid, this clause, he immediately caused a second letter to be addressed to me in which His Highness states that he will confine himself to destroying the vessels of such as have failed to fulfil their Treaty engagements with Her Majesty's Government.

This modification of His Highness' first decision will, I venture to hope, meet any objection that may be raised against the Sultan's determination to punish men-stealers in his dominions, and to co-operate with Her Majesty's Government in putting a stop to the Slave Trade.

That the Sultan is in earnest in this matter is proved by the fact of his having lately burned two dhows seized in Zanzibar in the act of embarking kidnapped slaves for the Persian Gulf. The last of the two was burned on the Queen's birthday, at noon, when a Royal salute was fired in honour of the occasion.

The obstacles thrown in the way of the Northern Arabs this year by Seyd Majid have been considerable, and many slaves have been rescued from deportation. Unfortunately, however, the Abyssinian war has deprived the East African Coast of nearly all Her Majesty's cruizers, and the result is that many will have succeeded in making off with a full cargo of negroes.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HY. A. CHURCHILL.

Inclosure 2 in No. 89.

The Sultan of Zanzibar to Consul Churchill.

(Translation.)

(After compliments.)

26 Moharreim, 1285 (May 20, 1868).

ON a former occasion we had the honour to inform you that we had determined to burn all dhows belonging to the northern people (Arabs) arriving at Zanzibar, and this on the ground that their only object in coming here is to kidnap the children and the slaves of our people; but it having subsequently been brought to our knowledge that the above named people have Treaty engagements with the British Government, I now decide that every dhow of theirs that fails to fulfil the conditions stipulated in the Treaty between the said Northern Arabs and the British Government shall, on its arrival at Zanzibar, be immediately burned.

The above-mentioned conditions are, that they carry a white flag pierced with red, and be provided with two authentic papers, signed by their Chiefs, containing in clear terms the name of the vessel, the name of its owner and that of its neckbotha (captain),

the number of its crew and passengers, the quantity of arms on board, together with a statement of the vessel's length and breadth, and the port of clearance, and her ultimate destination.

Be this know unto you.

Written on the 26th day of Moharreem, 1285, by your friend, Majid bin Sayd.

No. 90.

Consul Churchill to Lord Stanley.—(Received November 9.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, July 30, 1868.

CAPTAIN FRASER, late of the Indian Navy, has been good enough to give me a copy of the interesting memoranda collected by him at the Seychelles, relative to the wreck of the "St. Abbs," in 1855, and although they do not, to my mind, bring us any closer to the momentous question as to whether any of the survivors of the wreck are, at the present moment, in captivity in the Somali country, the light that is thrown on the circumstances connected with the wreck is of no little value.

It was believed by Colonel Rigby, Her Majesty's Political Agent at Zanzibar in 1860, that the hull of the "St. Abbs," with some of the passengers on board, had been drifted by the south-west current as far as Brava and Magdosha; the fallacy of this assumption is, however, clearly made out by Captain Fraser's investigations, it being now proved beyond a doubt that the hull of the "St. Abbs" had never moved from the spot on which it was broken to pieces. And in justice to Colonel Rigby's immediate successor, Lieutenant Colonel Pelly, who had been instructed to make every effort to ascertain the truth of the allegation that some of the survivors of the "St. Abbs" were still alive in the Somali country, I must add that already in 1862 it was reported by that officer in a letter dated the 10th July to the Government of Bombay, that "he understood from Captain Oldfield that the wreck of the 'St. Abbs' was lying at the bottom of the sea off the Island of San Juan de Nova."

The hull of the "St. Abbs" never having moved from San Juan de Nova, how then did the books, uniforms, and musical instruments mentioned in Colonel Rigby's letters reach Brava and Magdosha in so perfect a state of preservation?

The information collected by Captain Fraser will, I think, furnish a satisfactory reply to this question. After Captain Bell and his party had left the ship, nothing is known of her beyond the fact that she had disappeared the next morning, having gone to the bottom. The survivors belonging to Captain Bell's party remained thirty-seven days on the island of San Juan de Nova before they left for the Seychelles; and it was only in the early part of August that an attempt was made to save the cargo which had been lying strewn on the reef for nearly two whole months.

Now, towards the year 1860 a thriving trade in cattle was carried on between the Somali coast and Mauritius. The south-west monsoon was blowing at the time, and many Somali dhows must have been on their way to Brava and Magdosha to get further supplies of cattle for the Mauritius market.

San Juan de Nova is exactly half-way between the Mauritius and the Somali coast, and it is more than probable that some of these dhows put into San Juan de Nova, either for water or from stress of weather. Is it, then, not likely that a portion of the cargo of the "St. Abbs," which was lying on the reefs and on the sand-banks for nearly two months without any sort of protection, should have been picked up and taken to the Somali coast for sale. Indeed, the report that portions of the cargo had turned up at Magdosha and others at Brava would lead to this conclusion, for the distance between the two places is considerable, and the surf in the south-west monsoon is very heavy, so that they could not have been washed ashore in a perfect state of preservation.

Captain Bell informs us in his protest that the long-boat was smashed and the third boat capsized, but he says nothing of the other boats, nor does he know what may have occurred on board after he left the ship in the early part of the 16th. Between that and the time the "St. Abbs" is said to have disappeared, viz., the next day, the unfortunate passengers and crew had ample time, if they only had the means at their command, to construct a raft, and some of them may have succeeded in quitting the sinking wreck. It is fairly possible this supposition once admitted that while in this desperate position at the mercy of the waves, a dhow proceeding to the Somali coast may have sighted and rescued them; nor is it beyond the limits of probability that, having rescued them, the Arab captain and crew may have discovered that money might be made by selling them.

It has been stated so positively that white men were in captivity in the interior behind the Somali coast that I, for one, knowing pretty well as I do the Oriental character, cannot disbelieve the assertion, for I fail to see the motive that could have induced various parties at different places to concoct the self-same story; but whether the unfortunate captives, if they are still alive, are some of the survivors of the "St. Abbs" or no, is a question that may ever remain enveloped in darkness.

I trust that Mr. Heale, who is now at Brava, may be able to learn something on this stirring subject.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HY. A. CHURCHILL.

Inclosure in No. 90.

Summary of Protest of Captain Bell, of the "St. Abbs," noted at Port Victoria, Seychelles, on the 20th of August, 1855.

THE "St. Abbs" struck at half-past 11 P.M. on the 14th of June, 1855, on the Island of San Juan de Nuova, and immediately came broadside on; mainmast went by the board, carrying away fore-top gallant mast and mizen-top mast.

Found on sounding two fathoms alongside, the vessel drawing 18 feet; she was ascertained to be bilged.

Third boat was got off the skids, but the night being very dark and the sea making a clean breach over the vessel, all hands were ordered into the cuddy; some obeyed, others went forward.

At daylight chocks of long-boat were found split, and the lee bulwarks and stanchions having been washed away, the long-boat was launched with little difficulty, and supplied with provisions, water, charts, instruments, &c. Crew and passengers were ordered into her, but none would venture, except the mate and two men; in ten minutes she was dashed to pieces alongside, and the mate and seamen saved with great difficulty. The vessel was found to be on a reef connecting two islands. The wind continued strong and the sea heavy, and the flood tide running from the reef to the vessel made it impossible to reach the shore.

At daybreak on the 15th a spare topmast was launched with a long line attached to it, in the hope that it might ground on the reef and form a means of communication with the shore. The mast, however, drifted over the reef into deep water, and the attempt to save life by this means failed. The third boat was then lowered, and the mate ordered to go in her to establish communication with the shore; he refused, alleging he had been nearly drowned on the previous day. All the crew except three similarly refused, and deeming that the salvation of all on board depended on communication being established without delay, the wreck showing symptoms of breaking up, Captain Bell considered he had no alternative but to make the attempt in person.

About thirty yards from the wreck the boat was capsized, and rolled over and over. With great difficulty Captain Bell and the two men succeeding in reaching a narrow part of the reef in an exhausted state, and being unable to render any assistance to those on board, waded to the nearest island, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles distant, in search of aid. They were shortly after joined by the carpenter, who swam on shore, supported by an empty oil can fastened to his back; Mr. Ross, a cadet, also reached the shore.

On looking for the vessel at daylight in the following day she had disappeared, but a piece of wreck was observed to leeward of the reef with three persons clinging to it, to whom those on the island, having no boat, could give no assistance, and they were soon lost sight of.

On the 14th of July the schooner "Uranie," of Port Victoria, arrived, and on the 23rd the survivors left for Mahé, which they reached in a few days.

After remaining a considerable time at Port Victoria (Mahé) Captain Bell was accused by the survivors of the crew with having deserted the wreck, and left his passengers and crew to perish; he was consequently sent to Mauritius as a prisoner, but released on arrival there before landing.

The "Uranie" immediately returned to the scene of the wreck with her owner, now resident at Port Victoria, and a party of police under the charge of Mr. Ross, at present Inspector of Public Works at Seychelles.

The owner of the "Uranie" and Mr. Ross kindly furnished the following details regarding the lost vessel, and her ill-fated crew and passengers.

The "Uranie" arrived off San Juan de Nuova early in August, to effect salvage of

such cargo, &c., as might be recoverable. The police were landed to protect the same. A considerable quantity of cargo, stores, and miscellaneous articles were found strewn on the reefs and islands, which were sold subsequently for 6,000 dollars at Port Victoria.

The fore part of the "St. Abbs," cut clean athwartship by the foremast, was high and dry on the reef at low water, and the hull was visible in about five fathoms; the decks and much of the upper works, top-side, &c., having been washed away. Divers were employed in recovering property from the submerged hull, and several tons of copper, upwards of 100 casks of beer, porter, &c., were got out of the wreck after their arrival. Large packages of heavy machinery prevented diving operations being continued with success, as the salvors possessed no means of raising them.

Some miles west of Gullet Island (where the survivors first landed, and whence they waded at low water to Farquhar Island), the salvors found a small sandy islet, on which they discovered two shallow graves, containing the bodies of two men dressed in sailor's clothes; also a part of a turtle hung up to dry in the sun; a case of gin and a broken jib-boom.

On a similar islet, which could be reached at low water, another body was found, dressed as the others, and on the person of the dead man were found two watches, several silver rings, &c. These were evidently the remains of the three hapless men who were seen, as stated in Captain Bell's protest, on the piece of wreck to leeward of the island on which the survivors landed on the 15th of June, and great culpability must attach to Captain Bell for omitting to inform the master of the "Uranie," on her first visit, of the fact that they had been so seen, the owner of the "Uranie" being strongly of opinion that they were then alive, and could have been rescued from a miserable death.

Small portions of the cargo of the "St. Abbs" were found at the Casmoledo Islands to the westward, and probably some portions, getting within the influence of the strong northerly current near the African coast, were eventually cast on shore at Magdosha.

It will not improbably be averred that if not the "St. Abbs," some other vessel was wrecked and her crew enslaved near Magdosha, as General Rigby asserts, on the authority of a "respectable native," that there was a vessel cast on shore there, and her crew seized, divided into two parties, and sent into the interior as slaves.

As this alleged outrage took place within the dominions and on the sea-board of His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar, to whom General, then Colonel, Rigby was accredited as Consul and Political Agent, there could have been as little difficulty then as now in obtaining full and authentic corroboration of the fact, particularly as Magdosha is an important place of trade, dependent entirely on Zanzibar for sale of produce and purchase of supplies, and that its chief traders annually visit Zanzibar. These men, who are among the most intelligent of their class, many speaking fair English, universally scout the assertion indorsed by General Rigby. They admit that certain articles, as stated by him, were cast on their coast, but ridicule the idea of any vessel being boarded and plundered; and, judging from personal knowledge of the coast in the neighbourhood of Magdosha, it is my belief that any merchant-ship afloat, whether wrecked there in the north-east or south-west monsoon, would be in toothpicks in five minutes.

Zanzibar, July 20, 1868.

(Signed)

H. A. FRASER, *Captain,*
Late of Indian Navy.

No. 91.

Consul Churchill to Lord Stanley.—(Received November 9.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, August 8, 1868.

IN compliance with the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch of the 1st April, which I only received on the 2nd instant, I took an early opportunity to wait upon His Highness Seyd Majid, and to present to him the Address of the Paris Anti-Slavery Society, expressive of their anxiety to see the Slave Trade suppressed in the Sultan's dominions.

His Highness, after reading over the Address, said he was doing and would continue to do, everything in his power to alleviate the sufferings of the slaves who entered his dominions, but that slavery was an institution involving not only the welfare of his people, but their very existence, and to do away with it altogether, as the Society demands, would be more than he could venture to try. His Highness promised me, however, as a preliminary measure, to prevent the crowding that is unfortunately but too frequent in the transport of slaves from one part of his dominions to the other.

I took the opportunity of suggesting likewise that the tax levied on slaves exported from the coast, and imported into Zanzibar, be doubled, and that the slave-market be done away with.

His Highness said he would take all these matters into his earnest consideration, and would instruct his Envoy, whom he intended shortly to send to England, to make arrangements with Her Majesty's Government to this effect.

I have, &c.
(Signed) HY A. CHURCHILL.

No. 92.

Consul Churchill to Lord Stanley.—(Received November 9.)

(Extract.)

Zanzibar, August 19, 1868.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that letters dated 25th September and 14th December have been received from Dr. Livingstone.

Dr. Livingstone, at the date of his last letter, was at Cazembe, the furthest point reached by the Portuguese expedition sent from Zambezi under Montero, and expected to leave for Ujiji in a few days.

The report that Dr. Livingstone had reached Ujiji, which I had the honour to communicate to your Lordship in a former despatch, has, therefore, proved false, although it is true that he had been seen by Ujiji traders, and might have proceeded thither in a dhow on Lake Tanganyika had he been so disposed.

No record appears to have been made of the goods referred to in Dr. Livingstone's letter, sent by Koorji, either at Her Majesty's Consulate, or in the books of the Customs Master. I have, therefore, after consulting Dr. Kirk and others acquainted with the interior of Africa, sent Dr. Livingstone a selection of such goods as are in demand to the north of Lake Tanganyika, the direction which Dr. Livingstone is sure to follow.

Inclosure 1 in No. 92.

Dr. Livingstone to Dr. Seward.

My dear Seward,

Lopere, September 25, 1867.

I WROTE you by a man called Magara Mafupi, from Molemba, requesting a lot of goods to be sent to Ujiji, exactly the same as those already sent by Koroje, and which, I hear, have safely reached their destination. Should that letter have miscarried, you will take this as supplying its place; and Koroje's books will guide you as to the sort of goods needed. The medicines were the most important want.

A man detained me three-and-a-half months, and during that time I was most kindly treated by the heads of the Arab party, namely, Hamees Wodim Tagh, Syde Ben Alli, and Hamidi Mohamed.

The Chief Insama attacked them as he has done native traders before, plundered and killed some of their people, but got the worst of it at last. I heard but one side of the story; but several collateral circumstances lead me to believe that Insama was to blame.

Hamees lost a good deal of property there, and again at Hara, by an accidental fire. Syde's property—beads, cloth, &c.—suffered severely by Insama's treachery; and Hamide was also a considerable sufferer; yet they tried to make peace, and the peace-making was a tedious process. I ought to have said that the peace-making detained me three-and-a-half months, drinking blood. Don't shudder, my dear fellow; it is in homœopathic doses only. I should prefer it to another party, the negotiation-marrying Insama's daughter, though she was good-looking enough, and came riding pick-a-back on a man's shoulders. I then visited Insama. His people were excessively suspicious, examining my clothes to see if I had no guns concealed. I had good reasons for not going round his country, but cannot enter into them now.

I think that letters will reach you from Ujiji sooner than by this party, which is still going west. I might have gone thither in a dhow last week, but have work here still.

One of the Nassick boys has left us, and will probably try to draw on your charity. His complaint is dislike to work; says that he is a shoemaker; has been a nuisance all along. Hamees says that he will take him to you. I say, let him go where he likes. He was determined not to work when we left the coast, and told me to take my gun and

shoot him if I insisted on the very easy work of leading a mule, and did not allow him to load it with a big bag of maize he had bought as private stores. I tried a simpler instrument in the shape of a stick to his back. He did not venture to rebel again, but was a nuisance by remaining behind in the march, and at last gave his load to a country lad, and went off to collect mushrooms; came up with his bonnet full of them, but minus his bundle, which contained all our medicines, tools, and six large table-cloths. This was in a part so densely covered with forest, no pursuit could be made. Like many of low intellect, he was excessively greedy and careful of all he could call his own. All he had collected at Zanzibar and on the journey was carefully stowed away in his bundle, and he wore a rag only. He never seemed to think that he had done wrong in losing the goods. He next persuaded another to run away with him. This other put down a box containing three chronometers in the jungle, and ran off. When sent for they had no complaint to make. I offered to remedy anything wrong, but they had no fault to find with anything. Their plan was to beg. It showed the folly, losing all their pay, &c.

This fellow called Baraka has put his plan into operation again. He will be a slave to the Arab slaves, and get a share of the food. I suspect that he was drunk with pombe, and burned his thighs, by which he was idle three and a-half months. He was well when we started, but had no load; came two hours and turned back. Hamees says that he will take him to you; but you will not incur any expense on my account. I told Hamees to let him go where he liked.

The buffaloes all died on the way to Ujiji; and there, I hear, the dried flesh awaits my arrival.

I send a note to His Highness Seyed Majid by this same opportunity, acknowledging the kindness of his people. I also give notes to the three head Arabs, as sort of testimonials. They have behaved like gentlemen all through.

I wish you to give Hamees a long single-barrelled rifle if it has come from Bombay; if not, then one of the new breech-loaders I left in a box soldered up in tin at the Consulate. Could you bestow one of your old rifles on Hamieli—a good one? I have not said anything to him, but to Hamees I have explained.

He used to abuse me in Hindustani, to let the others know how bold he was. I think he has a smack of idiocy, but it is often assumed. Do not trouble yourself with him.

(Signed) DAVID LIVINGSTONE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 92.

Dr. Livingstone to Dr. Seward.

My dear Seward,

Town of Casembe, December 14, 1867.

ONE of Syde bin Alle's men leaves this to-morrow to join his master in Buira. He and Hamees have letters from me to you—one of these in the hands of Hamees repeats an order for goods, which I sent by Magera Mafupi in February last. If Magera Mafupi's letter came to hand, then the goods would be sent before this if Hamees could reach you. But if Magera Mafupi's letter were not acted upon, then you will be kind enough to send the list now coming by Hamees, and add a pair of shoes and some ruled paper, which are in my leather portmanteau. I have more fear of want of shoes than anything else. Mr. Webb's shoemaker, Leadon, having neglected the in-seam of those I brought. If you have any tracing paper I should like some; I lost a good deal in fording a river; some pencils and ink powder if you can spare them, and an awl and stick of sealing-wax. I am going to Ujiji in two days, and think that I shall be able to send letters thence to Zanzibar sooner than my friends can reach it by Bagamoio. Moero is one of a chain of lakes connected by a river having different names. When we got there I thought it well to look at Casembe, of which the Portuguese have written much; but I have my letters ready for a post I mean to send from Ujiji, and have no heart to repeat myself

Affectionately yours,

(Signed) DAVID LIVINGSTONE.

Consul Churchill to Lord Stanley.—(Received November 9.)

(Extract.)

Zanzibar, August 21, 1868.

AN Embassy being on the point of leaving Zanzibar for England with instructions to arrange with Her Majesty's Government for the more effectual suppression of the Slave Trade on this coast, it might be deemed a fitting occasion to lay before your Lordship the result of my reflections on this all-important question; not that I attach any particular value to my ideas on the subject, but because they may, by throwing an additional local light on the question at issue, enable more competent judges to show the course that should be taken to attain the object in view.

That object being the ultimate suppression of the Slave Trade on this coast, the natural but difficult question that first arises is, as to how it should be effected. It is only, I think, by the examination of the question as a whole that a satisfactory conclusion can be arrived at.

First of all let us examine how slavery was originated. How is it that one man becomes the master and owner of another? It is assuredly by no divine right that he does so, but simply the natural state of things in a society deprived of light, in which the rights of the weakest are at the mercy of the most powerful. If all were equally strong slavery would cease to exist of its own accord. In the face of this inequality which generates slavery in uncivilized countries, what are the measures to be adopted to obviate the natural result. The first and most simple appears to be the raising of the weak to the level of their superiors, and this may be accomplished, in the particular case of Africa, by the introduction of arms amongst the natives to enable the weaker class to defend themselves against their aggressors. Wherever this has been done slavery has ceased to exist, but it would perhaps be dangerous to afford these savages the most efficient means of defence, if they were not taught at the same time what is right and what is wrong: in other words, if they were not educated at the same time. This implies the civilization of the whole of Central Africa, which is necessarily a matter of time.

The next means at our command is the employment of a superior power over the strong to deter them from enslaving their fellow-creatures, and this means, we have to a certain extent employed. We have made Treaties with the Chiefs of the people engaged in the Slave Traffic, and with their concurrence we employ cruisers in their territorial waters to impede the Traffic.

The chief market on the East Coast of Africa, in the Sultan of Zanzibar's dominions, is Kilwa. Nearly 30,000 slaves are, without doubt, brought down from the neighbourhood of the Nyassa Lake every year. To get that number down perhaps half the original number perishes on the way. At Kilwa they are sold to the slave-agents from Zanzibar, Pemba, Mombassa, Lamo, &c., who ship them for the various ports in Seyd Majid's dominions. Two-thirds of them come to Zanzibar, the remainder is either sent up north or is smuggled out of the country to Mohilla, Madagascar, and the Persian Gulf. The sufferings of these poor creatures may be said to cease when they reach their destination, but no description can convey an idea of the hardships they have to undergo before they reach it, as well on their land journey as in the dhows. When they are landed they are walking skeletons. Many die before the end of their sea journey. In order to keep their slaves from running away they chain them one to the other during the land journey, and at Kilwa a patch is shaved off a part of the head as a distinguishing mark. It is a mistake to think that the slaves who are meant for the market carry ivory to the coast. Ivory is brought down to a different part of the Merima, and is carried by regular porters who are paid so many dollars the journey. This is important, because it has been argued that if you put a stop to the Slave Trade you deal a heavy blow to the ivory trade. This is not the case, and its not being so is corroborated by Dr. Livingstone, who, in writing from Cazembe in December last, says that the Arab merchant of the north who deals in cloth and ivory is quite a different man from the slave-dealer of the south.

There are thus four distinct phases in the Slave Trade, namely, the kidnapping part, the journey by land, the sea voyage, and the condition of the slave at the end of his peregrinations. He passes through different hands at each stage.

In the kidnapping of slaves by the negroes themselves, we cannot, under present circumstances, pretend to interfere; the kidnapers are beyond our reach. In the purchasing of slaves in the interior by the Arabs and Soahilis of the coast, we have not interfered. The carrying of slaves from Kilwa half-way up to the Persian Gulf is allowed by Treaty; but the carrying of a small faction of the slaves imported from Kilwa beyond the limits of the Sultan's dominions is prohibited; and this part of the trade

is what is usually designated as the Slave Trade : 30,000, nay, 50,000 youths are annually purchased in the interior of Africa by the Sultan's subjects ; they are driven down to the coast in a most merciless manner, and what portion of these reaches the coast is sold and carried 700 miles north, and this with our concurrence because it does not technically constitute the Slave Trade. It is only towards the latter part of the journey that we interfere by virtue of our Treaty rights. Having succeeded in getting over this dangerous piece of navigation they are once more beyond our reach, having entered the fourth phase, that termed the "domestic slavery" stage.

In order to stimulate the officers and men of Her Majesty's Navy in the fulfilment of the onerous duties devolving on them, it is thought necessary to offer a premium for every slaver or slave captured, and as the investigations made to ascertain whether a dhow is really engaged in the illicit trade are not always very minute, it not unfrequently occurs that a legal trader engaged in legitimate trade is captured and destroyed. This mode of proceeding, against which, I am sorry to say, many complaints have been forwarded to Her Majesty's Government, without any result, has had the unhappy end of estranging from us those who were friendly-disposed towards us in former days, and of crippling the legitimate trade, which is the most powerful instrument we have in hand calculated to supplant the Slave Trade. It results from the foregoing that the field of our exertions should extend not only over the Sultan's territorial seas, as far as it can be done without interfering with the legitimate trade of the country, but over the second phase of the Slave Trade, the land journey also. The concessions that His Highness Seyd Majid has offered to make, namely, that of allowing Her Majesty's cruizers to exercise a right of search and capture in his dominions to the south of Cape Bouillon, thus effectually blockading Kilwa and to the north of Mombassa where slaves have hitherto been accumulated to be carried north in the proper season, was calculated to widen the limits of our power to put a stop to this nefarious trade. The Sultan's new order that his subjects' dhows shall henceforward carry but half the number of slaves they were in the habit of carrying will, to a certain extent, mitigate the sufferings of the slaves in His Highness' territorial seas, but as a preliminary to the total abolition of slavery on this coast, the following measures, in my conception, should be proposed to the Sultan's Ambassadors for their acceptance, viz. :—

1. The stringent prohibition of all Arabs and Soahilis to purchase slaves in the interior of Africa for the markets on the coast.

2. The gradual abolition of the exportation of slaves from the African coast.

3. The confiscation of dhows carrying more slaves than they should be allowed to carry, plying within the limits of the Sultan's territorial waters.

4. The adoption of the plan proposed to, and the acceptance of the concession offered by the Sultan with regard to the right of search and capture by Her Majesty's ships of war to the south of Cape Bouillon, and to the north of Mombassa.

5. The gradual increase of the tax on slaves exported from the coast within the now prohibited limits, so that the value of slaves may become so elevated at last that the lower classes may be unable to possess any.

6. The abolition of the slave-market at Zanzibar.

7. The gradual decrease, as a natural consequence of the adoption of paragraph No. 2 of the importation of slaves in the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba to be determined by mutual agreement ; 17,000 is the present figure. This may be successively reduced to 12,000, 10,000, 8,000, 6,000 and 4,000 a-year, which will be marched from Kilwa to Daresselam, a little to the north of Cape Bouillon.

As a concession on our part a Commissioner may be allowed on the part of the Sultan to be on board every man-of-war engaged in the suppression of the Slave Trade in His Highness' territorial waters, with a view to check the interpreters, who for the most part would not hesitate an instant in leading commanding officers into error as to the nature of the capture, by falsehood and misinterpretation, if they had anything to gain by it.

These, my Lord, are the suggestions that I have ventured to put together for your Lordship's consideration. If they were all accepted they would prove to be important impediments to the Slave Trade, which has become so hateful to the civilized world, and is so injurious to the development of civilization in these regions. I have failed to ascertain how far the Sultan is inclined to go to be agreeable to Her Majesty's Government in this respect. Nor am I authorized to make any overtures to His Highness on the subject.

No. 94.

Consul Churchill to Lord Stanley.—(Received November 9.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, August 30, 1868.

I HAVE the honour to report, for the information of your Lordship, the arrival here on the 25th instant of Her Majesty's ship "Octavia," having on board Commodore Heath, commanding Her Majesty's naval forces in the Indian Ocean.

On the same day Her Majesty's ship "Nymph" arrived from the coast of Madagascar, having captured nine slave-dhows, which have since been adjudicated and condemned in the Vice-Admiralty Court here.

Commodore Heath has been received with all the honour due to his rank by His Highness the Sultan.

At a private interview with the Sultan, a few days after his arrival, Commodore Heath proposed to His Highness, through me, the adoption of certain measures calculated to check the Slave Trade.

The Sultan replied that the matter should receive his fullest consideration, and I shall do myself the honour of transmitting the result in a subsequent despatch.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK,
For H. A. Churchill.

No. 95.

Consul Churchill to Lord Stanley.—(Received November 9.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, September 3, 1868.

YESTERDAY, Commodore Heath and I waited upon the Sultan of Zanzibar to hear His Highness' reply to the Commodore's proposals relative to the suppression of the Slave Trade.

Addressing Commodore Heath, His Highness said, we have consulted our advisers on the proposals made by you and we have determined on adopting the distinguishing marks by which dhows carrying slaves may be known. We are therefore prepared to issue orders to this effect, but it will require a little time before the measure can be put in execution, as it will have to receive publicity.

On the other hand, we have always issued orders conducive to the comforts of the slaves brought from Kilwa. Dhows carrying slaves shall no longer be crowded as they were before, and after a sufficient lapse of time, any dhow with slaves on board that shall not possess the distinctive marks may be arrested by Her Majesty's cruisers, but I should wish those dhows of my subjects, captured within the limits of my dominions, to be brought to Zanzibar, or taken to the nearest port, in order that they may be ultimately brought to Zanzibar for adjudication.

With regard to the proposal that we make a monopoly of the Slave Trade, we have no desire to profit by it. While the proposal to restrict the Traffic between certain limits would prove ruinous to our treasury.

When a man is held by the throat and is between life and death, he can little think of matters of personal interest or pecuniary loss. With us, the payment of a subsidy to the murderer of our brother, is a question exceeding life and death; for it is contrary to the principles of our sacred book to give even bread to a parricide.

We are, at the present moment, about sending Ambassadors to Her Majesty's Government, and we have made our intention known officially to all the Consuls that we appeal to Her Majesty's sense of justice in this matter. If we succeed, we shall then be in a position to support the loss that the adoption of your proposals will necessitate.

The Commodore observed, that with regard to bringing dhows captured in this neighbourhood to Zanzibar, it was not always practicable; for, during the south-west monsoon, no vessel captured to the north of Zanzibar could be towed to that port; but that as Her Majesty's ships-of-war were liable to pay damages in the event of their destroying dhows that were not engaged in the Slave Trade, it appeared to him immaterial what became of the dhows. He added, that with reference to the loss alluded to by His Highness, consequent on the adoption of his proposal, the Sultan, becoming the sole trader in slaves, might levy whatever taxes he chose, and compensate himself by so doing for any diminution in the number of slaves imported into Zanzibar, and that these measures would be detrimental only to the slave-stealers, with whom the Sultan could have no sympathy.

His Highness replied, that he had shown by his acts how much he was opposed to slave-stealing; and reminded the Commodore of his last Decree, in which he pledged himself to destroy every dhow arriving, without papers, from Arabia. The Commodore went on to say that, with regard to the subsidy, he was not in possession of all the papers relating thereto; but, for his part, he could not see what connection there was between the Slave Trade and the subsidy, and he thought that these questions should be discussed on their own merits; that, as far as he could make out, the two sons of a respected friend and ally of Great Britain had referred a misunderstanding that had arisen between them to the decision of Her Majesty Government, and that the latter had decided that Zanzibar being rich should pay an annual subsidy to Muscat, the poorer of the two. His Highness replied that the object of his sending Ambassadors to England was solely for the purpose of petitioning Government with regard to the subsidy.

The Commodore expressed a hope that his Ambassadors would succeed in their undertaking.

For my part I confined myself to interpreting the sentiments of both parties, adding any explanations that I thought necessary to throw light on the subject under discussion.

His Highness has since replied in writing to my letter embodying the Commodore's proposals, a translation of which I beg to transmit to your Lordship.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. Y. A. CHURCHILL.

Inclosure I in No. 95.

Commodore Heath to Consul Churchill.

Sir,

"Octavia," Zanzibar, August 25, 1868.

I HAVE taken the earliest possible opportunity since the conclusion of the Abyssinian war to visit Zanzibar, because I think the time has come for taking more energetic measures than those which have as yet been adopted for putting down the Arabian Slave Trade.

2. Our Treaties with Muscat (binding on Zanzibar since the separation of the two countries) date from 1843, since which time, although England has kept up a large naval force with a view to suppressing this Traffic, there has been no diminution, but rather an increase, of the number of slaves exported from the dominions of His Highness the Sultan.

This export Trade is carried on under cover of the local Trade, which was legalized by the Treaty of 1843, and the experience of twenty-five years shows that there will be no chance of putting it down unless a very broad line of distinction is drawn between it and the local Traffic.

It is with this view that I beg you will propose to His Highness the Sultan—

1st. That he should make the Slave Trade a Government monopoly, and indemnify himself by its profits for the loss of the existing Custom-house duties, or else make it a private monopoly under strict inspection, indemnifying himself by a largely increased import duty.

2ndly. That the vessels employed should either be vessels of European build, or, if dhows, that they should be painted a distinctive colour (say all red), and that the sails should be marked with a distinctive mark (say a large black cross extending right across the sail).

3rdly. That the Traffic should be confined to one port (say Daroa Salam) on the coast of Africa, and one port (say Zanzibar) on the island of Zanzibar.

4thly. That all intermediate Traffic by sea between ports on the mainland be forbidden, as also all direct importations from the mainland to Pemba, or other island dependencies, which should be supplied solely by Government vessels from Zanzibar.

5thly. That the Traffic so regulated shall be legal only, as at present, between May 1 and January 1.

It would be as well that His Highness should be made aware that I submit these proposals for his consideration solely in accordance with my general instructions to do my best to put down the East African foreign Slave Trade, and that I have no special mission on the subject.

I have, &c.

(Signed) C. G. HEATH.

Inclosure 2 in No. 95.

The Sultan of Zanzibar to Consul Churchill.

(Translation.)

(After compliments.)

September 2, 1868.

YOUR letter has been received, and your friend has understood its contents. With the help of God we will adopt the distinguishing marks for the dhows carrying slaves from Kilwa, in order that they may be known thereby by their sails; for this, however, some four months' time will be required to make the measure known; but let every dhow taken with slaves on board within the limits, being unprovided with the distinguishing marks, be brought by Her Majesty's ships of war to Zanzibar or to the nearest port to the place of capture.

Know this, &c.

Written on the 14th day of Jemadee-ul-ewwel, 1285.

From your friend,

(Signed) MAJID BIN SAEED.

No. 96.

Consul Churchill to Lord Stanley.—(Received November 9.)

(Extract.)

Zanzibar, September 27, 1868.

SINCE the establishment of a Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar, in the month of November last, twelve cases have been brought before me for adjudication, each of which had to be gone into with minuteness, and in the presence of a delegate from the Sultan of Zanzibar, in order that the interests of His Highness' subjects might be fairly represented. I am happy to be able to say, that since the institution of the Vice-Admiralty Court, no fresh complaint against Her Majesty's ships of war has come to my knowledge, and every forfeiture has been greeted with apparent satisfaction by Seyd Majid. I think it can now be justly said, that by this institution a standing grievance has been happily disposed of. The inhabitants of Zanzibar appreciate European justice. As a proof of this statement I may mention that in eighty civil cases that passed through the Consular Court of Zanzibar within the first twelve months after my arrival—in which upwards of 54,000 dollars were awarded—only two appeals have been made against my judgments, of which one has been withdrawn; and the Sultan is fully convinced that the Vice-Admiralty Court would harbour no arbitrary proceeding.

If, during the Abyssinian war, when most of the cruisers were off the station, twelve cases in ten months have been brought before this Vice-Admiralty Court, your Lordship may judge how the work of this office is likely to increase in the course of time, when the cruisers will return to this coast.