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Class B.

EAST COAST OF AFRICA.

CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

THE SLAVE TRADE

AND

OTHER MATTERS.

From January 1 to December 31, 1869.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. 1870.

LONDON:

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Class B.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH BRITISH REPRESENTATIVES AND AGENTS ABROAD.

FRANCE.

No. 1.

The Earl of Clarendon to Lord Lyons.

My Lord, Foreign Office, June 4, 1869.

I TRANSMIT herewith, for your Excellency's information, a copy of a letter which I have received from the French Ambassador at this Court, together with a copy of my reply relative to the complaints which are stated to have reached the French Government of the proceedings of British cruizers engaged in the suppression of the Slave Trade on the East Coast of Africa.

I am, &c. (Signed) CLARENDON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 1.

The Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne to the Earl of Clarendon.

M. le Comte, Londres, le 23 Mai, 1869.

POUR me conformer aux instructions que je reçois de mon Gouvernement, j'ai l'honneur d'appeler l'attention de votre Excellence sur une demande d'indemnité formée par MM. Rabaud frères, Roux de Fraissinet et Cie., négociants armateurs à Marseille, à l'occasion du préjudice que leur aurait causé un navire de la Marine Royale Britannique, en coulant, dans les eaux de notre établissement à Nossi-bé, le boutre Arabe "Salama"

chargé pour leur compte.

Ce boutre, naviguant sous pavillon Ova, appartenait à la femme Arabe Ben-Salimon, domiciliée à Mouroung-sang; il avait été frêté par le représentant de MM. Rabaud et Cie., pour apporter à Nossi-Lava divers produits réunis sur ce point, et il se dirigeait, avec sa cargaison, vers Nossi-bé, lorsqu'à l'entrée même de la rade, il fut arrêté par un bâtiment Anglais dont le nom n'est pas indiqué avec certitude, mais qu'on croit être la "Dryade," et qui croisait dans ces parages pour réprimer la Traite de Nègres. L'équipage et les passagers du "Salama" furent mis à terre à Kissounmany, les marchandises chargées à bord du bâtiment Anglais, et le boutre coulé au large.

MM. Rabaud frères, Roux de Fraissinet et Cie., réclament du Gouvernement Anglais, en réparation du dommage qu'ils ont subi, une indemnité de 6,000 francs. Dans ce compte le coût primitif des denrées (cire jaune, écaille et billes d'ébène) que transportait pour eux le "Salama" figure pour 2,610 francs; le reste de la somme demandée représente les frais considérables faits pour ce chargement et le détriment causé par le

manque de marchandises qu'attendait à Nossi-bé un navire Français.

M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères en me chargeant de soumettre à votre Excellence la réclamation de MM. Rabaud et Cie., qui lui a été recommandée par M. l'Amiral Rigault de Genouilly, m'invite à signaler, en même temps, au Gouvernement de la Reine les plaintes adressées, d'une manière générale, depuis quelque temps, au

CLASS B. [171]

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Ministre de la Marine par les négociants Français sur les côtes de l'Afrique Orientale contre les procédés arbitraires des bâtiments Anglais employés à la répression de la Traite, et à lui demander de vouloir bien prescrire les mesures qu'il jugera propres à empêcher le retour d'actes préjudiciables aux intérêts de notre commerce.

Je serai, en conséquence, très obligé à votre Excellence de vouloir bien me faire connaître l'accueil que le Gouvernement de la Reine aura fait à cette communication, et je

saisis, &c.

(Signé)

PCE. DE LA TOUR D'AUVERGNE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 1.

The Earl of Clarendon to Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne.

M. l'Ambassadeur,

Foreign Office, May 31, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter of the 23rd instant, calling attention to a claim for indemnity, amounting to 6,000 francs, preferred by Messrs. Rabaud Brothers of Marseilles, for losses alleged to have been sustained by them in consequence of the sinking by a British cruizer, supposed to be Her Majesty's ship "Dryad," on the East Coast of Africa, of the Arab vessel "Salama," which had been freighted on account of Messrs. Rabaud.

Your Excellency at the same time invites the attention of Her Majesty's Government to the almost general complaints which have for some time past been addressed to the Minister of Marine by French merchants on the East Coast of Africa, of the arbitrary proceedings of British cruizers employed in the suppression of the Slave Trade, and your Excellency requests that measures may be taken to prevent a recurrence of acts prejudicial

to French commerce.

I beg leave, in reply, to acquaint your Excellency that the Admiralty will be asked for a report of the circumstances connected with the destruction of the "Salama," and as soon as I shall have received the requisite information, I will not fail to address you

further on the subject of Messrs. Rabaud's claim.

With regard to the complaints of the arbitrary proceedings of the commanders of British cruziers engaged in the suppression of the Slave Trade on the East Coast of Africa, I would beg leave to observe that cases of interference with legal traders may occasionally arise, and that it is impossible from the nature of things to prevent it where, as is the case on that coast, nearly every native vessel engages in Slave Traffic if a favourable opportunity offers for doing so.

Her Majesty's Government, however, have the whole question connected with the Slave Trade on the East Coast under consideration, and trust to be enabled shortly to make such dispositions as will reduce to a minimum, if not prevent entirely, the possi-

bility of any interference on the part of British Commanders with legal traders.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

CLARENDON.

No. 2.

The Earl of Clarendon to Lord Lyons.

My Lord,

Foreign Office, June 5, 1869.

HER Majesty's Consul and Political Agent at Zanzibar has recently called the attention of Her Majesty's Government to the rapid increase in the number of native craft under the French flag, and the reason given for the assumption by these native vessels of French colours is, that it protects them in carrying on the Slave Trade.

Captain Meara, the Commander of Her Majesty's ship "Nymphe," informed Her Majesty's Consul that where there were five vessels under the French flag last year, this season he found fifty; and that, on boarding them, he invariably found their papers

regular.

Captain Meara was told on one occasion, that although there were negroes on board, he had no right to inquire whether they were slaves or not, and he adds that if the system of sailing under French colours continued much longer the efforts of British cruizers for the suppression of the Slave Trade between Zanzibar and Madagascar would be fruitless.

I have to instruct your Excellency to bring this matter to the notice of the French Government, and in doing so, your Excellency will state that Her Majesty's Government

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feel convinced that nothing is further from the wish and intention of the Government of the Emperor than to countenance any measures tending to encourage the Traffic in Slaves; yet the indiscriminate granting of French papers and colours to vessels that are not bond fide French owned, by withdrawing those vessels from the scrutiny of British cruizers, affords obvious encouragement and opportunities to the owners of Arab and other native craft to engage in the Slave Trade, of which they will not be slow to avail themselves, and you will express the earnest hope of Her Majesty's Government that the French authorities in the Indian Ocean may be instructed not to afford the protection of the French flag to native craft except in cases where they are well assured that its use will not be abused for Slave Trade purposes.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

CLARENDON.

No. 3.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received June 12.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I have this day addressed a note to the French Government in the terms of your Lordship's despatch of the 5th instant, respecting the protection afforded by the French flag to slave-traders on the Zanzibar Coast.

I have, &c. (Signed) L

LYONS.

No. 4.

The Earl of Clarendon to Lord Lyons.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 5th ultimo, I transmit to your Excellency herewith copies of a letter and its inclosure from the Commander of the East Coast of Africa squadron,* reporting the circumstances under which the Commander of Her Majesty's ship "Nymphe" had boarded several dhows sailing under the French flag, and to all appearance more or less engaged in the Slave Trade; and I have to instruct your Excellency to bring the substance of the inclosed papers to the knowledge of the French Government.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

CLARENDON.

No. 5.

Lord Lyons to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received July 12.)

(Extract.)

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of a note with which, in obedience to your Lordship's instructions, I have transmitted to the Marquis de Lavalette a paper giving the substance of the reports from Commodore Sir Leopold Heath and Commander Meara, copies of which were inclosed in your Lordship's despatch of the 7th instant, and relating to the boarding dhows under French colours, apparently engaged in the Slave Trade.

Inclosure in No. 5.

Lord Lyons to M. de Lavalette.

M. le Ministre,

WITH reference to my note of the 11th of last month, on the subject of the assumption of French colours by native vessels on the East Coast of Africa, I have the honour, in

FRANCE.

obedience to the instructions of Her Majesty's Principal Secretary for Foreign Affairs to lay before you a paper giving the substance of reports, which will explain to your Excellency the circumstances under which several dhows sailing under French colours, and to all appearance more or less engaged in the Slave Trade, were boarded by the Commander of Her Majesty's ship "Nymphe."

I have, &c. (Signed) LYONS.

No. 6.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. West.

Foreign Office, October 2, 1869.
WITH reference to my despatches of the 5th June and 7th July, I have to instruct you to inform the French Government that Her Majesty's Government continue to receive representations of the frequent use of the French flag by vessels engaged in the Slave Trade on the East Coast of Africa; that the Slave Trade on that coast is reported to be increasing in activity; and that the efforts of Her Majesty's cruizers to check it are seriously thwarted by this abuse of French protection. You will also state that Her Majesty's Government are most anxious to receive an answer to the previous representations which Lord Lyons has made regarding this important question.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

CLARENDON.

No. 7.

Mr. West to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 9.)

My Lord, Paris, October 8, 1869.

IN obedience to the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch No. 9 of the

2nd instant, I informed the Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne that Her Majesty's Government had received representations respecting the abuse of the French flag by vessels engaged in the Slave Trade on the East Coast of Africa, and that they were anxious to receive an an answer from the French Government to communications addressed by Lord Lyons on this subject.

Prince de la Tour d'Auvergne placed in my hands yesterday a Memorandum on my communication, copy of which I have the honour to inclose herewith to your Lordship.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

L. S. SACKVILLE WEST.

Inclosure in No. 7.

Memorandum.

PAR une lettre en date du 4 de ce mois, M. le Représentant de Sa Majesté Britannique a appelé de nouveau l'attention du Ministre sur l'abus du pavillon Français que feraient à la Côte Orientale d'Afrique des embarcations indigènes employées à la Traite des Noirs. Cette question, dont son Excellence Lord Lyons a entretenu en Juin et Juillet dernier le Département, n'a pas été perdue de vue, et avis a été donné à l'Ambassade de Sa Majesté Britannique que le Ministère de la Marine, tout spécialement compétent en pareille matière, avait demandé aux Agents de son Administration des éclaircissements au sujet des faits qui nous étaient dénoncés. L'éloignement des parages où ces faits se seraient produits n'a pas permis de recevoir encore les renseignements demandés; ce retard ne paraîtra du reste, sans doute, pas surprenant au Gouvernement Britannique, qui a dû réclamer à la même époque et dans les mêmes contrées, à propos de la réclamation que nous lui avions presentée au nom de M. Rabaud, des renseignements qui ne paraissent pas non plus lui être parvenus.

Le 7 Octobre, 1869.

GERMANY.

No. 8.

Mr. Gordon to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received April 23.)

Stuttgardt, April 15, 1869. I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a despatch from Mr. Cope, with its several inclosures, which reached me too late yesterday to be forwarded by the weekly messenger. Its object is to cover an interesting Memorandum on the East African Slave Trade to Egypt and Arabia, prepared by Dr. Wilhelm Schimpfer, a Baden naturalist, who seems to have resided long in the countries on both sides of the Red Sea, and to be well acquainted with the haunts and routes followed by the slave-traders, and with the various connivance and opposition which they meet with from the authorities of the different localities.

The Memorandum has been communicated to Mr. Cope through Baron Freydorf, by the kindness of the Grand Duke of Baden, to whom it was addressed (in consequence of the absence of Mr. Munzinger, for whom it was originally intended, from Massowah), with the request that His Royal Highness would cause it to be forwarded to Her Majesty's Government; and Mr. Cope has ably fulfilled the laborious task of translating the

documents in question.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

G. J. R. GORDON.

Inclosure 1 in No. 8.

Mr. Cope to Mr. Gordon.

Carlsruhe, April 8, 1869.

Sir, I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, a translation of a letter and its inclosures, relating to the East African Slave Trade, which I have received from Baron von Freydorf.

Dr. Wilhelm Schimpfer, the writer of the inclosed Memorandum, is, Baron Freydorf informs me, a naturalist who has spent several years in Abyssinia and Arabia.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

EDMUND W. COPE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 8.

Baron von Freydorf to Mr. Cope.

(Translation.)

Carlsruhe, March 27, 1869.

Šir, THROUGH the assistance of the Consulate of the North German Confederation at Port Said, and of the Grand Ducal Consulate at Marseilles, a letter from Dr. Wilhelm Schimpfer, dated from Adoa in the Province of Tigré, in Abyssinia, on the 10th November, 1868, addressed to His Royal Highness the Grand Duke, has lately come to hand, inclosed in which was a copy of a Memorandum, relative to the Slave Trade in Abyssinia, which had been addressed to Mr. Munzinger, Her Britannic Majesty's Vice-Consul in Massowah.

Dr. Schimpfer had at the time sent the original of this Memorandum direct to the abovementioned British Vice-Consul, in order to give him useful information for the taking of effective measures against the Slave Trade, but as Mr. Munzinger, when the letter addressed to him arrived, had already left his post, and so the Memorandum could

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not come into his possession, the writer of it sent a request to the Grand Duke, graciously to cause a copy of the said paper to be forwarded to Her Majesty's Government, so that the British Government, if it thought fit to do so, might make use of the contents of it for the suppression of the Slave Trade.

As the Memorandum contains several remarks which show themselves to be the result of many years of observation, and as especially the minute description of the roads used by the Slave Trade might afford ways and means for an effectual suppression of this Traffic in human beings, I am instructed by my august Sovereign to forward, according to the wish of Dr. Wilhelm Schimpfer, a copy of the said Memorandum for Her Britannic

Majesty's Government.

I have the honour therefore to forward to you the accompanying copy, certified in the Registry of the Department of the private correspondence of the Grand Duke, of the Memorandum by Dr. W. Schimpfer, together with two plans, with the request that you will kindly submit the same, with the proper explanations, to Her Majesty's Foreign Office; and I take the liberty of adding that the writer of the Memorandum hoped by the communication of the results of his many years of observation of the Traffic in human beings in Abyssinia, that is to say of the slave-markets, the roads taken by the slave caravans, and the shipping and landing places on the coast of the Red Sea, to place Her Britannic Majesty's Vice-Consul in Massowah in a position to help the Commanders of the English ships of war, which cruize in the waters washing the East Coast of Africa, in the taking of effective measures for a complete suppression of the Slave Trade, as the accurate knowledge of the landing-places in Arabia, where the cargoes of slaves are received by the purchasers seemed to be of great importance for the capture of the slave-ships.

Accept, &c. (Signed) von FREYDORF.

Inclosure 3 in No. 8.

Memorandum by Dr. W. Schimpfer relative to East African Slave Trade.

(Translation.)

DEDSCHASMADSCH KASSAI, as Regent of Tigré, forwards to you a letter addressed to Her Majesty the Queen of England, in which he expresses his determination to abolish the Slave Trade, and with this view he prays the help of the English officials, and particularly your own. As to the way in which your assistance will probably be required experience must decide, as many conflicting interests will have to be combated, and particularly dissensions with the Turkish officials, as it is the Turkish Governors on the frontier who, in spite of the prohibition, secretly support this Traffic.

To begin with, a definite course is necessary, and is at the same time in some measure difficult, because, as you well know, the greater part of the high land of Abyssinia, inhabited by Christians, is surrounded by a kind of desert, scantily peopled by uncivilized races—half Mahommedan, half nomad—which district is in every way favourable to smuggling, there being several hiding-places which are difficult to watch, and it is especially people belonging to these different, almost independent tribes, who occupy themselves with buying and selling of Abyssinian children, as well as stealing them, and who give profitable help to the

smugglers who are engaged in the trade of Galla and negro slaves.

These districts are on the north-western slopes of Wolhait, belonging to Addi Abo, of Schire, and to Kohaim, of Hamasjèn; in the other direction, on the north-eastern slopes of Akullogussay and Agamé. The tribes of (or beyond) Wolkaïh and Addi Abo, called Schamgallas, a mixture of old Ethiopian, Arabian, and negro elements. At Hamasjen the Abyssinian inhabitants on the frontier partially engage in this infamous Traffic, as do the Hall-hall and the Bogos, and also branches of the Habab tribe. The inhabitants of the frontier of the highland of Akullogussay, that is Abyssinia mixed with Schoho, willingly encourage the Slave Trade. The Schoho and Taltals tribe, who dwell in the mountainous districts near the Red Sea, beyond Akullogussay and Agamé, in the greatest uncivilization, occupy themselves at the present moment with stealing human beings and with secretly forwarding the slaves, which are brought through their barren territory by Mahommedans.

It appears that from Lasta, or rather by way of Lasta, Ayeba-Galla and Eudarte, with the help of the frontier inhabitants of Agamé and of Schumat-Sana, and the assistance of the Schoho and Taltal tribes slaves are brought to the inhabitants of the sea coast in the district of Adulis, and south-east of that place. The inhabitants of the sea coast are Dannakils, a small remnant undoubtedly of a tribe of Gallas, strongly mixed with Arabian

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elements. These people are sailors and fishermen, who carry on a small trade with Confuda, Hodaida, and Mocha, where they deposit a few slaves, a fact I noticed at the time at these three places.

It is possible that the Turkish Governor of Massowah is not aware of this, but it cannot escape the notice of the Naib (Governor of the mainland). The Turkish Governors as well as the troops in Massowah are so often changed, that they cannot attain a correct knowledge of the country. The Naib, however, who is in a measure dependent on these Governors, but who deceives them, is an hereditary appointment, going from father to son, and from family connection he must be well aware of the trade of the Dannakils and other tribes on the coast.

Among the Dannakils I found Abyssinian children as slaves, who had openly been brought there by theft, and about whom I gained some information in Addigrat (Agamé) through a convicted thief, whose hands had been cut off by order of Dedsch-Kassai, son of Sohagadis (Feuer Kassai is dead; not, however, the present Regent of Tigré of the same name).

Slaves are secretly brought to Harkiko (the residence of the Naib on the mainland) from Halai and the neighbourhood; apparently owing to the prohibition they are not brought to Massowah, but secretly from there to the district of Habab, from whence they are taken from one to three at a time unnoticed to Hadaida, Lidd, or Gedda, by fishermen from the sea-coast of Arabia. Fishing is carried on by the Arabians more on the African than on the Arabian coast on account of the coral reefs, as it is amongst those that the fish are mostly to be found. The fish are salted and dried on the spot, and are then sold in the sea-port towns of Arabia. The Naib and Governor of Massowah are secret protectors of the Slave Trade in Harkiko, and they are also accessories, who derive advantage from this Traffic.

Wora, a not unimportant place between Hamasjèn and the highland of Bcgos, is one of the principal scenes of the Slave Trade. It has a position well hidden, on the confines of a wooded desert, and is some distance from the Christianized village of Hamasjèn, and inhabited only by Mahommedans who carry on farming and cattle-breeding operations, but trade especially in slaves, has for these purposes allies among the Mohammedans of the inner Christian highlands of Tigré. In Adoa and its neighbourhood the places chiefly to to be counted on are,—the village of Mai Sigamo, in the district of Addi Abum (Memsach), and farther on; the whole district of Mösba (with the sovereignty of which the Naib of Harkiko is temporarily and most curiously invested a most impolitic proceeding, as the Naib (1845) is actually the servant of Turkey. In the year 1836, the Naib, in consideration of a monthly payment of 1,500 thalers (2251.), was the Protector of Turkish interests in Massowah, and the Turkish Governor paid an official visit to the Naib, who till then had been officially in the service of Abyssinia (Agamé-Tigré).

Members of the confederation of the towns of Bellan and Molochseto, in the district of Zewan Quilla, and not less in the villages of Maibesso and Endarharat in the province of Antitscho, bring single slaves, secretly, to Wora, particularly children stolen from the Christian population of Tigré, of which fact I was convinced by what I saw in Wora, and also near this village I released a child who had been stolen from one of my own people;

the thief, who I knew, was hung by order of Prince Ubye.

From Wora the slaves are conducted to the country of Habab, on which coast are several harbour-like places which are frequented by Arabian fishermen, who take single slaves to the Arabian Coast in their small barks from whence they go to Mecca and the neighbourhood.

The spot on the northern frontier of Habab's country which coral reefs make into a kind of harbour, and where more particularly the shipment of single slaves takes place, is

called Mersa Mandele.

In the Haseri country, north of Nabab's territory, slaves are also shipped in the same

way, that is, to Mersa Abid.

The large bay of Agik is one of the principal places for smuggling, and slaves are embarked there, singly and also in hundreds. On a small island in this bay, bearing the same name, is a Turkish garrison of twelve men, who make great gains by this Traffic.

The mainland is thickly populated, and is called Scheaura.

The island of Agik is scantily peopled, and contains about twenty miserable huts; is a place of transport trade in butter, honey, and goats. It is flat, being but little above the level of the sea, and not healthy.

Farther north, about six hours south-west of Souakin, is Mersa Hadub, a place of

exportation of single slaves.

The Turks have certainly forbidden the Traffic in Slaves, but, notwithstanding, it is

carried on with very little secresy, only that those people who conduct slaves do not unload their vessels at Gedda where European Consuls reside, but at Lidd, a day's

journey only, to the south-east of Gedda.

North-west of Souakin is the large bay of Mersa Derur. The monument of the Marabut Schech Bergut is on a promontory stretching far out to sea, and owing to the glittering white of the building it acts as a beacon to the fishermen who see it from a great distance. Some of the elevated coral reefs in this large irregular bay are inhabited, and occasionally favoured with a small Turkish garrison of from five to ten men strong, placed there to prevent smuggling; but these guardians of order, instead of preventing, encourage smuggling, as well as the shipment of slaves, receiving bribes in the most unprincipled manner.

Skins, honey, butter, and slaves are exported from here to Suez and Gedda. The slaves are disembarked on the African Coast at the entrance of a wide valley opposite El Tor, and are probably taken from there to Cairo. The mainland near Mersa Derur, Marabut Schech Bergut, is thickly peopled by the shepherd tribe of Amaret or Amma

Erret, who border on Bischarieh on the north.

About forty hours (to walk) north-west of Souakin is the useful deep bay Sellak-sereir, another principal place for the export of slaves. I found here, in 1857, about 200 slaves, in two large vessels, who probably had been embarked at the above-mentioned bay of Agik, and who were being taken to Lidd and from there with the secret official help of the Governor of Gedda, some to Gedda itself, but the greater part to Mecca. I found it impossible to ascertain the birth-place of these slaves; although they had black faces their bodies were more of the Galla than of the negro type.

There is no doubt that the Turkish Governor of Kassala (as well as the Governors of Souakin and Massowah) are well aware of the trade in all these places. All these Governors enrich themselves by the official prohibition of the Slave Trade because they secretly encourage it and retain, for themselves, the duty which ought to be levied. (The vessels from the coast seldom go from Souakin direct to Gedda, but generally make for the African coast far north in order to sail from there over the high seas and benefit by the north wind.)

The slaves from Lidd do not all go to Mecca, they come from Lidd along a part of Wadi Bahara to the mud village of Adda, inhabited by freed negro slaves who look after and lodge them; it is only a few hours from Mecca on the much frequented road which leads from Gedda to this holy city. Owing to the proximity of Mecca it is free from any surveillance of European Consuls, and owing to the extreme religious fanaticism of the Mahometans it is also free from surveillance of any Mahometan officials. But European surveillance is quite possible in Lidd. The caravans of slaves are generally divided in the negro village of Adda, a portion going by way of Wadifatme, one to one and a-half hours north of Mecca, and Madora to the town of Saima, inhabited by a thieving rabble. Saima, like Mecca, is in a kettle-like valley surrounded on all sides by hills, and here a trade of a few slaves is carried on. The remainder of the caravan goes across the sandy valley of Wadi Sehl, and over a lower ridge of the mountain of Karra to Tayf. Another portion of the caravan goes to the east along the beautiful cistern road of Wadi Soci to a western suburb of Mecca, where it is again divided; part entering the town, and part turning off to the south and south-east beyond the citadel of Mecca, past the southern suburb of Samieh, which is busied with all kinds of trade, and where it remains some time for some unaccountable reason, as no steps seem to be taken to dispose of the slaves. From Samieh the further route of the slaves is to the east along the broad district of Naaman and past an Abdia Bel el Scherif, where beautiful gardens are sheltered by palm date-trees, and then passing the sacred Gebel Arafat to the beginning of the valley of Naaman where Near Arafat the valley becomes narrower with singular turns and slaves are often sold. twists, and is then called Wadi Thama, where two hamlets are; one stationary and the A fine artificial road leads zig-zag over the high mountain of Karra to a smooth well-formed plateau (gneis), about 8,000 (7,500) feet above the level of the sea; here there is the large but ill-built village of Hadda where barley is cultivated and fruit culture carried on. In spite of there occasionally being snow in the months of December and January, and with the thermometer at + 2 to + 10 degrees Reaumur; figs, almonds, lemons, apples, pears, plums, apricots, peaches, thrive here. The inhabitants are red Arabians of fine form. But few slaves are bought here for agricultural purposes, for even if the Arab of the country farms he is still more or less of a nomad, and does not willingly have strangers about him.

From Hada the route lies in a south-easterly direction, ascending for 2,000 feet to the

village of Geru, where some slaves are generally sold.

An hour from Geru is Tayf, where slaves, and also beautiful female slaves from Abyssinia and the Galla countries, are to be met with. Tayf is one of the most beautiful, as well as

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one of the pleasantest towns of Arabia, and has about 5,000 inhabitants, who carry on farming to a large extent, as well as cultivation of the vine. Here, as in Rhenish Bavaria, the vines are kept low. Barley, wheat, durra (that is, sorgheim), are here cultivated in a temperature which, in the course of the year, varies from + 7 to 23 degrees of Reaumur.

Tayf is perhaps rather more than 4,000 feet above the level of the sea, and it is one

Tayf is perhaps rather more than 4,000 feet above the level of the sea, and it is one of the cleanest of all the towns that I saw in the East; in fact, such cleanliness as is to be found there in the houses and streets, is seldom met with even in Europe. The streets are wide, and very much in straight lines. The private houses of the native citizens have only one story, but are cheerful, light, and most carefully looked after in every way, although the owners are only farmers who keep oxen, sheep, and goats. This town is very striking from the number of watch-towers in the walls which surround its many palatial houses; also many houses with two and three stories built by rich Arabians of the higher classes who reside at Mecca, but who here spend, very agreeably, the hot months, which would be unbearable in Mecca; it is these richer classes who purchase slaves to look after their gardens, and who attract the dealers. This seems to be the last point where Abyssinian slaves, i.e., those who come from Abyssinia, are sold.

Tayf is about 100 English miles from Gedda. There I found slaves who were stolen, Abyssinian Christians converted to Mahomedanism. In Wadi Thama I found a small nomad race, old Ethiopians, or are they freed Abyssinian slaves of past generations? The

root of their dialect is Gees.

Tayf lies at the beginning, or rather the end of the paradise-like portion of Arabia. Immediately outside the northern gate of the town, begin the vast barren deserts, where there is no water (tertiary, lime-stone, and chalk formation), which lie to the south of the district of Wohabi, and where constant and lasting simooms come, transforming the passing traveller into a kind of mummy, and leaving him half-conscious, and in many cases lifeless, and dries up the entire system. Tayf is reckoned to be twelve or fourteen days' journey from the northern end of the desert, i.e., to the beginning of the district of Nedsch. There are but few oases in the midst of this vast barren tract. Immediately beyond the southern gate of the city of Tayf begins the cultivated land, high mountains, and rich grass valleys, resembling in many respects some of the districts of Abyssinia; and from one to one and-a-half days' journey further south, are the mountains (10,000 feet high) of Gurnads; the highest peak of which is sometimes covered with snow and hail, the valleys being perpetually green. The powerful tribe of Beni Sephian carries on farming to a large extent. This is the northern frontier of Asir Arabians. I did not find any actual slaves there; but in the inner uninhabited valley of Gurnads, half desert, half steppe, I again found some of the same small nomad tribe of Ethiopian extraction, which I had seen in Wadi Thama. The fact of this race being found in many parts of this portion of Arabia, gives rise to the conjecture that, according to the saying, the Ethiopians must at one time have forced themselves into Arabia for a short period. (Here belongs the remark, that the present inhabitants of the highland of Tigré, Lassa, and Wolkaih, and the greater part of Abyssinia, have many elements in common with the Arabians of Hadrament.) I found no one in this small wandering tribe who could give any information as to their origin; and I could not question other better-informed Arabians, for the condition of this country is such, that I deemed it expedient to avoid much intercourse with men; and by choosing unfrequented roads, to be as little seen as possible. The features, colour, and hair of these solitary wandering tribes, and their bodily form and character are identical with the Abyssinians of the present day, near Hamajèn. dialect resembles that spoken in the district of Modat.

The mountains and vegetation strongly recalls that of Abyssinia, particularly the towns and grouping of the trees. The meteorological relations and the elevation of the land is very similar to the high land of Bogos, near Hamasjèn in Abyssinia (the formation as there and in Abyssinia is chiefly granite, synite, gneis, clay, dolerit, trachyt, and larage bilde). The shape of the mountains resembles those of Adoa, but there, the transition limestone formation shows itself by petrefactions (goniatites, trilobiten, and delthyris), chiefly, however, secondary limestone, which shows itself by ammonites, lithographical stone, and Terebratula vulgaris (near Antalo, the same terebratula kind is also found, which points to the fact that the period of the formation of Arabia must have been identical with that of Abyssinia). These limestone deposits at the foot of the higher mountains are only found partially and in small quantities in the high land of Arabia-Asin, and they are generally mixed with clay, precisely in the same way as in many districts of Abyssinia. The larger limestone formations, containing clay in larger quantities, has been transformed in many places into dolerit by volcanic power, and by the same process the limestone has become separated from the clay (there have also been gentle volcanic eruptions), and by the change scattered on the

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surface as kidney-shaped limestone, or also impressed with dammerde, which can be

recognized, as it is constantly found in ploughing.

Excuse me for thus writing about things irrelevant to the Slave Trade, the cause of my loquacity is the great need of conversation, which I cannot enjoy here, as there is no one with whom I can converse, and there are times when talking is almost a necessity, at any rate, it can injure no one if I make some remarks on countries which are but little frequented.

I have brought before you the Slave Trade to the Red Sea, and from there to Arabia, without being able to give any exact account as to the number of slaves who pass through this portion of Abyssinia, it must, however, be considerable, for, notwithstanding the export by routes not under inspection, the Customs of Tigre, Eudarte, Wolkeit, and Wogara, as also from Halai to Gondar, and to there from Wolkait and Eudarte, from the year 1836 to 1855, have brought in the yearly receipt of from 8,000 to 10,000 thalers (and there is but little doubt that a like sum is lost to the Regent by the fraud of his employés). The above calculations do not include the Customs receipts on ordinary articles of commerce. Several slaves go from Godscham and its neighbourhood by Matemma to the Sennaar, and from there to Egypt. In Khartoom, the sale of slaves is encouraged by some ill-conditioned. avaricious Europeans. And in Matemma there is actually a European to be found who deals in slaves (?). Formerly some slaves went from Schoo and the Adal to the Arabian seaport of Mocca (Mokka).

I have given two instances above of punishment to slave-traders, the public execution of which takes place in the market-place. It is to be remarked that these punishments are not on account of the Slave Trade, but on account of the theft of Christian children, which perhaps would not take place without the presence of a European friendly to the The Abyssinian Chiefs feel the bitter shame which attaches to the Slave

Trade, but the demon of avarice makes them put up with what is evil.

The Traffic in Slaves from the Galla and negro countries has been permitted up to the present time, and was (is!) allowed because the Chiefs willingly saw large sums pour into For some years the open trade in slaves has visibly decreased, because their treasury.

guards are placed on the frontier by order of the English Consulate.

The Emperor Theodore—now no longer, very fortunate—forbade the sale of slaves; but this prohibition was only a feigned one to deceive Europe (England!); he not only countenanced it without any feeling of shame, but constantly levied the tax on passing slaves after the issue of this prohibition, and even went so far as himself to point out to caravans of slaves the best bye-roads. One reason of the diminution of the Traffic is, that many purchasers will no longer risk their money on account of the prohibitions of other countries, preferring to use it in other equally profitable ways.

Owing to the changeableness of the Abyssinian character, the question naturally arises as to whether the written and uttered intention of the Dedschasmadsch Kassai, of abolishing slavery, will be honestly carried out? Although I can answer for it that this Chief will unwillingly see a diminution of his revenue, I firmly believe he will willingly forego this pecuniary advantage, as he has come to the conclusion that an alliance with England will be of far greater importance to him than anything he can gain by countenancing this miserable Traffic.

Another question arises as to whether the Dedschasmadsch Kassai can depend on his Government in this matter? Public opinion differs very much on this point. present moment all the Chiefs subject to the Dedschasmadsch Kassai are persons totally inexperienced in all matters of business; many have the option to act as they like, in consequence of which many districts become barren and desert, with few or no inhabitants. These drawbacks on all sides must be very intimidating. In justice to Kassai, it must be borne in mind that by the singular formation of his Government he was, in a way, obliged to attract people towards him, and to give way to their covetous desire until the time came when he could tighten the reins of Government. He appears now to be really dissatisfied with the savage barbarism of his subjects, and would willingly do every thing to promote the welfare of the country. He has privately confided to me his scheme for issuing stringent orders—verily a pleasant expressing of a most praiseworthy idea.

If, after the issue of such an order, the observance of it is not injudiciously enforced, and if it does not appear too late, the arrogance of his subject chiefs can be suppressed, and all threatening danger from that quarter diminished: much good can then be attained in case he is not attached by Dedschasmadsch Gobasie, who reigns at present throughout

Amhaaraland?

It is the opinion of the public generally, as well as of many capable chiefs, that he, Kassai, is not a favourite with Gobasie, but I have reason to suppose that Dedschasmadsch 11

Gobasie has so much to do in looking after his over-expanding kingdom that, if he is wise, he would not think of attacking Tigré at once; and General Sir Robert Napier exhorted him, as well as other chiefs, to preserve a peaceful demeanor.

You will blame me for my many queries, but perhaps you will allow that they are not without reason, as the condition of the country and the discretion of the Regent of

Abyssinia, is all most doubtful.

The expressed opinion of the Dedschasmadsch Kassai, who is at present acting as Regent of Tigris, is so good that it must be respected and honoured, and from the anticipation of his strengthening in good and in the necessary knowledge, we must wish for the

security of his position as Regent.

Two more Remarks.—There is a great demand for Galla-Abyssinian slaves in Arabia, and for this reason, the greater part of those stolen from Abyssinia are taken to Mecca I found 63 stolen Tigréan boys and girls there in the space of and the neighbourhood. thirty by twelve square miles. These slaves find ample employment in the service of the richer inhabitants of Mecca, Tayf, and the neighbourhood. Negro slaves are to be found in rather large numbers in the service of the middle-classes there, as well as the farmers or yeomen of the rich land owners. I have never entered the city of Mecca, as I travelled openly as a Christian, but I have bivouacked for several months in Wadi-fatime, the garden of that city, in the partial shade of date-trees (Pfonix dactilfera), where all kinds of vegetables are cultivated by means of artificial irrigation. I have also been in Sannieh and other towns in the neighbourhood of Mecca.

No Christian is permitted to set foot in Tayf, it being held as a sacred city and the residence of the second Scherif, and containing the mausoleum of near relations of Mahomed, but I was allowed to live there because my botanizing occupations gave rise to the supposition that I should be useful as a medical man! Those inhabitants of Tayf who do not belong to Mecca, that is to say, the native townspeople of pure Arabian origin have much less religious fanaticism than the Mahomedan mixture of many nationalities in and near Here I had the opportunity of gaining a great deal of accurate information as to

the state of affairs as regards slavery, and also learned much from my own observation.

It is an error to suppose that the actual Arabians keep slaves; they are only to be found in Mecca, Tayf, and the neighbourhood, and also in the sea-port towns, where there is a conflux of many different nationalities of Islam. In the interior of Arabia, from north to south, I saw no slaves, not even in the densely-populated district of Nedsch (956,000 inhabitants); in the country of Wohabi, with the exception of Read (population 50,000), the residence of the Amir, where equally the population is partly mixed with Persian. In this town there are female Circassian slaves, also several white men as slaves, and but few negroes or Nubians. In other towns of Nedsch, single slaves are to be found, here and there, but none at all among the Bedouin Arabs, who number 200,000. The former capital, Deraya, was partially destroyed by order of Ibrahim Pasha (adopted son of Mahommed Ali), and now numbers but few inhabitants.

In Asia, where I travelled by bye-roads and saw no actual towns, the Arabians carry on farming and cattle-breeding, employing their own people; and they do not use any strangers. They have camels, goats, and sheep, also cows—the latter of a very small breed. It is a singular fact that here, as in Tayf, I remarked it was looked upon as a sin to sell

cow's milk, so that strangers are supplied with it gratis, but most liberally.

Remark No. 2.—To abolish the Slave Trade entirely in Abyssinia will be a great The opinion of the Abyssinian Regent is liable to change, and all kind of smuggling is facilitated by the fact of there being so many different tribes on the frontier who live in comparatively independent wildness, and by there being so many secret roads through deserts difficult to be traversed, and there are also tribes of Mahomedans or heathens of a Mahomedan character, who willingly give the Slave Trade every

Then, on the Red Sea, owing to the coral reefs, there are a number of harbour-like places near the coast, which admit of secret export of slaves, not the less because this contraband and criminal trade enjoys the official countenance of the Turkish Governors. In the matter, the only secret is the official protection which enriches the Governors.

In order to put a stop at once to the export of slaves on the African Coast, it would be necessary to establish a blockade from Babel Mandeb to Cosseir, but it would be much less difficult to keep a watch over the import of slaves on the Arabian Coast in order to If the buyers disappear, the sellers will soon follow. With this view I have entered into all details with reference to the Slave Trade in Arabia.

Attention ought also to be given to diminish the export of slaves on the African Coast, and this can be done by united action on the part of the officials, as for instance if you were to give timely information to Dedschasmadsch Kassai of the approach of Abyssinian slave dealers on the coast. I can then communicate to you the result of your announcement to Kassai, if you also give me notice when you communicate with him.

Adoa, August 25, 1868.

No. 9.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Gordon.

Foreign Office, April 27, 1869.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 15th instant, inclosing a memorandum on the East African Slave Trade, drawn up by Dr. Schimpfer and communicated to you by desire of the Grand Duke of Baden, to whom it was addressed; and I have to instruct you to convey to His Highness the best thanks of Her Majesty's Government for the communication of so interesting a paper.

I have, &c. (Signed) CLARENDON.

INTERIOR OF AFRICA.

No. 10.

Dr. Livingstone to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 6.)

Near Lake Bangweolo, South Central Africa,

My Lord, July 1868.

WHEN I had the honour of writing to you in February 1867, I had the impression that I was then on the watershed between the Zambesi and either the Congo or the Nile. More extended observation has since convinced me of the essential correctness of that impression; and from what I have seen, together with what I have learned from intelligent natives, I think that I may safely assert that the chief sources of the Nile, arise between 10° and 12° south latitude, or nearly in the position assigned to them by Ptolemy, whose River Rhapta is probably the Rovuma. Aware that others have been mistaken, and laying no claim to infallibility, I do not yet speak very positively, particularly of the parts west and north north-west of Tanganyika, because these have not yet come under my observation; but if your Lordship will read the following short sketch of my discoveries, you will perceive that the springs of the Nile have hitherto been searched for very much too far to the north. They rise some 400 miles south of the most southerly portion of

the Victoria Nyanza, and, indeed, south of all the lakes except Bangweolo.

Leaving the valley of the Loangwa, which enters the Zambesi at Zumbo, we climbed up what seemed to be a great mountain mass, but it turned out to be only the southern edge of an elevated region, which is from 3,000 to 6,000 feet above the level of the sea. This upland may roughly be said to cover a space south of Lake Tanganyika, of some 350 It is generally covered with dense or open forest, has an undulating, sometimes hilly, surface; a rich soil; is well watered by numerous rivulets, and, for Africa, is cold. It slopes towards the north and west, but I have found no part of it under 3,000 feet of altitude. The country of Usango, situated east of the space indicated, is also an upland, and affords pasturage to the immense herds of cattle of the Basango, a remarkably light-coloured race, very friendly to strangers. Usango forms the eastern side of a great but still elevated valley. The other or western side is formed by what are called the Kone Mountains, beyond the copper mines of Katanga. Still further west, and beyond the Kone range or plateau, our old acquaintance the Zambesi, under the name Jambaji, is The southern end of the great valley inclosed between Usango and the Kone range is between 11° and 12° south. It was rarely possible there to see a star, but accidentally awaking one morning between 2 and 3 o'clock, I found one which showed latitude 11° 56′ south, and we were then fairly on the upland. Next day we passed two rivulets running north. As we advanced, brooks evidently perennial became numerous. Some went eastwards to fall into the Loangwa; others went north-west to join the River Chambeze. Misled by a map calling this river in an offhand manner "Zambezi, eastern branch," I took it to be the southern river of that name; but the Chambeze, with all its branches, flows from the eastern side into the centre of the great upland valley mentioned, which is probably the valley of the Nile. It is an interesting river, as helping to form three lakes, and changing its name three times in the 500 or 600 miles of its course. It was first crossed by the Portuguese, who always inquired for ivory and slaves, and heard of nothing else. A person who collected all, even the hearsay geography of the Portuguese, knew so little actually of the country that he put a large river here running 3,000 feet uphill, and called it the New Zambesi.

I crossed the Chambeze in 10° 34′ south, and several of its confluents south and north, quite as large as the Isis at Oxford, but running faster, and having hippopotami in them. I mention these animals because in navigating the Zambezi I could always steer the steamer boldly to where they lay, sure of finding not less than 8 feet of water. The Chambeze runs into Lake Bangweolo, and on coming out of it assumes the name Luapula

The Luapula flows down north past the town of Cazembe, and 12 miles below it enters Lake Moero. On leaving Moero at its northern end by a rent in the mountains of Rua, it takes the name Lualaba, and passing on north-north-west, forms Ulenge in the country west of Tanganyika. I have seen it only where it leaves Moero, and where it comes out of the crack in the mountains of Rua, but am quite satisfied that even before it receives the River Sofunso from Marungu, and the Soburi from the Baloba country, it is quite sufficient to form Ulenge, whether that is a lake with many islands, as some assert, or a sort of Punjaub—a division into several branches, as is maintained by others. branches are all gathered up by the Lufira—a large river, which by many confluents drains the western side of the great valley. I have not seen the Lufira, but pointed out west of 11° south, it is there asserted always to require canoes. This is purely native Some intelligent men assert that when Lufira takes up the water of Ulenge, information. it flows north-north-west into Lake Chowambe, which I conjecture to be that discovered by Mr. Baker. Others think that it goes into Lake Tanganyika at Uvira, and still passes northward into Chowambe by a river named Loanda. These are the parts regarding which I suspend my judgment. If I am in error there and live through it, I shall correct My opinion at present is if the large amount of water I have seen going north does not flow past Tanganyika on the west, it must have an exit from the Lake, and in all

likelihood by the Loanda.

Looking back again to the upland, it is well divided into districts, Lobisa, Lobemba. Ubengu, Itawa, Lopere, Kabuire, Marungu, Lunda or Londa, and Rua; the people are known by the initial "Ba" instead of the initial "Lo" or "U" for country. The Arabs soften "Ba" into "Wa," in accordance with their Suaheli dialect; the natives never do. On the northern slope of the upland, and on the 2nd April, 1867, I discovered Lake Liemba; it lies in a hollow with precipitous sides 2000 feet down; it is extremely beautiful, sides, top, and bottom being covered with trees and other vegetation. Elephants, buffaloes, and antelopes feed on the steep slopes, while hippopotami, crocodiles, and fish swarm in the waters. Guns being unknown, the elephants, unless sometimes deceived into a pitfall, have it all their own way. It is as perfect a natural paradise as Xenophon could have desired. two rocky islands men till the land, rear goats, and catch fish; the villages ashore are embowered in the palm-oil palms of the West Coast of Africa. Four considerable streams flow into Liemba, and a number of brooks (Scottice, "trout burns"), from 12 to 15 feet broad, leap down the steep bright red clay schist rocks, and form splendid cascades, that made the dullest of my attendants pause and remark with wonder. I measured one of the streams, the Lofu, 50 miles from its confluence, and found it at a ford 294 feet, say 100 yards broad, thigh and waist deep and flowing fast over hardened sandstone flag in September—the last rain had fallen on the 12th of May. Elsewhere the Lofu requires The Louzua drives a large body of smooth water into Liemba, bearing on its surface duckweed and grassy islands; this body of water was 10 fathoms deep. Another of the four streams is said to be larger than the Lofu, but an over-officious headman prevented my seeing more of it and another than their mouths. The lake is not large, from 18 to 20 miles broad, and from 35 to 40 long; it goes off north-north-west in a river-like prolongation 2 miles wide, it is said, to Tanganyika; I would have set it down as an arm of that lake, but that its surface is 2,800 feet above the level of the sea, while Speke makes that 1,844 feet only. I tried to follow the river-like portion, but was prevented by a war which had broken out between the Chief of Itawa and a party of ivory traders from I then set off to go 150 miles south, then west, till past the disturbed district, and explore the west of Tanganyika, but on going 80 miles I found the Arab party, showed them a letter from the Sultan of Zanzibar, which I owe to the kind offices of his Excellency Sir Bartle Frere, Governor of Bombay, and was at once supplied with provisions, cloth, and beads; they showed the greatest kindness and anxiety for my safety and success. The heads of the party readily perceived that a continuance of hostilities meant shutting up the ivory market, but the peace-making was a tedious process, requiring 31 months; I was glad to see the mode of ivory and slave-trading of these men, it formed such a perfect contrast to that of the ruffians from Kilwa, and to the ways of the Portuguese from Tette.

After peace was made I visited Msama, the chief of Itawa; and having left the Arabs, went on to Lake Moero, which I reached on the 8th September, 1867. In the northern part Moero is from twenty to thirty-three miles broad. Further south it is at least sixty miles wide, and it is fifty miles long. Ranges of tree-covered mountains flank it on both sides, but at the broad part the western mountains dwindle out of sight. Passing up the eastern side of Moero we came to Cazembe, whose predecessors have been three times visited by Portuguese. His town stands on the north-east bank of the lakelet Mofwe; this is from two to three miles broad and nearly four long. It has several low, reedy

islets, and yields plenty of fish—a species of perch. It is not connected with either the Luapula or Moero. I was forty days at Cazembe's, and might then have gone on to Bangweolo, which is larger than either of the other lakes; but the rains had set in, and this lake was reported to be very unhealthy. Not having a grain of any kind of medicine, and, as fever, without treatment, produced very disagreeable symptoms, I thought that it would be unwise to venture where swelled thyroid gland, known among us as Derbyshireneck, and elephantiasis (scroti) prevail. I then went north for Ujiji, where I have goods, and, I hope, letters; for I have heard nothing from the world for more than two years: but when I got within thirteen days of Tanganyika, I was brought to a stand-still by the superabundance of water in the country in front. A native party came through, and described the country as inundated so as often to be thigh and waist-deep, with dry sleeping places difficult to find. This flood lasts till May or June. At last I became so tired of inactivity that I doubled back on my course to Cazembe.

To give an idea of the inundation which, in a small way, enacts the part of the Nile lower down, I had to cross two rivulets which flow into the north end of the Moero; one was thirty, the other forty yards broad, crossed by bridges; one had a quarter, the other, half a mile of flood on each side. Moreover, one, the Luao, had covered a plain abreast of Moero so that the water on a great part reached from the knees to the upper part of the chest. The plain was of black mud, with grass higher than our heads. We had to follow the path which, in places, the feet of passengers had worn into deep ruts. Into these we every now and then plunged and fell, over the ancles in soft mud, while hundreds of bubbles rushed up, and, bursting, emitted a frightful odour. We had four hours of this wading and plunging—the last mile was the worst; and right glad we were to get out of it and bathe in the clear tepid waters and sandy beach of Moero. In going up the bank of the lake, we first of all forded four torrents, thigh deep; then a river 80 yards wide, with 300 yards of flood on its west bank, so deep we had to keep to the canoes till within fifty yards of the higher ground; then four brooks from five to fifteen yards broad. One of them, the Chungu, possesses a somewhat melancholy interest, as that on which poor Dr. Lacerda died. He was the only Portuguese visitor who had any scientific education, and his latitude of Cazembe's town on the Chungu being fifty miles wrong, probably reveals that his mind was clouded with fever when he last observed, and any one who knows what that implies will look on his error with compassion, The Chungu went high on the chest, and one had to walk on tiptoe to avoid swimming. As I crossed all these brooks at both high and low water, I observed the difference to be from fifteen to eighteen inches, and from all the perennial streams the flood is a clear water. The state of the rivers and country made me go in the very lightest marching-order; took nothing but the most necessary instruments, and no paper except a couple of note-books and the Bible. unexpectedly finding a party going to the coast, I borrowed a piece of paper from an Arab, and the defects unavoidable in the circumstances you will kindly excuse. Only four of my attendants would come here; the others, on various pretences, absconded. The fact is, they are all tired of this everlasting tramping, and so verily am I. Were it not for an inveterate dislike to give in to difficulties, without doing my utmost to overcome them, I would abscond too. I comfort myself by the hope that by making the country and people better known I am doing good; and by imparting a little knowledge occasionally, I may be working in accordance with the plans of an all-embracing Providence which now forms part of the belief of all the more intelligent of our race, my efforts may be appreciated in the good time coming yet.

I was in the habit of sending my observations to the Cape Observatory, where Sir Thomas Maclean, the Astronomer-Royal, and the Assistant Astronomer, Mr. Mann, bestowed a great deal of gratuitous labour on them in addition to the regular duties of the Observatory. They tested their accuracy in a variety of ways, which those only who are versed in the higher mathematics can understand or appreciate. The late Earl of Ellesmere publicly said of a single sheet of these most carefully-tested geographical positions, that they contained more true geography than many large volumes. While the mass of observations which went to the Royal Observatory at the Cape required much time for calculation, I worked out a number in a rough way, leaving out many minute corrections, such as for the height of the thermometer and barometer, the horizontal parallax and semi-diameter of planets, using but one moon's semi-diameter and horizontal parallax for a set of distances, though of several hours' duration; corrections for the differences of proportional logarithms, &c., and with these confessedly imperfect longitudes made and sent home sketch maps to give general ideas of the countries explored. They were imperfect, as calculated and made in the confusion of the multitude of matters that crowd on the mind of an explorer, but infinitely better than many of the published maps. Sir Thomas Maclean, for instance, says that short of a trigonometric survey, no

river has been laid down so accurately as the Zambesi; and Mr. Mann, after most careful examination of the series of chronometric observations which more than once ran from the sea and Tette up to Lake Nyassa, says that any error in the longitude cannot possibly amount to four minutes. Well, after all my care and risk of health, and even of life, it is not very inspiriting to find 200 miles of lake tacked on to the north-west end of Nyassa—and these 200 miles perched up on the upland region and passed over some 3,000 feet higher than

the rest of the lakes! We shall probably hear that the author of this feat in fancyography claims therefrom to be considered a theoretical discoverer of the sources of the Nile. My imperfect longitudes and sketches led some to desecrate the perfect ones from the Observatory. Golungo Alto, in Angola, was fixed by seven sets of lunar distances; that is, at least sixtythree distances between the moon and stars, and probably a hundred altitudes of sun or stars all made in risk of, and sometimes actually suffering from, African fever. Six sets showed from one to three minutes on each side of longitude 14 degrees east; but the seventh showed a few minutes to the west. The six were thrown aside, and the seventh adopted, because a Portuguese said to me that he thought that spot might be about midway between Ambaca and the sea. Ambaca, he had never seen; and the folly of the intermeddling is apparent from the change not making the spot perceptibly nearer the imaginary midway, and no one had ever observed them before, nor in our day will observe again. Other freaks, and one specially immoral, were performed, and to my gentle remonstrance I received only a giggle. The desecration my positions have suffered is probably unknown to the Council, but that is all the more reason why I should adhere to my resolution to be the guardian of my own observations till publication. I regret this, because the upsetting of a canoe, or anything happening to me, might lead to the entire loss of the discoveries.

My borrowed paper is done, or I should have given a summary of the streams which, flowing into Chambeze, Luapula, Lualaba, and the lakes, may be called sources. Thirteen, all larger than the Isis at Oxford, or Avon, at Hamilton, run into one line of drainage; five into another, and five into a third receptacle—twenty-three in all. Not having seen the Nile in the north, I forbear any comparison of volume. I trust that my labours, though much longer than I intended, may meet with your Lordship's approbation.

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

P.S.—Always something new from Africa; a large tribe lives in underground houses in Rua. Some excavations are said to be thirty miles long, and have running rills in them —a whole district can stand a siege in them. The "writings" therein I have been told by some of the people are drawings of animals, and not letters, otherwise I should have gone to see them. People very dark, well made, and outer angle of eyes slanting inwards.

No. 11.

Dr. Livingstone to Dr. Kirk.

My dear Dr. Kirk,

Ujiji, May 30, 1869.

THIS note goes by Musa Kamoah, who was employed by Koarji to drive the buffaloes hither: but by overdriving them unmercifully in the sun, and tying them up to save trouble in herding, they all died before he got to Unyanyembe. He witnessed the plundering of my goods, and got a share of them; and I have given him beads and cloth sufficient to buy

provisions for himself on the way back to Zanzibar. He has done nothing here.

He neither went near the goods here nor tried to prevent their being stolen on the way. I suppose that pay for four months in coming, other four of rest, and four in going back, would be ample; but I leave this to your decision. I could not employ him to carry my mail back, nor can I say anything to him, for he at once goes to the Ujijians and gives his own version of all he hears. He is untruthful and ill-conditioned, and would hand off the mail to any one who wished to destroy it. The people here are like the Kilwa traders—haters of the English. Those Zanzibar men whom I met between this and Nyassa were gentlemen, and traded with honour.

Here, as in the haunts of the Kilwa hordes, slaving is a series of forays, and they dread exposure by my letters. No one will take charge of them. I have got Thani bin Suellim to take a mail privately for transmission to Unyamyembe. It contains a cheque on Ritchie, Stewart, and Co., of Bombay, for 2,000 rupees, and some forty letters written during my slow recovery. I fear it may never reach you. A party was sent to the coast two months ago. One man volunteered to take a letter secretly, but his master warned

them all not to do so, because I might write something he did not like. He went out with the party and gave orders to the headman to destroy any letter he might detect on the way.

This though I am good friends outwardly with them all.

I can get no assistance in procuring carriers, and as you will see if the mail comes to hand, I send to Zanzibar for 15 good boatmen to act as carriers, if required, eighty pieces of merikano, forty pieces of kinika, twelve farasales of the beads called sam-sam, shoes, &c., and I have written to Seyd Majid, begging two of his guard to see to the safety of the goods here into Thani bin Suellim's hands, or into those of Mohammed bin Saleh.

As to the work to be done by me it is only to connect the sources which I have discovered from 500 to 700 miles south of Speke and Baker's with the Nile. The volume of water which flows north from latitude 12° south is so large, I suspect I have been working

at the sources of Congo as well as of the Nile.

I have to go down the eastern line of drainage to Baker's turning-point, Tangan-yika, Uzige, Chowambe (Baker's) are one water, and the head of it is 300 miles south of this. The western and central lines of drainage converge into an unvisited lake, west or south-west of this. The outflow of this, whether to Congo or Nile, I have to ascertain. The people west of this, called Manyema, are cannibals, if Arabs speak truly.

I may have to go there first, and down Tanganyika, if I come out uneaten, and

find my new squad from Zanzibar.

I earnestly hope that you will do what you can to help me with the goods and men; 4001. to be sent by Mr. Young must surely have come to you through Fleming and Co.

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

P.S.—A long box, paid for to Ujiji, was left at Unyamyembe, and so with other boxes.

MADAGASCAR.

No. 12.

Consul Pakenham to Lord Stanley .- (Received January 18, 1869.)

My Lord, Tamatave, November 9, 1868.

I FEEL it my duty briefly to report, for your Lordship's information, the followin facts, which fully illustrate the imperfect manner in which the conditions of the English Treaty are observed by the Hova authorities, notwithstanding the repeated assurances lately given by Queen Ranavalo that the engagements contracted by Her Majesty's predecessor would be respected:—

On the 7th instant Abdool, a native of Zanzibar, under British protection, and without any means of livelihood, obtained from me a pass to embark on the British bark "Penelope," O. N. 51,720, about sailing for the Mauritius, the master having agreed to receive him on board, to work his passage. This pass was seized by the Custom-house authorities, and soldiers were stationed on the beach to prevent Abdool embarking, although I had sent the Consular lascars to convey him on board in the Consular boat.

I at once understood the object of all this, and feeling sure that Abdool would have been made to disappear during the night, and afterwards reduced to slavery, I determined to detain him at the Consulate, pending a reference to the Governor of Tamatave, to whom I addressed a note on the subject in French, a language understood by some of his attendants, a copy of which is inclosed.

As the vessel was about sailing I waited on his Excellency on the following day (Sunday), when, after much discussion and many difficulties, Abdool was allowed to embark in the afternoon.

The only excuse offered for all that had happened was, that it had been done by inferior officers who did not know their duty; but, though I fully acquit the Governor of Tamatave of having instigated his subordinates to act as they did, I still consider him to blame for not taking prompter action in the matter.

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

Inclosure in No. 12.

Consul Pakenham to the Governor of Tamatave.

Consult wheman to the Governor of Lunature

M. le Gouverneur, Tamatave, le 7 Novembre, 1868.

JE viens porter à votre connaissance les faits suivants qui viennent de se passer. Leur gravité, j'ose espérer, sera considérée par votre Excellence comme excuse, si je vous dérange

au milieu de la réunion qui a lieu en ce moment à la batterie.

Le nommé Abdool, de Zanzibar, sous la protection Britannique, a reçu un permis d'embarquement, sous mon sceau Consulaire, pour se rendre à Maurice à bord du navire Britannique "Penelope," qui doit partir prochainement pour cette destination. Malgré ce permis, cet homme a été arrêté par la Douane et son permis saisi; et jusqu'à présent la Douane l'empêche d'embarquer.

Comme toutes ces menées n'ont pour but que de réduire à l'esclavage, au profit des Malgaches, un sujet étranger, ce qui constituerait une violation grave des conditions du Traité passé entre la Grande Bretagne et Madagascar, je viens vous les signaler et réclamer énergiquement de votre Excellence de donner immédiatement des ordres afin que le permis

que j'ai délivré à Abdool soit respecté, et qu'à l'avenir de pareils écarts de la part des officiers de la Douane soient sévèrement punis.

J'ai, &c.

(Signé)

T. C. PAKENHAM.

No. 13.

Consul Pakenham to Lord Stanley.—(Received January 18, 1869.)

Tamatave, November 16, 1868. My Lord, I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, the copy of a letter which I have this day addressed to the Chief Secretary of State in Madagascar, relative to the alleged landing and sale of 400 Mozambique slaves at Menabe on the West Coast.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

T. C. PAKENHAM.

Inclosure in No. 13.

Consul Pakenham to the Chief Secretary of State.

Tamatave, November 16, 1868. Sir, I HAVE the honour to report for the information of Her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar and the Hova Government, that I have reason to believe that 400 Mozambique slaves have been lately landed and sold at Menabe on the West Coast of Madagascar, in violation of Treaty engagements with Great Britain.

I beg therefore to request that a searching inquiry may be instituted into the facts of this case, and that a copy of all proceedings and evidence taken may be transmitted to me, to be translated and submitted for the information of Her Britannic Majesty's Government, and further, in the event of such landing having taken place, that the 400 slaves in question may be seized and delivered up to me with a view to their immediate manumission.

I need not add that I rely with confidence on the Hova Government using every effort to have arrested and brought to trial all persons who may have taken part in this abominable Traffic.

I remain, &c. T. C. PAKENHAM.

(Signed)

No. 14.

Consul Pakenham to Lord Stanley.—(Received January 18, 1869.)

Tamatave, November 19, 1868. My Lord. I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, the copy of a list of slave dhows captured on the Coast of Madagascar by Her Majesty's cruizers from the 25th July to 21st August last, which was forwarded to me by Commodore Heath on the 30th September, but only reached my hands on the 11th instant.

As I gather from this document, in which the names of the places where the captures were effected is mentioned, that these dhows were peaceably pursuing their abominable Traffic without being in any way molested by the Malagasy authorities, and I fear that the greater portion of the slaves on board must have been landed prior to their capture; I have considered it my duty to address a strong remonstrance on the subject to the Hova Government, a copy of which is inclosed.

Although I fully believe an allowance of one slave per ton to be a very low average for dhows importing slaves to Madagascar, in which case the difference in number between those shipped and captured would be 686, I have not the least doubt that the local authorities on the coast will deny that any slaves, except those taken, were introduced by the captured dhows.

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

Inclosure 1 in No. 14.

TABULAR STATEMENT of Dhows engaged in the Slave Trade captured on the Coast of Madagascar, by Her Britannic Majesty's Cruizers, from July 21, to August 21, 1868.

		Where Captured.				Slav			
Date.				Tons.	Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.	Remarks.
1868				(78			1		1
July	25 Pa	ssandava Bay .	••	54 135	••		••	1	
,,	27 Da	drymple Bay .		` 46	••	1 1	4	7	All condemned a
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British Consulate, Tamatave, November 17, 1868.

(Signed)

T. C. PAKENHAM, Consul.

Inclosure 2 in No. 14.

Consul Pakenham to the Chief Secretary of State.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for the information of Her Majesty the Queen and the Government of Madagascar, the accompanying tabular statement of the number and tonnage of slave-dhows, with the number of slaves taken on board, which were captured by Her Britannic Majesty's cruizers on the Coast of Madagascar, from the 25th July to the 21st August last, less than a month. The names of the places where such captures were effected are also stated.

I am happy to have it thus in my power to prove, beyond the possibility of contradiction, that my previous reports on the subject, far from being exaggerated, fall much below the real truth as regards the extent to which the Slave Trade has been and, I fear, still is carried on in Madagascar, regardless of Treaty engagements between that island and Great Britain.

The aggregate tonnage of the dhows, which are proved to have been engaged in this abominable Traffic in Madagascar, during a period of less than a month, amounts to 721 tons, and, allowing one slave per ton, which I believe to be a very low average, after deduction of the 35 slaves already captured, 686 slaves remain still to be accounted for, who, there is every reason to believe, must have been landed and sold in Madagascar, since they were not found on board the captured dhows.

I venture to hope, in presence of these facts, that Her Majesty the Queen and the Government of Madagascar will become fully alive to the necessity of taking immediate steps to remedy a state of things, against the further continuance of which, as constituting a grave infraction of the Treaty concluded between Great Britain and Madagascar in 1865, it becomes my duty most energetically to protest.

I remain, &c.

(Siened)

T. C. PAKENHAM.

No. 15.

Mr. Otway to Consul Pakenham.

Foreign Office, January 28, 1869.

I AM directed by the Earl of Clarendon to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 9th of November last, reporting the steps you had taken with reference to the proceedings of the Hova authorities in preventing the embarkation for the Mauritius on board the British barque "Penelope" of one Abdool, whom you describe as a native of Zanzibar enjoying British protection; and I am to state to you, in reply,

that it was only on the ground that there was an intention to reduce Abdool to slavery that you were borne out in interfering on his behalf, as there are no Treaty stipulations in existence which give Her Majesty's Government the right to protect natives of Zanzibar.

I am, however, to add that Lord Clarendon has no objection to your using your good

offices with the native Government in cases of the nature of that above adverted to.

I am. &c.

(Signed)

ARTHUR OTWAY.

No. 16.

The Earl of Clarendon to Consul Pakenham.

Foreign Office, January 30, 1869. Sir. I HAVE received your despatches of the 16th and 19th November last, the one relating to the landing in Madagascar of slaves imported from Mozambique, the other reporting the capture off the coast of that island of slave-dhows during the months of July and of August last by Her Majesty's cruizers, and I approve the notes which you have addressed to the Government of Madagascar on these subjects.

You will have seen by my despatch of the 28th ultimo that I had already received from the Admiralty reports relative to the capture of slave-dhows off the coasts of the Island of Madagascar, and that I had instructed you to make a representation to the Hova authorities on the subject of slave landings, which doubtless were effected in that

island with the connivance of the authorities.

I have only now to desire that you will be careful not to denounce any slave landings to the Hova authorities without having first satisfied yourself as far as it may be possible to do so that the landings have really been effected; but, in the event of your being able to show satisfactorily that slaves have actually been landed, you will of course not fail to remonstrate strongly with the Government, and you will demand the liberation of the slaves themselves and the punishment of any persons who may have been engaged in or may have connived at their importation.

I am. &c. CLARENDON. (Signed)

No. 17.

Consul Pakenham to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received June 5.)

Tamatave, April 10, 1869. I HAVE the honour to inclose the copies of a correspondence which has passed between the Hova Government and myself relative to the capture, at Mojanga, on the West Coast of Madagascar, of certain Mozambique slaves, whose liberation I have effected.

On the receipt of the Queen of Madagascar's order for the delivery of these slaves to me, as well as to the owners and crews of the dhows in which they had been conveyed, I forwarded the same to Commodore Sir Leopold Heath, together with a letter, of which I

beg to inclose a copy for your Lordship's information.

In this letter, as your Lordship will observe, I recommend that a vessel be sent for the conveyance of these slaves from Mojanga to the Mauritius, in which latter colony, I believe, labourers are much needed at this moment; and further, that the owners and crews of the captured dhows be dealt with under the XVIth and XVIIth Articles of the

I venture to hope that this latter recommendation will be followed, as, in my opinion, the salutary effects of such an example in checking future slave ventures to Madagascar

cannot be overrated.

Trusting that my proceedings will meet with your Lordship's approval, I have, &c. (Signed) T. C. PAKENHAM.

MADAGASCAR.

Inclosure 1 in No. 17.

The Chief Secretary of State to Consul Pakenham.

(Translation.) Sir,

Antananariyo, 6 Adizadza (Murch 19, 1869),

I WRITE this letter to tell you the words uttered by the Prime Minister.

He has received a letter from the Governor of Mojanga, dated the 6th Adaoro (17th February), reporting two Arab dhows, with 194 Mozambiques. When the Governor saw these dhows with Mozambiques, they appeared suspicious, as they were not making for the port, but steering west, the other side of the forest. He therefore sent officers in a boat to reconnoitre. These officers, seeing the number of Mozambiques in the dhows, seized the Arabs and the whole of the Mozambiques, and took them before the Governor of Mojanga. When landing the 194 Mozambiques, 15 died of starvation, there being no provisions on board the dhows. When the Governor and his officers inquired of the Arabs why they had those Mozambiques, the Arabs replied, that their King had sent them. The Governor then asked them, Who is the King who sent you, and from what place? The Arabs answered, We come from Sangazy, and the King who sent us is Imosohoanty, the Sovereign of Sangazy, at Mozambique. We were not coming here to Mojanga had the wind not driven us here. We did not enter the port because we had heard that there was no dealing in Mozambiques here.

In addition to the 194 Mozambiques, of whom 15 died, there were 47 others in the dhows. The Governor having questioned the Arabs respecting these latter, they

answered-

Fifteen are free;

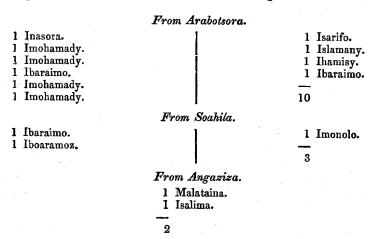
Fifteen are slaves of King Mosakoanty;

Two are slaves of Mohamady;

Fifteen the wives of their masters.

The Mozambiques and the Arabs who brought them are still detained at Mojanga by the Governor.

The following are the names of the Arabs and the places whence they come:-



You will understand from this that the care taken on both sides to observe the Treaty can only strengthen our friendly relations. What the Governor of Mojanga has done shows the "excellence" of the orders issued by the Prime Minister to our Governors carefully to observe the Treaty.

Still your friend, (Signed) RAINIMAHARAVO.

Inclosure 2 in No. 17.

Consul Pakenham to the Chief Secretary of State.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's communication dated 6th Adizadza, and, if I am right in supposing that this date corresponds to the 19th instant, it must be erroneous, since your Excellency's letter was delivered to me on the 20th.

I am happy to learn the seizure, by the Governor of Mojanga, of the two Arab dhows containing 194 Mozambiques and of their owners and crews; and I trust that the example of the Governor of Mojanga will be closely followed by all the other Hova Governors on the coast. It will afford me great pleasure to report this successful

capture to Her Britannic Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

I beg you will be so good as to ascertain the wishes of Her Majesty Queen Ranavalo and the Prime Minister in respect to the disposal of the captured Mozambiques, whether they should be conveyed overland to Tamatave, or a vessel sent to Mojanga to take them In the latter case, I beg you will cause to be forwarded to the Governor of Mojanga the inclosed letter with instructions to deliver over the Mozambiques and the Arabs who had charge of them to the Commander of the first British man-of-war touching at Mojanga. But if the Hova Government prefers the former course my letter may be returned.

Begging the favour of an early reply, I am, &c.

(Signed)

T. C. PAKENHAM.

Inclosure 3 in No. 17.

Consul Pakenham to Commodore Sir Leopold Heath.

Tamatave, April 7, 1869. Sir, I HAVE the honour to inclose an order from Her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar for the delivery to any of Her Majesty's ships-of-war of certain Mozambique slaves captured and detained at Mojanga on the West Coast of Madagascar, whose liberation I have effected; also the translation of a letter from the Hova Government respecting their capture, which I forward for your information.

I beg to submit that a vessel be despatched as soon as possible for these slaves, and I venture to recommend that they be conveyed to the Mauritius. I apprehend that the owners and crews of the dhows in which they were carried to Mojanga are liable to be

dealt with under the provisions of Articles XVI and XVII of the English Treaty.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

T. C. PAKENHAM.

No. 18.

Consul Pakenham to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received June 5.)

Tamatave, April 22, 1869. I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, the copy of a letter which I have addressed to Commodore Sir Leopold Heath, on the subject of a My Lord, serious misunderstanding which appears to have occurred between Commander Meara, of Her Majesty's sloop "Nymphe," and the Hova Commandant of Mojanga, on the West Coast of Madagascar, respecting the foreible seizure, on shore, by an armed party from the "Nymphe," of certain Mozambique slaves belonging to Malagasy subjects.

The note which I have received on the subject from the Hova Chief Secretary of State is extremely lengthy and difficult of translation; but the substance of it will be found embodied in my letter to Commodore Heath, and, by next mail, I trust to be able to send

your Lordship a translation of the Chief Secretary's communication.

It would, of course, be unfair for me to form or express any opinion as regards Commander Meara's proceedings on ex parte statements—the more so as I know, from experience, that the Hovas invariably seek to give the most favourable colouring to their own acts, and quite the contrary to those of parties with whom they may disagree. Under any circumstances, however, any appearance of the substitution of might for right by British officers in their dealings with the Malagasy, could not but prove prejudicial to British interests in Madagascar, by raising distrust in the minds of the Hovas.

I venture, therefore, to hope that your Lordship will be pleased to cause instructions to issue to the effect that differences on land, between the Commanders of British cruizers

and Hova officials, be in future referred to me.

As your Lordship will have observed from my despatch of the 10th instant, the Mozambiques detained at Mojanga were given up to me by the Queen of Madagascar without any difficulty; and, therefore, a simple reference to me by Commander Meara would have prevented any misunderstanding in the matter.

MADAGASCAR.

I beg to inclose the copy of my note in reply to the Chief Secretary's, and shall be glad to receive your Lordship's instructions, as soon as convenient, relative to my further action in this matter.

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

Inclosure 1 in No. 18.

Consul Pakenham to Commodore Sir L. Heath.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to state that I have received a communication from the Hova Government, at Antananarivo, dated the 22nd ultimo (4th April), reporting a serious misunderstanding which appears to have occurred between Commander Moore of Have

misunderstanding which appears to have occurred between Commander Meara, of Her Majesty's sloop "Nymphe," and the Hova Commandant of Mojanga, on the West Coast of Madagascar.

The following are briefly the facts of the case, as submitted to me by the Hova Chief

Secretary of State:—

In March last, the "Nymphe" anchored before Mojanga, where Commanner Meara and his officers were hospitably received and entertained by the Hova Commandant and officers. Shortly afterwards two Arab dhows were burnt by order of Commander Meara, who, at the same time, formally demanded the surrender of certain Mozambique slaves lately seized by the local authorities at Mojanga, and detained pending a reference to the Hova Government. The Commandant of Mojanga stated his inability to deliver up these slaves until he had received the necessary authority from his Government; whereupon a shot was fired from the "Nymphe," between the fort and village of Mojanga, and an armed party landed who forcibly seized on shore, and carried off to the "Nymphe" certain Mozambique slaves belonging to subjects of the Queen of Madagascar, old residents in the Island, introduced prior to the conclusion of the English Treaty, but not forming part of those lately landed. After the seizure had been made, and the slaves carried on board the "Nymphe," the Commandant of Mojanga sent officers on board to claim their restitution, and, further, to protest against Commander Meara's proceedings as being contrary to the provisions of the English Treaty; but the slaves were not given up, and the "Nymphe" sailed with them on board.

This, Sir, is the version of the affair given by the Commandant of Mojanga to the Hova Government and transmitted to me by the Chief Secretary of State. But I have not as yet received any report on the subject from Commander Meara, although the acts alleged by the Hova Government were committed in Madagascar, on land, and consequently within my Consular jurisdiction which, in virtue of Her Majesty's Commission, extends over the whole island.

The Hova Government complain of Commander Meara's proceedings, not only as unfriendly, but as being in violation of the English Treaty, wherein no right is conceded to the Commanders of British cruizers to land armed parties and seize on shore slaves belonging to Malagasy subjects and lawfully in their possession. On these grounds a formal demand has been made for the immediate restitution of the slaves taken on board

the "Nymphe."

I shall therefore be glad to receive, as early as convenient, a copy of Commander Meara's account of what really took place at Mojanga, in order that I may be in a position definitely to reply to the Hova Government. But, under any circumstances, I beg to submit the desirability, as appears to me, of the Commanders of British cruizers on this station in future addressing me on the subject of any differences they may have with the local authorities at any of the Hova military stations on the coast of Madagascar, before engaging in actual hostilities which might ultimately involve Her Majesty's Government in serious complications. In the case in question a simple reference to me would have removed all difficulties and enabled Commander Meara to obtain possession of the Mozambique slaves detained at Mojanga.

In conclusion, I venture to submit that the slaves alleged to have been taken on board the "Nymphe" at Mojanga be detained, pending the decision of Her Majesty's

Government as to their ultimate disposal.

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

Inclosure 2 in No. 18.

Consul Pakenham to the Chief Secretary of State.

Tamatave, April 20, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter of 22nd Adizaoza (4th instant), complaining of certain proceedings of Commander Meare, of Her Britannic Majesty's sloop "Nymphe," when at Mojanga at the commencement of last month, and also claiming the restitution of a number of Mozambique slaves alleged to have been seized on shore, and carried on board the "Nymphe" by an armed party from that vessel.

It certainly surprises me to hear that the Commander of any of Her Britannic Majesty's ships-of-war, whose mission is to co-operate with the Hova authorities in suppressing the Slave Trade, should have committed any unfriendly act towards the Malagasy. But I am of course unable to form or express any opinion on the regularity of Commander Meara's proceedings until I am in possession of his account of what occurred at Mojanga.

I beg, however, to state that your Excellency's complaint shall be immediately laid before the Earl of Clarendon; and I venture to assure the Hova Government that it will

meet with attentive and impartial consideration at his Lordship's hands.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

T. C. PAKENHAM.

No. 19.

The Earl of Clarendon to Consul Pakenham.

Sir,

I HAVE received your despatch of the 22nd of April, relative to the proceedings of the Commander of Her Majesty's ship "Nymphe," who is reported to have landed an armed party from his vessel at the village of Mojanga, and to have forcibly seized and carried off some slaves belonging to Malagasy subjects; and I have to acquaint you that I approve the letters addressed by you to Commodore Heath and to the Hova Chief Secretary of State respecting this affair.

You will inform the Hova Government that a strict inquiry will be immediately

instituted into the proceedings which have given rise to their complaint.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

CLARENDON.

No. 20.

Consul Pakenham to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received July 5.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 28th December last, conveying to me your Lordship's approval of the further correspondence which had passed between the Hova Government and myself respecting alleged slave-dealings on the North-East Coast of Madagascar and at Passandava Bay, and also in the matter of the protected Indian subject named Luckman; and further instructing me to make a representation to the Hova Prime Minister on the subject of the slave-landings effected in Madagascar, doubtless with the connivance of the local authorities at the places where the slaves were landed.

In obedience to your Lordship's instructions I addressed the Prime Minister of Madagascar on the 8th instant as desired, and I beg to inclose, for your Lordship's infor-

mation, the copy of my note to his Excellency.

I have, &c.

(Signed) T. C. PAKENHAM.

MADAGASCAR.

Inclosure in No. 20.

Consul Pakenham to the Prime Minister.

Sir, Tamatave, March 8, 1869.

CERTAIN correspondence which has lately passed between the Hova Government and myself, respecting the slave dealings on the North-East Coast of Madagascar and in Passandava Bay, and in the matter of the protected Indian subject named Luckman, having been submitted to Her Britannic Majesty's Government, I am instructed by the Earl of Clarendon, Her Britannic Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, under date the 28th of last December, to inform your Excellency, as Prime Minister of Madagascar, that the accounts received by Her Britannic Majesty's Government from the Commanders of British cruizers engaged in the suppression of the Slave Trade on the East Coast of Africa confirm my reports, and leave no room for doubting that slaves, occasionally in considerable numbers, are introduced into Madagascar; and I am to add that this could not be done without the connivance of the authorities where the disembarkations are effected.

I am further to state that Arab dhows have been captured by British cruizers engaged in carrying slaves to Madagascar, and that while the commanders of Her Britannic 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 infractions of their Treaty engagements, by which they are bound to discontinue the Slave Trade, and to punish Hova subjects engaging in the traffic.

I am, &c.

(Signed) T. C. PAKENHAM.

No. 21.

Consul Pakenham to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received July 5.)

My Lord, Tamatave, March 22, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Otway's despatch of the 28th January last, respecting the protection granted by me to Abdool, describing himself as a native of Zanzibar, and my interference on his behalf with the Hova authorities, in which I was only borne out on the ground of there being an intention to reduce him to slavery; also instructing me how to act in future, under similar circumstances.

In reply I have the honour to submit that, in the case of Abdool, a former Governor of Tamatave, Raharolahy, had fully authorized his placing himself under British protection. But in any future cases of a similar nature I will carefully follow the course prescribed in the concluding paragraph of Mr. Otway's despatch.

I have, &c.

(Signed) T. C. PAKENHAM.

No. 22.

Consul Pakenham to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received July 5.)

My Lord, Tamatave, May 6, 1869.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 22nd ultimo, I have now the honour to transmit for your Lordship's information a translation of the Hova Chief Secretary of State's note to me dated the 4th ultimo, complaining of the proceedings of Commander Meara, of Her Majesty's ship "Nymphe," at Mojanga, on the West Coast of Madagascar, in March last.

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

MADAGASCAR.

Inclosure in No. 22.

The Chief Secretary of State to Consul Pakenham.

(Translation.)

Antananarivo, 22 Adizaoza (April 4, 1869).

Šir, THIS is what I have to say to you: I have received a letter from the Governor of Mojanga, saying that on the 23rd of Adaoro (6th March), 1869, Her Britannic Majesty's vessel "Nymphe," commanded by Commander Meara, R.N., arrived at that port. When she was anchored, the Governor sent six officers to visit the Captain, and to ask after the health of Queen Victoria, &c., who, in reply, asked after the health of the Queen of Madagascar, and stated his intention of landing at 4 P.M. On landing, he was met by officers (with a band and four palanquins) who were sent by the Governor to receive him and conduct him to the battery, where he was met by other officers, but the Governor himself being unwell was unable to be present. After accepting an invitation to dinner the next day at 4 P.M., and having visited the Governor, Commander Meara returned to his ship. The following day (Saturday) the Commander came to dinner at the battery, and was received with the usual honours. After dinner the party went out into the Court and danced, the Commander and one of his officers joining cordially with the Malagasy officers Before his departure he invited five officers and ladies to dinner on board at 1 o'clock P.M. the following day.

Accordingly, they went to dinner the following day (Sunday), two guns being fired by Her Majesty's ship as a salute, which was returned by the Malagasy authorities at the battery. After dinner Commander Meara stated his intention of sailing the next day

(Monday).

But after leaving the port he returned in the evening, when the Governor sent officers to ask the reason of his return; but before they reached the ship the Captain, with thirty soldiers, had left and burned two dhows, after which the captain said, "You have Mozambiques in your possession who were brought here by those dhows, and I have returned to capture them;" to which the Malagasy officers replied, "If you meet with Mozambiques upon the high seas, then you yourselves capture them and report to your Government; but if we meet with those who bring them across the seas to us, then we report to our Government. Besides, you say that it is fifteen days ago that the dhows brought Mozambique slaves here, whereas it is now twenty days ago." The Commander then returned to the ship, but soon afterwards three British officers and twenty sailors landed and demanded possession of the Mozambiques. The Hova officers replied, "Twenty days ago the dhows arrived with slaves on board, and we have referred the matter to the Government at Antananarivo, and are awaiting their reply as to what we must do. To which the Captain replied, "I will not leave this port without those slaves." "Very well," said the Hova officers, "we must wait till we hear from the Government." "But how many were they?" asked the Captain. "We cannot tell," said the Hova officers, "for this is a land full of slaves, and we cannot allow you to count them unless we hear from our Government. We cannot buy slaves coming beyond the seas, and we have already written to Antananarivo to ask what we must do with those who were brought by those dhows." The Captain then said, "If you do not give up those slaves by 5.30 P.M. I will do what I ought to do, even if I have to fight for them." To this the Hova officers replied, that as to his fighting he himself knew what he should do; but the words of the Treaty said there should be no fighting between the English and Malagasy for evermore. The Captain again asked, "Will you give up those slaves or no?" The Hova officers again repeated they had referred the matter to their Government. "Then," said the Captain, "I go; but at midnight I will

When the Captain had returned to his ship he fired one gun with ball between the

fort and Mojanga.

The following day (Tuesday) the Captain landed again and seized the slaves of the "ombalahivelo" (blacks), and had them conveyed on board. The Governor then sent to ask his reason for seizing the subjects of Ranavalona, hereditary property, and ordered their return, lest the Treaty, which says that no subjects of the Queen of Madagascar can be taken across the seas on board English vessels without a passport, should be broken. take them," replied the Captain, "because they are slaves; they cannot be returned to you. As regards the cannon that was fired from the ship, it was to test the range of my guns. Tell the Governor that I intend leaving to-morrow morning at 6 o'clock, for I am censured by you as injuring the Kingdom (of Madagascar)." He then returned to his ship.

On the following morning (Wednesday), at 5 o'clock, the Governor sent his officers to the ship, who, having arrived on board, said to the Captain:—"Return those persons you have taken without permission, for this is the word of the Treaty between the two Governments, viz., 'The subjects of the Queen of Madagascar cannot be taken beyond the seas without receiving a passport from such (Malagasy) as are authorized to grant it. Again, British sailors who escape from their respective ships to Madagascar must be delivered up to the Consul (British) or the Captain of the vessel from which they escaped, if found, Hova authorities doing their utmost to find them.' Therefore, do not carry away those persons you have seized, lest you break this Treaty." To this the Captain replied, "What you say is perfectly true. But those persons are in trouble, they are slaves, and they are Mozambique slaves; therefore I retain them." "If you are right in seizing them, where is your commission for so doing, that we may have it in our possession?" asked the officers. At this the Captain got angry, and said, "I give you my commission."

This is the difference that took place between the Hova officers of Mojanga and

Commander Meara, and then he set sail.

This, therefore, is what I have to say to you:—We are grieved at what Commander Meara has done, at his firing with ball at our town, and at his seizing with violence the subjects ("maintimolaly"), hereditary slaves, of the Queen of Madagascar, and taking them on board his ship, thus breaking the Treaty of friendship that exists between us, which ought not to be done; for we, wishing this friendship to be firm, have ordered all the Governors to observe well the Treaty. It grieves us very much, therefore, that after our Governor had observed the Treaty and had seized the Mozambiques, our land should still be fired at with ball, without permission, and that Commander Meara was so enraged. The letter that I wrote to you on the 6th of Adizaoza, 1869 (19th March), and which has not yet been answered, is proof that the Governor had followed the Treaty. Command, therefore, your officers that they do nothing to break the Treaty nor do anything that may injure the friendship that has hitherto existed between us; for it is not right that your officers or ours should not observe well the Treaty which we wish to keep inviolate.

As for those slaves seized by Commander Meara, we trust that you will order them to be returned. We expect you to do this, for it was not according to the Treaty, Article IX.

God bless you; may you live long and be happy.

(Signed)

RAINIMAHARAVO.

No. 23.

Consul Pakenham to the Earl of Clarendon,—(Received August 3.)

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch of the 15th of March, I have now the honour to inclose, for your Lordship's information, a copy of the Prime Minister of Madagascar's reply to my note addressed to his Excellency on the 8th of March, on the subject of slave landings effected in Madagascar, doubtless with the connivance of the local authorities where such landings took place.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

T. C. PAKENHAM.

Inclosure in No. 23.

The Prime Minister to Consul Pakenham.

(Translation.)

Sir, Antananarivo, 4 Alahasaty (May 15, 1869).

I HAVE received the letter you wrote on the 8th of March last, and 1 have

thoroughly looked into the contents of your letter.

And it is exceedingly proper for the Captains of Her Britannic Majesty's ships to do what they can to prevent the introduction of slaves into Madagascar; and we also must press our Chiefs to do what they are able to prevent the bringing of Mozambiques into the country of Madagascar; and all our subjects, whether great or small, who are foolish and transgress our Treaty, we must condemn.

May you live and be happy; may God bless you, saith your friend,

(Signed) RAINILAIARIVONY.

No. 24.

The Earl of Clarendon to Consul Pakenham.

Foreign Office, September 18, 1869.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 10th of April last, inclosing copies of a correspondence which has passed between the Hova Government and yourself relative to the capture and surrender to you by the Hova authorities of 194 slaves, who were seized by the Governor of Mojanga in two Arab dhows that were hovering off the coast with the view, it is supposed, of introducing the slaves into Madagascar; and I have to instruct you to express to the Hova Government the best acknowledgments of Her Majesty's Government for this act of vigour on the part of their authorities, furnishing as it does a proof of the desire of the Hova Government to fulfil their Treaty engagements for the suppression of the Slave Trade.

With reference to your recommendation that a vessel should be sent for the conveyance of these slaves from Mojanga to the Mauritius, in which colony you state that labourers are much needed, I assume from your recommending this course that the slaves would not be safe as liberated Africaus in Madagascar. I should be glad, however, to receive a report from you on this latter point, as I have reason to believe that both at the Mauritius and at the Seychelles Islands the number of liberated Africans already sent to those

Colonies is a considerable source of embarrassment to the Colonial authorities.

As regards the disposal of the crews of the captured slave dhows, I have to observe that if they are made over, as you suggest, to the Commander of a British cruizer, he would have to release them at the first convenient place, inasmuch as Slave Trading not being piracy by the Law of Nations, British authorities, although they can lawfully seize and liberate the slaves, and destroy the vessels carrying them, are not justified in punishing the crews, unless they are British subjects.

It would be preferable, therefore, as the XVIth and XVIIth Articles of the Treaty with Madagascar do not of themselves confer any power upon British authorities to punish the crews of Arab slave-vessels, that for the future the Malagasy authorities should themselves deal with the crews of vessels captured introducing slaves into Madagascar, and I have to desire that you will make a communication in this sense to the Hova

Government.

I am, &c. (Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 25.

The Earl of Clarendon to Consul Pakenham.

Sir, Foreign Office, October 20, 1869.

I INCLOSE, for your information, a copy of a Report from Commodore Sir L. Heath,* stating the instructions he has given to the Commander of Her Majesty's ship "Dryad" regarding the dispute between the Hova authorities and the Commander of the "Nymphe," which formed the subject of your despatch of the 6th May.

I have further to instruct you to report to me the issue of this affair, which you will

endeavour to arrange amicably.

I am, &c. (Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 26.

Mr. Otway to Consul Pakenham.

Sir,

I AM directed by the Earl of Clarendon to inclose, for your information, a copy of the instructions recently issued by the Board of Admiralty to the naval officers employed in suppressing the Slave Trade on the East Coast of Africa, with the view of checking the

irregularities in dealing with captured slavers which have been brought to the notice of Her Majesty's Government; and I am at the same time to inform you that the whole question of the state of the Slave Trade on the East Coast is now under the consideration of a Committee which is sitting at this office.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

ARTHUR OTWAY.

No. 27.

Consul Pakenham to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 22.)

My Lord,
I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 14th June, respecting a complaint by the Hova Chief Secretary of State in regard to the proceedings of Commander Meare of Her Majesty's sloop "Nymphe" at Mojanga, and instructing me to inform the Hova Government that a strict inquiry will be mmediately instituted into the proceedings which have given rise to their complaint.

In obedience to your Lordship's instructions, I have written to the Hova Chief Secretary of State on the subject, and I beg to inclose herewith, for your Lordship's

information, a copy of my note to his Excellency.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

T. C. PAKENHAM.

Inclosure in No. 27.

Consul Pakenham to the Chief Secretary of State.

WITH reference to the concluding paragraph of my note to your Excellency dated the 20th April, in reply to your communication of the 4th of the same month, complaining of the proceedings of Commander Meara, of Her Britannic Majesty's sloop "Nymphe," at Mojanga, I have received the Earl of Clarendon's instructions to inform the Hova Government that a strict inquiry will be immediately instituted into the proceedings which have given rise to their complaint.

I am, &c.

(Signed) T. C. PAKENHAM.

MUSCAT.

No. 28.

Lieutenant-Colonal Disbrowe to the Earl of Clarendon .- (Received May 31.)

My Lord,
I HAVE the honour to inclose, for your Lordship's information, copy of a communication I have this day addressed to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, soliciting the opinion and temporary instructions of the Right Honourable the Governor n Council relative to the amount of jurisdiction that may be lawfully exercised by me over vessels captured on suspicion of being engaged in the Slave Trade within the dominions of the Sultan of Muscat.

2. No Sultan and no Government having as yet been recognized at Muscat, by Her Majesty's Government, doubts have arisen in my mind as to how far I am justified in adjudicating in the matter of slaves, or suspected slavers, seized within dominions

appertaining to the Sovereignty of Muscat.

3. I do myself the honour to solicit your Lordship's instructions on this subject, and as I have found it necessary to obtain advice and opinion from the Right Honourable the Governor in Council of Bombay for my temporary guidance, I venture respectfully to suggest for your Lordship's consideration, whether it would not be to the interest of Her Majesty's Service were transcript of your Lordship's instruction to me on this head communicated simultaneously to his Excellency the Governor in Council of Bombay.

4. All danger of misapprehension of instructions would thus be removed.

I have, &c. (Signed) H

HERBERT DISBROWE.

Inclosure in No. 28.

Lieutenant-Colonel Disbrowe to the Secretary to Government, Bombay.

Sir,

Muscat, April 30, 1869.

IN paragraph 29 of my printed instructions making provisions for the exercise of Consular Jurisdiction in Muscat, and received from Her Majesty's Secretary of State for

India through Her Majesty's Government of Bombay, I find the following command:—
"And it is further ordered that Her Majesty's Consul within the dominions of the Sultan of Muscat shall, for and within the said dominions, and for vessels coming within the said dominions, and for vessels coming within the said dominions, and for vessels coming within the said dominions.

Sultan of Muscat shall, for and within the said dominions, and for vessels coming within those dominions, and in regard to vessels captured on suspicion of being engaged in the Slave Trade within those dominions, have all such jurisdiction as for the time being ordinarily belongs to Courts of Vice-Admiralty in Her Majesty's possessions abroad."

2. The order referred to being Consular, the course regular for me to pursue is to apply direct to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs for instructions, should doubt arise in my mind relative to action that may become necessary consequent upon the existing order. But as weeks must elapse ere I can receive replies from Her Majesty's Secretary of State, and as Her Majesty's steam-ship "Dryad," R.N., is engaged at this instant on duties of Slave Trade suppression in Muscat waters, I have deemed it to the interests of Her Majesty's service that I should solicit for my guidance the opinion and instructions of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council on the following subject.

3. No Sultan or Government having been recognized up to date at Muscat by Her Majesty's Government, have I, or have I not, the authority to adjudicate in the matter of

32 MUSCAT.

vessels captured on suspicion of being engaged in the Slave Trade within the dominions of the Sultan of Muscat?

4. A copy of a communication addressed by me to-day to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on this subject, is inclosed for the information of his Excellency the Governor in Council.

I have, &c. (Signed) HERBERT DISBROWE.

No. 29.

The Earl of Clarendon to Lieutenant, Colonel Disbrowe.

Foreign Office, June 22, 1869.

I HAVE received your despatch of 30th April last, stating that no Sultan and no Government having yet been recognized at Muscat by Her Majesty's Government, doubts have arisen in your mind as to how far you are justified in adjudicating in the matter of slaves or suspected slavers seized within dominions appertaining to the

Sovereign of Muscat, and you request instructions for your guidance on this subject.

I have, in reply, to state to you that the fact of the present Ruler of Muscat not having been recognized by Her Majesty's Government in no way affects the policy of Her Majesty's Government towards that State in regard to the suppression of the Slave Trade, and you should therefore continue to act in carrying out the provisions of the Consular Jurisdiction Act, and in adjudicating in the cases of captured slaves and suspected slavers in the same manner that you would have done if the present Ruler of Muscat had been recognized by Her Majesty's Government.

I have further to inform you that the Secretary of State for India concurs in the opinion that your Consular jurisdiction is in no way affected by the existing state of affairs in Muscat, and that the Duke of Argyll has written in this sense to the Governor of

Bombay.

I am, &c. (Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 30.

Mr. Otway to Lieutenant-Colonel Disbrowe.

Foreign Office, November 5, 1869.

I AM directed by the Earl of Clarendon to inclose, for your information, a copy of the instructions recently issued by the Board of Admiralty to the naval officers employed in suppressing the Slave Trade on the East Coast of Africa,* with the view of checking the irregularities in dealing with captured slaves which have been brought to the notice of Her Majesty's Government; and I am at the same time to inform you that the whole question of the state of the Slave Trade on the East Coast is now under the consideration of a Committee which is sitting at this office.

I am, &c. (Signed) ARTHUR OTWAY.

No. 31.

Dr. Kirk to Lord Stanley .- (Received January 23, 1869.)

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform you that I was waited on yesterday by Abdullah-bin-Omar, cousin to Sultan Abdullah of Johanna, the bearer of a letter from His Highness, in which I was told that Moosa, the leader of those Johanna men who deserted Dr. Livingstone near Lake Nyassa, and who returned to Zanzibar bearing the false tale of his murder, had been imprisoned in irons at Johanna for eight months, and was now sent to Zanzibar and placed in my hands for further punishment or liberation.

In reply, I informed King Abdullah's Agent that His Highness had, by the punishment inflicted on Moosa, anticipated the wish of Her Majesty's Government, and that now

it would be my duty to set him free, but as one banished from his native land.

1 assured the King's Envoy that Her Majesty's Government would receive with much satisfaction the assurance of friendship shown by this act, in having made an example of one who had caused so much grief and anxiety through his cowardly flight and base lies

Accordingly, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that the prisoner Moosa has been set at liberty, but cautioned not to return to Johanna without the King's permission.

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

Inclosure in No. 31.

The Sultan of Johanna to Mr. Churchill.

(Translation.)

Johanna, October 16, 1868.

SOME few days since I wrote you, by the brig "Africa," to the effect that when my dhow went to Zanzibar I would send you the leader of the gang that deserted Dr. Livingstone; he is now on board of her, and will be delivered to you for punishment in whatever form you may see fit.

I have ascertained that this man was the cause of all the trouble, beyond a doubt; therefore I send him alone to you. I have bad him in irons for about eight months, as that was the only means of punishing him I had here. Sending him away will have the desired effect, I think, as people will have a horror of being sent away from their native home

This man and, in fact, the whole party, are not fair specimens of Johanna men at all; they are nothing but bushmen, endowed with very little judgment and common sense.

This man will be delivered to you by my brother Abdullah-bin-Omar.

Any communication you may have for me please deliver to him.

(Signed) SULTAN ABDULLAH.

No. 32.

Mr. Churchill to Lord Stanley.—(Received February 25, 1869.)

My Lord, Zanzibar, December 18, 1868.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of my despatch of the 12th December, addressed to the Honourable C. Gonne, Secretary to Government, Bombay, relative to Sultan Majid's protest against certain captures made by Her Majesty's cruizers engaged in the suppression of the Slave Trade.

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

Inclosure 1 in No. 32.

Mr. Churchill to the Secretary to Government, Bombay.

Sir. Zanzibar, December 12, 1868.

NEWS was received a few days ago of Her Majesty's ship "Star" having destroyed thirty dhows, amongst which was a bungalow belonging to one of Seyd Majid sisters, which had some days previous to her destruction been arrested by Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," but was allowed to proceed on her journey for want of proof of her being a slaver.

His Highness the Sultan has addressed me a letter on the subject of these seizures, which he seems to consider as arbitrary. I have replied to His Highness; but in the absence of any positive information with regard to the proceedings of the "Star," my reply is necessarily evasive.

Were the "Star's" prizes brought before this Vice-Admiralty Court I should have an opportunity of doing justice to His Highness's demands, in the event of their being well-founded. This cannot, however, be done if the "Star" proceeds to Aden, where a defence cannot be insisted in the absence of the defendants. The Sultan is quite right, on the other hand, in saying that his dhows are fast quitting his protection for that of the French, whose flag protects the Slave Trade by its inviolability.

I have the honour herewith to transmit a copy of Seyd Majid's despatch to me on

this subject, together with a copy of my reply.

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

Inclosure 2 in No. 32.

The Sultan of Zanzibar to Mr. Churchill.

(Translation.)

(After compliments.) Zanzibar, Sharban 85 (December 1868).

ON a previous occasion I requested Sheik Suliman bin Ali to mention to you that some of our subjects' ships had been destroyed by Her Majesty's ships-of-war at the ports of M'gao without any show or reason for it. I now learn that the same ships-of-war have burned without causes several vessels belonging to our subjects in the neighbourhood of Brawa, even while riding at anchor in that harbour, and this solely on suspicion of their having carried slaves. I say nothing with regard to the dhows engaged in the Slave Trade, I merely refer to those that are legal traders. By Treaty Her Majesty's ships-of-war may arrest our vessels and our subjects' vessels engaged in the Slave Trade beyond the limits of Keelwa and Lamo, but they have no right to seize and burn our ships on suspicion only, even were they unprovided with passes, or had they tanks, millet, or negro sailors in excess on board, for suspicion is not a sufficient reason to justify capture, nor is it befitting a powerful Government to condemn on mere suspicion. Were such the case, what nation would exist?

At no period of time since the first days of our government has it been the custom with us to issue passes to our ships navigating within our own territorial waters, stating therein the number of their crews, the rank, age, distinctive marks, and wages of the same, and their passengers. Our habit has been to confine the issue of passes to the vessels of our subjects proceeding to foreign ports; and these were provided with papers stating the number of their crew, and the ports of clearance and destination only. Such has been the

custom hitherto, and we have never adopted the rule stating the number of passengers on hoard, as such a course with us would be impracticable; for if a vessel with ten passengers, for instance, left Zanzibar for Pamba, and landed them there, and took on other passengers to Lamo, who is there at Pamba to note these changes? Our passes can only be written at Zanzibar, and our Seal of State cannot be entrusted out of our hands Then with regard to the crews; they, like the passengers, are liable to be discharged, and others engaged in their stead, anywhere in our dominions, and no note can be made of these alterations. As for water tanks, food, and cooking-pots, it is a wellknown fact that the Arabs are controlled by no regular Ruler in this respect. At times they have a greater number of water vessels, and a quantity of provisions, in excess of the wants of those on board. This state of things is notorious with the Arabs; then, again, it not unfrequently happens that a large vessel will be provided with an inadequate quantity of water-casks and cooking utensils, while others may be carrying them from port to port for the purpose of trade. Nor is an excess of millet on board a sufficient reason to justify the detention of a ship, for it can very well have been embarked as an article of commerce. I do not mean to say that, because a ship is loaded with grain, she is consequently incapable of carrying slaves, but simply that the requirements of some people are greater than those of others.

With regard to the crew being black, this cannot of itself constitute a proof of the vessel being engaged in the Slave Trade, for the inhabitants of these countries are mostly

black, nay, they are all black except the Arabs.

Now, three things I have to request of you, who are appointed by the British Government in this country to look after British interests, and to decide with equity on questions in dispute? I know perfectly well that it is not the wish of the Queen's Government to subject us, whom they consider as friends, to the oppression of the British navy; and we are quite sure that Her Majesty's Government have no inclination to force our subjects to quit our protection, as they are doing every year, to avail themselves of the protection afforded to them by the French flag. If this state of things is to last much longer, however, there can be no doubt that every Arab dhow will necessarily be placed under French protection; not that such could be their choice, but that they would be driven to it by the force of things, the ships of our subjects being at present in the sad predicament of either being destroyed by Her Majesty's ships-of-war, or of imploring the French to protect them with their flag.

The three things I have therefore to demand of you are,—first, to put a stop to the seizing and burning of the dhows of our subjects without cause or reason; secondly, the payment of the value of the shipping wrongfully burned by Her Majesty's ships-of-war, together with the value of their cargoes; and, thirdly, that the British navy should no longer molest the ships of our subjects found between the limits within which the carrying of slaves is allowed, namely, from Keelwa to Lamo, save during the four months at which time, in accordance with the wishes of the British Government, we have prohibited the

carrying of slaves in our dominions.

From your Friend, (L.S.) MAJID BIN SAID.

Inclosure 3 in No. 32.

Mr. Churchill to the Sultan of Zanzibar.

Sir,

2 anzibar, December 10, 1868.

1 HAVE received your Highness' letter of the 20th Shaban, addressed to me with reference to the recent captures of certain dhows by Her Majesty's ships of war off the coast of Brava.

Your Highness is pleased, in this communication, to observe that without disputing the right of the British Government to capture your subjects' dhows when they are engaged in the Slave Trade, you cannot acquiesce in their destruction on mere suspicion of their being so employed, and you demand of me, as the Representative of Her Majesty's Government at Zanzibar, the cessation of captures on mere suspicion; the payment of damages for shipping captured under such conditions; and the observance, in future, of your Highness' Treaty rights, according to which British cruizers are not entitled to exercise the right of capture between Keelwa and Lamo, on the coast of Zanzibar, except during the first four months of the Christian year.

Your communication on this subject, which is of so important a nature to both parties, offers me an opportunity of laying before your Highness the result of my observa-

tions on the manner in which the Slave Trade is carried on at Brava, the very spot from

whence you have received the rumours of wrongful captures having taken place.

Your Highness remonstrates against the seizure of your subjects' shipping on simple suspicion, and I may confidently assure you that such a proceeding cannot be approved by No man-of-war is justified in arresting a vessel, to whomsoever the British Government. she may belong, without cause, and if Her Majesty's Government have established Vice-Admiralty Courts at various centres in the Indian Ocean, it is to examine with care the captures made by the British navy, and those Courts are in duty bound to award damages and costs to the owners of vessels illegally captured; but then it must be proved that such captures were illegal. Rumours alone or hearsay evidence cannot be accepted as testimony in the said Vice-Admiralty Courts, and from the experience I have in such matters, I may be allowed to sav that a serious defence is scarcely ever made. The reason for this is generally to be attributed to the irrefutable nature of the evidence produced by Her Majesty's ships of war, the knowledge of which makes native captains decline any further pursuit of their rights. Then, again, in many instances, at the sight of a man-of-war, the dhows with their live cargoes on board are dashed into the foaming surf. Were they legal traders, would they thus themselves destroy their own property at the risk of their lives? It is usually maintained in other parts of the world that the absence of papers justifies the seizure of a vessel; but the Commodore of this station has given it as his opinion that the cruizers under his command should not capture dhows on that plea alone. the fact alone of the crew being black be a sufficient reason for condemning them. face of such exceptional difficulties, the commanders of Her Majesty's cruizers are obliged to resort to other means of detecting the true nature of the vessels they board, and in so doing they must necessarily be guided by the fittings of the said vessels and also by the admission of the slaves themselves, who do not usually conceal the fact of their being slaves. Out of the fifteen dhows captured off Brava by Her Majesty's ship "Daphne, three ran ashore and were broken to pieces before the ship's boats could get up to them; their cargoes, consisting of slaves, were driven inland and escaped. The remaining twelve, captured on the high seas, had slaves on board. I am not aware that any dhows were destroyed by the "Daphne" without slaves. Many had passes from your Highness showing them to be respectable traders, and the greater part had taken in other merchandize besides slaves. They had come from the south, where slaves were cheap, and were proceeding towards the Benadir (Somali coast), at which places they were dear; and the native captains of the dhows may very well have vested a little capital in a private speculation without the knowledge of the owners. This circumstance, however, cannot affect the legality of the prize.

Without pretending to point out to your Highness the course that should be pursued in the emergency of your subjects' vessels being placed under the French flag without your authority, allow me to observe that in my humble opinion it behoves your Highness to oppose so objectionable a proceeding, as well as to adopt such steps as will more effectually protect those of your subjects engaged in legitimate trade from the consequences of the evil acts of those who, contrary to your edicts, continue to carry on the Slave Trade; and I avail myself of this opportunity to name the Governor of Pemba as one who, though called upon to execute your Highness' orders, nevertheless sends slaves to

the north, as the inclosed letter will prove.

I will conclude this letter by adding that your Highness may depend on my opposing the exercise of all arbitrary power on the part of Her Majesty's ships of war, but that I shall, at the same time, steadfastly uphold their acts when they are just and in accordance with our Treaty rights and the law of nations.

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

No. 33.

The Earl of Clarendon to Mr. Churchill.

Foreign Office, March 10, 1869.

I OBSERVE in your despatch to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay dated the 12th of December last, a copy of which you forwarded to me in your despatch of the 18th of the same month, that you state that His Highness Sultan Majid is quite right in saying that his dhows are fast quitting his protection for that of the French, whose flag protects the Slave Trade by its inviolability.

I should be glad to receive any further information which you may be able to furnish

me as to the extent to which the proceedings of Pritish cruizers employed in the suppression of the Slave Trade have influenced the owners of Zanzibar vessels, or the vessels of any other native States in placing them under the French flag, as well as upon the point whether the French flag is used to cover Slave Traffic, and if so to what extent.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

CLARENDON.

No. 34.

Mr. Churchill to Lord Stanley.—(Received March 30.)

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of my despatch of the 22nd of January addressed to the Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay, relative to the steps taken by me for carrying out the orders of his Excellency the Governor-General of India for the suppression of slave-dealing as carried on by Kutchees, &c., residing in Zanzibar.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

HY. A. CHURCHILL.

Inclosure 1 in No. 34.

Mr. Churchill to the Acting Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay.

Sir, Zanzibar, January 22, 1869.
I RECEIVED your despatch of the 7th ultimo relative to the possession of slaves

I RECEIVED your despatch of the 7th ultimo relative to the possession of slaves by the Kutchees residing in Zanzibar on the 4th instant, and although I took an early opportunity of communicating the decision of the Indian Government to His Highness the Sultan, who was on the Coast of Africa at Dar Selam spending the Ramadan, I thought it better to wait until the Sultan's return to Zanzibar, as the delay incurred by this means would have the effect of reconciling His Highness with the stringent measures that I purposed taking with regard to the natives of India under his protection; I trust that my having allowed the Indians this short respite as a mark of deference to His Highness the Sultan will not be disapproved by the Right Honourable the Governor in Council, although it was, as I am aware, my duty to have acted upon the orders I had received without the least delay.

On the day after the Sultan's return to Zanzibar, and immediately after the "Ides" of Ramadan, I drew up a notice informing the natives of India who had placed themselves under His Highness' protection, that they would no longer be allowed to purchase or sell slaves, and that they had to present themselves at the Consulate in order to enable me to determine whether the slaves in their possession were in domestic slavery or otherwise.

It will, I fear, be a difficult matter to distinguish between domestic slavery and the real Slave Trade, as the former may assume the character of the latter at any time if domestic slavery be not kept within certain bounds. Taking my stand, therefore, on the spirit if not the letter of his Excellency the Governor-General's opinion in this matter, I have decided that no Kutchee slave-owner should be allowed to hold more than a very limited number of domestic slaves, say two or three according to his circumstances.

I beg leave to forward, for the information of his Excellency the Governor in Council, a copy of my letter to Seyd Majid on this subject, together with two notices affixed at the Custom-house and at the Consulate, that I have addressed to the Kutchees under the

Sultan's protection with reference to the carrying on of the Slave Trade by them.

I shall avail myself of the first opportunity to proceed along the coast in order to carry out more effectually the wishes of the Indian Government. The total absence at present of any British man-of-war renders my doing so, just now, impossible, and I doubt whether any of Her Majesty's ships would be available for this purpose as they come here with special instructions from the Commodore. I therefore strongly beg to suggest the expediency of sending to Zanzibar a small vessel of the Indian navy to be placed at the disposal of the Political Agent. There are many occasions on which a vessel of this kind would be invaluable at Zanzibar, and it would render the Governor's Agent much less dependent on the Sultan's goodwill in carrying out the orders of Government. A steamship would be preferable to a sailing-ship, but the latter would be better than none at all, and I urgently venture to press the matter on the consideration of his Excellency the Governor in Council.

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

Inclosure 2 in No. 34.

Mr. Churchill to the Sultan of Zanzibar.

(After compliments.) January 20, 1869.

WITH reference to your Highness' letter of the 23rd Shaban, 1284, relative to the natives of India under your Highness' protection being amenable to British law, I have the honour to inform your Highness in writing, as I have already done verbally, that the Government of India by no means recognize the claim set up by certain Kutchees and other subjects of the Protected States in India to be emancipated from all control over them by this Political Agency on the ground that they have neglected to inscribe their names in the Consular Registers; and I am enjoined to interfere authoritatively and by all the means at my disposal to put down slave-dealing when carried on by such persons.

The majority of the Kutchees engaged in this illicit trade having placed themselves under your Highness' protection, it is necessary to inform you that I have, by a public notice, posted up at the Custom-house and at the Consulate, ordered all Kutchees and other natives of India residing in your Highness' dominions who may possess any slaves, to present themselves at this Consulate without loss of time under pain of severe punishment, in order that I may be enabled to carry out the orders of the Government of India.

I have the honour to forward to you a copy of this notice, and trust that your Highness' will, on this occasion, as you have always done in other matters of a similar importance afford me your valuable co-operation in preventing the natives of India domiciled in your dominions from continuing a practice which inflicts incalculable misery on a weak and helpless population, and the existence of which is a source of much pain to Her Majesty's Government.

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

Inclosure 3 in No. 34.

Notice.

To all Natives of India in the Dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar.

THE Government of India, having taken into their serious consideration the subject of the possession of slaves and the carrying on of the Slave Trade by Kutchees and other natives of India in the dominions of His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar, have deemed it urgent to issue orders to the effect that, although domestic slavery may, for a time, be tolerated to a certain extent amongst those already possessing slaves, all attempts at purchasing, selling, or trafficking in slaves, shall be summarily put down; and the Indian Government will not entertain any claims for redress or compensation on this head.

In consequence of the issue of these orders, I, the Undersigned, Her Majesty's Political Agent and Consul at Zanzibar, do hereby command all natives of India who possess slaves in the dominions of His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar, to present themselves to this Political Agency, either in person or by deputy, within a limited period of time from this date, namely, within fourteen days for the inhabitants of the town of Zanzibar, one month for those inhabiting the Island of Zanzibar, and two months for those residing out of the said island, with a list of the slaves in their possession, describing therein the age, sex, and name of each of their slaves in order that they may be dealt with in accordance with the commands of the Government of India.

After the lapse of time allowed to each individual according to his location, unless a good and sufficient excuse be afforded for non-appearance, all slaves found in the possession of natives of India shall be forthwith set free, and the owners thereof shall further be subjected to imprisonment, or to a fine of not less than 10 dollars for each slave so found, or both.

Given under my hand and seal this 20th day of January, 1869.

(Signed) HY. A. CHURCHILL,

Her Majesty's Political Agent and Consul.

Inclosure 4 in No. 34.

Notice.

THE Undersigned, Her Majesty's Political Agent and Consul at Zanzibar, deems it necessary to warn all natives of India residing within the dominions of His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar that, in consequence of the orders of the Government of India published in Zanzibar on the 20th instant, the provisions of the Indian Penal Code are applicable from this date in all matters connected with the buying, selling, and trafficking in slaves by the said natives of India under whatever denomination they may be.

(Signed) HY. A. CHURCHILL.

(Signed)

Her Majesty's Political Agent and Consul.

Zanzibar, January 21, 1869.

No. 35.

Mr. Churchill to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received April 17.)

Zanzibar, February 19, 1869. My Lord, I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of my despatch of this day's date addressed to C. Gonne, Esq., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay, relative to the supposed survivors of the "St. Abbs."

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

Inclosure in No. 35.

Mr. Churchill to the Acting Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay.

Zanzibar, February 19, 1869. Sir, I HAVE the honour to report that Mr. Heale, the gentleman who was at Brava, has latterly written to me to say that he had been unable to learn anything respecting the men said to be in captivity in the Somali country. The sum of 1001. was offered for every captive, but no response was made during the six months that Mr. Heale was at Brava from any quarter, although the most influential Chief of Brava had made the offer known far and near.

I myself, when off Brava in November last, made many inquiries of the slaves and others on board Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," some of them had been in the Somali country, but only one had heard, some years ago, when he was at Merka, that a search was being made for certain white men said to have been enslaved in the interior, but he had heard nothing of the men themselves.

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

No. 36.

Mr. Churchill to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received April 17.)

Zanzibar, February 24, 1869. My Lord, I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of my despatch of the 24th instant addressed to the Secretary to the Government, Bombay, relative to a dhow captured by Her Majesty's ship "Star," and supposed to have been the one taken by Majesty's ship "Wasp" in 1865, which escaped, carrying off three British seamen.

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

Inclosure 1 in No. 36.

Mr. Churchill to the Acting Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay.

Sir, Zanzibar, February 24, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you herewith inclosed, for the information of his Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor in Council, the copy of a despatch that I have had occasion to address to the Political Resident at Aden, with regard to an inscription found carved on the poop of a dhow latterly captured by Her Majesty's ship "Star," and supposed to have been made by one of the unfortunate seamen of the "Wasp," who were put on board a Soori dhow engaged in the Slave Trade on or about the 12th April, 1865, and of whose fate nothing is known. It was supposed at the time that the men had deserted, but from the information I have gathered, they seem to have been overpowered by the Arabs, and were taken north to Pemba. Nothing has ever been heard of them after they were seen at Pemba, and it is presumed that they must either have been murdered or be in captivity in some secluded part of Arabia.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

HY. A. CHURCHILL.

Inclosure 2 in No. 36.

Mr. Churchill to the Political Resident, Aden.

Sir, Zanzibar, February 19, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 30th December, 1868, with reference to the capture of an Arab dhow by Her Majesty's ship "Star," in which was discovered a plank on her deck marked "'Wasp,' 11-4-65," supposed to have been written by one of the unfortunate seamen who disappeared towards that date in a dhow in which they had been placed as a prize crew.

From the depositions of the individuals sent by you as the Nakoda, and a seaman of the "Mambosasa," it would appear that this dhow formerly belonged to a native of Pemba

named Rizk bin Ali.

In referring to the archives of this Consulate, I find that on the 11th April, 1865, two dhows were captured near Kokotoni and Oswaeremba Point by the pinnace and the two cutters of the "Wasp." Dhow No. 1 had 6 Arabs and 26 slaves on board. Dhow No. 2 had a large crew, and 6 women believed to be slaves. A prize crew was put on board of dhow No. 2, but was subsequently withdrawn to rescue one of the cutters attacked by two strange Arab dhows. As a security for the safety of dhow No. 2, thus temporarily abandoned, the master and another individual, supposed to belong to the crew, but who turned out to be a passenger, were taken away with the "Wasp's" boats. When the attacking dhows had been driven off, dhow No. 2 was nowhere to be seen. This dhow was, at the time, proved to belong to Rizk bin Ali of Pemba, and the Nakhoda thereof was imprisoned by His Highness the Sultan, simply because he had not his pass with him when his dhow was boarded.

In a letter of the 17th April, Captain Bowden, of the "Wasp," referring to this dhow, says that a boat was on that day sent after a dhow, which proved to be the prize No. 2 of the 11th April, whose Nakhoda was imprisoned. Captain Bowden adds, that he thinks the man had been treated unjustly, and offers to return to him his arms.

This dhow is evidently the one arrested by the "Star" on the 8th November last, and in all likelihood the carving was made by the "Wasp's" men when they were on

board of her on the 11th April, 1865.

In the same letter of the 17th April, Captain Bowden informs Colonel Playfair that the missing dhow had not yet turned up; and it this missing dhow, boarded after the 11th April, and described as having a crew of 2 Arabs and 3 slaves only, of whom two were boys (and, consequently, different from the one that had a large crew and 6 women on board) that slipped off with a prize crew of three men who have never been heard of since. This dhow is further said to have had her yard damaged by a shot from the pinnace, a circumstance which is not mentioned in connection with dhow No. 2.

It was subsequently ascertained, I find, though it does not appear in the correspondence, that the crew of this latter dhow, having overcome the sailors, and having bound them hand and foot, and had proceeded to Pemba, where it was notorious at the

time that three English sailors had been captured by some Soori Arabs.

Researches having been made on the Coast of Arabia, in consequence of Colonel

Playfair's representations to the Government of Bombay, it was ascertained by Colonels Pelly and Disbrowe that this dhow belonged to one Rabai bin Alli, of Soor, who is

now dead.

The prisoners sent down to Zanzibar declared in their depositions before me that, although eight of the "Mambosasa" crew were slaves, their dhow was not engaged in the the Slave Trade, and the Sultan purposes protesting against her being destroyed by Captain de Kantzow.

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

No. 37.

Mr. Churchill to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received April 17.)

My Lord, Zanzibar, February 25, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of my despatch of this day's date addressed to the Secretary to the Government of Bombay, relative to the apprehensions of the Sultan in consequence of the suppression of slave-holding by Kutchees in Zanzibar.

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

Inclosure 1 in No. 37.

Mr. Churchill to the Secretary to Government, Bombay.

Sir,

IN the course of a conversation I had with Seyd Majid, soon after the arrival of Her Majesty's ship "Nymphe," His Highness having, with reference to the manner in which I proposed to carry out my instructions relative to the Kutchees under the Sultan's protection possessing slaves, expressed in strong terms his misgivings as to the friendly feelings of his subjects towards himself and the Europeans, because of the prevailing belief that Her Majesty's Government would sooner or later end in forcing His Highness to sanction the abolition of domestic slavery in his dominions, an event which would, said the Sultan, bring about the total ruin of the country. I deemed it advisable to request Commander Meara, of the "Nymphe," to postpone his cruise south until I could see my way through the difficulty.

Finding, however, after a lapse of ten days, that His Highness' fears were groundless, inasmuch as the Arabs were quite indifferent if the natives of Kutch held slaves or not in Zanzibar, and that His Highness has merely wished to throw difficulties in my way, I

authorized Commander Meara to proceed on his cruizing tour.

I availed myself of his passing by Johanna to request him to grant a passage to Seyd Ali, the brother of the King of Johanna, who was desirous, with his cousin, to return to his native island

I have the honour to transmit to you copies of the letters I addressed to Commander Meara on this subject, and I trust that my having detained the "Nymphe," under the peculiar circumstances described, will meet with the approval of his Excellency the Governor in Council.

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

Inclosure 2 in No. 37.

Mr. Churchill to Commander Meara.

Sir,

IN consequence of the very serious apprehensions apparently entertained by His Highness Seyd Majid, the Sultan of Zanzibar, as to the public tranquillity of the place, if I persevere in carrying out certain instructions that I have recently received from the Government of Bombay, connected with the suppression of the Slave Trade on this coast, and not feeling myself justified in deviating in the least degree from the line of conduct Class B.

traced out to me, I deem it urgent to request you to postpone your departure from this

until it may be seen how far the Sultan's apprehensions are founded.

Under any circumstances the presence of a British man-of-war in the port of Zanzibar at this season of the year, when the Arabs of the coast of Arabia visit these shores in vast numbers for the purpose of carrying away into slavery the black population of this country, is desirable; and I trust that these two reasons together will have sufficient weight in them to prevail upon you to remain here, for the present at all events.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

HY. A. CHURCHILL.

Inclosure 3 in No. 37.

Mr. Churchill to Commander Meara.

Sir, Zanzibar, February 12, 1869.

THE apprehensions entertained by His Highness the Sultan as to the possibility of disturbances occurring at Zanzibar, having been found to be of an indefinite nature, and having failed to detect the specious grounds on which His Highness bases his fears lest a commotion should take place calculated to compromise the Sultan's position and the lives of the European inhabitants of Zanzibar, I beg you will consider yourself under no

further moral obligation to remain here for the protection of the place.

In proceeding south you will necessarily pass by Johanna, an island whose Chief has invariably shown himself well-disposed towards England. The position of Johanna, moreover, in the close neighbourhood of the French possessions of Mayotta and Nosse-bé, renders it not a little desirable that we should propitiate this friendly feeling. I have therefore the honour to request that you will kindly give King Abdalla's brother, Seyd Ali, and his cousin, a passage to Johanna, if you can do so conveniently.

The King will, I feel sure, be glad to see you at Johanna should you call on him.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

HY. A. CHURCHILL.

No. 38.

Mr. Churchill to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received April 17.)

My Lord, Zanzibar, February 26, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of my despatch of the 26th instant, addressed to the Secretary to Government, Bombay, relative to the measures taken for carrying out the orders of the Government of India regarding Kutchees and other natives of India

holding slaves in Zanzibar.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

HY. A. CHURCHILL.

Inclosure 1 in No. 38.

Mr. Churchill to the Acting Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay.

Sir,

Zanzibar, February 26, 1869.

REFERRING to the natives of India holding slaves in the dominions of the Sult

REFERRING to the natives of India holding slaves in the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar, I had the honour, in my despatch of the 21st January last, to report the steps that I had taken with a view to put a stop to the Trafficking in Slaves by the same individuals within the jurisdiction of this Political Agency.

I was aware that I could not count upon the co-operation of Seyd Majid in carrying out my instructions; but, however much I required that co-operation, I was determined to

do without it, if His Highness withheld it.

Soon after the publication of my notices (annexed to my despatch of the 21st of January), a native of Kutch was reported to me as having put up one of his slaves for sale in the market-place. The man was one of those protected by the Sultan. I caused him to be arrested, and brought to trial. He did not deny the fact, but laughingly declared that he ignored my power to punish him. I sentenced him to a fine of 500 dollars, and to imprisonment in the fort until I could send him out of the country.

This decisive measure, which I was prepared to follow up by others of the same nature, brought the Kutchees to their senses; and after a serious consultation, the principal amongst them came to the Consulate to declare the slaves they held; while the Sultan, careless of showing his vexation, addressed me a letter couched in very plain words, such as he is not in the habit of writing to this Political Agency, in which he protested with energy against my proceedings and threatened to report me.

I replied on the same day, expressing to His Highness my regret at the line of policy he had been pleased to adopt, but showing him that I would not abandon the position I

had assumed.

I took an early opportunity to wait upon His Highness in person, to impress upon his mind the futility of opposing the fulfilment of my instructions; and, as in the course of this interview, His Highness urged the dissatisfaction of his subjects with himself and this Agency, and his distrust of the maintenance of the public peace if I persisted, I requested Commander Meara, of Her Majesty's ship "Nymphe," to remain at Zanzibar till further orders.

Matters were in this position, and I had made every preparation to avert the possibility of Kutchees engaging in the Slave Trade, by depriving them of the slaves in their possession, over and above a certain number, when, on the 13th February, I received your letter of the 16th January, by which I am informed that it is unnecessary to interfere with the existing arrangements, by which domestic slaves are now actually possessed by Kutchees at Zanzibar, for household purposes.

From the tenor of this Resolution, I concluded that I had misinterpreted the sense of the Governor-General's letter to the Bombay Government, of the 6th November, and that I was going too far in compassing the freedom of any of the slaves held by the Kutchees, although the possession of a large number of slaves would offer facilities to the traffic which I could not control, otherwise than by reducing the number of domestic slaves to a

minimum, and getting a correct list and description of them.

I therefore called the Sultan's Secretary, and, without letting him know that I had overstepped the limits of my powers, I requested him to convey to the Sultan my wish to conciliate matters, and my readiness, considering the assistance we had invariably received from His Highness in putting down the Slave Trade, to abstain from interference with the slaves already in the hands of the Kutchees under his protection, provided His Highness would afford me his co-operation in punishing them if they sold or bought slaves in his dominions.

The Sultan appeared to be gratified at this concession; and on the 20th February I embodied my conditions in a letter to the above effect; to which Seyd Majid replied, by accepting my conditions provisionally, pending reference to the Government of Bombay.

I have the honour to forward herewith, inclosed copies of the correspondence above-

mentioned.

As matters stand, I do not interfere with the slaves actually held by Kutchees protected by Seyd Majid, though I have established my right to jurisdiction over them in the event of their engaging in the Slave Trade. I have offered to press upon the consideration of his Excellency, the Governor of Bombay, our non-interference with them, if His Highness will punish them himself, whenever they purchase or sell slaves. I have reserved to this Agency the right to interfere in the event of His Highness being remiss in carrying out his engagements. I have further, in accordance with the views expressed by his Excellency the Governor-General, closed the door upon future arrivals from India being protected by the Sultan.

This latter clause is the one most objected to by the Zanzibar Government, for it will have the effect of restoring to the British Political Agency the influence and power it formerly possessed, which was beginning to diminish in consequence of our gradually losing the hold we had at one time over the Indian element of the population, which is not

inconsiderable.

On the reply that his Excellency the Governor-General will give to the Sultan's Deputy, will depend the question whether this influence is to be increased or totally annulled, in the course of time.

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

Inclosure 2 in No. 38.

The Sultan of Zanzibar to Mr. Churchill.

(Translation.) Zanzibar, 17 Shawal, 1285 (February 1, 1869). After the usual compliments.)

YOU addressed us some time since with reference to the Indians under our protection and it was our intention to have answered you, when we learned that you had put up a notice at the Custom-house without waiting our reply, and now we are informed that

you have imprisoned one of the Indians in question.

Now let it be known to you that we protest against this measure, and shall not assist you in compelling our subjects and those under our protection to free their slaves; and in the event of your forcing them to do so it will be against our will, and we shall be constrained to address a complaint of such proceedings to Her Majesty's Government.

Be this known to you.

Written on the 17th Shawal, 1285.

From your Friend, MAJID BIN SAEED.

Inclosure 3 in No. 38.

Mr. Churchill to the Sultan of Zanzibar.

Zanzibar, February 1, 1869. (After the usual compliments.)

I HAVE had the honour to receive your Highness' letter of the 17th Shawal, relative to the measures that I have been instructed by the Government of India to take with a view to putting down the Trade in Slaves, which I lament to say is carried on in your Highness' dominions by certain natives of India under your Highness' protection. Your Highness has been pleased therein to protest against the adoption of such measures, and I am informed that I am not to expect any co-operation from you in carrying out my instructions, but that, on the contrary, you will be compelled to complain against me if I

persist in freeing the slaves of the natives of India under your protection.

Your Highness will allow me, in the first place, to express my deep regret that ten days should have been allowed to pass without my being informed whether or no I could count upon your Highness' assistance in fulfilling the instructions of Government, and I now see with much pain that that assistance which you promised me when the question of the possession of slaves by the natives of India in Zanzibar was first mooted, is now I would now fain to bring to your Highness' recollection the agreement that was then made, namely, that the question should be referred to the Government of India for their decision, promising me your aid in carrying out the wishes of Government in the event of their being in conformity with my view of the question, and with this result in contemplation, your Highness was pleased to put up a notice forbidding all natives of India under your protection from selling their slaves, or otherwise getting rid of them before a reply came, and a list of the slaves of the said Indians was drawn up by your orders to serve as a check against their selling them. If now, after these promises, I do not receive at your hands that amount of assistance that is due to the Agent of the British Government to enable him to carry out his instructions in a proper manner, I shall be under the painful necessity of bringing the circumstance to the serious notice of Her Majesty's Government, who, it is needless for me to tell you, will be greatly pained to witness the attitude of your Highness in this matter.

This Agency does not in the least wish to interfere with your Highness' subjects, but the natives of India who, in order to carry on the Slave Trade, have placed themselves

under your protection are not your subjects, and they cannot be admitted as such.

With regard to the individual whom I caused to be arrested for an attempt to sell one of his slaves, he is a native of India and amenable to British law, and it having been proved before the British Consular Court, in his own presence, and, furthermore, admitted by himself, that he purposed selling his slave in the public slave-market, by virtue of the powers vested in me by Her Majesty's Government, I have sentenced him to a fine of 500 dollars and to imprisonment until a suitable opportunity offers to send him to India.

Should your Highness object to keep the man in the fort you will be pleased to tell

me so.

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

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Inclosure 4 in No. 38.

Mr. Churchill to the Sultan of Zanzibar.

Zanzibar, February 20, 1869. (After the usual compliments.)

I HAVE already conveyed to your Highness verbally, through your Secretary Suliman bin Ali, the course I propose to follow with reference to the Kutchees and other natives of India holding slaves in your dominions, and I now have the honour to inform you in writing that, taking into consideration your Highness' goodwill with regard to the ultimate abolition of the Slave Trade on this coast, I am anxious to carry out the instructions of the Bombay Government in a manner agreeable to your Highness.

With this object in view, I will not object to allow the Kutchees under your protection the possession of the slaves they now hold, as shown in the register kept by Suliman bin Ali, provided they do not buy any more or sell those they have. This concession will have the effect of covering your Highness' amour propre, for, so long as the Kutchees under your protection do not traffic in slaves, I shall not interfere with them; but in order to keep a check over them, I should wish your Highness to order them to give you the names and description of their slaves.

Any Kutchee under your protection purchasing a slave or selling one shall be deemed to have committed a heinous crime, and shall be amenable to British jurisdiction; but if your Highness will pledge yourself to punish such individuals condignly, I will gladly suggest

to the Bombay Government our non-interference.

All future arrivals from India shall be deemed amenable to British law in every way, and there shall be no excuse for their purchasing or holding slaves in your Highness'

dominions.

I shall also suggest, in compliance with your wishes, that natives of Zanzibar born of Indian parents may be allowed to elect their nationality after coming of age; and that the Kutchees settled in Zanzibar before 1836, the date of the Rao's Proclamation regarding the Slave Trade, may be permitted to enjoy all the privileges of your Highness' subjects. HY. A. CHURCHILI.

(Signed)

Inclosure 5 in No. 38.

The Sultan of Zanzibar to Mr. Churchill.

(Translation.)

Zanzibar, 12 Thil Karda, 1285 (February 26, 1869). (After the usual compliments.)

YOUR letter has reached us, and its contents have been understood. Our friend Soliman conveyed to us your verbal message, and it was in exact accordance with the purport of your letter, namely, that you would allow the natives of Kutch to keep what slaves they had as a mark of deference towards us. We have to express to you our sincere thanks for this; we believe that you are well disposed towards us, and we earnestly trust that the friendship happily existing between us will increase daily; but the correspondence that passed between our Government and Colonels Pelly and Playfair, some time back, acknowledges our right to protect all natives of Kutch whose names are not inscribed in the Consular Register Books kept in Zanzibar, and to consider them as our own subjects in every way. You, however, latterly wished to pursue another course; and it was then agreed to refer the matter to the Indian Government. When, a few days ago, you insisted on taking active measures in the matter, we purposed sending some one to the Government of India to represent our case.

You further state that, in future, all new arrivals from India shall be amenable to British law. We can easily understand that the natives of Bombay and Surat, and other parts of India subjugated by Great Britain, should be subject to your jurisdiction; but that that those who come from States that have not been conquered should be amenable to British law is at variance with the explanations previously given by Colonels Pelly and Playfair, namely, that if they have not elected the protection of the British Consulate, by writing their names in the Consular Register, their status shall be that of the Arabs, our subjects. Now, however, with a view to the maintenance of the friendly relations between us, we are willing to accept the position assumed by you, as explained in your letter under present acknowledgment, until such time as our Envoy may return from India, when we trust that the most perfect understanding will be arrived at on this subject

This is from your friend Majid bin Saeed.

No. 39.

Mr. Churchill to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received April 17.

Zanzibar, March 1, 1869. My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of my despatch of the 1st March addressed to the Acting Chief Secretary, Bombay, relative to a letter received by the Sultan of Zanzibar from the Sheikh Ibrahim, of the Beni Yaa's tribe in the Persian Gulf.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

HY. A. CHURCHILL.

Inclosure 1 in No. 39.

Mr. Churchill to the Acting Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay.

Sir, Zanzibar, March 1, 1869.

HIS Highness the Sultan has been good enough to permit me to take a copy of a letter he has received from Sheikh Ibrahim bin Sultan, Chief of the Beni Yaa's tribe, whose head-quarters are at Abu Phabbei, in the Persian Gulf.

The letter relates as much to the Slave Trade as to the feelings of the tribes on the

coast of Arabia towards Seyd Majid as their future ruler.

The inducements to carry on the Slave Trade are brought out with great force in the Sheikh's letter. His inability to stop it may or may not be feigned, but the information conveyed to us by his remarks go far to show that, until serious measures are taken, as well in the Persian Gulf as elsewhere, to punish the individuals who engage in this Traffic it will continue its course unaffected by our efforts to annihilate it.

It comes, I am afraid, to this, that so long as domestic slavery is allowed to flourish, the Slave Trade will exist. In no Mahometan state with which Her Majesty's Government is in friendly relations should domestic slavery be tolerated. The alliance of England is worth the sacrifice. Until then, our endeavours, however active and energetic, will no more keep this trade down, than grass will be stopped from growing by being trampled upon. Like vice of every kind, it will crop up wherever it has not been thoroughly eradicated.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

HY. A. CHURCHILL.

Inclosure 2 in No. 39.

The Chief of the Beni Yaas Tribe of Abu Phabbei to the Sultan of Zanzibar.

(Translation.)

(After the usual compliments.) 23 Ramdan, 1285 (January 7, 1869).

YOU are no doubt aware of the occurrences of Oman, and what has taken place at Muscat, but we are ignorant of your intentions, though the people of Oman are all looking towards you. We trust that you will let us know what you purpose doing. Seyd Salim has come to Abu Phabbei with the object of getting the people to rise in his favour, but we do not believe he will succeed in inducing them to fight for him, as his proceedings in past

times were not of the best; however, everything is in the hands of the Almighty.

Your gracious letter has reached me, and I was pleased to receive tidings of your health. Its main purport, namely, that we should warn the Northern Arabs from going to Zanzibar, has been understood. We did warn them, oh, my brother, and sent people to tell them, and made public your letter; but it will, I am afraid, have but little effect in keeping them back. The gains are so enormous that it is hopeless to think of stopping them. With ten baskets' worth of dates, that a man gets on credit, he can get 20 slaves at Zanzibar, worth 1,000 dollars. God is great. You may punish them condignly, if you like, by burning their dhows, or by putting them in irons, but if you do not punish them you had better let them alone, for we cannot do it. The greatest offenders are the people of Ras-el-Kheyma; were they put down, the others would soon stop; but words are not sufficient; on the contrary, words will increase their daring; but your consideration is superior to all.

(Sealed) IBRAHIM BIN SULTAN.

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Dr. Kirk to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received May 28.)

My Lord, Zanzibar, April 22, 1869. I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of my despatch of this date, addressed to the Secretary to Government, Bombay, relative to the Slave Trade, and outrage by slavers on a boat's crew of Her Majesty's ship "Nymphe," for which the Sultan of Muscat is answerable.

> I have, &c. JOHN KIRK. (Signed)

Inclosure in No. 40.

Dr. Kirk to the Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay.

Zanzibar, April 22, 1869. OWING to the absence of Her Majesty's cruizers at the time when the southerly monsoon first set in, many slaves had been taken north, previous to the arrival of Her Majesty's ship "Nymphe" at Zanzibar.

In consequence of the capture of slaves made on the morning of the 11th instant, which I have had the honour to report, and the strenuous exertions of Seyd Majid, the export of slaves was arrested; but it was known that many hundreds were secreted both in town and country, ready for shipment to Arabia, on the departure of Her Majesty's ship "Nymphe."

Captain Meara has accordingly sailed, ostensibly for Seychelles, having on board a general mail and passengers; but before proceeding thither, he will return to the African

coast, and lay in wait for slave dhows to the north of Pemba.

As had been anticipated, on the night subsequent to the "Nymphe's" departure, when no danger was looked for by the Arabs, slaves were openly embarked; and I have much pleasure in bringing to the knowledge of his Excellency the Governor in Council, that one dhow, containing 50* slaves, was seized in harbour by Seyd Majid's soldiers.

This is a step which, I confess, I did not expect His Highness would have taken, in the absence of an English man-of-war, as these Northern Arabs are a turbulent race, ready

to resist our own sailors when their slave-trading is meddled with.

It will be seen by his Excellency, from what has taken place this season, that the Northern Slave Trade is far from being suppressed, and that the means now adopted are quite insufficient to check it effectually. Every year, Arabs of Oman, subjects of the Sultan of Muscat, come to Zanzibar, with a few dates, cloths, and other trifling articles, which they exchange for slaves.

During the three months of their stay in Zanzibar, they are a constant menace to the Sultan, and should Seyd Majid attempt severe measures to stop their slavery, they would

set his power openly at defiance.

The position of His Highness is, in this respect, one of peculiar embarrassment. Anxious to keep the good opinion of the English at a time when he has much to ask of us, he still hankers after a good name among the people of Oman, whom he looks on, and

with justice, as a race superior to their descendants,—the Arabs of Zanzibar.

I do not myself believe that His Highness contemplates an expedition to Muscat, for the purpose of re-establishing his family on the Throne; but I have thought proper to make it plainly understood that no such adventure could be tolerated by the Indian Government; and it is the interest of Zanzibar to have as few relations as possible with Eastern Arabia.

As the late outrage on the boats of Her Majesty's ship "Nymphe," in which one seaman was killed, and two officers severely wounded, is clearly proved to have been the work of the Beni boo Hassan, a powerful Omanee tribe, of Ras el Hadd, subjects of Muscat, I would respectfully suggest that the Sultan of Muscat be held responsible for this act of his subjects, and called upon to bring this tribe to punishment by fine or otherwise.

> I have, &c. (Signed) JOHN KIRK.

^{*} It has since been ascertained that all these were stolen, not a single one bought. This dhow also belonged to Muscat Arabs.

No. 41.

Dr. Kirk to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received May 28.)

My Lord, Zanzibar, April 23, 1869.

1 DO myself the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 10th of March, relative to the rapid increase in the number of native craft under the protection of the French flag.

Your Lordship will find this subject alluded to in my despatch of the 10th of April, addressed to the Secretary to Government of Bombay, of which a copy has been addressed

to your Office.

I will add that, in consequence of the sudden departure of Her Majesty's ship "Nymphe," I was unable to inclose a copy of the letter which Captain Meara proposed addressing to Sir L. Heath on this subject, and which will be accompanied by the depositions of the various boarding officers sent for the purpose of verifying the genuineness of

the flag, when used in suspicious looking vessels.

I will mention that Captain Meara states that where there were five French flags last year, this season he found fifty, and that although he made a rule of boarding them, in no case did he find the ship's papers irregular. He was told, in at least one case, that although there were negroes on board, he had no right to inquire whether they were slaves or free, and he stated to me that if the system of getting the French flag continued much longer, our efforts in the seas between Zanzibar and Madagascar for the suppression of the Slave Trade would be fruitless.

Among the European and American merchants in Zanzibar there is now a demand for coasting craft under the French flag. In a native dhow there is always the risk that some one of the crew or passengers may buy a slave, and so compromise the freight which has been placed on board in good faith; and therefore a flag which defies scrutiny has obvious

advantages.

Mistakes may also occur from a crew composed of negroes being taken for slaves; and there are cases still more difficult, in which the crew are slaves, but working for wages, a portion of which goes to the master; yet these slaves are sufficiently free to go to India

and return to Zanzibar.

Of the fact that the French flag is rapidly covering the Arab native craft there can be no doubt, and it is greatly to be regretted that it has been found impossible to grant the English flag even to born subjects of British India who may enter into the coasting trade. These men are reduced to flying the red flag of the Arabs for want of a better, and this, in the eyes of our cruizers, is always a most suspicious colour.

Referring your Lordship, therefore, to the Commanders of Her Majesty's vessels in these seas, especially to Captain E. S. Meara of Her Majesty's ship "Nymphe," for full

particulars as to the use made of the French flag.

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

No. 42.

The Earl of Clarendon to Dr. Kirk.

Foreign Office, June 7, 1869.

I OBSERVE in your despatch of the 22nd April last, addressed to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay, that you report that a Muscat dhow, containing 50 slaves, all of whom had been stolen by Northern Arabs in Zanzibar, had been seized in harbour by Sultan Majid's soldiers; and you add that this is a step that you did not expect His Highness would have taken in the absence of an English man-of-war.

I have to instruct you to take an opportunity of acknowledging and thanking His Highness, on the part of Her Majesty's Government, for this act of vigour on his part.

I am, &c.

(Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 43.

Dr. Kirk to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received June 11.)

My Lord, Zansibar, April 16, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of my despatches of the 10th and 12th April, addressed to the Secretary to Government, Bombay, relative to the proceedings of Her Majesty's ship "Nymphe."

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

Inclosure 1 in No. 43.

Dr. Kirk to the Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council, that Her Majesty's "Nymphe," under the command of E. S. Meara, Esq., Commander in Her Majesty's Royal Navy, arrived in this port on the 9th instant, from a cruise off the north-west coast of Madagascar, and the coast of East Africa, between Delgado and Zanzibar.

Captain Meara has placed in my hands for adjudication, as Acting Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court, sixteen dhows which he has taken and destroyed on the grounds that they were engaged in the Slave Trade. As many of these vessels were the property of wealthy natives, I anticipate considerable delay and trouble in the settlement of these cases.

Captain Meara tells me that to the south almost every dhow is now under the French flag; that when last year only five dhows with the French flag were seen by the "Nymphe" during her cruise, in the same parts this year there are fifty, and that so well do the natives know with what jealousy France protects her rights, that dhow owners told him plainly that he no right to touch them even if they had a cargo of slaves, politely showing their papers at the same time.

These papers he found in all cases drawn up regularly.

There is no doubt that very soon the French flag will be the only one in use on this coast, giving, as it does, perfect protection alike to the honest trader and the regular slaver.

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

Inclosure 2 in No. 43.

Dr. Kirk to the Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay.

Sir,

IN continuation of my despatch of the instant, I have now the honour to report, for the information of his Excellency the Governor in Council, what happened subsequent to the arrival of Her Majesty's ship "Nymphe" at Zanzibar.

At about half-past 1 on the morning of the 11th instant, I received private information from Sheikh Suliman bin Ali Wizur to the Sultan, whose name, for obvious reasons, it is particularly desirable should not appear, that the northern Arabs were engaged in embarking slaves at a point within rifle-shot of the Consulate.

I at once communicated this to Commander E. S. Meara, of Her Majesty's ship "Nymphe," requesting him to send boats immediately in order to learn the truth, and

seize the dhow if found.

Before an hour had elapsed two cutters, commanded by Lieutenants Clarke and Hodgson respectively, were alongside a dhow on the spot indicated. She lay within twenty paces of the beach, where were assembled about thirty armed Arabs guarding a crowd of slaves.

On boarding the dhow, she was found to be half full of slaves. The few Arabs then in the vessel jumped overboard and swam on shore, leaving the dhow and slaves in the hands of the boats' crews.

The Arabs on shore then fired on our sailors, killing one seamen, and wounding Mr. Hodgson severely in the hand.

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Under a murderous fire kept up from the beach, the boats' crews, behaving with the

greatest coolness and gallantry, succeeded in towing off the prize.

When alongside the ship, I examined some of the slaves as to how they had been taken, and by whom, and I also seized thirty private letters, the greater part of which proved to be invoices and advices of shipment of slaves, with prices and charges on them.

This consignment was meant for Ras el Had and Jailan, the country of the Beni bu

Ali and Beni bu Hassan, subjects to the Sultan of Muscat.

Part of the correspondence was of a political nature, which led to the immediate

arrest of several influential men in town.

I have asked the Sultan to secure all those engaged in this shipment of slaves, as the originators of the outrage, and I feel assured that Seyd Majid will assist me in bringing them to judgment.

His Highness has replied by placing the dhow and slaves at the disposal of Her Majesty's ship "Nymphe," although taken in his own harbour, and warmly approved of

my proceedings, condoling with us on the loss we have sustained.

This dhow will accordingly be condemned in the Vice-Admiralty Court as a prize to

the officers and crew of Her Majesty's ship "Nymphe."

His Highness' Secretary, Sheikh Suliman bin Ali, is now engaged in examining the slaves as to where, and by whom, they had been sold, in order that all concerned may meet with punishment.

I trust that His Highness' conduct on this occasion, and the gallantry of the officers and men engaged in this capture, may meet with the approbation of the Right Honourable

the Governor in Council.

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

Inclosure 3 in No. 43.

Dr. Kirk to the Sultan of Zanzibar.

(After the usual compliments.)

Zanzibar, April 11, 1869.

IT is my duty to bring to your Highness' notice at the earliest opportunity, what happened last night between certain Arabs under your Highness' jurisdiction, and two boats' crews of Her Majesty's ship "Nymphe."

Having learned that certain Arabs were embarking slaves at Nasimoja at midnight, I gave information of the fact to the Commander of Her Majesty's ship "Nymphe," and requested him to send immediately for the purpose of learning the truth of the report.

Captain Meara at once sent two boats to the spot.

They had no sooner arrived and seen that, indeed, upwards of 100 slaves had been embarked, and that many more remained on shore, under guard of about thirty Arabs, than the Arabs fired upon the English boats from the shore, killing one man, and wounding most seriously one of the officers in command.

When attacked, the boats returned the fire on the Arabs and towed off the dhow,

containing slaves numbering 135, notwithstanding the firing of the Arabs.

When first attacked, the boats were only thirty paces from the beach, so that every shot told against them; and I consider that the crews behaved most gallantly in thus succeeding in taking off the dhow and slaves.

I have now to demand of your Highness what I know it will be a true pleasure for you to grant; that is, the seizure of all suspected to have been engaged in this affair, and

the punishment of those convicted.

The slaves now on board Her Majesty's ship "Nymphe" will identify the house in which they have been secreted, and which is well known, and the correspondence taken out of the dhow will throw more light still on the authors of this outrage.

I have the honour to inclose a list of those who shipped slaves in the dhow, that they

may be seized.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

Inclosure 4 in No. 43.

Abstract of Correspondence seized on board of the Dhow taken on 12th April, 1869.

THE capture of correspondence intended for Arabia, which was made in the dhow taken on the morning of the 12th instant in Zanzibar harbour by Her Majesty's ship "Nymphe," shows clearly that the people of Jailan and Ras el Hadd, especially the Beni boo Hassan, are deeply implicated in the outrages yearly committed by the Northern Arabs who frequent these parts during the north monsoon for no other purpose but that of the Slave Trade.

One third of the letters taken contain lists and prices of slaves shipped in this dhow, and to whom they are consigned. Some refer to shipments that have already taken place. All complain of the present high price of slaves, and one man writes that, in consequence of Seyd Majid's vigilance, he cannot safely execute an order for slaves at the present

time.

In general, the letters speak highly of the strength of Seyd Majid's Government, which they seem to regret. One, however, holding a contrary opinion, informs his friends in Jailan that "Majid's fire has gone out."

He prays that Argan bin Kees may long reign to conquer the world, and that soon

they may divide the spoil of the enemy.

Treason such as this has met with a speedy punishment, only to be obtained in

despotic countries.

The common opinion expressed in all is, that Majid's own wish is to attack Oman, drive out Azan bin Kees, and restore his own family to power; but no one professes to know when this expedition will take place, nor does any one say that Seyd Majid has ever openly declared his intention of going.

No. 44.

Dr. Kirk to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received July 1.)

My Lord, Zanzibar, May 21, 1868.

I HAVE the honour to forward the evidence of the captain and supercargo of a dhow that was destroyed in the Mozambique Channel by Her Majesty's ship "Petrel," but of which we have received, as yet, no official information.

This evidence was taken before me at the express desire of His Highness the Sultan. I did not think it well to thwart him in this, although I am of opinion that what is here stated only confirms the suspicions on which the officers of Her Majesty's ship "Petrel"

seem to have acted.

I have further to inform your Lordship that due notice was given at the time when the crew of this dhow came back to Zanzibar in the steam-ship "Tynemouth" that any appeal or statement must be made in time to be sent in the "Tynemouth" to the Cape of Good Hope, where, in all probability, this case would be tried before the Vice-Admiralty Court; but that His Highness and those concerned neglected this opportunity, although that vessel remained at Zanzibar for nearly a month.

I have warned those interested that by this wilful neglect of the proper steps for their

self-defence, they have, in my opinion, forfeited all right to be again heard.

I have the honour to point out to your Lordship that what chiefly annoys His Highness and causes him to persist in representing this case to your Lordship, is the fact that none of those men who are now shown by me to have been slaves, were suspected of having been such by Her Majesty's ship "Petrel," as all, even including the female slave, were sent back to Zanzibar into slavery, and in charge of the agent of their owner. His Highness asserts, therefore, that it could not be on the ground of having a slave crew, that this dhow was destroyed, but for some other reason to him unknown; and His Highness desires that he may be informed what the grounds were on which the vessel of his subject has been burned, and if condemned in the Vice-Admiralty Court at the Cape, the reason why.

As to the Sultan's protest otherwise, I have already expressed my opinion that the present evidence shows this dhow was engaged in a very questionable voyage, and that, had the owners wished, they might have made their statement in time to appear before the

Court at the Cape.

I have, &c. l) JOHN KIRK.

No. 45.

Dr. Kirk to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received July 1.)

My Lord, Zanzibar, May 22, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to inclose for your Lordship's perusal, and transmission to the proper authorities, the proceedings in the Vice-Admiralty Court held here on the 14th of April, in the case of Captain E. S. Meara and the officers of Her Majesty's ship "Nymphe" versus an Arab dhow, owned by Ali bin Nassur, Governor of Membas, which was destroyed in Kiswara harbour by ship "Nymphe" on the supposition that she was engaged in the illicit Slave Trade.

As the decision has in this case been against Her Majesty's ship, and as there will be a claim founded thereon for compensation by those who have lost through the destruction of this dhow, I have given notice to all concerned to lay their claims before me for scrutiny and verification; but, unfortunately, as is usual in such cases, the people of the dhow have been sent on shore where the vessel was destroyed, and of them only one has as yet come to Zanzibar.

The dhow which was burned was of course a total loss, but the goods were all transhipped and sold at Zanzibar to the amount of 2,096 rupees, which, however, does not

represent the total value, as there was a heavy loss on many articles.

It is impossible for me as yet to estimate the whole of the claims, as the owners have not returned, and part of the cargo, amounting I am told to one-half, was landed at Quiloa. This it will be my duty minutely to investigate, but in the meantime I transmit the proceedings before the Court on which the case must rest.

I shall briefly repeat, for the information of your Lordship, the chief circumstances

attending the capture of this dhow.

A Membas Arab, named Ali bin Nasser, was the owner, living at Membas. He sent his dhow to Zanzibar, with authority to his agent either to sell or charter her as seemed most profitable. Not finding a purchaser, she was chartered by a company of Membas Arabs, who sailed in her for Lindi, a port about fifty miles south of Quiloa. These Arabs placed on board a valuable cargo of cloth and powder, part of which seems to have been landed at Quiloa. On passing Kiswara harbour, which is about twenty miles south of Quiloa, they run out of water, having met with contrary winds. On entering the bay they found Her Majesty's ship "Nymphe" at anchor. Being ordered to go on board they lowered their boat and did so, but as the captain and most of the officers were out in the boats at the time, the captain of the dhow was detained until the following morning, when the dhow was burned after all the goods had been removed.

The captain and officers of Her Majesty's ship considered themselves justified in so doing, 1st, because there were on board six slaves, some of whom they say were to be sold on the African coast; 2nd, because she had slave papers on board; 3rd, because the

cargo was for the purchase of slaves.

After a very careful examination of the evidence, I am convinced that this dhow was not engaged in the Slave Trade, nor is there any proof that she was intended for it, but on

the contrary, that she was a legal trader.

The slave lists have been found to have no reference to this voyage; and it was the duty of the ship's interpreter to have pointed this out, as it is plainly written on the face of them that they are of old date, and both of them made out where slaving is allowed by Treaty, along 500 miles of coast.

In Court it appeared that this interpreter cannot read either Arabic or Sowaheli; even the Sultan's dhow pass given to the vessel, which he himself had assisted to destroy, he could not translate; and although he did know that the so-called slave papers were lists

of names, he could not tell the date.

There being no proof that the cargo was for the purchase of slaves, and it being absurd to think that Zanzibar slaves would be sold at the coast, the only fact remaining was that this dhow had six slaves on board. Now, looked at in the spirit of the Treaties with Zanzibar, this is, in my opinion, a matter of no importance under the circumstances. These six slaves were domestic slaves of the Arab merchants on board; some had followed their masters on former voyages even as far as Arabia; others had been born in the family, and all had lived for a long time with those they now served. They were now going to a place where slaves could not be sold, and the season had passed for reaching Madagascar.

Being taken in one of the Sultan's harbours south of Quiloa, the capture could only be made under the letter of Seyd Saeed, of the 6th of May, 1850, wherein it is expressed: "All vessels found in these places (i.e., between Quiloa and Cape Delgado) to whomsoever

belonging, if engaged in the Slave Trade, may be seized." Now, I am of opinion that no Arab, on signing such a concession, would for a moment think that the present case was one of slave-trading, nor would the summary destruction of such a dhow be justified, unless she had a full cargo of slaves, or could be clearly brought under the plain meaning of "slave-dealing."

I take this opportunity most respectfully to submit to your Lordship that under existing Treaties, the position of the Commander of one of Her Majesty's ships, or that of Judge in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar is one peculiarly embarrassing and

unsatisfactory.

Our naval officers work well in a difficult and responsible situation.

I am not aware that hitherto a single Zanzibar dhow has escaped condemnation; but it is to be remembered that before a Court at a distance, when all those interested have been sent on shore at the nearest point to which the dhow has been taken, a trial is ex parte

and the prize must of necessity be condemned.

And it is a fact that I have just received from the Bombay Government thirty-six free men, negroes, but sailors, who had been passed to Bombay from Aden, among the sixty slaves taken last year by Her Majesty's ship "Star" near Brava. It is very singular indeed that upwards of half the so-called slaves should have to be sent back at Government expense to Zanzibar after the dhows from which they had been freed had been condemned.

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

No. 46.

Dr. Kirk to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 11.)

Zanzibar, August 8, 1869. My Lord, I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of the proceedings in the Vice-Admiralty Court here before me, in the case of the officers of Her Majesty's ship "Nymphe" versus an Arab dhow, which had been destroyed on suspicion of having been engaged in the Slave Trade at Keonga, on the African mainland, within the dominions of His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar.

In this instance I have been compelled, after a careful consideration of the evidence and the arguments advanced on both sides, to declare in favour of the Arab dhow owner

and to award full compensation to the owner, the master, and crew.

It is with much satisfaction that I have to inform your Lordship that Captain E. S. Meara, and the officers of Her Majesty's ship "Nymphe," have expressed their willingness to settle at once all claims that may be proved before me; and this I hope to succeed in doing before the return of Her Majesty's ship "Nymphe" in September.

I have the honour to solicit your Lordship's instructions regarding the settlement of claims for losses sustained by those interested in the claim of Ali-bin-Nassur, which was destroyed by this ship, a report of the proceedings, in which case was forwarded to your Lordship in my despatch of the 22nd May. It seems to me that the most just and ready way would be to authorize a Commission, consisting of myself and Sheikh Suliman-bin-Ali, the Sultan's Secretary, to examine and decide all claims brought before it, empowering me at the same time to disburse the sum allowed. It is of great importance that all such matters should be settled speedily, as thus alone will the Arabs be convinced of our justice; and I would bring to the knowledge of your Lordship that this is the first instance in which a decision has been obtained in favour of one of Seyd Majid's subjects.

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

Inclosure in No. 46.

Decision of the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar in the case of an Arab Dhow destroyed by the Officers of Her Majesty's ship "Nymphe."

AFTER carefully weighing the evidence given on both sides as above recorded, the Court has no hesitation in declaring that the officers of Her Majesty's ship "Nymphe" were not in any way justified in interfering with the Arab dhow, which has been clearly proved to have been a legal trader, supplied with a regular pass, which had not expired when last the dhow was at Zanzibar; and was only one year and thirteen days' old at the time of destruction, and which has been shown at the time to have been engaged in fishing.

Summary destruction was in this case quite unwarrantable, there being indeed no

real cause of detention.

Therefore, the Court decrees and awards full compensation to the owners, captain, and all others interested, and who have suffered through the destruction of this dhow above described.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal of office, this 6th day of August, 1869.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK, Acting Political Agent,

Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court, Zanzibar.

Captain E. S. Meara states in Court, that he and his officers are ready to settle any claims that may be proved before this Court, on his return to Zanzibar in the month of September 1869.

August 7, 1869.

(Signed)

JOHN KIRK.

No. 47.

Dr. Kirk to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received October 8.)

My Lord, Zanzibar, August 24, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of my despatch of the 16th August addressed to the Secretary to Government, Bombay, relative to the steps taken by me on the receipt of a Proclamation of the Rao of Kutch, placing all his subjects when abroad under British jurisdiction, and warning them against slave-dealing.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

JOHN KIRK.

Inclosure 1 in No. 47.

Dr. Kirk to the Secretary to Government, Bombay.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter in the Political Department of the let Iung in which I are interested to the Political Department of the let Iung in which I are interested to the Political Department of the let Iung in which I are interested to the Political Department of the let Iung in which I are interested to the Political Department of the let Iung in which I are interested to the Political Department of the letter in the Political Department of the letter in the Political Department of the letter in the Political Department of the letter in the Political Department of the letter in the Political Department of the letter in the Political Department of the letter in the Political Department of the Political Dep

ment of the 1st June, in which I am instructed to publish in Zanzibar the Proclamation lately issued by His Highness the Rao of Kutch for the better government of his subjects, and suppression of the Slave Trade.

I have now the honour to report, for the information of the Right Honourable in Council, that I took an early opportunity to lay a copy of this notification before His Highness Seyd Majid.

His Highness at once perceived its full bearing, and felt that his plans for gaining over the Indian community of Zanzibar to himself had failed.

While the natives of Kutch established in Zanzibar were under our sole protection and jurisdiction, we held the most wealthy and enterprising among the mercantile community,

and our influence was in all matters paramount.

Afterwards, as a settlement of certain vexed questions connected with the Slave Trade, each Kutchee was allowed to elect his protecting State, and His Highness, by holding forward the Arab privilege of buying and selling slaves, to all who did not register their names at the English Agency, secured every new arrival from Kutch to himself, and confidently looked forward to the time when British influence would be reduced to an equality with that of France and other foreign Powers, having no material state in the country. During the past four years, registrations at the British Agency have become almost unknown.

His Excellency will thus understand that I was quite prepared to find the Rao's Proclamation extremely distasteful to Seyd Majid, nor was I altogether surprised to receive a very strong letter in reply. This document, however, His Highness laid before me privately, that he might ascertain what effect it was likely to have, before affixing his official seal. In this letter, His Highness denied the right of the Rao of Kutch to issue

any Proclamation whatever to residents in Zanzibar, on the assumed ground that no Treaty existed between the two States. He then set forth that the terms of the Proclamation could not be conceded, and that, notwithstanding, he would recognize only such Kutchees as registered their names at the British Agency to be subject to our jurisdiction.

as registered their names at the British Agency to be subject to our jurisdiction.

In a conversation that ensued, I pointed out to the Wuzeer the fallacies of His Highness' position. I showed him that the Rao was bound by Treaty with Great Britain to have no Diplomatic relations abroad, and could not possibly enter into independent

Treaties with foreign Powers.

In most respectful yet decided language I showed His Highness how very foolish it would be to take up a position which he would be forced to abandon with loss of credit in the eyes of his subjects, that, if His Highness placed this document in my hands officially, I was prepared to bring matters to a crisis, by asserting at once the full powers given me under the Rao's Proclamation; that, besides, he would stand in open antagonism to the will

of His Excellency the Governor of Bombay.

This remonstrance, I am happy to say, had its due effect. The letter has been withdrawn, or rather, never officially communicated, and, in its stead, I have now the honour to inclose a copy, in translation of the reply received. Herein His Highness simply acknowledges the receipt of the Proclamation without questioning its force, and asks that the minor questions regarding our jurisdiction over the limited number of Kutchees who formerly enrolled their names as under Arab protection may be considered. These questions have been fully explained in Mr. Churchill's letter of 26th February, to which I have the honour to refer.

The Proclamation of His Highness the Rao of Kutch has been accordingly published in town, and copies will be sent, in Arabic and Gujeratee, to the various coast stations

where Kutchees are established.

I shall, pending further instructions, adopt, but not officially recognize, the spirit of Mr. Churchill's letter above referred to, and retain a neutrality in the case of Kutchees

formerly registered under Seyd Majid, in all cases not involving slave-dealing.

I beg, in conclusion, to state that your former instructions have been carefully noted, and that the state of existing domestic slaves now held by Kutchees will not be interfered with, but that I shall, in all cases, apply the law when any native of Kutch shall be convicted of either buying or selling slaves.

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

Inclosure 2 in No. 47.

The Sultan of Zanzibar to Dr. Kirk.

(Translation.)

(After the usual compliments.) 5 Jemad el Arval, 1286 (August 14, 1869).

YOUR esteemed letter has reached, and your friend has understood it.

Now we perceive that the Right Honourable the Governor of Bombay in Council has given you orders to lay before us the Proclamation of the Rao of Kutch, and this we have also understood.

The question of the Banian and Hindees we have already discussed through Mr. Churchill on several occasions, and have asked him to lay the case before the English Government, but until now we have received no reply, and have to beg that you will again lay our claims as stated by Mr. Churchill in his letter before the Government.

Inclosure 3 in No. 47.

Proceedings of the Government of Bombay in Council.

Bombay Castle, June 1, 1869.

THE Political Agent in Kutch, No. 45, dated the 6th May, 1869.

Referring to the last paragraph of the Government Resolution No. 1058 of 1869, forwards an original copy of a Proclamation issued by His Royal Highness the Rao to the inhabitants of Kutch generally, but more particularly to those trading with Zanzibar, and the Arabian and African Coasts, warning them against the penalties incurred by such of them as he may engage in the Slave Trade.

Resolution.—Copy of this letter and of the (original) Proclamation inclosed with

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translation should be forwarded to the Political Agent at Zanzibar, with a request that he will publish the Proclamation in all parts of the Zanzibar dominions, communicating a copy also to the Sultan of Zanzibar.

The acknowledgments of Government should be expressed to His Highness the Rao for the prompt co-operation afforded by him in this matter.

The Proclamation should be published in the "Government Gazette."

The Government of India and Her Majesty's Secretary of State should be informed.

Inclosure 4 in No. 47.

Proclamation, dated April 24, 1869, by His Highness the Rao of Kutch to his Subjects.

(Translation.)

MAHARAJA Dhiraj Mirza Máhá Plao Shree Praymuljee Bahadoor to the population of Kutch generally.

To wit,

That for the security of those among you, who, for the purposes of trade, &c., permanently reside in, or come and go to and from, the country of Zanzibar, I have, at the suggestion of Government, given notice in a Zad, under date the Kartick Sood 1st Sumout, 1922, through the Political Agent to the exalted Government that the claims and disputes with any other persons of those of you who permanently reside in, or frequent for the purposes of trade, the ports of Muscat and other places in Africa, Arabia, and the Persian Gulf, and in other countries where my subjects may reside should be settled by the British Government in the same way as if you were its own subjects, consequent on the Treaties concluded with Government.

You formerly carried on Trade in Slaves, but this Traffic having been forbidden by the will of Government, a Proclamation to the effect that if any slaves, negroes, or Abyssinians, shall be brought to Kutch by any one for sale, the vessel conveying them, with its cargo, will be confiscated, was issued by my late father, under date the Maha bid 5th Sumout, 1892. Notwithstanding this, I am now informed, through Major Shortt, the Political Agent at this place, by the Political Agent at Zanzibar, at the direction of Government; that the subjects of Kutch residing at Zanzibar are now engaged in the Slave Trade. From this it appears that you have not yet abandoned this trade. It is, therefore, hereby ordered that if you persist in the Traffic of Slaves, the Government will, by virtue of my aforesaid permission, treating you who reside at Zanzibar as its own subjects, liberate all slaves from your possession, and will not, however large the number of slaves so liberated, award any compensation whatever, nor entertain any claim in regard thereto, and, besides, the perpetrators will be punished there according to the law there prevailing, and you will also be considered as criminals, liable to punishment here, in my domain.

Note this well, and take warning, given in his Highness' presence, this 13th day of the first Vaisak Sood Sumout, 1925, of the Vilrram Era.

No. 48.

Dr. Kirk to the Earl of Clarendon — (Received October 8.)

My Lord, Zanzibar, August 31, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of my despatch of this day's date addressed to Mr. Secretary Gonne, Bombay, relative to news received from Unyanyembe of Dr. Livingstone's reported arrival at Ujiji, four months ago.

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

Inclosure 1 in No. 48.

Dr. Kirk to the Secretary to the Secretary to Government.

I HAVE the honour to report, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council, that an Arab caravan arrived here two days ago from the interior,

bearing a letter from Seyd Majid's agent at Unyanyembe, in the country of Unyamezi, addressed to his brother at Zanzibar, in a postscript to which the arrival of Dr. Livingstone at Ujiji is mentioned.

I forward a copy of this extract in translation.

I am informed that the native messenger who saw Dr. Livingstone at Ujiji was one month on the way to Unyamyembe, and that, therefore, this information is at least four months old.

I understand that a caravan is expected on the coast in about a month, when we may

possibly receive further news of the great explorer.

The road between the coast and Ujiji is at present open, and safe even to small bodies of men.

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

Inclosure 2 in No. 48.

Postscript to Letter written by the Arab Agent at Unyanyembe to his brother in Zanzibar.

(Translation.)

POSTSCRIPT.—Be good enough, when this slave returns, to send a box of brandy similar to that which came for the white man, one of which was broken on the way, so none remained. And he (the white man) has reached Ujiji, and may pass this way; and on his coming, we will give it to him; do not neglect this.

4 Rubea-el-Awal, 1286 (June 12, 1869.)

No. 49.

The Earl of Clarendon to Dr. Kirk.

Foreign Office, October 20, 1869.

I COMMUNICATED to the Secretary of State for India your despatch of the 24th of August last, reporting the steps you took to give effect to a Proclamation of the Rao of Kutch, placing his subjects in Zanzibar under British protection, and warning them against dealing in slaves; and I have to inform you that the Duke of Argyll concurs with me in approving your proceedings in this matter.

I am, &c. (Signed) CLARENDON.

No. 50.

Mr. Otway to Dr. Kirk.

Sir,

WITH reference to your despatch of the 16th of April, respecting the cases of two Arab dhows captured by Her Majesty's ship "Nymphe," and condemned in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar, I am directed by the Earl of Clarendon to inclose, for your information and guidance, an extract of a Report from Mr. Rothery, the Legal Adviser to the Treasury, on Slave Trade matters, relating to questions affecting your rights of jurisdiction in cases of this nature.

I am also to inclose a copy of the Act of Parliament passed last session, to which reference is made in the accompanying Report; and in calling your particular attention to Mr. Rothery's remarks regarding your powers of jurisdiction, I am to instruct you to be very careful in dealing with Slave Trade cases, to guide your proceedings by the Order in Council and the recent Act of Parliament, and to be certain that they come within the

limits therein defined.

I am, &c. (Signed) ARTHUR OTWAY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 50.

Mr. Rothery to Mr. Otway.

Admiralty Registry, Doctors Commons, August 23, 1869.

(Extract.)

I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Murray's letter of the 15th June last, forwarding, by directions of the Earl of Clarendon, copy of a despatch from Her Majesty's Acting Political Agent and Consul at Zanzibar, with the papers in original, relating to the cases of ten Arab dhows which had been captured by Her Majesty's ship "Nymphe," and condemned in the Consular Court at Zanzibar for being engaged in the Slave Trade

I have delayed answering Mr. Murray's letter, as there was until recently a Bill pending before Parliament for the purpose of defining the jurisdiction of the Consul in cases of this description, and it seemed uncertain whether that Bill would become law. The Bill, however, was passed just before the close of the session; and I now, therefore,

propose to state the position in which these cases stand.

As you are aware, the authority under which the Consul acted in these cases was Her Majesty's Order in Council of the 9th August, 1866, the 29th section of which provides that "Her Majesty's Consul within the dominions of Zanzibar shall, for and within the said dominions, and for vessels and persons coming within these dominions, and in regard to vessels captured on suspicion of being engaged in the Slave Trade within those dominions, have all such jurisdiction as for the time being ordinarily belongs to Courts of Vice-Admiralty in Her Majesty's possessions abroad."

Now, of the ten dhows in question, the first appears to have been captured off Dalrymple Bay, in Madagascar; the four next at Majunga, in Madagascar; the two next in Boteler River, also in Madagascar; the eighth in Delgado Bay, the ninth in Mungollo River, both on the East Coast of Africa; and the tenth in the harbour of Zanzibar.

River, both on the East Coast of Africa; and the tenth in the harbour of Zanzibar.

It was with a view to meet cases of this description that I was directed by the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury to prepare a short Bill, having for its object to give to Her Majesty's Consul at Zanzibar jurisdiction over all Zanzibar vessels captured, whether within or beyond the dominions of Zanzibar, as also over all vessels name and nation unknown, and not entitled to claim the protection of the flag of any state or nation. The Bill also proposed, amongst other things, to empower the Lords of the Treasury to grant the usual bounties on the capture of any such vessels, a power not given by the Order in Council. A statement, which I prepared, of the grounds for passing the Bill is annexed for the information of Lord Clarendon.

As I have already stated, the Bill was passed, and is entitled "The Slave Trade Jurisdiction (Zanzibar) Act, 1869" (32 and 33 Vict., cap. 75), and the 2nd section provides that Her Majesty's Consul "shall have and shall be deemed to have always, since the commencement of the said Order in Council, had" all such jurisdiction as ordinarily belongs to Vice-Admiralty Courts over Zanzibar vessels captured, whether within or beyond the dominions of Zanzibar, and over vessels name and nation unknown. And the 4th section provides that the Act "shall apply to all cases of vessels captured on suspicion of being engaged in or equipped for the Slave Trade, and adjudicated upon by Her Majesty's Consul at Zanzibar, whether before or after the passing of this Act."

So far, therefore, as these and similar cases, in which the Consul's decrees were previously irregular, the Act no doubt has rendered them valid. At the same time it might be well to call the Consul's attention to the fact, and to direct him in any future case, before adjudicating upon it, to be quite certain that it comes within the terms of the Order in Council or the Act of Parliament; for otherwise his proceedings would be absolutely invalid, and might lead to large demands for compensation being made upon Her

Majesty's Government.

"It is proper to add that all the proceedings before the Consul are stated to have been carefully watched by an Agent of His Highness the Sultan, in defence of his subjects' property.

"This is very satisfactory, as it affords the best security that only vessels actually engaged in the Slave Trade will be condemned, a security which can hardly be obtained,

if the proceedings are instituted at some distant port."

If Zanzibar be, as I believe it is, a port to which not only great numbers of Arab vessels but also Her Majesty's cruizers in those seas frequently resort, it is a very strong reason for giving jurisdiction in the case of these Arab dhows to the British Consul at that place; it might even be a matter for consideration whether the proceedings in the case of Arab dhows captured on the East Coast of Africa ought not always to be taken

before the British authorities at Zanzibar, possibly also at Muscat and Aden; for I can conceive no greater injustice to a Zanzibar ship owner or merchant, whose property has been seized in the neighbourhood of Zanzibar, than to compel him to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope, the Mauritius, or perhaps even to some more distant port, to protect his property from condemnation, a case which has only recently occurred in connection with a capture by the "Nymphe."

Inclosure 2 in No. 50.

Slave Trade Jurisdiction (Zanzibar) Bill, 1869.

Explanation of the Provisions of the Bill.

THE object of this Bill is to confirm and supplement the provisions of an Order in

Council of the 9th August, 1866.

By that Order it was, amongst other things, provided, that the British Consul at Zanzibar, in pursuance, no doubt, of concessions made by the Sultan, should, "for vessels and persons coming within the Sultan's dominions," and in regard to vessels captured "on suspicion of being engaged in the Slave Trade within those dominions, have all such jurisdiction as for the time being ordinarily belongs to Courts of Vice-Admiralty in Her Majesty's possessions abroad."

It will thus be seen that the Order in Council refers only to vessels coming within or captured within the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar; and not to vessels captured without his dominions, and destroyed on the spot by the captors, as being unfit for a voyage to Zanzibar or to any other port of adjudication, although these vessels also might

have been captured in pursuance of some Treaty with the Sultan.

Again, the Order in Council gives no power to the Lords of the Treasury to award the usual slave and tonnage bounties to the captors in respect of vessels or slaves condemned by the Consul, all the existing enactments relative to the award of bounties being confined to those cases in which the vessel or slaves have been condemned in some Admiralty or Vice-Admiralty Court within Her Majesty's dominions.

Nor does it regulate the procedure before the Consul, nor provide any course of

appeal from his decisions.

The objects, then, of the proposed Bill are briefly these:-

1. To confirm the jurisdiction of the British Consul at Zanzibar in Slave Trade cases, as expressed to be conferred upon him by the Order in Council.

2. To extend in two points only the jurisdiction so conferred:—

(1.) To cases of vessels captured in pursuance of any Treaty with the Sultan of Zanzibar, but not being at the time of seizure within the Sultan's dominions, nor subsequently brought within those dominions.

It is necessary to provide for such cases, as very frequently the captured vessels are found to be unfit for a voyage to a port of adjudication, whether Zanzibar or any other, and are

therefore destroyed at sea by the captors.

(2.) To cases of vessels not entitled to claim the protection of the flag of any state

or nation, wherever they may have been captured.

Such cases are not specified in the Order in Council, but it is obviously convenient that the Consul should have jurisdiction over them, and there can be no objection to giving it. Moreover, it not unfrequently happens, that Zanzibar vessels are either without flags or papers, or when on the point of being captured throw their papers overboard; and there being then no evidence of the vessel's nationality, they are obliged to be proceeded against as vessels of name and nation unknown, and not entitled to claim the protection of the flag of any state or nation.

3. To empower the Lords of the Treasury to award the usual bounties to the captors in respect of vessels and slaves condemned by the Consul at Zanzibar, whether

before or after the passing of this Act.

4. To extend to the Decrees of the Consul at Zanzibar in Slave Trade cases the same right of appeal to Her Majesty in Council, which is now allowed by law from the Decrees of any Vice-Admiralty Court within Her Majesty's dominions.

5. To confirm the past decisions of the Consul in such cases, subject to the right

of appeal.

6. And generally to extend, so far as may be necessary, to cases brought for adjudi-

cation before the Consul at Zanzibar, the procedure which prevails in the Vice-Admiralty

Courts.

The prevalence of the Slave Trade on the East Coast of Africa, especially in the neighbourhood of Zanzibar and other parts of the Sultan's territories, and the fact that within the last six months of the year 1868 no less than 27 slave-vessels have been condemned by the British Consul at Zanzibar, in exercise of the powers conferred upon him by the Order in Council, suffice to show that an Act to the above effect is not

It will also, if passed in the present Session, effect a considerable public saving, for the captors being unable, under the existing statutes, to obtain an award of the bounties on a condemnation by the Consul at Zanzibar, will no doubt institute fresh proceedings in the High Court of Admiralty, which has concurrent jurisdiction in such cases, for the condemnation of their prizes; and the costs of these proceedings, averaging probably about 30l. in each case, will, where the bounties do not exceed 1,000l., have to be defrayed at the public expense, in accordance with the usual practice in such cases.

(Signed)

H. C. ROTHERY.

May 1869.

No. 51.

Mr. Otway to Dr. Kirk.

Foreign Office, November 5, 1869.

I AM directed by the Earl of Clarendon to inclose, for your information, a copy of the instructions recently issued by the Board of Admiralty to the naval officers employed in suppressing the Slave Trade on the East Coast of Africa,* with the view of checking the irregularities in dealing with captured slaves which have been brought to the notice of Her Majesty's Government; and I am at the same time to inform you that the whole question of the state of the Slave Trade on the East Coast is now under the consideration of a Committee which is sitting at this office.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

ARTHUR OTWAY.

No. 52.

Dr. Kirk to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received November 12.)

My Lord, Zanzibar, September 18, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to report that Commander E. S. Meara, commanding Her Majesty's ship "Nymphe," has this day settled with those interested in the dhow of Hamed bin Sahel, which was destroyed at Keonga on the 26th March, being No. 10 on the list of captures brought before this Vice-Admiralty Court on the 15th April, and in which case decision was given for the Arab defendants on the 6th August.

Those interested have before me, and in the presence of Sheikh Suliman bin Ali, accepted the sum of 709½ dollars, being about 4 dollars per ton, and granted a full and complete discharge to the officers and men of Her Majesty's ship "Nymphe," which

proceeding has been approved by me.

I have, &c.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

No. 53.

Dr. Kirk to the Earl of Clarendon .-- (Received November 12.)

My Lord, Zanzibar, September 21, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to inclose a copy of my despatch of this day's date addressed to Mr. Secretary Gonne, Bombay, relative to the introduction of white slaves into Zanzibar by a relation of the Sultan in a ship under the British flag, and His Highness' defence of this proceeding.

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

Inclosure 1 in No. 53.

Dr. Kirk to the Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay.

Zanzibar, September 21, 1869. IN continuation of my despatch relative to the wreck of the British barque "Hydrabad," and the recovery from Latham Island of the crew and passengers, I have now to bring to the notice of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council that, while assisting the survivors, I discovered some who did not speak the Zanzibar language, and yet were among the servants of the lady of Seyd Hamed bin Suliman. Two lads of fair complexion, European features, and about 12 years of age, at once excited my suspicion; but, being observed by the Arab attendants, it was impossible to put any questions to them with a fair chance of being answered, until I discovered that one of them spoke Turkish, which seemed to be

This lad's story was that, after being carried away from Trebizond he was taken to Mecca, and there sold to his present mistress, the lady of Seyd Hamed bin Suliman, along with several others, male and female, that she had purchased during her stay in the

Holy City.

As far as I could ascertain, all the females (Georgians) were drowned at the time of

the wreck.

One boy had been taken below to the cabin with the ladies, and the second of those on deck that I first noticed died the same night from the effects of exposure and thirst. I, therefore, confined my attention to the one whose history I had from his own mouth, in a language unknown to those around, who would doubtless have silenced him had they understood what he said.

It was chiefly with a view to bring the conduct of his relative to the notice of His Highness that I desired to visit Dar Salam before entering Zanzibar Harbour, and, with this view, I mentioned the result of my conversation to the Sheikh Suliman bin Ali, and showed him that this was the most hateful form of Slave Trade; and that, having been perpetrated by one holding a high rank in the Sultan's family, and on board of an English vessel, I looked to His Highness for the immediate release of this boy, and his delivery to me as the British Agent and Consul.

Sheikh Suliman agreed with me, and I certainly thought it needed only to be named to His Highness to insure the freedom of the slave in question, and also a frank

repudiation of his relative's conduct.

unknown to any one else on board.

Immediately on landing, the Sheikh Suliman related all to the Sultan, but I could perceive in His Highness' face and the cold reception of myself that these anticipations

I was deliberately informed that His Highness' reply was, that he and his people had full license to import white and even Christian slaves into Zanzibar, that no Treaty had

ever been signed, and that this being the case he declined to open the question.

His Highness then descended, and after a lengthened interview with his relative, the lady of Syed Hamed, I was informed that these slaves had been bought, as I said, at Mecca, and were with their mistress on their way to Zanzibar, where they would be freed, but not given up to me. I told the Sultan's Secretary, in reply, that the Treaty allowed no Slave Trade whatever beyond certain limits, and that besides these had come under the English I let him know that I refrained from taking the boy forcibly from His Highness because I imagined that a little delay would teach His Highness a much more severe and lasting lesson in the respect he owes to solemn Treaties made with the people who have always befriended him, and on two occasions saved his Throne.

I shall at once address His Highness in writing on this subject, and bring again to his notice that this Traffic in European and Asiatic slaves is to us much more revolting than the negro Slave Trade, which he knows well we are determined to suppress at whatever cost; and, having pointed out the disgrace to himself in being mixed up in such a matter, I shall formally demand this Turkish boy as a slave that has been imported in violation of

Treaty and under the British flag.

I take this opportunity to point out for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council, that the trade in Abyssinian, Georgian, and other white slaves from the Red Sea, is on the increase. Abyssinians and Georgians are employed in positions of the highest confidence in the houses and harems of the wealthy, but the white male slaves do not rise to any such post of honour; they are to be seen about the doors of a few, and rumour has it one used for the vilest purposes, to the indulgence of which His Highness is He at all events has several of these miserable creatures about his said to be addicted.

house, and thus sets an example which others follow, but which I did not think would

have been defended openly by His Highness.

Should the Sultan in the meantime not accede to my demands, I shall be guided by the instructions of his Excellency the Governor in Council relative to these proceedings.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

JOHN KIRK,

No. 54.

The Earl of Clarendon to Dr. Kirk.

Sir, Foreign Office, December 3, 1869. I HAVE received through the Lords of the Treasury a copy of a report from their legal adviser upon Slave Trade matters regarding your proceedings and decree in the matters of the Arab dhow destroyed by Her Majesty's ship "Nymphe," at Keonga, on the 26th March last, as reported in your despatch of the 8th August last; and I have to inform you that the justice of your decision in this case is entirely concurred in, as there appear to have been no grounds for the capture, much less for the destruction of this dhow. is to be hoped that the instructions recently issued by the Board of Admiralty, of which you have been furnished with a copy, will prevent the recurrence of arbitrary and violent acts of this nature; and I am glad to learn from your despatch of the 18th September last that the Commander of the "Nymphe" has settled in full all the claims arising out of this With reference to your request for instructions as to the best mode of deciding claims for compensation arising out of decrees condemning captures, I am advised that, while it is very desirable that such claims should be speeedily settled, and that the Judge of the Vice Admiralty Court should have the assistance of some responsible person of local knowledge and experience in estimating them, the duty of assessing such claims lies, ex officio, with the Judge of the Court by which the compensation has been awarded, and that your proposal to commit the task to an officer of the Sultan, jointly with the Judge, is of doubtful expediency, and might give rise to difficulty in adjusting any questions on which they might differ.

I am advised that it would be better that, in cases of this nature, the Judge should invite the assistance of the Sultan's Secretary, or some other competent and responsible person to help him in assessing the losses sustained; but that the Judge of the Court

should reserve to himself the final decision of any questions that may arise.

I have only to add that the simplest and most convenient mode of providing for the payment of the compensation awarded will be that the Judge should draw upon the Lords of the Treasury for the amount, but as the Act of Parliament of 1869 ("Slave Trade Jurisdiction Zanzibar Act") gives the right to either party to appeal within six months against the Decree of the Court, it would be expedient that this authority should not be exercised until an intimation has been received from this country that there has not been any appeal, and that there is no objection to the award; and the Judge of the Court should forward, immediately after the issue of any such award, full particulars thereof, and of the case, with his reasons for allowing or disallowing the several items, in order that the Lords of the Treasury may have an opportunity of deciding, before the time for appealing has expired, whether the award ought or ought not to be allowed to stand.

I am &c.

(Signed)

CLARENDON.

No. 55.

The Earl of Clarendon to Dr. Kirk.

I HAVE consulted the Secretary of State for India upon your despatch of the 21st of September last, inclosing your report to the Bombay Government of your proceedings in respect of certain white slaves purchased at Mecca, and imported into Zanzibar by a relative of the Sultan in the British barque "Hyderabad" which was wrecked off the coast; and I have to inform you that the Duke of Argyll concurs with me in thinking that the importation of slaves purchased at Mecca and conveyed to Zanzibar as domestic servants does not constitute a violation of the Slave Trade Treaty with the Sultan, as you appear to suppose.

We consider that you were justified in representing the case as one in which the Sultan might fairly have been expected to release the slaves when the circumstances were brought to his notice, but that you could hardly demand their surrender as being imported in violation of the Treaty.

It is probable that the case will be settled before this despatch can reach you, but if not, and in any future case of the same kind, you will regulate your proceedings by the

foregoing observations.

I have only to add that it will be better in future that you should address your reports upon Slave Trade matters directly to this Department.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

CLARENDON.

No. 56.

Dr. Kirk to the Earl of Clarendon.—(Received December 17.)

My Lord, Zanzibar, October 2, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith the copy of a letter from Dr. Livingstone

dated the 30th of May last,* and received at Zanzibar this evening.

The requests made in a previous communication that reached on the 7th ultimo, having been already complied with, I shall lose no time in supplying those things herein demanded. There will, however, be some difficulty in getting faithful men, as the Arabs of Unyanyembe being of the El Havttie tribe are by no means very loyal subjects of Seyd Majid, and are, as Dr. Livingstone tells us, still engaged in the Slave Trade.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

JOHN KIRK.

No. 57.

Mr. Spring Rice to Dr. Kirk.

Foreign Office, December 24, 1869.
WITH reference to your despatch of the 16th of September last, respecting the difficulties raised by the Treasury in paying the bounties for captured slavers condemned in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar, 1 am directed by the Earl of Clarendon to point out to you that the Act 32 and 33 Vict., cap. 75, a copy of which was sent to you on the 22nd of October, removes the difficulties to which you have called attention.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

CHARLES SPRING RICE.

REPORTS FROM NAVAL OFFICERS.

EAST COAST OF AFRICA STATION.

No. 58.

Commander De Kantzow to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir, "Star," at Aden, December 16, 1868.

IN obedience to the Station Orders and the Book of Slave Instructions, I beg leave to inclose a copy of a letter which I have addressed to Commodore Sir Leopold G. Heath, K.C.B., Commanding-in-chief this station, detailing the capture of slave dhows, and proceedings in Her Majesty's ship under my command whilst cruizing for the suppression of the Slave Trade on the East Coast of Africa.

l have, &c.

(Signed)

W. DE KANTZOW.

Inclosure in No. 58.

Commander De Kantzow to Commodore Sir L. Heath.

Sir, "Star," at Aden, December 17, 1868.
WITH reference to my sailing orders, dated 10th July, and in continuation of my last letter of proceedings—

1. I have the honour to report that, having embarked Her Majesty's Consul-General for a passage to Aden, I left Zanzibar on the 29th ultimo, cruizing up the East Coast for

the suppression of the Slave Trade.

2. On the 31st October, shortly after daylight we cast anchor at Mombaza, and having communicated with the town and obtained all the information possible, through Mr. Churchill and our Arab interpreter I left again, coasting along north, passing the open roadstead Melinda without seeing any dhows at anchor.

3. On the 1st November having chased a dhow into Lamoo, I anchored off that port, and dispatched a boat inside. Of the several dhows boarded, some were provided with the Sultan's Regulation Pass, others being legal traders. Some valuable information was obtained here, and I sailed again at daylight, and proceeded close in for Port Durnford, and the Juba Island, sighting Thola, formerly a noted slave port, and steaming close in without seeing any sail or dhow at anchor.

4. On the 4th instant, I stood in and anchored at Brava, exchanging numbers with Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," just leaving the roadstead for Aden. Having transferred Her Majesty's Consul-General to the "Daphne," she left at 5 p.m. towing our boats to

windward.

5. At daylight next morning having sent three boats on detached service, I weighed in chase of a sail which proved to be a slaver, and a prize to the "Daphne," which ship, after destroying her, steamed away to northward and was lost sight of at 11 A.M.

At 10 A.M. our boats cut off an Arab dhow, standing towards Brava, with six slaves

on board.

After towing her in shore and destroying her, I steamed up to windward in chase of

a dhow, which ran on shore before we could get near her. She was fully equipped for the Slave Trade. Having anchored, we managed at last to destroy her and set her on fire, through the surf, with the assistance of our best swimming Kroomen. Some coloured men, apparently slaves, came down after our boats left, but as it was near sunset and the anchorage exposed and unsafe I weighed again, coasting along the land, as far as Torra, 30 miles to leeward of Brava and boarding two dhows, which proved to be legal traders, anchoring again that night.

6. On the 7th 1 steamed up towards Brava, and sighted the ship's boats and a dhow which was boarded by the second cutter at 9 A.M., and brought alongside with eleven slaves and fitted for the Slave Trade. This dhow was subsequently burnt, being unseaworthy. The first cutter the night previous captured and burnt a dhow with four slaves on board, and fully fitted for the Slave Trade, and which was preparing for sea, and attempting to

run out in the middle of the night, during our absence.

7. On the 8th of November, at 6.30 A.M. the ship's boats cut off a dhow to windward and brought her alongside. She was fully fitted for the Slave Trade, had eight slaves on board, and on a deck plank of her poop was found cut, "'Wasp,' 11/4/65." This dhow was subsequently burnt as unseaworthy. This circumstance has appeared to me very suspicious, as I was informed when I first arrived on the station that the "Wasp" about this time, when off Zanzibar, placed three men on board an Arab dhow just before dark and never heard of them again, though the dhow was supposed to come to an anchor in company with the "Wasp." I think it not improbable that this may be traced to be the identical dhow and her former captain and crew, I hope, brought to trial. Her present captain or master states he has only had command and been on board since she left Port Chak-chak on her present voyage. I have retained him and his mate on board as prisoners until satisfactory reasons are given and the matters cleared up.

8. At 1.30 P.M. of the same day, the second cutter came alongside with 48 slaves men, women, and children. They were part of a cargo, recaptured on shore from a slave dhow, which ran into the surf directly she caught sight of our mast heads. Lieutenant Jekyll appears to me to have shown great judgment in the recovery of these slaves, and I inclose his and Lieutenant Cameron's letter of proceedings while on detached service.

9. On the 9th at daylight eight dhows hove in sight, I immediately proceeded in chase and dispatched remaining ship's boats to cut them off; all of them with one exception,

instantly putting their helm up for the beach.

10. The first dhow was boarded from the ship, and three more captured by the boats, all containing slaves, and fully fitted for the Slave Trade. Three others in the mean time got off by running on shore, end on; the crews and slaves escaping through the surf. These dhows, I regret to say, contained by far the greater number of slaves, brought up from the The eighth dhow proved a legal trader.

All these slave dhows were burnt and destroyed after the slaves were removed to the

ship, being unseaworthy and unfit to send to a port for adjudication.

11. On the 10th, a slave dhow was captured and brought alongside by the second cutter, carrying 12 slaves, and fully fitted for the Slave Trade.

Destroyed dhow next day.

12. Five slaves, at various periods during our cruize off the coast, swam off to the

boats and claimed protection.

- 13. On the 11th, I went, with two armed boats, close in shore, to communicate with The natives I found friendly, swimming our interpreter through the the Chiefs at Brava. surf, and the Chief sending us three bullocks next day—one as a present, for which I sent a return present of a bag of biscuit. The only Englishman here, Mr. Heale, was kindly treated, and in want of nothing. He particularly begged me, on his previous visit to this ship, not to communicate with him by letter or to compromise his independent position at Brava.
- 14. The season having now broken up, and the wind veering for the north-east monsoon, and having received important information from the captured slave-dhows, I left Brava and the adjacent coast, working along for Marka, having previously dispatched two boats there, which rejoined the ship near Marka. This place, a small, exposed, open Arab port, without an anchorage for a ship, and only a dhow harbour inside the reefs, hove in sight at 9.30 A.M., on the 13th November, and was seen to be all confusion. Of the twenty dhows at anchor, many were seen to be landing slave fittings on shore, which was covered with casks and gear of all sorts, being hauled up by hundreds of people on the beach. I immediately sent the boats in, manned and armed, to examine the dhows at anchor, and proceeded in myself shortly after, when the ship was placed in a position of safety, as no anchorage could be obtained, with a strong four-knot tide running north and a double-reefed topsail breeze blowing in. Ten dhows were found to be fully equipped for

CLASS B.

the Slave Trade, three of which had a small number of slaves still on board, stowed away,

and not landed, who gave themselves up.

I had these slave dhows fired and destroyed, and the legal traders, of which two flew French colours, moved out of the way while the slave dhows were being destroyed. Off the port several dhows were boarded, but all proved legal traders.

15. On the 13th November I left the coast, beating to windward for Cape

Guardafui.

- 16. On the 16th a case of small-pox broke out amongst the slaves. The cutters were immediately cleared out at the davits, and the infected slaves placed in quarantine from the ship. Up to the present date twelve cases have appeared, five of which proved fatal, five recovered, and two remain with the malady to be landed. On the 3rd December one of our crew was attacked slightly, separated from the ship, and recovered on the 16th.
- 17. No symptoms or suspicion of small-pox amongst the slaves existed on their coming on board, and every precaution has been taken, and with success, to prevent the disease spreading.
- 18. On the 12th, Cape Guardafui was rounded, and Aden was sighted on the 16th at 9 A.M. I steamed up for the anchorage with the yellow flag flying, placing myself in quarantine, and addressing the Political Resident a letter on the subject. All the slaves, 124 in number, were landed this morning.

19. Immediately on obtaining pratique, anticipated in a few day's time, I will visit Her Majesty's Political Resident, and perform any work there is to be done, as directed in

your letter.

20. I inclose track-chart log and the usual incidental Return.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. S. DE KANTZOW.

No. 59.

Commodore Sir L. Heath to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Extract.) "Octavia," January 16, 1869.

IN continuation of my report of proceedings of 1868, I have the honour to state that I left Trincomalee in the "Octavia" on the 29th December, 1868, called for the mail at Galle on the 31st, and reached Cochin on 4th January, 1869.

It is in contemplation to bring a branch of the Madras railway to that port, and groins have been built with a view to improve the harbour, by narrowing its entrance and thus deepening the water over the bar by means of the increased scour from the back-

water during the rainy season.

I left Cochin the same day, and anchored at Goa on the 7th. His Excellency the Governor is about to dispatch between 400 and 500 native troops to Mozambique, and he expresses a hope that, with this addition to the force now en route from Portugal, his country's prestige in South-Eastern Africa may be re-established; but his Excellency is evidently very anxious upon the subject.

The "Star" has reached Aden, having liberated 134 slaves, and captured 23 dhows fitted for the Slave Trade. Small-pox broke out on the voyage, but most judicious arrangements were made by Commander De Kantzow, and the disease has ceased without,

as I believe, any deaths having occurred amongst the crew.

The "Daphne" arrived at the Seychelles on 9th December with 305 liberated slaves. I have no official letter from her Commander; but it is reported that she had captured 17 dhows. There was small-pox amongst the slaves, but I infer from the tenor of the letter which brought the information that the disease had not attacked the ship's company.

No. 60.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Mr. Hammond.

Sir,

I HAVE laid before my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty your letter of the 10th instant, transmitting copies of a despatch and its inclosures from Her Majesty's Agent and Consul at Zanzibar, with reference to complaints made by Sultan Majid that vessels

belonging to his subjects are illegally seized and destroyed by Her Majesty's cruizers engaged in the suppression of the Slave Trade, and requesting that inquiries be made into the circumstances which have given rise to these complaints, and renewed instructions sent to the officers in command of Her Majesty's cruizers impressing on them the necessity of using great caution in carrying out the service they are entrusted with.

I am commanded by their Lordships to acquaint you, for the information of the Earl of Clarendon, that they have sent instructions to Commodore Sir Leopold Heath in the terms suggested by his Lordship, and have desired him to transmit the necessary

reports.

The report of the proceedings of Her Majesty's ship "Star," on the occasions referred to by the Sultan, were transmitted to the Foreign Office on the 5th December, 1868, and it would appear, from this and other reports of the proceedings of Her Majesty's cruizers on the East Coast of Africa, that, in almost every case in which vessels were destroyed, they had been captured with slaves on board, and had been run ashore by the owners to avoid capture, or when not so run on shore, had been destroyed because they were unfit for a voyage to a port of adjudication.

I am, &c. (Signed) W. G. ROMAINE.

No. 61.

Commodore Sir L. Heath to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir, "Octavia," at Bombay, March 1, 1869.

IN accordance with the 7th paragraph of page 16 of the Slave Trade Instructions,
I forward, for the information of their Lordships, the following Report for the year
1868.

2. Their Lordships will remember that at the end of the previous year Her Majesty's ship "Penguin" was the only vessel in the squadron available for service against the Slave Trade, the remaining ships having been withdrawn to join in the Abyssinian Expedition. The fall of Magdala, however, happened at the very beginning of the slaving season, and I was enabled, whilst the troops were on their return march, to dispatch three vessels on short cruizes, which resulted in the destruction of nine dhows, and the liberation of 243 slaves; the vessels returning to Annesley Bay in ample time for the re-embarkation of the army.

3. The Expeditionary Force having been embarked by the middle of June, the whole squadron ("Vigilant," which was found rotten, excepted) again became available for its usual work, and I am glad to be able to submit the following abstract of captures, &c., showing an amount of success far exceeding the average of recent years:—

4. I attribute these results mainly to the energy and activity of the officers commanding Her Majesty's ships on this Station; but something may also be due to the system which has been adopted of pouncing down from Indian ports upon the line of traffic, instead of operating, as has hitherto been the practice, from Zanzibar as a centre. Under the new plan the traders remain in perfect ignorance of the intended movements of the cruizers, which was not always the case under the old one.

5. Finding that many years had elapsed since any flag-ship had been to Zanzibar, I proceeded to that port in the month of August, and I hope that some good may have been done by the visit, and some impression left upon the mind of Sultan Majid by the earnest language used by me at the interviews which His Highuess was pleased to grant me.

6. An Embassy from the Sultan left Zanzibar for England in the autumn; and, although its members were charged principally with the duty of endeavouring to obtain a release from the obligation to pay an annual subsidy to Muscat, they were also empowered (as I was informed by the Sultan) to discuss questions relating to the Slave Trade. The results of this mission will be recorded in the Report for 1869.

7. I observe that it is not unusual to close these reports with an expression of hope that the heavy blows which have been dealt at the Trade during the past year will go far to check it for the future. I can express no such hope. The Trade is far too profitable, and will not be affected by a risk so small as that incurred by the proceedings of Her Majesty's ships. It supplies a want which has not been left unsatisfied for many centuries past,—a

want which, sanctioned by the religion of the country, has grown almost into an instinct. To put down this trade requires far more effect and far more energy than England has yet shown in the matter. Twenty-five years have elapsed since the first Treaty with Muscat, and all that time we have been contented with the capture of a very small per-centage of the total exports,—a per-centage large enough to irritate the legal traders, who are harassed and annoyed by the visits of our cruizers, but too small to effect materially the illegitimate trade. We must do far more than this to insure success. We must double or treble our squadron. We must establish Vice-Consulates at the ports of export, but, above all, we must force the Government of Zanzibar into active acquiescence in our views, and, if necessary, purchase or take possession of that island.

views, and, if necessary, purchase or take possession of that island.

8. I attach some illustrative photographs taken by Commander Sulivan on board Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," and a water-colour drawing by Mr. Henn, Sub-Lieutenant of that ship. The wretched emaciated condition of the slaves is due entirely to the avarice or carelessness of the Arab dealers; but the drowning of men, women, and children incidental to running dhows on shore to avoid capture is entirely the result of our proceedings. Five full dhows were seen to run on shore during the recent cruize of the

"Daphne," and many other similar cases have been observed during the year.

9. I would most earnestly submit for their Lordships consideration whether it is right to follow the present unsatisfactory mode of attempting to put down the East African Slave Trade. If I am right in supposing that the only result of those proceedings has been to liberate less than 5 per cent. of the slaves exported at the expense of drowning some hundreds a-year, and of discouraging legitimate commerce, it would seem to follow that we should withdraw from the attempt, or make it with far greater vigour.

I have, &c. (Signed) L. G. HEATH.

Inclosure in No. 61.

RETURN of Vessels Captured on the ground of Slave Trade or Piracy, by the Squadron employed in the East Indies for the Suppression of the Slave Trade, during the Year ending December 31, 1868.

		Remarks.		Between the 5th and 18th November five male slaves	swam off to the boats, and claimed protection.						****										-				
		How Captured Vessel was Disnosed of	4	Barnt	Ditto. Ditto. Ditto	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto. Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Ditto.	Dieto.	Ditto. Ditto.		Ditto.	Ditto. Ditto.	Ditto. Ditto.	shore in the surf.	Ditto.	Burnt.	Ditto. Destroyed by running on	Bürnt. Ditto.	Ditto. Ditto. Ditto.	
	Decretal part of Sentence, whether Porfeiture or Restitution.		Forfeiture	Ditto			Ditto		iii.	::			Ditto		Ditto		Ditto				Ditto	Ditto	Ditto		
		Before what Court adjudicated and on what Charge.		Aden. Engaged in	Ditto	:::	Ditto	Ditto	::	::	Ditto	: :	Ditto	Diffe		Zanzibar. Engaged in the Slave Trade	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto .	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	
		Tonnage of Captured		131	173 81173 81174	137				145	455					ET.	18 102.77	182 1 28 67	₹ 1	62.09	102.85	98.98 61.65	101-29	101.62	
ľ	Slaves	Emancipated.		1Ġ	::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::		::	-	CS -4-1	<u></u>	:"	11	:∞	11	, no	:	: ,	;				311			<u>.</u>
	Number of Slaves	efore estion,	d baid dibujba	1	:::"										: :	:	<u>:</u>					=			_
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		Name and Rank of Captor, and Name of Capturing Yessel.		Lieut, J. W. L. Jekyll, H.M.S. "Star"		eron.	Mr. Lynch, Boatswain. Ditto		Mr. Hayles, Gunner. Ditto		Lineut. V. L. Cameron. Ditto	Lient. J. W. L. Jekyll. Ditto	•	Mr. Lynch, Boatswain. Ditto	Swam off to vessel					Commander G. L. Sulivan,	H.M.S. "Dapane"				Slaves escaped from Mozambique Ditto, from Brava Slaves sent off from Brava .
		Where Captured,	t. Long.	0 N. 44 2 0E.	2444 2000	10000	18 44 3 27 44 3 27	တတ	44: ∞ ∞ ∞	44: 28:	24.4 25.5	44:	44	6 44 53 49	1	Rovooma River	Ditto Near Marka	Ditto At Marka	Near Marka	Near Brava At Brava	Near Brava Ditto	At Brava Near Brava	Ditto Ditto	At Brava Near Brava Ditto	
-			Lat.	10 110	7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7 7	-99	99	9 1 0	- C - C - C - C - C - C - C - C - C - C		2000 2000 3000	2 e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e e	44	255 201 201 201 201 201 201 201 201 201 201	-			888			200	======================================		444	
	·	Date of Seizuro.		1868 Nov.		.,,										Oet.			:				Nov.		
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		Flag under which Captured Vessel	was Sailing.	None	Ditto:		Ditto Ditto	Ditto .	Ditto	Ditto				Diffe		- Arab	Diffs .	Ditto		Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	e constant	
		Name and Description of Captured Vessel.		Db⁄ Unknown	Ditto			::		::	::	::	::	Ditto	:	Difto	::	::	:	::	::		::	111	

Return of Vessels Captured on the ground of Slave Trade or Piracy, &c .- continued.

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	Remarks.												
	How Captured Yessel was	Burnt,	Destroyed by running on	shore in the surf. Ditto. Ditto.	Scuttled at sea.	Destroyed: Dirto. Dirto. Dirto. Dirto. Dirto. Pitto. Dirto.	Diffo	Burnt. Ditto. Ditto. Ditto. Ditto.	Ditto. Ditto. Ditto. Dicto. Destroyed by running on shore in the surf.	Burnt.	Ditto. Ditto,		
	Forfeiture	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	111111	:	Ditto	Ditto Ditto Ditto	Ditto	Ditto			
Decretal part Defore what Court Sentence, and on what Charge, restitution.			Zanzibar. Engaged	Aden. Engaged in	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	in the Slave Trade	Ditto	Ditto	Aden. Engaged in the Slave Trade	Ditto	-
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Number of Slaves	efore ation.	Died be adjudic	:	:	::	:	:::4::::	:			60	::	98
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Name and Rank of Captor, Same of Capturing Vessel.			Commander E. St. J. Garforth, H.M.S.		LieutCommander J. J. Martin. Ditto	Commander R. A. Brown, H.M.S. "Vigi- lant"	Commander B. L. Lefroy, H.M.S. "Spiteful"		Commander T. Barnardiston, H.M.S. "Nymphe"		Commander W. H. Maxwell, H.M.S.	Commander F. W. Hallowes, H.M.S. S	Totals
	Where Captured.	Lat. Long.	o / " o / "	2 0 0N. 45 I OE.	2 0 0 45 1 0 Ras al Kyle	11 53 0 51 7 0	Of Raskinikeri Ditto Ditto Ditto Of Merbut Of Merbut 15 28 0 52 7 0	Madagascar	-Passandava-Bay Ditto Ditto Ditto Daltymple Bay Nos Sancasse Island Majambo Bay	Liuoyanna Bay Michindanny Bay Mungalio River 1 0 0 44 0 0	16 1 0 S. 45 28 0	10 53 ON. 51 8 30 11 19 45 51 4 30	
-	Date of Seizure.		1868 Mar. 27	Apr. 13	88	SS	May 6 6 8 13 13 15 15 Sept. 7	•	July 25 25 25 Aug. 8	Sept. 9	18	May 12	
	Number of Crew.		6	Deserted	Ditto 15	•	26 Unknown 25 Unknown 15 14 Unknown		nw.	13 25 Unknown	25	910	
	Flag under Which Captured Vessel	under which Captured Vossel was Sailing.		Ditto	Ditto	None	Ditto Ditto Ditto Ditto Ditto Ditto Ditto Ditto		Arab Ditto Ditto Ditto	Ditto	Arab	Zanzibar None	
Name and Description of Captured Vessel.			Dhow. Unknown Arab	Ditto	Ditto Ditto	Ditto	Ditto:		"Faton Salama" Unknown	1111	Ditto	Ditto	

No. 62.

Commodore Randolph to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Extract.)

"Seringapatam," in Simon's Bay, March 18, 1869.

THE "Peterel" arrived at East London from Mozambique on the 7th instant, and in compliance with orders awaiting her at that port, left again the following day for Delgoa Bay, to make inquiries respecting any settlements by unauthorized persons on British territory in that locality, as required by their Lordships' letter of the 4th December last; Commander Cochrane reports having captured a slave dhow on his voyage to Mozambique; and as his letter of proceedings contains some matter of interest respecting the reported safety of Dr. Livingstone and the state of affairs at the Portuguese settlements on the East Coast, I append it for their Lordships' information.

Inclosure in No. 62.

Commander Cochrane to Commodore Randolph.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to inform you that, in obedience to the instructions contained in your letter dated 14th January, 1869. I left Simon's Bay on the 16th January, called at St. Augustine's Bay, at which place I arrived on the 30th January, and remained close to the anchorage all Sunday the 31st: the wind being then calm, we were drifted about close to the anchorage all day. We found two French ships at anchor off Tullear, but nothing at St. Augustine's Bay, and having communicated with the shore, and shown the flag, we drifted out with the tide and made sail, at past 4 o'clock, to a fair wind from the south-west.

On our passage we experienced some heavy weather, which carried away all our topmast rigging, which we were able to replace at sea. After leaving St. Augustine's Bay we found a pleasant south-westerly wind, which followed us all the way up the western side of Madagascar, the force of wind varying from 1 to 4, as far as Cape St. Andrew.

On striking out towards Mozambique, on the 7th and 8th of February, we experienced very heavy weather, which started the seizings of our lower rigging; this we also repaired as well as we were able till we could get into port

The weather, after leaving Madagascar, was such as to prevent our getting sights till within about 40 miles of Pemba Bay, when we found the current has set us 40 miles to the northward of where we expected to be, as by the sailing directions we are told that the current runs from 24 to 96 miles a-day to the southward, where we experienced a set of 84 miles to the northward.

Being so near Pemba Bay I deemed it advisable to proceed there to refit, as the Bay is very convenient for that purpose, there being no wind and the current drifting us about, with no certainty of obtaining sights, I got up steam and proceeded towards Pemba Bay; at daylight we saw a dhow from the masthead, gave chase, and found her to be a dhow of about 108 tons, fully equipped for the Slave Trade; we captured and burnt her after taking the crew and passengers on board, and 500 kegs of trade powder; some of the powder was used afterwards to blow up the dhow, she not being fit for a voyage to a port of adjudication. She was from Zanzibar bound to Majunga, with a crew of 17 persons. Full explanations are forwarded to you in another letter. She had 10 male and 1 female passengers, but no papers whatever.

Having destroyed her I proceeded into Pemba Bay, where we underwent a thorough refit; we remained there from the evening of the 11th February to the morning of the 16th,—a Sunday intervening.

At 9.40 a.m. on the 16th February I left, under steam, to come out of Pemba Bay, and to condense water, and anchored in the outer anchorage of Mozambique at 1.50 p.m. on the 17th February. I proceeded on shore at 2 p.m. and landed the freight, taking receipts for the same, copies of which I beg to inclose. We found here a Portuguese corvette, "Infanta Dom João," the Captain of which vessel had been Acting Governor till that day, when he was relieved by the present Acting Governor Senhor Antonio Tavares de Almeida, who is about to proceed up the Zambesi with 3,000 troops, most of them coming from Goa (in India) to settle some disturbance with the natives by the Victoria Falls, and relieve a fort in the interior, where they say they have 200,000l. worth of ivory and gold blockaded by the natives. I was informed by the Governor, Senhor Almeida, that Dr. Livingstone was at Zanzibar, or had returned there, as he saw his arrival announced in some Bombay papers, also in a Portuguese paper afterwards. This would allow

Dr. Livingstone to be at Zanzibar some time in December, he was then expected to go

home, overland, by the Red Sea.

We found at Mozambique an English steamer called "Tynemouth," which had arrived on the 16th February from Goa with the Governor Senhor Antonio Tavares de Almeida, a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Portuguese army, and 300 troops. This vessel was expected to take 1,000 troops down to the Zambesi in April from Mozambique, where the expedition is to be assembled.

We left Mozambique on the 18th February, arriving at Delagoa Bay on the 25th February, where he remained at anchor off Sheffen Island till the morning of the 28th, when we proceeded out under steam. During our stay I had an interview with the Governor of the Portuguese settlement at English River, who informed me that the country was in an unsettled state, and that he was expecting to be attacked at any

moment by the natives.

On our passage down from Delagoa Bay we called at Port Natal to procure fresh provisions for the ship's company, leaving Natal on the 5th instant, and arriving here yesterday morning.

I have, &c. (Signed) ERNEST G. S. COCHRAN

No. 63.

Commodore Sir L. Heath to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

"Forte," at Sea, Lat. 20° 4' N., Long. 61° 43' E., April 9, 1869.

Sır,

PREVIOUS to leaving Bombay I was informed by his Excellency the Governor that he had submitted the inclosed letter to the Advocate-General of Bombay, and that that officer had given an opinion, that the capture and condemnation of the dhow

No. 1, mentioned by Sir E. Russell, was illegal.

2. Sir Seymour informed me that he had sent the correspondence to the India Office, and he promised to send me the Advocate-General's opinion, but owing probably to want of time it did not reach me before sailing. The Advocate-General, however, had not the evidence given by the officers of the "Star" before him, and it was his opinion only, and not the reasons on which it was founded, which was to have been communicated to me; and I therefore do not wait for the written document but forward the remainder of the correspondence for their Lordship's information, and with a request I may receive instructions for future guidance.

3. I understand that the Advocate-General considers it essential that a Captain should prove that the slaves on board the captured vessel are there for the purpose of Slave Trade, and that their being in the state of slavery, and therefore liable to possible

sale, is not sufficient.

4. This interpretation of the Treaties will, if upheld, strike a severe blow at our efforts to put down this Trade, for the result will assuredly be that every trading dhow will carry a small number of slaves purchased by the master, who will take care to have no condemnatory documents on board, and who will keep to himself his intentions as to future disposal of his property.

5. Under the 1st Article of the Treaty with Muscat, dated October 1845, the Sultan engages to prohibit, under severe penalties, the export of slaves from his African dominions. In the IInd Article he engages to prohibit similarly their importation from Africa into his Asian dominions; and the IIIrd Article gives power to our ships to seize

Zanzibar vessels "carrying on Slave Trade."

6. It seems to me a fair interpretation of the Treaty as a whole, to consider the three articles as in harmony with one another, and that the IIIrd Article gives us permission to punish in our way the very same offences which the Sultan undertakes in the 1st and IInd Articles to punish in his way, and that as the Sultan will punish indifferently an exporter or an importer, so in our case slave-trading must be deemed to consist in either export or import, and they need not necessarily be combined

7. If this be so the export of a slave beyond the limits defided in the IIIrd Article is

sufficient to confiscate the vessel in which the export is made.

8. Sir Edward Russell seems to agree with the Advocate-General in thinking that slaves may legally be carried to sea, provided they are not originally intended for sale on the voyage, but as he has not decreed compensation for the destruction of the dhow in question, I presume he considers the burden of proving innocent intention lies with

the owners of the slave-carrying dhow, whereas I understand the Advocate-General

considers innocency must be presumed until the captor proves the contrary.

9. So far as officers in command of Her Majesty's ships are concerned, it is clear that they can only be guided by the Slave Trade instructions, compiled and issued specially for their use, and as in those instructions no limitation is put upon the quality of the slaves, I presume that their duty is to capture every vessel they may find (page 22, paragraph 51) having slaves on board; and if the Law Officers in England should rule with the Advocate-General of Bombay, it will be necessary to revise these instructions.

10. I attach extracts from native correspondence intercepted on board one of the dhows captured by the "Star," and referred to by Sir Edward Russell. They plainly show that whatever may have been the original object of a Zanzibar Arab in purchasing his slaves, it does not prevent his subsequently exporting them for foreign sale; and I attach also extracts from the Blue Books, showing the frequent mixture

of legitimate and illegitimate cargoes in the same vessel.

11. A copy of Commander De Kantzow's letter in reply to my inquiries with reference

to the capture of dhow No. 1 is herewith inclosed.

I have, &c. (Signed) L. G. HEATH.

Inclosure 1 in No. 63.

The Secretary to Government, Bombay, to Commodore Sir L. Heath.

Sir,

I AM directed by the Right Honourable the Governor in Council to forward for the favour of your remarks the accompanying copy of a letter dated the 29th ultimo, from the Political Resident at Aden.

I have, &c. (Signed) C. GONNE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 63.

Major-General Sir E. Russell to the Secretary to Government, Bombay.

Sir, Aden, January 29, 1869.

IN forwarding the manumitted slaves to Bombay, I have the honour to inform you that there are a certain number of them who declare themselves domestic slaves, and state that they were employed as sailors on board the dhows from which they were taken; and, moreover, express a wish to return to their homes in the vicinity of Zanzibar. As I have no means of complying with their wish, I send them with the others to Bombay, that

Government may dispose of them as they may deem fit.

2. In bringing this fact to the notice of his Excellency the Governor in Council, I beg to point out that I consider it was impossible for one to act otherwise than to condemn the dhows from which these slaves were captured, owing to the evidence given before me by Captain De Kantzow and his officers, from which it appears to me they were fully justified in concluding that their captures were authorized by the law in force; as an instance, I will quote the case of dhow No. 1, which is however the only case out of the twenty-four in which all her slaves, since their landing at this port, have declared themselves as domestic slaves, employed as sailors, and expressed a wish to return :- This vessel, when detained, had her crew separated from her passengers and slaves (there were only six of the latter, the men in question); the crew and passengers were landed, but six men detained as slaves, as they stated they were such each day they were inspected after their removal to the "Star," they had an opportunity of bringing forward their claims to have been landed with the crew, but they failed to move in the matter, nor did any one of them, by word or gesture, give any reasons for supposition that he was anything but a slave; it was not until after their arrival here that they came forward, and during the investigation of the cases I had no reason to doubt, from the evidence of one of these men particularly, and from the amount of intelligence he displayed, and his acquaintance with the nature and quantity of the cargo of the dhow, but that he was what he stated himself to be, a domestic slave, employed as a sailor, and not a slave for traffic, all six in fact I have no hesitation in saying were similarly employed. This dhow had a crew of 19 men, besides these 6 domestic slaves, and was laden with a considerable cargo, and the evidence proved that at the time of capture her principal object was legitimate trade.

CLASS B.

3. Seeing that this dhow had these 6 men slaves on board, although they were domestic ones, and that Captain De Kantzow had given them every opportunity of landing before the destruction of the dhow, and subsequently of declaring their true status; and, moreover, that the dhow had no papers or colours, and was entering slave's port, where slaves were being then run, and that the men admitted themselves they were slaves, I felt that I had no alternative but to condemn her and justify the act of Captain De Kantzow.

4. In passing judgment in several of the cases, however, I felt that too much discretionary power was placed in the hands of Commanders of Her Majesty's cruizers engaged in suppression of the Slave Trade on the East Coast of Africa, I respectfully submit to Government the advisability of immediate steps being taken for the issue of more stringent and definite orders on the subject, whereby the status of domestic slavery may not be interfered with, and legitimate trade paralyzed, and the minds of the Arabs irritated by such wholesale destruction of their property, on the grounds of some few men being found, who, through an interpreter, admit that they are slaves, and separated accordingly from the rest of the crew, and with a few other suspicious points legalize the condemnation of a vessel of several tons, laden with a legitimate cargo.

5. The Traffic in Slaves, which we are determined to put down, I presume, is that carried on by dhows carrying large cargoes of these unfortunate creatures, who are mostly children and women; and an order to the effect that no dhow should be destroyed except one proved and apparent to be, or to have been recently so laden, would ensure no

grievance to suspicious or even lawful traders. An order to this effect might afford an escape to some who are evading the Slave Trade regulations, but on the other hand a great injustice is avoided, and I am of opinion that if the wholesale destruction of dhows is permitted, the British name will be abhorred, and the minds of the Chiefs and natives will be turned decidedly against us, and thus the native in authority will aid the trade instead of assisting us.

I trust my proceedings will be approved by His Excellency in Council.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

E. L. RUSSELL.

Inclosure 3 in No. 63.

Commodore Sir L. Heath to Sir S. Fitzgerald.

Right Honourable Sir,

" Octavia," Bombay, February 16, 1869.

I HAVE the honour, in accordance with the request of your Excellency, conveyed by Mr. Secretary Gonne, in his letter of the 13th instant, to make the following remarks upon the letter dated the 29th January last, from Major-General Sir E. Russell, to the Political Secretary.

2. It is the province of the Judges of Vice-Admiralty Courts, of whom Sir Edward is one, to do justice between captured and captors; and therefore in every case where

condemnation is decreed, the captors' conduct is, ipso facto, justified.

3. Sir Edward's letter contains no actual censure of Naval Officers, but its tenor is such, that it is right I should inform your Excellency, as a proof of the great care taken in the squadron under my command, that although sixty-nine vessels have been destroyed by Her Majesty's ships, no case of restitution has been decreed.

4. It appears to be Sir Edward's opinion, that domestic slaves may lawfully be carried as part of the crew of an Arab dhow; but it is distinctly laid down in paragraph 51, page 22, of the Slave Trade Instructions, "that you will be justified in concluding that a vessel is engaged in, and equipped for, the Slave Trade.

"I. If you find any slaves on board; or,

"II. If you find in her outfit any of the equipments hereinafter mentioned."

There is no limitation as to the status of the slaves; and since it is the opinion of many officers that domestic slaves are frequently carried as described by Sir E. Russell, and sold when a good price can be obtained, it would clearly be unwise to make a limitation.

5. Still more unwise would it be to carry out the further relaxations of existing rules recommended by Sir Edward. The only result of such a measure would be, that slaves would not be carried as separate cargoes; but almost every dhow on the coast would carry them in numbers within the then legal limits. The miseries endured by the slaves on the voyage would be certainly much diminished; and as no dhows would be condemned, none would be captured, and the heart-burnings spoken of by Sir E. Russell, would cease; but these advantages would be gained at the cost of practically legalizing the trade.

6. Our measures for repressing the Slave Trade on the East Coast of Africa, have now been carried on for so many years, that it is impossible to suppose any of the legal traders on that coast can be ignorant of our regulations, and they must know full well that the carrying of a small number of slaves on board their vessels is one most frequent cause of condemnation. No. 1 dhow, mentioned by Sir E. Russell, had a crew of nineteen men, besides 6 slaves. Why was the crew not made up to twenty-five, and the slaves left at home?

I have, &c. (Signed) L. G. HEATH.

Inclosure 4 in No. 63.

Extracts from Letters found in Dhow No. 5.

Extract from a letter marked A, from Hillul bin Abdulla Muddee, dated Zanzibar, 8 Rujul, 1285 (25th October, 1868), to Shaik Seif bin Bul Hosanee, at Lamoo.

THERE is sent by the hands of Seyed bin Sultan Sanaanee, a slave. We hope you will sell him, and so arrange it (his sale), that he should not return to Zanzibar, for he is troublesome.

Extract from a letter marked B, from Mahomed bin Umar bin Ahmed Ashatree, dated Zanzibar, 11 Jumad Uluwab 1285 (30th August, 1868), to Seyed Kuletein bin Seyed Madthar Anna Otheree, at Brava.

Slaves are dear, from 16 to 20 dollars.

Extract from a letter marked C, from Moosa bin Mahomed Hakeem, dated 11 Rujul, 1285, (28 October, 1868), to Mahomed bin Harjee, at Lamoo.

There is sent to you, by the hand of Seyed bin Sultan Sanaanee, 3 head of slave 2 head female slaves, and I male slave; the female slaves have marks on (round) their necks, black rags; inside the rag a paper with your name written thereon. Take them from him, and give him the freight, $4\frac{1}{2}$ dollars; and the male slave we have placed with him (the Kakoda), as a sailor. You should know this; and the slaves are all in my name (my property), in the boat of Mahomed Ali Luthuron, Lamoo, and Oralee.

Extract of a letter marked D, from Moosa bin Murbarak, slave of Hillal bin Mahomed, dated 10 Rujul, 1285 (27th October, 1868), to Bakeel, slave of the sister Meera bin al Imain (?)

There is sent to you a slave, Khamees, by the hand of Skyed bin Sultan Sanaanee. I hope you will sell him as you can; and his price (the money), you should keep until you come.

Inclosure 5 in No. 63.

Extracts from Class A, Reports from British Vice-Admiralty Courts and from British Naval Officers relating to the Slave Trade, from January 1 to December 31, 1866.

Page 100. Inclosure 5 in No. 91:—"I FOUND 2 negroes on board who informed me that they were lent to the master as part of the crew, but they feared they would be sold at Muscat."

Page 104. Inclosure 2 in No. 92:—"I have reason to believe that the greater number of the slaves in the northern dhow which I captured on May 8th off Socotra had been stolen from Zanzibar."

Page 109. Inclosure 1 in No. 100:—"The number of dhows captured was seven;

one cargo dhow with 6, and one with 3, slaves in."

Page 109. Inclosure 3 in No. 100:—"I observed an Arab dhow with a cargo of cotton and grain from Brava. She had 6 slaves on board."

Page 100. Inclosure 8 in No. 100:—"She had a cargo of grain and about 50 slaves, as far as I could judge."

Inclosure 6 in No. 63.

Commander De Kantzow to Commodore Sir L. Heath.

Sir, "Star," at Bombay, March 31, 1869.

WITH reference to the first dhow taken by Her Majesty's ship "Star" at Brava, I

have the honour to submit the following statement as regards her capture:-

lst. While at anchor at Brava, with Her Majesty's ship "Daphne" lying in sight, about three miles to windward, and our boats close to and in shore of her, two dhows were observed coming down. The first was taken and burnt by the "Daphne;" the other was captured by our cutter and brought alongside, with a crew of 19, 6 male slaves, and no papers or colours, and a cargo of wood. She stated she had come from Paza, and was going to Brava. 6 slaves, who gave themselves up to the boarding officer, through the interpreter, were brought on board and acknowledged themselves slaves to me, in the presence of the officers of the ship, not expressing any wish to be landed. The Arab captain and his crew desired to be landed forthwith, which was done.

2nd. On the further examination into the history of these slaves when on board, three of them volunteered to work, and were employed in the stokehole. On one occasion when some of the slaves were pumping out the ship, one of the slaves captured in the first dhow, stood over them to make them work, at which they growled, inasmuch as he was a slave as well as them. One of these six slaves when examined in my cabin by me, stated, through the interpreter, he had been taken at Paza, and that when the Arab captain saw our boat coming toward the dhow, he exclaimed, "I have lost my dhow now because

I have got slaves on board."

These slaves were periodically mustered with the other 126 slaves on board, and never at any time expressed to any one any dissatisfaction at their capture, but on the contrary, satisfaction at their release.

I have, &c. (Signed) H. S. DE KANTZOW.

No. 64.

Commander Colomb to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

"Dryad," off Gray's Island, Persian Gulf, March 24, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that I this day boarded a small dhow off Lebel Yarid. She had no cargo, colours, or papers, but had on board 1 slave and about 139l. in Persian money.

- 2. When sighted at 8 A.M. she was steering to the eastward, but immediately bore up for the westward, and finally on the approach of the ship, ran for the beach. Her captain stated he was from Debay and Shargeh, but prevaricated as to where he was bound, and denied the ownership of the slaves. The money was found concealed amongst the ballast, and the slave stated he had been brought over with others so disposed of to be sold.
- 3. I therefore made a capture of the dhow, and finding her unfit to proceed to a port for adjudication, I destroyed her, and landed the crew.

I have, &c. (Signed) P. H. COLOMB.

No. 65.

Commodore Sir L. Heath to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

"Forte," at Sea, Lat. 17° 7′ N., Long. 63° 28′ E.,

April 5, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to forward, for the information of their Lordships a copy of some correspondence on the subject of the condition of slaves captured by our cruizers.

2. I beg to suggest that information as to the distribution and condition of slaves liberated in each year should be called for from the Mauritius, the Seychelles, Aden, and Bombay, and published in the Blue Books.

I have, &c. (Signed) L. G. HEATH.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 65.

The Secretary to Government, Bombay, to Commodore Sir L. Heath.

Bombay Castle, January 13, 1869. Sir, I AM instructed to forward to you the inclosed copies of papers from the Political President at Aden, and to request that you will be so good as to favour Government with your remarks and suggestions on the important subject brought to notice by Sir E. Russell.

I have, &c. C. GONNE. (Signed)

Inclosure 2 in No. 65.

The Resident at Aden to the Secretary to Government, Bombay.

December 18, 1868. (Extract.) HER Majesty's ship "Star" arrived on the afternoon of the 16th instant with a cargo of slaves. 134 slaves were captured from 23 Arab dhows off the East Coast of Africa. I regret to report that small-pox broke out amongst them on the voyage; the first case was a month ago. On arrival at Aden there were only two cases amongst the negroes, and one sailor who was convalescent.

The whole of the slaves have been landed on an island in the inner harbour and segregated—none have been brought on shore to the peninsula. I have ordered all the slaves to be vaccinated, and the officer commanding the "Star" has had his men vaccinated. I consider there is no likelihood of the disease spreading.

I purpose submitting to Government a report on the subject of the discharge of cargoes of slaves by Her Majesty's ships at this isolated position.

Inclosure 3 in No. 65.

Major-General Sir E. Russell to the Secretary to Government, Bombay.

Aden, December 24, 1868. Sir, REFERRING to paragraph 6 of my letter of the 18th instant, in this Department, I have the honour to report for the information of his Excellency the Governor in Council that Captain de Kantzow, commanding Her Majesty's ship "Star," has informed me Her Majesty's ship "Daphne" is expected to arrive here immediately with between 300 and 400 slaves captured from dhows on the East Coast of Africa. As I have already a balance on my hands of former captures of about 30, in addition to 129 brought by Her Majesty's ship "Star," I consider this large number of slaves will be a greater burden than Her Majesty's Government would expect this isolated settlement to bear. I cannot yet find suitable employment and protection for the slaves landed in March last. Even in addition to this I have the same already landed in March last. to this I have the cargo already landed, and with those expected I consider that I shall be placed in further difficulty. I am of opinion that the landing of slaves at this port to be kept a considerable time under surveillance, is, to the unfortunate beings, a state of slavery. Aden is already glutted, and it is quite impossible to keep a proper supervision over the liberated slaves, distributed as they are in all parts of this settlement. I maintain that the slave handed over and assigned for service to private individuals is in a worse position than one that is purchased. A man will take care, possibly, of property for which he pays; this may not be the case where the supervision cannot be carried out in every individual case. we in a position here to educate the slaves, I consider we should be doing what was right by them. Such means not being at our disposal I propose sending to Bombay all those now left on my hands and any cargoes that may arrive for the future. In Bombay there are certainly better means for properly providing for and educating these people. I may observe that it is a source of anxiety to provide for the already overgrowing population of These difficulties are, in my opinion, so grave, that I submit this matter for the earnest consideration of Government, with a view to this settlement being relieved from the discharge of liberated slaves from Her Majesty's ships. The vessels night come for adjudication, but I would submit that some other place for the discharge of their cargoes might be assigned. Another reason which influences me to urge this is, that the slaves frequently arrive with epidemic disease amongst them; we have no country or space beyond

such as is within the fortifications, and we are thus further placed in difficulties and rendered liable to a visitation from a scourge in our limited position. I shall with anxiety await orders with reference to the disposal of liberated slaves.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

E. L. RUSSELL

Inclosure 4 in No. 65.

Commodore Sir L. Heath to Sir S. Fitzgerald.

Right Honourable Sir, "Octavia," Bombay, Jan

Right Honourable Sir, "Octavia," Bombay, January 19, 1869.
IN reply to letter of the 13th instant from Mr. Secretary Gonne, and its inclosures from Sir E. Russell, on the subject of the disposal, &c., of captured slaves, I beg in the first place to inform your Excellency that the liberated slaves which Sir E. Russell expected to receive have all been landed at the Seychelles.

2. With respect to the general question raised by Sir E. Russell in his despatch of the 24th December last, I am unable to point out any port which could be substituted for that for Aden, as a primary depôt for liberated slaves, without diminishing to a serious extent

the efficiency of the squadron employed in their liberation.

3. It is essential to the health of the crews of our men-of-war that captured slaves who are frequently diseased, and always most filthy in their personal habits, should be landed with as little delay as possible; and it is equally essential to the carrying out of the service with efficiency that the vessels should speedily return to their cruizing-ground. For these purposes Seychelles, towards the south, and Aden towards the north, are well suited; and the one or the other is chosen by the commander of the capturing vessel, according to the position of his ship, and the monsoon which may at the time be blowing.

4. There are, both at Seychelles and at Aden small islands which can be, and indeed are, used for the purpose of quarantine and it is an incidental advantage that complete solation can be carried out when any epidemic disease is brought into either settle-

ment.

- 5. I never personally had an opportunity of investigating the condition of liberated slaves but I have heard that there is a general opinion in conformity with that of Sir E. Russell, that their condition as freemen is not superior to that from which they have been removed.
- 6. I am not aware of the wording of the Orders in Council referred to in the 5th George IV, cap. 113, for regulating the "protecting and providing for" captured slaves, but it is the undoubted duty of England to do all that can be done in this direction; and if (as implied by Sir E. Russell) the education and training which ought to be given to these unfortunate creatures before launching them into a new world, where all, even the language, is strange to them, cannot be afforded at Aden, then I think they ought, as soon as possible, to be transferred to Bombay, where I presume there is a regularly organized system of registration and supervision of apprentices.

I have, &c. (Signed) L. G. HEATH.

No. 66.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Mr. Hammond.—(Received June 17.)

Sir,

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, June 16, 1869.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to acquaint you, for the information of the Earl of Clarendon, that a letter has been received from Commodore Sir L. Heath, dated 25th May, reporting the capture of a dhow by Her Majesty's ship "Forte," near Damghot, East of Cape Tartak.

The dhow was of 40 tons, and bad on board 80 slaves, mostly children, of whom 50 were male and 30, female; the crew were, at their own request, placed on board a trading

dhow bound to Muscat.

I am, &c. (Signed) JOHN HENRY BRIGGS.

No. 67.

Commander Colomb to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir, "Dryad," Ras Sankirah, May 12, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to report that, while stationed at Ras Madraka, between the 26th April and 11th May, Her Majesty's ship under my command captured two vessels from Zanzibar with one slave each, and drove on shore and destroyed two dhows with full cargoes, from one of which 60 slaves were rescued.

2. The first dhow was detained on the 27th April and condemned next day, her captain admitting that the one slave boy found on board had been bought for 14 dollars at

Zanzibar, and would be sold at Lur for 30 dollars.

Sir.

3. The second prize was made on the 3rd May. She had been boarded by Her Majesty's ships "Daphne" and "Forte," when her single slave was concealed below bags of rice. This precaution was not taken with us, as her master thought the passes given by previous ships would enable him to get through our hands. The boy was, consequently, dressed as an Arab. He, however, claimed our protection, and gave us full information, and his statements were corroborated by the evidence of master and crew, when cross-examined. He had been obtained at Zanzibar, and expected to be sold at Lur.

examined. He had been obtained at Zanzibar, and expected to be sold at Lur.

4. Both these vessels were small; they had taken fish to Zanzibar, rice and [sic | thence to Macullah, when it was sold, and the proceeds, in Maria Theresa dollars (200 dollars in one and 380 dollars in the other), were on board when captured.

- 5. The remaining two full slavers were driven on shore on the 5th May. The first having been sighted passing Ras Madraka, to the eastward, was seen to haul her wind and disappear behind Takiah Abuk, to the westward. The ship, following in chase, soon sighted the dhow at anchor, when she immediately shipped her cable and ran on shore. Shot and shell from the ship checked their progress, and we were able to rescue 60 of them. Three were unfortunately drowned in the surf.
- 6. While this was in progress, the second dhow was passing to the eastward; on making out the ship, which, from her exposed position, she could easily do, she, too, hauled in for the land: and, in spite of all our efforts, succeeded in running on shore and landing her slaves, the dhow herself becoming a complete wreck in a few minutes. She was a larger vessel than the first one, and landed a greater number of slaves, probably 150, if the first dhow, as was estimated, landed 120.

7. The escape of these vessels is to be attributed to the wind being rather more to the southward than usual on the day in question, enabling them both to fetch the sandy beaches, clear of rock, before the ship could intercept them.

I have, &c. (Signed) P. H. COLOMB.

No. 68.

Commander Colomb to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

"Dryad," at Sea, Lat. 16° 30' N., Long. 54° 10' E.,

May 24, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to report the capture, on the 18th instant, of a slave dhow measuring 84 tons, with 113 slaves on board. She was taken 15 miles north-north-west of Hasaki Island, and, finding her unfit to proceed to a port of adjudication, she was destroyed and the crew sent on to Lur by a legal trader, with the captain's consent.

I have, &c.

(Signed) P. H. COLOMB.

No. 69.

Commodore Sir L. Heath to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

"Forte," at Sea, Lat. 13° 32' N., Long., 50° 23' E., May 28, 1869.

IN forwarding for their Lordship's information Commander Colomb's report of the loss of his two gigs and the drowning of two of his crew and of 3 rescued slaves, on 5th May,

1869, I beg to state that this is one of those cases which, it seems to me, must not be

judged of solely by the result.

2. The dhow carrying the 59 slaves, now emancipated, would have quietly and safely pursued her journey but for the presence of the "Dryad," and as it was through the carrying out of England's policy that the slaves were exposed to the terrors of the projected overland march, so it was Commander Colomb's clear duty to incur even serious risk in endeavouring to save them from the result which he himself in the execution of that policy had brought on.

3. It seems clear that the 2nd gig was lost entirely from being overladen, but Mr. Henn, Acting Lieutenant, had to choose between the risk of one trip with a heavy load and two trips with lighter loads but an increasing surf; and it is quite possible that

the plan which he rejected might have proved as fatal as that which he adopted.

4. The failure of the 1st gig to act as a lifeboat was, as Commander Colomb points out, the primary cause of the whole disaster.

I have, &c. L. G. HEATH. (Signed)

Inclosure in No. 69.

Commander Colomb to Commodore Sir L. Heath.

"Dryad," Ras Madraka, May 10, 1869. I MUCH regret to report that, in rescuing 60 slaves landed from a dhow beached to the westward of this place on the 5th instant, Her Majesty's ship under my command sustained the heavy loss of the lives of two seamen, and the destruction of the 1st and

2. The slave-dhow having been seen passing Madraka to the eastward, hauled her wind and came to an anchor S.S.W. off Takiyat Abuk. The ship proceeding in chase,

and discovering her there, the dhow at once ran on shore and landed her slaves.

3. Shot and shell from the ship prevented their being marched inland, I considered, after consultation with the senior executive officers, and examination of the surf, that the rescue of a large number of them might be effected without undue risk. The pinnace and 2nd cutter being already away in chase of dhows, I detached Acting Lieutenant Henn in the 1st gig, with Mr. Netting, Boatswain, in the 2nd gig, and Mr. Wilkie, Gunner, in the cutter, under Mr. Henn's orders. A covering party went in the cutter to protect the gigs in landing and disembarking, and the gigs were supplied with grass cablets for anchoring The remaining steps taken, resulting in the successful rescue of 60 slaves, and veering in. but with the loss of two lives and two boats, are sufficiently detailed in the reports.

4. If the loss be due to any single cause, it must be to an under-estimate made by the risks from surf, and an over-estimate of the chances of attack by the Arabs; but the surf could not, in the first instance, have been dangerously heavy for the gigs, as they both passed through it without shipping a drop of water, and that the 2nd gig, a very bad

boat, made three loaded trips through it later in the day when it was heavier.

5. Francis Trebelcock, Ordinary Seaman, undoubtedly lost his life in consequence of mistaken zeal leading him to disobey orders. Having understood the order to remain in the 1st gig and haul out to her anchor he quitted her with his cork-jacket on, and rifle He seems to have sunk at once. It is possible his thus quitting the boat led to her remaining in the surf and to shipping water. The final loss of the 1st gig is simply due to the worse than failure of her life apparatus. She swamped like any other boat, with the disadvantage that, when once in that state, she could not be cleared or dealt with. The want of the third boat threw heavier work on the others than they were capable of bearing, allowed time for the surf to rise and produced the final catastrophe with the 2nd

6. It may possibly appear that the attempt ought never to have been made; but speaking even after the event, I do not feel I could have avoided it. Slaves landed on this inhospitable coast without food, miles from water, crippled by confinement, and half starved, are driven to almost inevitable death. The lives and freedom of the 60 now on board the ship must possess a value, even if the price which has been paid appears

7. If I were able to find further consolation under our losses it would be in the excellent conduct of those detached on the service. Mr. Henn, Acting Lieutenant, carried out my orders with the cheerfulness and zeal which has invariably distinguished him while under my command. The recovery of the slaves is entirely due to his promptitude and decision. Mr. Wilkie, gunner 3rd class, did all that was possible for him to do, and Mr. Netting, boatswain 2nd class, especially mentioned by Mr. Henn, was also observed by me steering the second gig himself, backwards and forwards through the surf. I selected him for the service from his known zeal and ability, and he amply justified my choice The men employed in the boats all behaved well, and I beg specially to bring to your notice those mentioned in the officer's report, namely:—

John Pitcher, captain's coxswain; Jim George, head krooman; Richard Roberts, ordinary seaman; Josiah Hoskins, ordinary seaman; George H. Wray and Charles White, boys 1st class; Peter Warman, krooman; Ben Coffee, 2nd head krooman; Yellow Whul,

krooman.

The seamen unfortunately drowned were both promising young men; they belonged to my gig's crew, and I feel their loss very deeply.

I have, &c. (Signed) P. H. COLOMB.

No. 70.

Commodore Sir L. Heath to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Extract.)

IN forwarding the inclosed report on the subject of dhows carrying the French flag and apparently engaged, more or less, in the Slave Trade, I beg you will inform their Lordships that Commander Meara states that, Captain Barnardiston having returned all his slave papers, and those addressed to himself not having at that time reached him, he was not aware of the mutual agreement between the French and English Governments, under which the boarding of vessels with French colours is forbidden except for the

purpose (where fraud is suspected) of verifying the right to fly these colours.

Their Lordships have recently forwarded to me a copy of a letter from Sultan Majid, in which he states that, in order to avoid being searched by English cruizers, his vessels are all rapidly leaving their proper national colours and placing themselves under

the flag of France.

I venture to suggest, as the simplest remedy for this evil, that the French Government should be moved to take steps for stopping the indiscriminate issue of "lettres de Fransciscation" at Nossi Beh, confirming their issue to vessels bond fide the property of French subjects.

Inclosure in No. 70.

Commander Meara to Commodore Sir L. Heath.

Sir, "Nymphe," Aden, June 5, 1869.

I HAVE to report to you that, during my cruize along the West Coast of Madagascar,

in the months of February and March this year, for the suppression of the Slave Trade, I met a number of dhows under French colours, which I boarded, and found that they all

had French papers signed by the Governors of Mayotta and Nossi Beh.

While lying at anchor in Bembatooka Bay, off the town of Majunga, a dhow with French colours arrived, which I boarded myself and asked for her papers, which were shown me; I asked if there were any passengers on board. The captain answered, Yes—they are all mentioned in the papers. There were 13 slave-women and 4 boys on board, who stated that they had been bought at Zanzibar. No one on board spoke one word of

French. I took a copy of his papers, which I beg to forward.

Acting Lieutenant Clarke, during his cruizing in the boats, has boarded thirteen dhows under French colours, six of which he considered to be suspicious—one having 6 slaves on board; but, as she was under French colours, she was not searched. Another dhow, under French colours, he chased into an inlet near False Cape, on the West Coast of Madagascar, which chase occupied five hours. On boarding her, he showed French papers from Nos Beh, and, from the appearance of the state of the dhow, she looked very much as if she had just landed a cargo of slaves. Acting Lieutenant Clark landed early the next morning, and went about four miles into the bush,—found numerous tracks of human beings, but only came across four or five natives, who were fishermen, which led him to believe that slaves had been landed from that same dhow and driven into the country.

CLASS B.

Sub-Lieutenant Hodgson also boarded eight dhows under French colours while boat-

cruizing, and he also reported to me that two of them were very suspicious.

I also beg to report to you that during the cruize of Her Majesty's ship "Nymphe." on the same coast in 1868, the officers have reported to me that only ten dhows under French colours were seen, whereas this year I have seen as many as fifty, and I may say more, under French colours.

I am, &c. (Signed)

E. S. MEARA.

No. 71.

Commodore Sir L. Heath to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir, " Forte," Aden, June 7, 1869.

IN forwarding this report for their Lordships' information, and recommending the officers therein named to their Lordships' consideration, I have to state that, on inquiry for the names of the coxswains of the cutters, I find that they are not men deserving in other respects of advancement.

2. Mr. Clark is a Sub-Lieutenant of more than three years' standing, and

Mr. Hodgson has been invalided on account of his wound.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

L. G. HEATH.

Inclosure 1 in No. 71.

Commander Meara to Commodore Sir L. Heath.

Sir. "Nymphe," Seychelles, May 5, 1869.

I BEG to report to you that, while lying at Zanzibar, information was sent to me by Dr. Kirk, Acting Political Agent and Consul, at 1.15 A.M. on the 11th April, 1869, that a dhow had embarked slaves and was to sail immediately, and requested me to send a boat to take her, as he had the Sultan's permission for so doing.

The two cutters were immediately dispatched, in charge of Acting Lieutenant Clark, Mr. T. Hodgson, Sub-Lieutenant, and Mr. T. Maxwell, Acting Sub-Lieutenant.

Half-an-hour after their leaving the ship I heard quick firing of musketry.

At 3.15 A.M. the second cutter returning, reporting the dhow captured, with, I regret to say, the loss of one man, William Mitchell, A.B.; Mr. Thomas Hodgson, in charge of the second cutter, severely wounded in the left wrist with a musket-ball; and Acting Lieutenant Clark wounded in the leg with a spear.

The dhow was brought alongside at 4 A.M., with 136 slaves on board.

The chief firing was opened on the boats from the shore, the dhow being only twenty yards off, with a stern line to the shore; the crew jumped overboard after the boats had boarded.

I cannot close this despatch without bringing before your favourable notice the gallant conduct of Acting Lieutenant Clark, Mr. T. Hodgson, Sub-Lieutenant, and Mr. T. Maxwell, Acting Sub-Lieutenant.

Acting Lieutenant Clark has reported to me the conduct of the men under him as

being most exemplary.

I beg to inclose you his despatch.

I also beg to inclose you a copy of a letter from Dr. Kirk, the purport of a commission received from His Highness the Sultan relative to the capture of the dhow.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

E. S. MEARA.

Inclosure 2 in No. 71.

Acting Lieutenant Clark to Commander Meara.

"Nymphe," Zanzibar, April 16, 1869. IN compliance with your orders relating to capturing a slave dhow in Zanzibar Harbour, I have the honour to report my proceedings as follows:-

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I left the ship on the 11th April, 1869, at 1 o'clock A.M., in charge of the two cutters with Mr. Thomas T. Hodgson, Sub-Lieutenant, and Mr. Thomas E. Maxwell, Acting Sub-Lieutenant.

On approaching the dhow, which was about twenty yards from the shore, secured by a stern-line, I at once convinced myself that she was shipping slaves, and on boarding found she was full, the crew having jumped overboard with the exception of one man, who was in the bow, and he tried to cut the cable to allow the dhow to drift on the beach.

I gave orders for the cutters to take the dhow in tow, and, before they had time to do so, we received a volley of musketry from the beach, and the man (supposed to be the captain of the dhow) that remained in the dhow for some time and trying to cut the cable. I attempted to cut him down but only succeeded in striking him on the arm, but he wounded me with a spear in the leg and then jumped overboard. I returned the fire with Snider rifles, and firing was kept up with great rapidity on both sides.

After the Arabs ceased firing, I took the dhow in tow with one cutter, sending the other on board with Mr. T. Hodgson, Sub-Lieutenant, wounded in the wrist with a ball, and W. Mitchell in the thigh, who, I am sorry to say, died shortly after he was brought on board. Their firing at times seemed to be too high, as I had a bullet pass through my

cap, and several of the men had bullets through their upper clothing. Shortly after 3 A.M. I arrived on board with the dhow and 136 slaves.

The darkness of the night greatly favoured the Arabs, as they had a clear view of the dhow and boats against the horizon, and the Snider rifles at so short a distance are likely to throw high.

I estimated the number of Arabs with firearms to be between thirty and forty, but

there were a considerable number with spears, swords, &c.

Zanzibar.

I beg to recommend to your notice the steady and gallant manner in which Mr. Thomas T. Hodgson, Sub-Lieutenant, Mr. T. Maxwell, Acting Sub-Lieutenant, the coxswains, and crews, of the two cutters behaved whilst under a heavy fire from a superior force.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

N. L. H. CLARK.

Inclosure 3 in No. 71.

Acting Consul Kirk to Commander Meara.

Zanzibar, April 11, 1869. IT is with the greatest pleasure that I now report to you the purport of a communication received by me this day from His Highness the Sultan, in reply to my intimation of what happened last night, in the capture of a slave dhow in His Highness' harbour of

1. His Highness entirely approves of your proceedings, commends the gallantry of of your men, and condoles with you on the loss of one of your seamen, and the wounding of your officers.

2. He places the dhow and slaves at your disposal, through me.

3. He desires that the slaves may be sent on shore, in gangs of fifteen at a time; each gang to be returned before another comes on shore, and this, for the purpose of ascertaining from each slave where and by whom he was sold, that all engaged in this transaction may be punished.

I have further to inform you that I have found in the correspondence taken in the dhow, evidence to implicate many people in the Slave Trade; and also letters of a seditious nature, which have already led to the arrest and imprisonment of their authors.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

JOHN KIRK.

No. 72.

Commander De Kantzow to Commodore Sir L. Heath.

Sir,

"Star," at Aden, June 9, 1869.

IN obedience to my sailing orders, dated 31st March last, I have the honour to report that after 56 days' cruizing for the suppression of the Slave Trade (during which period 112 dhows were boarded, all proving legal traders), while lying at anchor under the NorthEast Cape of Ras Hassoon ready for shipping. On the 26th May, at 1 P.M., a dhow hove in sight, standing in for the Cape. I immediately dispatched Lieutenant Jekyll in the cutter to board her. After the lapse of about 15 minutes the dhow, on catching sight of the ship, cast anchor off the point, and commenced hauling in for the shore to land her slaves. The cutter was soon alongside, and seized her. She had 236 slaves on board (as noticed in the margin),* was eight days from Zanzibar bound to Muscat, with a crew of eleven and sixteen passengers, the latter being slave traders, and the owners of the slaves.

On the cutter capturing the dhow, a small portion of her slaves had already landed, with some Arabs. A few shots were fired by these Arabs, hidden behind the rocks, and who eventually escaped. All the slaves were recovered, and Lieutenant Jekyll showed in this instance (as he has already done on a previous case) care, energy, and proper prudence in their recovery.

I may here, however, observe that a dhow standing in for the Cape must find it next to impossible to escape, her course up along the coast is cut off by the presence of this

ship at anchor.

Should she attempt to bear up again, or stand out to sea, she would be immediately chased and overhauled by the "Star"; and her only course left is to land her slaves at once; but as the nature of the ground between where we were at anchor and the Cape is a deep ravine, with ridges of sharp rocks intervening, and the landing at the Cape must necessarily take time to scale a difficult precipitous cliff, the recovery of the slaves on landing is almost certain.

On clearing out the dhow shortly after her capture, she was found in an unseaworthy and very filthy state. The slaves on the other hand were healthy and in good condition,

and overjoyed at their release.

Those who had landed had been driven from the dhow at the point of the Arab dagger.

After all the available wood had been added to our fuel in the bunkers, the remains of

the dhow were scuttled.

The Arab prisoners I had placed on board the Arab dhow named in the margin† (which had anchored near us on the evening of the 27th ultimo) at their own request, and with the consent of her captain, whom I supplied with a sufficient quantity of provisions and water for their use.

On the 1st instant a case of small-pox breaking out amongst the slaves, I left Ras Hassoon (there being no provisions for the slaves on board for a voyage to Seychelles) arriving at Aden on the 9th.

I have, &c. (Signed) H. S. DE KANTZOW.

Inclosure in No. 72.

Commander De Kantzow to Commodore Sir L. Heath.

Sir, "Star," at Aden, June 9, 1869.

REFERRING to the subject of slave movements which have occurred under my notice during our present cruize for the suppression of the Slave Trade, I beg to submit—

1. During our cruize between the 1st April and 9th June, a period of sixty-nine days, 112 Arab dhows have been boarded without suspicion attached to their lawful calling.

2. A dhow boarded on the 7th May off Ras Hassoon had a crew of 36 persons, exclusive of 7 Africans having all the appearance and condition of slaves. As they did not claim protection, and the dhow was loaded with wood, no proof existing that she was engaged in the Slave Trade, I have registered her as a free trader.

3. On the 26th a dhow was boarded by the cutter, in sight of theship, and captured with 236 slaves on board, viz., 35 men, 46 women, and 155 children. She was nine days from Zanzibar bound to Muscat, and had stood in to the Cape to refit her sails and

steering-gear, under shelter, and complete her water at the village near here.

4. Regarding the route taken by the slave dhows moving north during this monsoon, I am of opinion that none of them can, or rather do, carry sufficient water for the whole voyage, and that the places of call for water are Ras Mabber, Ras Hassoon, and Gollonseen Bay for the dhows for the Persian Gulf; and Ras Mabber, Ras Hassoon, and Guardafui for those going to Maculla and the Gulf of Aden, &c. At those places we have visited during our cruize the information obtained is not reliable, the natives being in the Slave Trade interest, rather than our own to suppress it.

^{* 35} men, 46 women, 155 children.

5. Ras Mabber, I believe, from all the evidence gathered, to be the first place of call during fine weather, and when the voyage is necessarily prolonged. Ras Hassoon, when it

blows strong comes next, and the other places as circumstances demand.

6. In order to intercept a slave dhow I believe the best chance is for a cruizer to be kept exclusively under weigh in an east and west line off the north-east cape of Ras Hassoon with two boats down in shore of her, with a store of water and provisions for their use placed in one of the coves under the lee.

7. With reference to the legal traders running up, which being honest, as a general

rule, are not afraid, and give no trouble being stopped for boarding.

The information obtained from them was to the effect that this year the Northern Slave Trade was seriously crippled by the presence of an English man-of-war at anchor at Zanzibar, and the supposed Treaties or concessions made by His Highness the Sultan Said Majid to our Government; at any rate to his edict prohibiting under severe penalties the purchasing or smuggling off to Arabia of slaves from his ports.

Instances were mentioned to me of his sincerity to prevent the Traffic, for example,

the destruction at Lamoo, by his orders, of northern dhows found engaged in it.

8. Most of the trade running up was principally in grain and wood for Maculla and other Arab ports, which I was told paid well; but I was surprised to find some regular Badein dhows with a Loory crew, for the Persian Gulf, running up in ballast. They stated no slaves could be got from the Sultan's ports, and the trade in this season almost annihilated. These dhows, I feel reasonably certain, would have brought up slaves had it been possible to get them.

9. Speaking generally to the masters of Arab trading dhows, touching the subject of carrying domestic slaves (so called), they stated that they had no slaves working on board, nor did they carry any of any description be it ever so few, the reason given being that "the risk was too great; they would be sure to lose their dhow if discovered by one of the many English cruizers about, one of which was sure to overhaul them at some period of

their voyage."

The fact of our not having come across any in all these 112 dhows boarded, and the easy means they all have of obtaining free labour when proceeding out of the Sultan's territorial limits are defined by Treaty, has led me to conclude that no legal trader out of the Sultan's dominions looks upon this rule as a hardship; on the other hand few of them look upon the purchasing, selling, or carrying of slaves as a crime, and would certainly engage in it jointly with their legal cargo if no penalty was attached; were it otherwise I see no possible means of preventing any dhow evading the law, engaging in the Slave Trade, of its extending its present limits, and threatening by small importations and means to become universal.

10. On the subject of selling slaves of any description, no confidence whatever can be placed in the Arab, especially if his interests or pecuniary difficulties are before him; as an instance of the dread an African entertains of an Arab when hard up, I may mention that on this ship's capturing a slave dhow on the 26th May, besides a number of slaves which were found to have been stolen and kidnapped from Zanzibar, three free native Africans were discovered in the dhow. They claimed protection, and when brought before me refused to accompany the crew, stating, now that the Arabs had lost their slaves and dhow and almost bankrupt, they would be sure to sell them at Muscat, and they therefore wished either to join this ship or to be set down safe in an English colony.

11. On examining the slaves, their former history is only a repetition of the old tale, viz., native tribes fighting in the Nyanza district, Arab traders purchasing the prisoners, marching them down to Keelwa on the coast, transporting them to Zanzibar, and then selling them in the market for the northern Arabs. Numbers of the girls and women of

this dhow were found much burnt about the head and body.

They stated that when their native villages were set on fire, they got singed and burnt when running out, and were caught and sold almost immediately. They told me they were hurried on board the dhow after having been kept a long time waiting at Zanzibar, and after a previous attempt had been made to embark them, that an English man-of-war had prevented it, but that this ship had now left full of slaves, which had been taken from two dhows attempting to get off (one of them at night by her boats under fire, in which two men were wounded).

12. A great blow has undoubtedly been struck this year against the Northern Arab Slave Trade. If this tight rein is kept up, I believe these Northern Arabs will soon find it to their interests to give up this disgraceful Traffic, and take to some more honest pursuit

for their livelihood.

I have, &c. (Signed) H. S. DE KANTZOW.

No. 73.

Lieutenant-Colonel Pelly to the Secretary to Government, Bombay .- (Forwarded to the Secretary to Admiralty by Commodore Sir L. Heath, in Letter dated July 14, 1869.)

British Residency, Bushire, April 24, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to transmit a copy of a letter, with accompaniment, received from the First Assistant Resident, Bassadore, reporting the alleged destruction of a Persian craft near Mogoo by Her Majesty's steamer "Dryad."

2. Mogoo, the port whence the Persian Governor protests, is about twenty-five miles

distant from Lingah, and fifty miles from Bassadore.

3. The Persian Governor appears also to be protesting to his own Government, and, as providing for any reference which Her Majesty's Minister at Tehran may make, I am instructing the First Assistant Resident at Bassadore, and the British Agent at Lingah, to collect whatever evidence may be available.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

LEWIS PELLY.

Inclosure 1 in No. 73.

Captain Way to Lieutenant-Colonel Pelly.

Sir, Bassadore, March 29, 1869.

I HAVE this day telegraphed to you the following: "'Dryad,' when en route to Bushire, burnt a bugla belonging to Mogoo. Governor has protested."

I have now the honour to submit the Governor's letter to the British Agent at

Lingah.

The Agent reports that the Passport Agent has requested an explanation from him in

regard to the matter, and informed him that he will report to his Government.

In accordance with orders, no answer has, or will be, given either to the Governor of Mogoo or the Passport Agent.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

A. COTTON WAY.

Inclosure 2 in No. 73.

Sheikh Sultan, Governor of Mogoo, to the British Agent at Lingah.

PERHAPS you have heard, but I again write to inform you, that Suliman bin Sooltan took dates to Debay for sale. When he was returning with the price of the dates and the amount of some debts he had collected, he was met by a ship and was hailed by her. bugla was then seized, and the money taken out of her. The bugla was then burnt. The crew were landed at Henderabee. The ship then left. I don't know why this occurred. Please tell me what I am to do. I won't let this matter drop. Please answer me. Suliman was detained two days by contrary winds at Shenas, and when passing round the Island was met off the Fort (Khelat).

(True translate of purport.)

A. COTTON WAY, (Signed)

Her Britannic Majesty's First Assistant Political Resident, Persian Gulf.

Inclosure 3 in No. 73.

Ineutenant-Colonel Pelly to the Secretary to Government, Bombay.

Sir, British Residency, Bushire, April 24, 1869. IN continuation of my letter dated April 12, 1869, I have now the honour to inclose translated purport of an extract from a letter written by the Governor of Mogoo to the authorities at Bushire, complaining of the burning of the Mogoo craft, and removal of its cash and goods by Her Majesty's ship "Dryad."

2. The Governor threatens to call on the Arab tribes for aid and retaliation. I

inclose a copy of my reply to him.

3. From what I have seen of Captain Colomb, commanding "Dryad," I feel sure he would be the last man in the world to injure property irregularly and wilfully, and the evidence to be collected may still show that the craft was fair prize.

4. But at the same time experience on the African Coast assures me that the most careful officer may be mistaken in regard to slaves; and there are some points in the case

which it may be difficult to meet:—
1st. The Slave Treaty with Persia provides for the presence of a Persian Commissioner being on board any British vessel seizing slaves from a Persian craft at sea.

2nd. The craft now in question is alleged to be a Mogoo (Persian) vessel, which had run a cargo of dates to the Arab Coast, and was on her return voyage, with the proceeds

in cash, when chased by the "Dryad."

3rd. The craft is alleged to have been seized within gun-shot of the Persian shore, and therefore, constructively, within Persian territory. But the Treaty does not give us the right to seize slaves in Persian territory.

4th. The craft appears to have been burnt on the spot, without reference to any civil

authority, whether English or Persian.

5. In the absence of any report from the naval authorities, it is impossible to come to a definitive conclusion. But I think it would be well for me to be placed in a position either to meet the Persian complaint or to acknowledge our mistake, if it be one, and afford

6. I would suggest, also, that when one of Her Majesty's vessels may be ordered to cruize in the Gulf, for the peace of which I am responsible, it would be desirable that I should be informed of the fact, and of her sailing orders; and that any seizures of craft or collisions with the tribes should be reported to me, as arbitrator of the Maritime Truce, to which these tribes are subscribers.

7. The telegraph stations at Jask and Angaum lie on the course of a vessel entering the Gulf; and if a commander telegraphed to me thence, I could arrange for deputing a

Persian Slave Commissioner and an Assistant Resident to some specified point.

8. In the present instance the "Dryad" was in the Gulf, and the seizure made before I was aware of these facts. Nor was it until her arrival at Bushire that I had an opportunity of detaching my Assistant, Captain Smith, with her, to the Arab Coast.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

LEWIS PELLY.

Inclosure 4 in No. 73.

Sheikh Sultan, Governor of Mogoo, to Mirza Mahmood Khan, Slave Commissioner.

(Extract)

ON the 10th Zilhijja (24th March) a bugla belonging to one of my people was seized within 1,000 paces from the shore, and in four fathoms of water, by an English vessel. The money and other property in her taken, and then burnt. I was not pleased with this, and went with my people to the Passport Agent at Lingah and informed him. Doubtless he has written to you, but it was necessary for me to write also. I hope that you will recover the amount from the Resident at Bushire, and send it quickly, as I have been oppressed; and if not that, you will refer the matter to Tehran, that I may recover my I have not written to the Governor at Shiraz, but to you only. property quickly. Inshallah! you will quickly make arrangements for the recovery of my property, and send it by this vessel; and if not, tell me what I am to do. If not, I will solicit assistance from the Arab Chiefs and retaliate.

> (True translated purport.) A. COTTON WAY, Captain, First Assistant Political Resident, Persian Gulf.

Inclosure 5 in No. 73.

Lieutenant-Colonel Pelly to Sheikh, Governor of Mogoo.

9 Mohurrun, 1286 (April 22, 1869). (After the usual compliments.) THE Persian Slave Commissioner at Bushire has shown me your complaint regarding a bugla alleged to have been irregularly burnt near Mogoo.

I have requested the Lingah Agent and Captain Way to take evidence in the case,

and justice will be done.

But in respect to your threat of requesting the Arab tribes to put to sea for retaliation, I beg in a friendly but explicit manner to inform you that any such breach of the peace at sea will be prevented.

(Signed)

LEW S PELLY.

Inclosure 6 in No. 73.

Commander Colomb to Commodore Sir L. Heath.

Sir, "Dryad," Trincomalee, July 9, 1869.
IN reply to your Memorandum of the 2nd July, inclosing a copy of correspondence

on the subject of a dhow recently captured and burnt by me in the Persian Gulf, and directing me to furnish information connected therewith, I have the honour to make the following statement.

2. I am firmly of opinion that the vessel was not of Persian nationality at the time of capture; and I may here state the grounds on which I then formed that opinion, and now

adhere to it:-

(a.) The captain of the vessel produced neither papers, colours, passes for slaves, nor any other objects showing Persian nationality; and having been examined by the boarding officer, and by me, and having besides the fullest opportunities of communication with three Arab interpreters on board the "Dryad," he never claimed that his vessel belonged

to any Persian port, and certainly not, as is now alleged, to Mogoo.

(b.) The captain of the dhow, in the presence of the boarding officer, and afterwards in mine, distinctly asserted that the vessel belonged to Hassein, on the Arabian coast. When the capture was complete, I offered to land the captain and crew wherever they wished, and to the best of my recollection I especially mentioned Mogoo and Hussineh. The captain asked to be landed at the nearest town (Hussineh), and was so landed near it. It was to the last moment open to him to have claimed to be landed at Mogoo, which was in sight, or to have asked me to communicate with the Governor there before capturing him, but he never did so.

(c.) It is true that he at one time stated that he was bound to Mogoo, as well as other places; but he immediately denied it on being asked why he was standing away

from the place he was bound to.

(d.) The wind was fair for Mogoo from the place and at the time of capture, and had

been so for some days.

- 3. As respects the alleged distance from the shore at which the capture was made, in Colonel Pelly's letter No. 80 of 1869, "within gun-shot of the Persian shore," and in that of Sheikh Sultan, Governor of Mogoo, "within 1,000 paces of the shore, and in 4 fathoms water," the annexed affidavits show that the distance was over three miles; and it will also be seen that this is not an estimate formed after the event, as I especially took the opinion of two officers before the capture was made, in order that I might not commit a violation of Persian territory. The Persian Gulf pilot states (page 180) that a shoal, with less than 3 fathoms on it, exists a mile off-shore, near the place where the capture was made.
- 4. I am not in possession of a copy of the decree of condemnation of this dhow issued by the Vice-Admiralty Court at Aden; it was, however, in the usual form, and certified that the vessel was actually engaged in the Slave Trade, and was a lawful prize to Her Majesty's ship "Dryad," that one slave was landed at Aden from her, and that I was justified in destroying her.
- 5. Neither am I in possession of a copy of the sworn evidence offered before the Vice-Admiralty Court; but it was to the effect that the dhow or bugla drew suspicion on herself by her unaccountable alterations of course; that she had one slave for sale, but neither colours nor papers; that she claimed to belong to Hassein, and was seized more than three miles off shore. I submitted all the papers found in the vessel to the Court at Aden, and warned the Judge that I expected a claim of Persian nationality would probably be set up. The Judge made no special remarks on the case, except to admit the legality of my proceedings.

6. The annexed affidavits (four in number) sufficiently refute the allegations made by the Governor of Mogoo in respect to this transaction; but I wish to draw your attention to the singular fact of the Governor of Mogoo threatening to raise the Arab tribes to retaliate for damage to alleged Persian property, and suggesting, what I believe

the truth, that she was really, as represented to us at the time, an Arab, and not a Persian vessel.

7. I append a tracing from our chart showing the place of capture, and of landing the crew. You will observe that the Governor of Mogoo, for his own purposes, falsely declares the capture to have been made nearly thirty miles west of the true locality.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

P. H. COLOMB.

Inclosure 7 in No. 73.

Affidavit of Commander Colomb.

I, PHILIP HOWARD COLOMB, a Commander in Her Majesty's navy, do most solemnly and sincerely swear that, being in command of Her Majesty's ship "Dryad" on the 24th day of March, 1869, in or about latitude 26° 32′ north, and longitude 54° 22′ east, in the Persian Gulf, I captured and destroyed a dhow, or bugla, without colours or papers, but carrying one slave boy, who stated he was for sale, and claimed my protection.

And I further swear that the captain of the said dhow never in my presence, or to my knowledge, claimed Persian nationality for his vessel, or that he belonged to Mogoo;

that, on the contrary, he claimed to belong to Hassien on the Arabian coast.

And I further swear that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, the vessel was not in territorial waters at the time of capture, and that it is falsely alleged she was seized within 1,000 paces of the shore.

And I further swear that it is untrue that the said vessel was met off the fort (Khelat), or that the crew were landed at Hinderabee, for the vessel was met off Jibbel

Yarid, and the crew were landed at Hussineh.

And I further swear that the said dhow, being brought into the Vice-Admiralty Court at Aden, and all the circumstances of her capture being deposed to on oath, she was condemned as a lawful prize to Her Majesty's ship "Dryad," and it was decreed that I was justified in destroying her.

And I make this solemn affidavit, conscientiously believing the same to be true.

(Signed)

P. H. COLOMB.

Sworn to at Trincomalee, this 10th day of July, 1869.

Before me:

(Signed) A. B. MASON, J. P. for Trincomalee.

Inclosure 8 in No. 73.

Commodore Sir L. Heath to Sir S. Fitzgerald.

Sir, "Forte," at Trincomalee, July 13, 1869.

I HAVE the honour to forward, for your Excellency's information, and to be dealt with as your Excellency may think fit, an explanatory letter from the Commander of Her Majesty's ship "Dryad," accompanied by affidavits from himself and others on the subject of the dhow recently captured by him in the Persian Gulf, and referred to in the letter No. 1,719 of 1869 with its inclosures addressed to me by Mr. Secretary Gonne.

With respect to the second paragraph of Mr. Gonne's letter, I beg to point out that the presence of a Persian officer on board the capturing vessel is necessary only when the

vessel captured is of Persian nationality.

The two points raised in letter No. 80 of 1869 from Colonel Pelly, namely, first, whether the vessel was Persian; and second, whether, if not Persian, she was in Persian

waters when seized, are fully met by the inclosed affidavits.

The third point, namely, "the burning of the vessel without reference to any civil authority, whether English or Persian," appears to me beside the question. From Commander Colomb's point of view the vessel should, if possible, have been taken to the nearest English Vice-Admiralty Court, and as she was not seaworthy for such a voyage, he was quite justified in burning her after survey, and taking upon himself the responsibility of the damages which would be claimed should she not eventually be condemned.

With respect to the sixth paragraph of Colonel Pelly's letter, it will be in the recollection of your Excellency that the date of the "Dryad's" sailing, and the general nature of Commander Colomb's instructions, were settled in concert with your Excellency, and I am

CLASS B.

informed by Commander Colomb that the fact of the capture was made known to Colonel Pelly upon meeting him, and that if any official statement had been asked for on the subject it would have been freely given.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

L. G. HEATH.

No. 74.

Commodore Sir L. Heath to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

"Forte," at Sea, Lat. 5° 14' S., Long. 66° 32' E., July 31, 1869.

I INCLOSE you, for their Lordship's information, a copy of a letter from the Acting Political Agent at Zanzibar, complaining of the unfitness of the interpreters

attached to the squadron.

- 2. It is of the greatest consequence, for the credit of Her Majesty's Service, that everything should be done which can in any way help the officers commanding Her Majesty's ships employed in suppressing the Slave Trade in the difficult task of discriminating between legal and illegal traders; and since there is a general concurrence amongst the Indian Political Officers in the opinion expressed by Dr. Kirk, and since the Sultan of Zanzibar has recently made a similar complaint, I beg to suggest that the responsibility of selecting and examining interpreters for service in Her Majesty's ships, should be left in future with the Bombay Government, who have in the native seafaring population of Bombay a large field from which to select candidates, and who have Boards for examination in Oriental languages at their command. This plan would not only insure efficient interpreters, but it would relieve Her Majesty's officers from the disagreeable accusation now sometimes made against them of destroying innocent vessels on the sole evidence of illiterate interpreters chosen and selected by themselves.
- 4. I do not propose establishing an organized body of interpreters, but merely that men should be found, examined, and supplied as they may be wanted upon application to

the Secretary in the Marine Department of the Bombay Government.

5. Interpreters are now paid as able seamen; it would be advisable, in order to insure respectable and intelligent men, to raise the pay to that of a first-class petty officer, viz., 1s. 11d. per day, or perhaps to the rupee (2s.).

6. Should their Lordships think proper, I beg that the Secretary of State for India

may be moved to give the necessary instructions in this matter.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

L. G. HEATH.

Inclosure in No. 74.

Dr. Kirk to the Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay.

Zanzibar, May 16, 1869. WITH reference to the communications marginally noted,* I have the honour to report, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council, that

36 negroes have been delivered over to me by Abbas-bin-Abdulla, Master of His Highness' ship "Prince of Wales."

I have carefully examined these men individually in their own language, and find that they are all free and thankful to return to this country, where they can work as sailors and are among their friends.

His Highness Seyed Majid desires me to express his thanks to the Bombay Government for having sent back those who were not slaves, and whose position, if treated as such,

might be worse than it is here.

Such a mingling of slaves and free men as has taken place in this instance, which is certainly no exception, could only occur through inefficient or dishonest interpreting, and I regret to say that, as a class, those who embark in our cruizers as interpreters are an illiterate and worthless set.

At this moment I am engaged with the trial of dhows destroyed on suspicion by Her

Government Resolution, Political Department, No. 469, February 12; Government Resolution, No. 787, March 10; the Commissioner of Police to the Political Agent, Zanzibar, No. 591, March 24, 1869.

Majesty's ship "Nymphe," and I regret to say that the interpreter, on whose authority many of these dhows have been burned, is a man who cannot read Arabic or Suakeli, and who, therefore, cannot explain to the officers the nature of the papers under which the dhow is sailing.

The interpreter who was on board Her Majesty's ship "Star" when most of the

36 free men now sent back were taken, is a man equally incompetent.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

JOHN KIRK.

No. 75.

Commander Sulivan to Commodore Sir L. Heath.

Sir, "Daphne," Seychelles, June 16, 1869.

I BEG to report that, after leaving Aden on the 11th May, I returned off Maculla, and from there steering eastward, chased and boarded several dhows, but finding to the eastward of the longitude of Guardafui that the monsoon had evidently set in, I shaped a course for Seychelles capturing a dhow on the 16th May, with 52 slaves on board between Socotra and the mainland.

I landed the crew at their request on the east end of Socotra, and arrived here on the

6th instant, where we landed the slaves.

We experienced severe squally weather on the passage. We leave this to-day for Zanzibar.

I have, &c. (Signed) J. L. SULIVAN.

No. 76.

Commodore Sir L. Heath to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir,

I BEG you will inform their Lordships, in continuation of my report, that I sailed from the Seychelles on the 14th and arrived at Zanzibar on the 23rd August. I left that port on the 1st September, and after showing the flag at Brava, Magadoxa, and the intervening towns and villages, and after looking into Ras Mabber and Ali-Besh-Quail I anchored under Cape Guardafui, on the 10th instant, leaving on the 12th, and reaching Aden this day.

2. At Zanzibar I paid, with the officers of the "Forte," a state visit to the Sultan, and at a more private interview I discussed with His Highness the question of the Slave

Trade.

3. His Highness expressed as strongly as last year his wish to work with us, and appealed to the difficulties he had thrown in the way of the Arab dealers in the spring of this year, and to the information given by his officers, which has resulted in the capture of a dhow by the "Nymphe," as proof of his sincerity.

4. His Highness expressed his satisfaction at the establishment of a Vice-Admiralty

Court at Zanzibar, and his confidence in the justice of its decisions.

5. I was informed by Dr. Kirk, the Acting Political Agent and Consul, that correspondence found on board the dhow captured by the "Nymphe," implicated a great number of the grandees of Zanzibar as being concerned in the external Slave Trade, and although I believe the Sultan to be personally desirous of working with us in putting it down, yet the influences surrounding him are so strong, and his Government is so mild and weak, that I fear we must not hope for any real help from him unless very strong pressure is brought to bear by Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c. (Signed) L. G. HEATH.

No. 77.

Commodore Sir L. Heath to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir, "Forte," Aden, September 22, 1869.

WITH reference to the papers inclosed in your letter of the 16th June, 1869, on the subject of a misunderstanding between Commander Meara of Her Majesty's ship "Nymphe" and the Hova authorities at Mojanga, in Madagascar, I beg you will inform their Lordships that, upon receiving Mr. Pakenham's complaint, I immediately called upon Commander Meara for an explanation; and, in the meantime, I obtained at the Seychelles the sworn deposition of the slaves said to have been forcibly carried off from Mojanga.

2. I shall probably not receive Commander Meara's reply before Christmas, and I think it will be more convenient to their Lordships that I should await its receipt and thus be able to forward the whole case, than that I should now forward what is at present incomplete; I may state, however, that I am satisfied that a very considerable portion of

the complaint made is altogether unfounded.

3. Her Majesty's ship "Dryad" is en route to Tamatave, and I have inserted the following paragraph in the sailing orders of Commander Colomb, dated 16th July, 1869:—

"You are to proceed to Tamatave and place yourself in communication with Mr. Pakenham, Her Majesty's Consul for Madagascar. It appears from a communication from that gentleman that there has been some misunderstanding between Commander Meara of the "Nymphe" and the Commandant at Mojanga, I have applied to Commander Meara for a report, and you are, if the subject should spring up in any official conversation with the Hova Ministers, to assure them of my wish to carry out strictly the conditions of our Treaty, and not to exceed the powers granted to us under it, but you may mention at the same time that, from the number of dhows captured on the coast within the last year, it is clear that the Madagascar Slave Trade is carried on very largely, and I trust they are doing, and will continue to do all that in them lies to suppress it."

I have, &c. (Signed) L. G. HEATH.

No. 78.

Commodore Sir L. Heath to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

(Extract.)

"Forte," Aden, September 22, 1869.

IN reply to your letter of the 14th of July, with its inclosures, on the subject of the alleged unsatisfactory system at present pursued by Her Majesty's cruizers in dealing with

vessels suspected of being engaged in the Slave Trade, and directing me to furnish their Lordships with specific information and explanations on the points raised in the inclosures, informing me also of the intention of forming a Committee to report upon the whole subject, I have the honour to refer, in the first place, to my letters to their Lordships of 1868 and of 1869, and to request that copies of them and of their inclosures may be laid

before the Committee.

2. With respect to the specific cases referred to by Mr. Otway, viz., a capture by Her Majesty's ship "Peterel" and one by Her Majesty's ship "Nymphe," I have to state that the "Peterel," being on the Cape of Good Hope Station, I am not in communication with her Commander. With respect to the vessel captured and destroyed by the "Nymphe," and for which compensation has been decreed by the Vice-Admiralty Court at Zanzibar, I beg to point out that an appeal against the decision of the Court is as open to the captors as to the captured, and to state that I understand Commander Meara is about to appeal against Dr. Kirk's decision; and that although, doubtless, in this case the Government would pay the compensations if the judgment of the Vice-Admiralty Court should be maintained, yet the claim will not be against the Government, as stated by Mr. Otway, but against the captors.

3. On the 9th of April, 1868, in my letter, I reported to their Lordships the opinion given by the Advocate-General at Bombay, that the presence of domestic slaves on board a dhow was not evidence sufficient to convict her as a slaver, I gave reasons in that letter against this opinion and I pointed out that, if the Advocate-General was borne out by the Law Officers in England, it would be necessary to revive the instructions given to naval

officers. I would now again urge an immediate answer to that letter, for it is a hardship to the officers commanding on this station that notwithstanding the numerous precedents condemning dhows for having domestic slaves on board, and notwithstanding, the distinct instructions to them at page 22 of the book specially drawn up for them by their Lordships, viz., "You will be justified in concluding that a vessel is engaged in or equipped for the Slave Trade, first, if you find any slaves on board, &c.," they should yet be subject to adverse decisions on this very point.

4. Dr. Kirk states that the vessel having been taken in one of the Sultan's harbours south of Quiloa, could only be captured under the letter of Seyd Saed of the 6th of May, 1850, Dr. Kirk must have written this in ignorance of Lord Stanley's decision, in his reply of the 24th of December, 1866, to Dr. Seaward, in which his Lordship states England will not at present respect the Sultan's territorial waters in any part of his dominions.

Upon my recent visit to Zanzibar I bought this letter to Dr. Kirk's notice.

5. The Political Agent also states "it would be absurd to think that Zanzibar slaves would be sold at the coast." I do not think such a supposition is at all absurd. It might as well be said it was absurd to suppose that a London horse would be sold in Yorkshire. There are numerous cases proved by intercepted correspondence that, just as unsound horses are sent for sale to distant fairs, so domestic slaves of troublesome character are sent out of Zanzibar with instructions to sell them for what can be got. So long as a man is a slave so long is he a saleable article liable to be sold, and as such England must, if she continues her contest with the Slave Trade, forbid his being exported.

6. Dr. Kirk states also that the season for slave-trading with Madagascar was over,

it was in fact just about to begin.

7. The complaint made of the illiterate characters of the men generally engaged as interpreters in men-of-war, is, I think, fully justified. I have addressed their Lordships, proposing a remedy in my letter No. 199 of 1869.

These are the only points raised by Dr. Kirk upon which I can afford their Lordships

any information.

8. Referring now to Mr. Otway's letter to their Lordships of 21st July, 1869, calling attention by Lord Clarendon's desire, to the unsatisfactory system at present pursued by Her Majesty's cruizers in dealing with vessels suspected of being engaged in the Slave Trade, and suggesting that when there is not a full cargo of slaves on board, the vessels, with a part or the whole of their crew, should be sent to the port of adjudication, &c., I have to state that orders have already been given under instructions conveyed in your letter dated 12th March, 1869, to send into court the master and a portion of the crew of such vessel, but it is in most cases practically impossible to take the vessels themselves into port owing to the strength of wind and currents, and I may quote in illustration of this statement the case of the "Daphne" and "Star" in the autumn of last year, the one capturing 15 and the other 24 dhows near Brava, and it being as much as the men-of-war could do to reach port themselves, so nearly was their coal expended. To have towed even a single dhow would, in those cases, have been out of the question.

9. It is a mistake to suppose that suspected dhows are always destroyed, their Lordships will observe in many reports that officers have attempted to tow these vessels, and been obliged after a few days to destroy them from their weakness; but when vessels are near a port, as when the "Highflyer" made captures under Cape Guardafui in 1867, or the "Daphne" at Maculla in the spring of this year, the vessels were themselves taken in

for adjudication.

10. I have been informed by Dr. Kirk that the correspondence taken in a dhow captured at Zanzibar on a recent occasion, showed that a great many individuals, some of them of high standing in Zanzibar society, were interested in that cargo, and the habit of slave-dealing, either wholesale or retail is so universal amongst the Arabs, that I think the reports of some of the commanders under my orders to the effect that almost every large Zanzibar dhow, trading to the south, carries in the course of its rounds slaves to Madagascar, may to a considerable extent be true; and if so, it remains doubtful whether the transfer of dhows to the French flag is prompted, as Mr. Otway supposes, by the habit of landing the crews of captured vessels at the nearest convenient place, or by a wish to carry on Slave Trade without molestation from the English cruizers.

11. The printed Slave Trade instructions enjoin the bringing into Court of the master, crew, and passengers of captured dhows, the practice has, however, for many years been generally abandoned in deference to the wishes of those persons themselves. I am, however, of opinion that its revival under the orders given in their Lordships' letter of 12th March, 1869, will be beneficial as insuring a full representation of both parties in

suits before Vice-Admiralty Courts.

12. I believe that the last-mentioned order, the establishment of a Vice-Admiralty

Court at Zanzibar, and the improvement which will, I hope, be made in the supply of interpreters, together with the personal liability of the captors for damages in cases of illegal destruction of vessels, are sufficient elements of protection to honest traders, and that any further restriction on the proceedings of our cruizers will diminish their efficiency

as suppressors of the Slave Trade.

13. Their Lordships are aware of my opinion that we are even now doing but little good, and that to succeed we must put forth far more strength and energy; whilst the very least that should be done, is the forbidding of all further exports of slaves from Africa to Zanzibar or its dependencies, except in certain fixed and limited numbers and for a limited period under the personal responsibility of the Sultan. So long as the domestic trade is unlimited, so long will foreign trade flourish.

No. 79.

Commodore Sir L. Heath to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir, "Forte," Suez, October 18, 1869.
WITH reference to your letter of 24th September last, I forward an extract from my orders to Commander Colomb, dated Trincomalee, 16th July, 1869, showing that Lord Clarendon's wishes with respect to the crews of the dhows burnt at Mojanga in March last have been anticipated:—

"You are to proceed direct to Mojanga, on the North West Coast of Madagascar, and

give the accompanying letter to the Governor.

"You will receive on board such slaves as that officer may deliver over to you, but you are not to embark any Arabs or other free men (so far as I am at present informed, we have no jurisdiction over them), and you will then proceed to the Mauritius, and deliver the slaves over to the proper Government authorities."

I have, &c. (Signed) L. G. HEATH.

No. 80.

Admiralty, November 6, 1869.

Instructions for the Guidance of Naval Officers employed in the Suppression of the Slave Trade.

THE attention of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty having been called to serious irregularities and mistakes committed by officers commanding Her Majesty's ships, employed in the suppression of the Slave Trade on the East Coast of Africa, their

Lordships are pleased to issue the following order.

It is not intended by this order to alter the Slave Trade instructions, which are now furnished to Her Majesty's ships, but merely to point out and explain to officers, in the most marked manner, certain provisions of those instructions, which on some occasions have been misunderstood or neglected; and to bring to the notice of officers the provisions of the recent statute, 32 and 33 Vict. cap. 75.

1. As to what Vessels are liable to Capture.

Articles 50, 51, and 388.

The 50th Article of the General Instructions gives the general rule as follows:—

"If in the course of the search you are satisfied that the vessel is engaged in or equipped for the Slave Trade, and that she is subject to your authority, you will proceed to detain her."

The 51st Article gives ancillary rules:—"You will be justified in concluding that a vessel is engaged in or equipped for the Slave Trade:—

1. If you find any slaves on board.

2. If you find in her outfit any of the equipments hereinafter mentioned [then follows an enumeration of the equipments taken from the Statute 2 and 3 Vict. cap. 73, sec. 4].

In construing the words in this Article, "if you find any slaves on board," reference must be had to the general scope of the instructions, and particularly to the language

of the preceding Article, which speaks of the vessel being "engaged in or equipped for the

Slave Trade."

Slave Trade must, for this purpose, be carefully distinguished from slavery: with which, as existing in foreign States, or on board foreign ships, not being in British territorial waters, Her Majesty's Government does not claim either by Treaty or otherwise to interfere. As a fact, slavery as a legal institution exists in several States (amongst them, Zanzibar) with which Great Britain has Treaties for the suppression of Slave Trade. The mere finding therefore of slaves on board a vessel, will not justify an officer in detaining her, if there are other circumstances which show that these persons are slaves by the law of the country from which the ship has sailed, or to which she belongs, and that they are not being transported for the purpose of being sold as slaves. Thus, for instance, where the slaves found on board are very few in number, are unconfined, and appear to be on board for the purpose of loading or working the ship, or attending upon the master or the passengers, and there is no other evidence that the vessel is engaged in or equipped for the Slave Trade.

It is quite otherwise where the slaves are found crowded and chained together, and

are obviously being carried as cargo to be sold as slaves.

Between these two classes of cases there are intermediate cases, some of a doubtful character. It must rest with the officer to distinguish to what class any particular case belongs by a careful consideration of all the circumstances; bearing in mind always this, that it is his duty to detain the vessel, if he is reasonably satisfied that she is engaged in

or equipped for the Slave Trade, but not otherwise.

Officers must further observe that by the 388th Article of the Instructions, a right is reserved to the subjects of the Sultan of Zanzibar of transporting slaves within certain limits therein specified. That right, however, has, by a special order of the Sultan, dated 1863, been waived during the months of January, February, March, and April.

2. As to Documents found on board the Detained Ships.

Articles 58, 69, and 85.

These Articles, which prescribe measures for the preservation and final delivery to the Court of Adjudication of all papers and documents found on board the detained vessels, are to be carried out with perfect fidelity and scrupulous care.

The unexplained loss of any such document, and still more its destruction, on any

pretext whatsoever, will lay the officer open to very serious imputation.

3. As to the Destruction of Vessels.

Articles 60 and 61.

These Articles give authority to the officer to destroy a vessel which, on search, he considers to be engaged in or equipped for the Slave Trade, if after survey held, it appears that she is not in a sufficiently sea-worthy condition to be sent to a port of adjudication. My Lords cannot, however, too strongly insist that such destruction of a vessel is only to be resorted to as an extreme measure. Nothing will excuse the officer in not sending in the vessel to a port of adjudication, except facts showing satisfactorily that doing so would have involved serious danger to the lives of the prize crew.

In addition to this, the 390th Article is to be strictly observed as to Zanzibar

vessels:—

"If you have detained a Zanzibar vessel upon suspicion, and are unable to send her in to the proper port of adjudication, you will not destroy her without (if practicable) having first ascertained at the nearest Zanzibar port, by inquiries from Her Majesty's Consul and others, that she was engaged in or equipped for the Slave Trade."

You are also strictly to observe all similar Articles with respect to vessels of other

nationalities, to be found in the Special Instructions.

4. As to the Port of Adjudication.

Articles 63, 65, and 389.

The two first named of these Articles prescribe the general duty of forwarding the detained vessel with as little delay as possible to the port of adjudication, and direct the Officer to refer to the Special Instructions to ascertain the proper port.

The 389th Article, referring to Zanzibar vessels only, is as follows:—

"The proper port of adjudication for a Zanzibar vessel is the nearest or most accessible port at which a British Admiralty or Vice-Admiralty Court is established."

Since the issuing of these Instructions certain powers have been conferred on Her Majesty's Consul at Zanzibar, by Order in Council of the 9th August, 1866, and the Statute 32 and 33 Vict., cap. 75.

The 29th Section of the Order in Council is in these words:—

"And it is further ordered that Her Majesty's Consul within the dominion of the Sultan of Zanzibar shall, for and within the said dominions, and for vessels and persons coming within those dominions, and in regard to vessels captured on suspicion of being engaged in the Slave Trade within those dominions, have all such jurisdiction as for the time being ordinarily belongs to Courts of Vice-Admiralty in Her Majesty's possessions abroad."

The Act of Parliament extends the Consul's power; for the second section is in these terms:—

- "Her Majesty's Consul at Zanzibar for the time being shall have, and shall be deemed to have always since the commencement of the said Order in Council had, all such jurisdiction as ordinarily belongs to Vice-Admiralty Courts in Her Majesty's possessions abroad in regard to vessels captured on suspicion of being engaged in or equipped for the Slave Trade, in the following cases:—
- "1. Where a Zanzibar vessel shall have been captured in pursuance of any Treaty with the Sultan of Zanzibar, either within or beyond the dominions of Zanzibar.
- "2. Where the vessel captured shall not be entitled to claim the protection of the flag of any State or nation."

Officers will, therefore, observe that:—

- 1. All vessels captured in Zanzibar dominions are to be taken for adjudication to Zanzibar.
- 2. All Zanzibar vessels, wheresoever captured, and all vessels, wheresoever captured, which shall not be entitled to claim the protection of the flag of any State or nation, are to be sent for adjudication to Zanzibar, if that be the nearest or most accessible port at which a British Admiralty or Vice-Admiralty Court is established.

In cases where the vessel is run on shore and wrecked, or is destroyed as unseaworthy, the same port of adjudication is—excepting in very special circumstances—to be resorted to for procuring the decree of the Court, as that to which the vessel ought to have been sent if in a seaworthy condition when captured. More especially is this to be observed where persons are found on board the vessel.

5. As to Persons and Property found on board the Vessel.

Articles 66, 67, 77, and 78.

These Articles prescribe that wherever practicable all persons and things found on board shall be sent, with as little delay as possible, to the port of adjudication, and, if possible, in the vessel herself.

Nothing short of necessity will justify any officer in landing any such persons on the coast, at random, near the place of capture, or in taking them to any port other than the

port of adjudication.

Their Lordships regret to be obliged to remind naval officers of this simple duty, so clearly imposed upon them, and to have to state that the purpose of taking the captured vessel to the proper port of adjudication is not to procure, as a matter of form, a decree of condemnation, but to obtain a full and fair trial of the case; at which trial those concerned in the property may have all reasonable facilities to defend their interests.

6. As to reporting Captures.

Articles 48 and 49.

Officers commanding Her Majesty's ships are required by these Articles to furnish a detailed report of every capture, and especially of any circumstances which may have induced them to depart from the appointed course of conduct.

In conclusion, their Lordships are most anxious to assist and protect officers in the right performance of their duties in suppressing the Slave Trade, but they must warn all such officers that if they transgress the Instructions on this subject they will fall under

their Lordships' serious displeasure; and that they will also be liable to be called upon to pay heavy costs and damages.

By command of their Lordships, (Signed) V. LUSHINGTON.

No. 81.

Commodore Sir L. Heath to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

April 7, 1869.

ALTHOUGH, from the necessity of employing almost the whole of the East Indian squadron in duties connected with the Abyssinian Expedition, I have been unable to do much this season towards putting down the East African Slave Trade, I have yet devoted much time and attention to a personal study of the records on the subjects left with me by my predecessor, and it seems to me very clear that the views expressed by Colonels Playfair and Pelly, and others, that the Slave Trade should be attacked between Socotra and the main, and on the shores of Arabia, in preference to the neighbourhood of Zanzibar are undoubtedly correct.

2. As a mere question of strategy the course recommended by those officers is superior to that generally pursued, inasmuch as the slaving dhows would have no knowledge of the whereabouts of the cruizers, whilst, under the present system, the position of every vessel is known and communicated along the coast with great rapidity.

3. Again, the system of watching the exporting ports entails a vast amount of misery and death amongst the slaves themselves, who are marched about inland from port to port and creek to creek, suffering often from want of food in the endeavour of their owners to avoid our blockading cruizers.

4. Lastly, the present system involves the complete dispersion of the squadron, whereas, under the other, it would be kept more compactly together, and in a condition

more favourable to the maintenance of good order and discipline.

5. Looking to the results obtained for many years past, I am impressed very strongly with the idea that we have hitherto been frittering away our strength by endeavouring with limited means to check simultaneously the trade with Madagascar, as well as that with Arabia and the Persian Gulf, and that it would be far better to concentrate our forces upon one point.

6. The consequence of attacking the Slave Trade both northward and southward has been that our captures in either case have amounted to so small a per-centage of the total numbers run, that the risk of running has been practically none, and the Trade has been

in no way checked.

7. I would propose to their Lordships that advantage should be taken of the increase to the squadron caused by the Abyssinian war, to make a grand effort, in concert with the vessels belonging to the Bombay Government, to endeavour so to block the Straits of Socotra and the Coast of Arabia, so far as Ras el Hadd, as to insure the probable capture of a large proportion of the dhows which may attempt to run cargoes during the autumn season, viz., from September to October in 1868, and again in the months of March, April, and May 1869.

8. Their Lordships are aware that, owing to the monsoons, it is only in the five months named that slave dhows attempt the passage, and our vessels could refit or visit

other parts of the station during the other seven.

9. If success attended the experiment, the system might be continued until the Arab trade shall have been rooted out, and it will be for discussion what steps should in the meantime be adopted with regard to to the Madagascar Trade.

10. Under any circumstances, I would leave one vessel to support the Consul of

Zanzibar, and she might occasionally cruize off Cape St. Andrews.

11. Their Lordships will observe that I propose that the Bombay Government ships should join in this crusade, I do so because, in a blockade such as that proposed, numbers are essential, and heavy armaments are of no value.

No. 82.

Commodore Sir L. Heath to the Secretary to the Admiralty.

Sir, "Forte," Suez, November 1, 1869.

CAPTAIN SULIVAN having returned to England, I forward the accompanying correspondence between him and the Governor of Mozambique for their Lordships' consideration.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

L. G. HEATH.

Inclosure 1 in No. 82.

Commander Sulivan to Commodore Sir L. Heath.

Sir, "Daphne," Bombay, October 11, 1869.

I BEG to forward, herewith, a copy of the correspondence between the Governor of

the Island of Mozambique and myself, relative to some negroes who came on board this ship at that place, some expressing a wish to be taken from the place, others to escape

from a cruel slavery on the coast.

You will observe that he states that the order abolishing slavery was published only two days before our arrival, though the abolition was decreed by the Portuguese Government in February last, and you will also observe that, while the Governor in his letter calls them "free negroes," in which case they would be perfectly justified in coming on board, yet he adds, that some of them belonged to the inhabitants, and to some Baneans (who are, and who always claim the right to be considered, British subjects), and that these persons request that the negroes should be returned to them.

I preferred, however, instead of taking the ground I might have done, in answering that, if they were free they had a free right to come on board, to consider them, what I knew, if not all, most of them really to be, slaves belonging either to Arabs in the Arab towns on the mainland over which Portugal has no authority, and only retains her hold of the Island of Mozambique by its isolated position (being a mile from the mainland) and by the terror they keep the negroes in, on whom, whatever the Governor, who has only recently arrived there (the former one having died), may say, the most atrocious acts of

cruelty are practised by their masters and owners, with perhaps a few exceptions.

After remaining on board the ship two months (for we had been to no place where we could land them), some of the negroes who were tired of the confinement, or were afraid by our entering the port again, that they would be apprehended or sent on shore, left the ship of their own accord, going to the mainland, beyond reach, or to other ships in port; and others, who expressed a wish to go on shore I landed, at their own request, informing the Governor afterwards of the fact. Two only remain on board now to be landed at Seychelles or Aden. Some of these negroes were dreadfully marked in the back (by the lash as they informed us), and one of them had a large iron bar $18\frac{1}{2}$ inches long doubled round his leg, and pressing on the bone of the leg so close, that it was with difficulty the blacksmith cut it off; this, he said, his master had hammered on to his leg for punishment.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

G. L. SULIVAN.

Inclosure 2 in No. 82.

The Governor of Mozambique to Commander Sulivan.

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M. le Commandant, Mozambique, le 30 Aoû, 1869.

JE vous remercie votre obligeance de vous prêter à conduire ici la malle venue du

Portugal, ce qui a été un bon service que vous avez fait à cette colonie.

Je profite l'occasion de votre arrivée à ce port pour vous dire que quelques moments avant votre sortie, précipitée le 17 Juillet dernier, j'ai eu un grand regret pour savoir que vous avez accepté à bord de votre navire, pour les emmener, quelques nègres libérés, qui en ont été séduits je ne sais pas par qui, et qui appartenaient à quelques négociants respectables de cette ville, et à quelques "Bomanes" (sic), lesquels m'ont adressé une requête pour que ces nègres leur fussent rendus.

C'était de mon rigoureux devoir d'envoyer à bord immédiatement le Chef de la Police du port pour vérifier le fait, et s'il était véritable pour vous prier de faire débarquer les Vous avez répondu au Chef de la Police que les nègres étaient libres, et qu'il s'étaient embarqués librement; et comme le Chef de la Police vous a encore dit que malgré leur état de libres, il ne pouvaient pas sortir du pays sans ses passeports, parcequ'il était possible que quelqu'un d'entre eux fut criminel, et qu'un navire de guerre d'une nation amie ne devait pas aider à contrevenir les lois du pays où il se trouvait, vous lui avez répondu que les nègres étaient allés vous demander protection, en disant qu'ils étaient des esclaves, et que s'ils retournaient à terre ils seraient châtiés par ses maîtres. Le Chef de la Police du port vous à observé qu'il n'y avait plus d'esclaves dans les colonies Portugaises, et qu'alors vous deviez faire débarquer les nègres, et vous, au lieu de faire cela, vous vous en êtes allé en les emportant.

J'avais l'intention de me diriger directement à vous après que le Chef de la Police m'a

fait son rapport, mais votre sortie précipitée ne m'a pas laissé le temps.

Je profite alors de cette occasion pour vous demander où vous avez conduit ces nègres, et j'espère que vous me donnerez toutes les explications nécessaires pour éclaircir ce fait; et même que vous ne continuerez jamais à proceder de cette manière.

Agréez, &c. Le Gouverneur-Général, FERNANDO DALUTALEAD. (Signé)

Inclosure 3 in No. 82.

Commander Sulivan to the Governor of Mozambique.

"Daphne," Mozambique, August 31, 1869. Your Excellency, IN reply to your courteous letter I beg to inform you that you appear to be labouring

under a mistake as to what took place between a person who came on board when we were on the point of leaving the port in July last, and myself. He stated to me that, in a newspaper which he produced, it was stated that some free negroes were on board the "Daphne" trying to leave the island, and that he requested to know if it was true. I told him there were none, when he added that even if they were free or not they would require a passport.

I do not know if the person who thus, at the last moment, produced a newspaper as

his official document was an official or not, as he was by himself in plain clothes.

The real facts of the circumstances are as follows:-

On arrival here we heard that a panic existed among the slaves on shore, of which Mozambique is full, a slave having been flogged to death in Mozambique town, and that the most frightful tortures were being practised on them, and on inquiring on shore it appeared true, and the accounts not at all exaggerated.

Some negroes came on board this ship, the bodies of whom proved evidently the Their statement went to show that they were treatment they had been subjected to. slaves stolen from the interior of the country, bought and sold; and their condition, that of nudity and stripes, confirmed their statement, which led me to conclude that some of them might have escaped from the various Arab towns on the mainland.

I beg to assure your Excellency that I have no intention of aiding criminals or

committing any breach of the laws of Portugal in this colony.

I have the honour to inform you that I leave the port this day, and expect to be at Zanzibar on the 20th September, and at Bombay in October, and shall be happy to convey your mails, or anything you may wish to send, to either of those places.

I have, &c. G. L. SULIVAN. (Signed)

Inclosure 4 in No. 82.

The Governor of Mozambique to Commander Sulivan.

Mozambique, le 31 Août, 1869. M. le Commandant, J'AI l'honneur d'accuser votre obligeante lettre datée d'aujourd'hui, en réponse à la mienne d'hier, et en appréciant dûment votre réponse c'est de mon devoir de vous dire que les faits que vous relatez concernant les atroces châtiments que quelques nègres ont souffert dans cette ville de la part de ses maîtres, je ne prétends pas les affirmer ni les

contrarier; mais quand même les faits ci-dessus mentionées eussent été vrais (ce que non obstant je me permets de douter, parce que le seul châtiment qu'on inflige à présent c'est la ferule, et aussi parcequ'il n'y a plus d'esclaves dans nos colonies, comme il a été décrété par le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Très Fidele dans le Décret du 25 Février dernier et publié dans le Bulletin Officiel de la colonie du 14 Juillet, c'est-à-dire, en avant de votre arrivée), et qu'une plainte vous eusse été adressée, vous devez savoir très bien que ce n'était pas à vous à prendre une délibération quelconque, et encore moins à emporter dans votre navire ces nègres; mais vous devriez les faire envoyer à moi pour que je prise connaissance du fait, et pour adopter les mesures nécessaires selon la loi et l'humanité.

Je vous remercie beaucoup votre offre obligeante de prendre la malle pour l'Europe, mais je ne peux pas me profiter à cause de votre rapide départ. De toute cette affaire je ferais mon rapport, comme je le dois, à son Excellence le Ministre de la Marine et des

Colonies du Portugal.

Agréez, &c.
Le Gouverneur-Général,
(Signé) FERNANDO DALUTALEAD.

Inclosure 5 in No. 82.

Commander Sulivan to the Governor of Mozambique.

Your Excellency, "Daphne," Mozambique, August 31, 1869.

I AM in receipt of your reply to my former letter of this day's date, and am glad to hear from you that it was not with your knowledge or acquiescence that such cruelties

have been perpetrated on the negroes in Mozambique.

I beg to remind you that along this Coast of Africa even in the very vicinity of the forts under the Portuguese flag, the English boats, while engaged in the suppression of the Slave Trade, have often been fired on by the Arabs. I allude more particularly to Angoxa River and the neighbourhood where the Portuguese flag flies, and where a Lieutenant and boat's crew were a few years ago taken prisoners and murdered, and subsequently not far from the same place, a Lieutenant and some men of Her Majesty's ship "Lyra" were taken prisoners and only released by the assistance of a native chief in the interior.

This conduct of the Arabs, however, the Portuguese I have no doubt have been unable to prevent it or redress it, and your Excellency must, therefore, be aware how difficult it is to discover if a slave has escaped from an Arab town, many of which are in the

Province of Mozambique, or from the Island of Mozambique.

I, however, have issued orders that in Mozambique Bay and harbour no negroes are to be allowed to come on board in that way, and since our second arrival those orders have been carried out.

I shall, however, forward the correspondence on this subject to the Commander-inchief for the information of the English Government. I have also to add that as we are about to leave too soon for your mail, Her Majesty's ship "Star," which also proceeds to Zanzibar and Bombay, will be leaving a day or two later.

I have, &c. (Signed) G. L. SULIVAN.

Inclosure 6 in No. 82.

Commander Sulivan to the Governor of Mozambique.

Your Excellency, Mozambique, September 12, 1869.
IN further reference to the subject of the slaves coming off to the ship on the 17th July last, I have to inform you that there are some on board now who desire to go on

shore again, and as I have no object in retaining them I shall allow them to go.

Some have already left the ship, and probably landed on the mainland, imagining, I believe, that we had returned here for the purpose of giving them up to the authorities.

I have, &c. (Signed) G. L. SULIVAN.

Inclosure 7 in No. 82.

The Governor of Mozambique to Commander Sulivan.

M. le Commandant,

J'AI reçu votre lettre officielle d'aujourd'hui dans laquelle vous me disez que les noirs que vous avez reçu à votre bord le 17 Juillet dernier, une part avait déjà débarqué et était allé pour le continent, et qu'une autre part désirait aussi venir à terre, et que vous n'aviez aucune objection à faire à son débarquement.

Par conséquent j'ai envoyé à bord de votre navire un de mes aides-de-camp pour

recevoir ces noirs, et vous lui avez répondu qu'ils étaient déjà à terre.

Je suis bien aise de savoir que cette affaire ait fini d'une manière si convenable pour vous, et je préviendrais le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté Très Fidèle de cette bonne solution.

Je vous souhait une bonne voyage dans le retour à votre patrie.

Agréez, &c. Le Gouverneur-Général, (Signed) FERNANDO DALUTALEAD.

No. 83.

Commodore Sir L. Heath to the Secretary to the Admiralty,

WITH reference to your letters of the 23rd June and 8th July last, and their respective inclosures on the subject of damages claimed by Messrs. Rabaud of Marseilles, for losses said to have been sustained by them through the destruction of a dhow under Hova colours on 21st February last, eighteen miles from Nossi Beh, by a vessel supposed to have been Her Majesty's ship "Dryad," I have the honour to state that the capturing vessel was the "Nymphe," and not the "Dryad," and I inclose Commander Meara's explanation.

2. I observe that there is no allegation throughout the correspondence that the dhow in question was not a slaver, and was not lawfully condemned; and I can only suggest that M. Rabaud may be ignorant of the fact that the condemnation of a Hova vessel for slave-trading involves, under our Treaty with Madagascar, the condemnation of its cargo.

3. With reference to that portion of the French Ambassador's letter to Lord Clarendon which alludes to "les plaintes adressées d'une manière générale, depuis quelque temps, au Ministre de la Marine, par les négociants Français sur les côtes de l'Afrique Orientale contre les procédés arbitraires des bâtiments Anglais employés à la répression de la Traite," I beg to say that no complaint has reached me during the period of my command of the nature referred to, except that reported to their Lordships in my letters of August, 1868.

I have, &c. (Signed) L. G. HEATH.

Inclosure in No. 83.

Commander Meara to Commodore Sir L. Heath.

Sir, "Nymphe," Bombay, October 50, 1869.

WITH reference to your Memorandum of the 23rd of last month, relative to the capture and destruction of a dhow on the 21st February last, I beg to inform you that this dhow was captured in Dalrymple Bay by Mr. Hodgson, Sub-Lieutenant, in the second cutter, and brought to Her Majesty's ship under my command at anchor off the Bararata

Islands.

I personally examined the dhow, and found her fully equipped for the Slave Trade
The cargo, consisting of ebony, was stowed under the slave-deck. She was under
Madagascar colours, with no papers whatever.

I examined the captain and crew; the latter stated they had just landed a cargo of slaves, and were going to take another cargo the first opportunity. She had more water on board than was actually necessary for her to proceed to Nos Beh. This dhow

was condemned at Zanzibar on the 12th April last.

No evidence whatever was given before the Vice-Admiralty Court adverse to the condemnation of the said slave-dhow.

When I asked the captain of the dhow what her name was, he stated no name. He was recognized by the ship's company as being the captain of a former slave-dhow captured

by this ship, then in command of Captain Barnardiston.

I also have to represent to you that M. Rabaud was at Zanzibar at the time this dhow was condemned, and made no mention of it whatever; and I also gave him a passage to Port Victoria, Seychelles Islands, and entertained him at my table at no cost, and he never mentioned one word to me relative to the dhow or cargo during the passage.

Hoping this Report will prove satisfactory, I have, &c.

(Signed)

EDWARD S. MEARA.

No. 84.

The Secretary to the Admiralty to Mr. Hammond.—(Received December 16.)

Sir,

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to acquaint you, for the information of the Earl of Clarendon, that Commodore Sir L. Heath reports in a letter, dated 2nd instant, that the "Daphne" and "Nymphe" had been dispatched to the

Persian Gulf, and that Commander Douglas had informed him that the Muscat quarrel was settled without resort to force, and that on the 10th November "all was going on well."

2. His Excellency the Viceroy having requested that three or four small vessels might be placed under the orders of Colonel Pelly, the Resident in the Persian Gulf, Sir Leopold Heath directed the "Star" to be held in readiness at Bombay to join the "Nymphe" and the "Daphne," but although the Commodore had given directions to the ships to act in concert with Colonel Pelly, he had declined to place them under his orders.

Sir L. Heath did not anticipate the services of the "Star" would be required.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

VERNON LUSHINGTON.

ST. HELENA.

No. 85.

RETURN of Vessels Captured on suspicion of being engaged in the Slave Trade, and adjudicated in the Vice-Admiralty Court of St. Helena, from July 1 to December 31, 1868, inclusive.

S	Т.	HELEN	A.	
		Remarks.	Vessel destroyed by cap. Vessel was on shore and on fire when boarded by captor: Dimensions. Feet. Length	Total 349.34
	Whether the Property condemned has been sold	or convected, and whether any part remains unsold, and in whose hands the proceeds remain.	Vessei destroyed by cap- tor. No proceeds	
		was passed, or Prosecution instituted.	2 & S Vict., cap. 73	
	Decretal	part of Sentence, Whether Forfeiture or Restitution.	Forfeiture	
Tonnage.	ηu	Ием messureme	· ·	
Ton	Sı	Foreign according to Papers:	:	
Slaves		Emancipated.	:	
Number of Slaves	1	Died before adjadication.	ī	_
NA NA	.	Captured.	:	
		Date of Sentence.	1868 July 6	
		Settor,	Commander P. Jones Parry, July 6 Her Majesty's steam gun- vessel "Speedwell"	
		Property Seized.	stores stores	
		Where Captured.	Bone . Unknown . Dec. 10 On shore, on the Vergrande, on the West Coast of Africa	
		Date of Seizure.	1867 Dec. 10	
	:	Name of Master.	Unknown	
		Flag.	. None .	
		Class.	Brigg	
	, com No	Vessel.	Unknown Brig	

(Signed) FREDK. R. JANISCH, Acting Registrar.