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CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

SIR BARTLE FRERE'S MISSION

TO THE

EAST COAST OF AFRICA.

1872-73.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
1873.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.

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MAP of COASTS visited by the Mission.

Correspondence respecting Sir Bartle Frere's Mission to the East
Coast of Africa.

No. 1.

Earl Granville to Dr. Kirk.

Sir, *Foreign Office, October 31, 1872.*

YOU are aware that the most serious attention of Her Majesty's Government has of late been given to the question of the suppression of Slave Trade, which is carried on on the East Coast of Africa, and especially in the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar, and I have now to inform you that a Special Mission has been appointed which will very shortly leave this country for Zanzibar.

This Mission has for its object the negotiation of fresh and more stringent Treaties with the Rulers of Zanzibar and Muscat for the suppression of the Slave Trade, and its conduct has been intrusted to Sir Bartle Frere, formerly Governor of Bombay, and Member of the Council of India, whose great experience and distinguished services in the East pre-eminently qualify him for such a service.

Sir Bartle Frere and his suite will be conveyed to Zanzibar on one of Her Majesty's vessels of war, and I have to request that you will give your cordial co-operation in carrying out any measures which, in consultation with yourself, Sir Bartle Frere may deem it advisable to take in furtherance of the objects of the Mission with which he is charged.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 2.

*Earl Granville to the Sultan of Zanzibar.**

Sire, *Foreign Office, November 9, 1872.*

THIS letter will be delivered to your Highness by Sir Henry Bartle Edward Frere, Knight Commander of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, and Knight Grand Commander of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, and a member of the Council for India, who has been deputed by Her Majesty the Queen to proceed on a Special Mission to your Highness, to make known to you the views of Her Majesty and of Her Government on the question of the East African Slave Trade, and to invite your Highness to join with them in framing measures which shall have for their object the complete suppression of this cruel and destructive traffic.

Your Highness cannot but be aware of the deep interest taken by the Queen and people of this country in the suppression of the Slave Trade, nor of the sacrifices which have been made, both of valuable life and of treasure to attain this desired end.

Not more than twenty years ago the traffic in slaves was carried on by powerful nations from the West Coast of Africa to a far greater extent than it now obtains on the East Coast, when as many as from 60,000 to 70,000 slaves were exported to countries on the other side of the Atlantic in a single year.

Her Majesty's Government and people of this country were determined that this traffic should cease.

They therefore maintained a powerful squadron on the coast engaged entirely in

* A similar letter was addressed to the Sultan of Muscat.

the suppression of the Traffic, and by remonstrating with the Governments of those countries whose subjects were engaged in the Traffic, and by making Treaties with the Governments in question binding them to use their best exertions to put a stop to the Slave Trade, and to punish severely their subjects who might engage in it, the end which Her Majesty's Government had in view was attained, and they can now point to the West Coast of Africa and say that where a few years since slaves were carried away in tens of thousands, now not a single slave is exported, and in the place of this inhuman traffic which was carried on only by means of wars undertaken in the interior with the sole object of procuring slaves, a flourishing legal trade has everywhere arisen which the native chiefs and all who were formerly engaged in shipping slaves now acknowledge is far more profitable than man-stealing and man-selling.

What Her Majesty's Government under most adverse circumstances have succeeded in accomplishing on the West Coast of Africa, it is equally their object to effect on the East Coast, and on the part of Her Majesty's Government I have therefore to invite your Highness frankly and cordially to join them in framing measures which shall effectually put a stop to the illegal export of slaves from any part of your dominions.

Should your Highness, as Her Majesty's Government confidently trust you will, join with them frankly and cordially in carrying out efficient measures for putting an end to the export of slaves from your dominions in Africa, your Highness may reckon on the friendship and support of this country and of the Government of India; but should on the other hand your Highness decline the terms which will be submitted to you by Her Majesty's Envoy, your Highness may be assured that, however much Her Majesty's Government may regret your decision, the objects which they have in view will none the less be pursued.

I have, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 3.

Earl Granville to Sir Bartle Frere.

Sir,

Foreign Office, November 9, 1872.

THE experience of the last few years having conclusively proved that the existing Treaty engagements between Her Majesty and the Sultan of Zanzibar for the suppression of the export trade in slaves from His Highness' Dominions on the east coast of Africa, do not suffice for the attainment of the object for which those engagements were framed, and Her Majesty's Government having determined to spare no effort to put a stop to this traffic, I have to acquaint you that Her Majesty the Queen, having entire confidence in your zeal and ability, has determined to avail herself of your great experience in Eastern affairs, and to accredit you as her Special Envoy to the Sultans of Zanzibar and Muscat, and to confer upon you full powers under the Great Seal as herewith inclosed to enter into negotiations, and to conclude Treaties with those Chiefs and with any others with whom it may be desirable to contract engagements for the suppression of the East African Slave Trade.

I have accordingly to request that you will hold yourself in readiness to proceed to Zanzibar and Muscat in a vessel of the Royal Navy, which, at the instance of the Lords of the Admiralty will be directed to convey you and your suite to the places which, in pursuance of the objects of your Mission, it may be necessary that you should visit.

On your arrival at Zanzibar and Muscat, having obtained an interview with the Rulers of those States, you will deliver the letters from Her Majesty accrediting you, which I inclose.

In the case of the Sultan of Zanzibar you will impress upon His Highness the extreme disappointment of Her Majesty's Government at the want of efficient execution of the provisions of his existing Treaty engagements. You will explain to His Highness that this evasion of his Treaty obligations can no longer be tolerated by Her Majesty's Government, and they call upon him to co-operate with them in framing arrangements which shall effectually put a stop to the exportation of slaves from his Dominions on the East Coast of Africa.

As regards the Sultan of Muscat you will explain to His Highness that he is bound by the Treaty engagements contracted by his predecessors to prevent the importation of slaves from the African Coast into his territories; and you will give His Highness distinctly to understand in firm, but conciliatory language, that Her Majesty's Government have determined to suppress the East African traffic in slaves, and that they must hold him responsible for a punctual fulfilment of his Treaty obligations.

Should you find the Ruler of either State willing to promise co-operation in this work of suppression, you are empowered to obtain such modification of existing Treaties and engagements as you may, after careful deliberation and consultation with the British Agents on the spot, find necessary.

Your object should be to enable our Consular and Naval officers to give full effect to the instructions of Her Majesty's Government for the ultimate effectual suppression of the Slave Trade along the whole of the East African, Arabian, and Persian coasts, and of the public sale of imported slaves within the Dominions of Zanzibar and Muscat.

In the event of your finding that it will facilitate your negotiations with the Sultan of Zanzibar to relieve His Highness from the obligation to pay to Muscat the subsidy of 40,000 crowns, under the Award approved by Lord Canning in April 1861, you are authorized to give to the Sultan such assurances as may satisfy him that the payment of the subsidy will not be enforced against him, provided he consents to enter into the engagements which you will propose to him for the more effectual suppression of the East African Slave Traffic; and, so long as he faithfully and, to the best of his power, performs all his Treaty obligations and other engagements with Her Majesty's Government, it being emphatically impressed upon the Sultan that, in the event of the slightest infraction of any of the engagements or stipulations into which he may enter with the British Government, all obligations on our part to continue the payment of the amount will absolutely cease, and the conditions which were enjoined by the Award of 1861 will be reverted to and strictly enforced.

On the other hand, you are empowered, on similar conditions, to give similar assurances to the Ruler of Muscat that the amount to which he may be entitled under the aforesaid Award will be regularly paid to him from Her Majesty's Treasury, Bombay.

Having carried out these instructions, and fully informed the Government of Bombay, and Government of India of all that you have done, you will at once return to England and report to Her Majesty's Government the performance of your Mission.

You will be at liberty to select an efficient staff to accompany you and to give you such assistance as you may require.

The Government of India will also be requested to place at your disposal any officer of Her Majesty's Indian Service whom you may find likely to be useful as an interpreter, or in any other capacity in which his Excellency the Viceroy may consider that he would be serviceable.

All your expenses in the performance of this duty will be paid by Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 4.

Earl Granville to Sir Burtle Frere.

Sir, *Foreign Office, November 9, 1872.*

WITH reference to my despatch of this day's date, containing instructions for your guidance on your contemplated Mission to the Sultans of Zanzibar and Muscat, I now inclose the draft of a Treaty which you will propose to the two Sultans, having for its object the more effectual suppression of the traffic in slaves on the East Coast of Africa.

I also inclose letters which I have addressed to the Sultans, and which you will deliver to their Highnesses, together with a correct translation in Arabic, accompanied by suitable expressions on the part of Her Majesty's Government.

As regards the Treaty, I have had it prepared, not with the view of binding you to the exact terms contained in the draft, but as giving you an idea of the objects which it is proposed should be obtained, and of the points in regard to which the Sultans should be invited to contract engagements.

It is obvious that, in addition to the Treaty engagements to be submitted to the Rulers of Zanzibar and Muscat, there are other subsidiary measures which will occupy your attention, and which doubtless would assist materially in the suppression of the East African Slave Traffic.

We already have Treaty engagements with nearly every Arab Chief of importance in the Persian Gulf and on the coasts of Arabia, binding them to use their best endeavours to prevent the traffic in slaves by the people owning their sway; but it is to be feared that these Treaties have been allowed to become dead letters, and that in some instances

at least they are ignored by the Chiefs and their people. I cannot doubt that, if all these Chiefs were specially reminded of their Treaty engagements, and warned that, for the future, they with their people would be held responsible and severely punished for infractions of these engagements, such a warning would be attended with satisfactory results. At any rate, they would not be enabled to allege ignorance in extenuation of their conduct, should they be in future found violating their engagements.

Printed notices in Arabic, warning the people of the consequences they will bring upon themselves by engaging in Slave Traffic, might also with advantage be distributed amongst the Chiefs and people on the coasts of Arabia and the Persian Gulf; and it is probable that means might also be found of making the purport of similar notices known in the interior of Africa, on the routes by which slaves are usually brought to the coast, which might have the effect of deterring the slave-dealers from bringing the slaves to the coast, when they know that the markets are closed against them.

One of the points to which I would wish to draw your special attention is the question as to the custody and ultimate disposal of captured slaves, and the probable expense of any arrangements that may be necessary for this purpose. I should be glad to receive a Report from you on this subject.

Another very important matter is the question as to the strength of the naval force and the arrangements that may be necessary for giving effect to the stipulations of the Treaties which you may be enabled to conclude with the Rulers of Zanzibar and Muscat.

The question of the employment of Consular Agents on the African Coast, and whether they should be Europeans or natives, is one which you will doubtless also consider and report upon.

I will only, in conclusion, add that, knowing the great interest you take in the suppression of the East African Slave Trade, Her Majesty's Government have entire confidence that you will carry out your present mission with the same zeal and ability which have so eminently characterized your long and distinguished services in India, and Her Majesty's Government on their part will be prepared to receive with the consideration they deserve, recommendations and suggestions which you may feel it your duty to make to them.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Inclosure in No. 4.

Draft of Treaty.

HER Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Highness Syed Bargash ben Said, Sultan of Zanzibar, being desirous to give more complete effect to the engagements entered into by the Sultan and his predecessors for the perpetual abolition of the Slave Trade, they have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries for this purpose, that is to say:—

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Sir Henry Bartle Edward Frere, Knight Commander of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, and Knight Grand Commander of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, a Member of the Council for India;

And His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar,

Who after having communicated to each other their respective full Powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon and concluded the following Articles:—

ARTICLE I.

The Provisions of the existing Treaties and engagements having proved ineffectual for preventing the export of slaves from the Territories of the Sultan of Zanzibar in Africa, Her Majesty the Queen and His Highness, agree that from and after a date to be hereafter fixed, the export of slaves from the coast of the mainland of Africa, whether destined for transport from one part of the Sultan's dominions to another, or for conveyance to foreign parts, shall entirely cease, and any vessel engaged in the transport or conveyance of slaves after such date, shall be liable to seizure and condemnation by such persons and in such manner as the Sultan within his jurisdiction may authorize for the purpose, and also by all such Naval and other officers or agents, and such Courts as may be authorized for the same purpose on the part of Her Britannic Majesty.

ARTICLE II.

The Sultan engages that all public markets in his dominions for imported slaves shall be entirely closed.

ARTICLE III.

The Sultan engages to protect, to the utmost of his power, all liberated slaves, and to punish severely any attempt to molest them, or reduce them again to slavery.

ARTICLE IV.

Her Britannic Majesty engages that natives of Indian States under British protection shall, from and after a date to be hereafter fixed, be prohibited from possessing slaves, and in the meanwhile from acquiring any fresh slaves.

ARTICLE V.

The present Treaty shall be ratified, and the ratification shall be exchanged at Zanzibar as soon as possible, but in any case within the space of _____ months from the date hereof.

In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto their respective seals.

Done at Zanzibar this _____ day of _____ in the Year of Christ 187 , corresponding with the _____ of the month _____ of the Hegira 128

No. 5.

Earl Granville to Sir B. Frere.

Foreign Office, November 9, 1872.

Sir,
ON the occasion of your approaching visit to Zanzibar an opportunity will be afforded you of ascertaining by inquiry how far the complaints of Dr. Livingstone are well founded in regard to the class of porters employed by Dr. Kirk to carry to Dr. Livingstone the stores intended for his relief.

I should be glad if you would direct your attention to this matter and favour me with your opinion as to whether Dr. Livingstone's complaints are well founded, and whether Dr Kirk is in any way to blame for the delays that took place in expediting the stores to Dr. Livingstone or for their plunder and failure to reach him.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 6.

Earl Granville to Sir Bartle Frere.

Foreign Office, November 11, 1872.

Sir,
IT is desirable, for the furtherance of the objects of the Mission to the East Coasts of Africa and Arabia with which you have been charged, that you should proceed to Paris and Rome, and confer on the subject with Her Majesty's Representatives at those capitals, to whom instructions have been sent to afford you all the assistance in their power. I have accordingly to request that you will take the route via Rome and Paris to Brindisi, where Her Majesty's ship "Enchantress," which is the vessel chosen by the Lords of the Admiralty to convey you and your suite on your Mission, has been ordered to await your arrival.

The "Enchantress" will leave Portsmouth on the 12th instant, and may be expected at Brindisi on or about the 30th.

I have to request that you will report to me the dates of your departure from England and of your embarkation on board the "Enchantress," and that all your correspondence on the subject of your Mission may be addressed to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 7.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received November 19.)

My Lord,

India Office, November 19, 1872.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 9th instant, informing me that Her Majesty the Queen had been graciously pleased to appoint me as her Special Envoy to the Sultans of Zanzibar and Muscat for the purpose of negotiating more stringent Treaties for the entire suppression of the Slave Trade now carried on along the Eastern shores of Africa and Arabia.

I have now to request your Lordship to convey to Her Majesty my grateful thanks for the trust which she has thus reposed in me, and your Lordship may rely that no effort on my part will be wanting to carry into effect the wishes of Her Majesty and of her Government whilst engaged on the mission with which I have been entrusted.

I have further the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatches containing, for my guidance while thus employed, instructions which I will be careful to observe

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

No. 8.

Earl Granville to Sir B. Frere.

Sir,

Foreign Office, November 20, 1872.

I HAVE to inform you that, after communication with the Lords of the Treasury, the following scale of remuneration has been decided on for yourself and the members of the staff whom you have selected to accompany you on your Mission to the Sultans of Zanzibar and Muscat, viz:—

To yourself, as Special Envoy, a salary at the rate of 5,000*l.* per annum.

To the Rev. G. P. Badger, as Secretary and Confidential Adviser to yourself, a salary at the rate of 1,500*l.* per annum.

To Major C. B. Euan Smith, as Military Attaché to the Mission, a salary at the rate of 600*l.* per annum.

To Captain Fairfax, R.N., as Naval Attaché to the Mission, a special rate of pay of 600*l.* per annum has been granted, and the difference between his half and full pay as a naval officer will also be charged to the Special Mission Account.

To Mr. Hill, as Secretary, and to Mr. Grey as Attaché to the Mission, a sum of 100*l.* has been assigned to cover their actual expenditure in preparing for the expedition, and the question of the remuneration to be awarded to these gentlemen for their services is to stand over until the return of the Mission.

All the above-mentioned salaries are to date from the day of your departure from this country.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 9.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.— Received November 21.)

My Lord,

London, November 21, 1872.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I purpose leaving England this day, accompanied by the members of my staff, on my mission to the East Coast of Africa.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

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No. 10.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received December 15.)

My Lord, *“Enchantress,” Brindisi, December 9, 1872.*
 I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I embarked with my suite this morning on board Her Majesty's ship “Enchantress,” and that I purpose leaving this port for Corfu this afternoon.

I have, &c.
 (Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

No. 11.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received December 23.)

My Lord, *“Enchantress,” Alexandria, December 15, 1872.*
 I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that, having taken Captain Fairfax, R.N., Naval Attaché to this Mission, on board at Corfu, the “Enchantress” left for this port, where she arrived at midday yesterday.

As I am informed by Colonel Stanton that His Highness the Khedive is now at Cairo, I leave this to-morrow for that city in a special train which His Highness has kindly placed at my disposal.

I have, &c.
 (Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

No. 12.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received January 6, 1873.)

(Extract.)

Cairo, December 24, 1872.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I arrived in this city on the 18th instant, and was received by His Highness the Khedive on the 17th. Besides this interview His Highness granted me three other audiences, in the course of which I had much interesting conversation with His Highness on matters relating to the Slave Trade.

I shall have the honour to send by an early mail detailed accounts of all that passed, as well as of much other interesting information which I have gathered on the subject of slavery in Egypt, during my stay in this country.

In conclusion I have to inform your Lordship that I leave this morning for Suez to re-embark for Aden on board the “Enchantress.”

No. 13.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received January 20.)

My Lord, *“Enchantress,” Aden, January 1, 1873.*

WITH reference to my despatch of the 24th ultimo, I have the honour to transmit herewith a Memorandum of the conversation which I held on the 17th ultimo with His Royal Highness the Khedive on the subject of slavery in Egypt.

I also inclose for your Lordship's perusal a Memorandum, with Appendix, of the information which I was able to gather on the subject from various sources during my stay in Egypt, and which also contains certain suggestions for the measures which might be taken for the eventual abolition of slavery in Egypt.

I have, &c.
 (Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 13.

Memorandum of Conversation with His Highness the Khedive, on the 17th December, 1872.

AFTER the usual compliments had been passed Sir B. Frere explained to His Highness the object of his mission to the Sultan of Zanzibar, setting forth the reasons

which have induced Her Majesty's Government to take the present course, and the hopes they entertained of being able to persuade His Highness to co-operate with them in the suppression of the Slave Trade on the East Coast.

Sir B. Frere then enlarged on the peculiar interest taken in this question by Great Britain, and stated that it was one in which the Government of India was specially concerned, in consequence of the complicity of British Indian subjects or the subjects of native Princes under British protection in the Slave Trade on the coast; a trade which had assumed such proportions that it was estimated that at least 20,000 slaves were annually shipped from the Coast for the Persian Gulf and Arabia, and that, for every slave exported, from eight to ten perished before reaching the Coast, leaving large districts of the country for many miles utterly depopulated in consequence of the ravages of the slave hunters. The existence of this trade was a material loss to the Sultan of Zanzibar, who, instead of deriving benefit from legitimate commerce in his dominions, now only received 40,000 dollars a year in Customs dues derived from slaves.

The Khedive listened attentively to Sir B. Frere's observations, thanking his Excellency for communicating the purport of his mission, and expressed his conviction of the success which would attend his efforts. His Highness showed very considerable acquaintance with even the local bearings of the question. The question of the Slave Trade in Egypt was then touched upon; His Highness did not attempt to deny the existence of such a trade, but remarked that it was necessary to strike at the evil at its sources before a radical cure could be effected. He himself would gladly assist in the matter, but as a Mussulman Prince he had great difficulties to contend against; the institution of domestic slavery had existed in these countries for many centuries even before Mahometanism and it was impossible to stop it immediately by a *coup de sabre*. But if he had the moral support of Great Britain he was prepared to engage that he would put an end to the Slave Trade in Central Africa. His Government had already gone to great expense with this object in view in the expedition of Sir Samuel Baker which had undoubtedly checked most materially the trade of the White Nile. It was impossible for him to do away with domestic slavery immediately. This would require time; but if the supply were stopped the evil would soon wear itself out.

As regard slave labour as applied to domestic purposes, he went on to say that one great difficulty was the almost entire absence of any free trained labour of the same kind, and remarked on the difference existing in this respect between the natives of Egypt and foreigners who found domestic labour follow them. To meet this want, trained domestic labour was required, and it was with that view that he had already instituted in Cairo a school for the purpose of instructing the girls of the poorer classes in household work, such as cooking, &c., so as gradually to prepare the way for the total abolition of slaves from the houses of the richer Moslems.

His Highness asserted that the number of slaves sold in Egypt did not exceed 400 per annum, that the trade was carried on in contraband and with great difficulty, and that as Sir B. Frere could state from his own knowledge of Egypt the trade had diminished very sensibly within the last thirty-eight years since 1834, when slave-boats were to be met on the Nile, and when slaves were openly sold in a regular established market in Cairo. He further added that he had no doubt that if the slave markets and slave "okells" could be put down in Zanzibar the traffic there would soon die out.

His Highness remarked that he should not be placed on the same level as Zanzibar in the question of slavery, as he claimed for his Government the position of the head of civilization on the African continent.

Inclosure 2 in No. 13.

Memorandum on the present State of the Slave Trade and Slavery in Egypt.

ON some few points connected with this subject, I am able to speak from personal observation. I passed some weeks in Egypt in 1834, before the system of Mehmet Ali had been modified by Egypt becoming the channel of the vast overland transit traffic, and before trade and agriculture had been stimulated to such an extraordinary degree by the Crimean and American wars, and by all the other causes which have of late years seconded the measures taken by Government for the development of the country.

On several subsequent occasions, I have been able to remain for a period which, however, brief in itself, was sufficient to impress the most careless observer with the extent of the vast improvements and changes of every kind in progress.

During my present brief visit, I found a most unexpected amount of interest manifested by Frank residents in Egypt regarding the objects of the special mission to East Africa, and I need hardly say that I received every information and assistance from Colonel Stanton, the Consul-General.

It is clear that the official position of all questions connected with slavery and slave trade in Egypt has greatly altered of late years. In 1834, and I believe for some years afterwards, there was a large open slave market in Cairo, which was one of the sights usually shown to strangers. We met many boat loads of negro slaves coming down the river, and saw them openly exposed for sale, without attempt at concealment, at various places in Upper Egypt. In 1855, though the traffic was formally prohibited, any Frank who cared to do so might visit the houses where slaves were always for sale. This, I am assured, is no longer possible except in disguise and clandestinely; and no official difficulty, I believe, is ever found by our Consular authorities in securing the prompt and faithful fulfilment of all the engagements of His Highness' Government, and immediate attention to and redress for any complaints which may be brought to the notice of the Egyptian administration.

This indicates a great and very satisfactory change in the Egyptian official view of the subject, and proves that the professions of the Government are not merely formal. Even those of my informants, some of them not Englishmen nor officials, who took the least favourable view of past progress, and were least sanguine as to the future, admitted that redress was always readily afforded by the Egyptian police authorities to any slave with a real grievance, who applied to the British Consul for protection; and they testified to the general impression among slaves that they could always get protection by applying at our Consulate. I believe that neither do our officials find any want of careful attention to their representations on the part of the Egyptian Government officials, nor do the latter complain of undue officiousness or causeless interference on our part. This proves, I submit, more than mutual courtesy and good understanding. Such a state of things could hardly exist unless both parties had common objects sincerely at heart in the subject-matter of their communications.

As regards the general character and treatment of slaves in Egypt, I must refer to the annexed Appendix embodying some of the information which struck me most. I have omitted hearsay stories which admit of no proof, including some of a rather sensational character; nor, with occasional exceptions have I noted inferential observations which, though probably true, are sufficiently self-evident as regards slavery in any country. Information thus collected is of course liable to various sources of error from which the statements of official persons taken officially would be free; but it may at least serve to show the sort of views which would be placed before a foreigner by foreigners long resident in the country, speaking under a certain responsibility from the knowledge that the facts they stated would be liable to be canvassed and criticized by those who have at their disposal official sources of information.

The ordinary domestic slaves in Egypt are, of course, as a body, relatively inferior to the same class in a country where slaves are employed in field labour, and where the slaves for house service are selected for some desirable quality from among the field hands. Here all who are brought down find purchasers for home service, and this is probably one main reason why, except in the houses of the very rich, the Egyptian slave servant strikes those who have seen domestic slavery in other countries as a very inferior being. I was not at all prepared for the very general testimony as to the extent of slaveholding among Christians, especially among the Copts, Syrians, Abyssinians, &c; and I found it was generally regarded by residents, who have the means of knowing, as a practice which has spread much among the Christians of late years, and is on the increase. All seem to agree that the evil effects of slavery, both on owners and slave, are even more marked among the Christians than among the Mahomedans, and plausible reasons are assigned for the difference.

The Mahomedan, in the possession and ordinary treatment of his slave, is generally within the letter of his law. He does not necessarily offend against his own conscience. The law, as well as custom and social feeling regarding marriage, the lawful number of wives, &c., protect the Mahomedan slave concubine and her offspring, and render crimes arising from jealousy, infanticide and the like, less common in Mahomedan than in Christian families, where, if conscientious scruples as to the possession of the slave

are rare or weak, the law, as well as the feeling of society, embitter jealousies, and aggravate the other natural results.

On the question whether slavery is or is not on the increase in Egypt, and as to the proportion which slaves bear to the free population, very conflicting opinions are expressed, and, in the absence of any trustworthy returns or statistics, conclusive evidence is unattainable. I confess, I do not see how slavery can be on the decrease. The country is, and has been for years, rapidly increasing in generally diffused wealth and luxury. The demand for domestic service of every kind is extending, whilst the supply from free indigenous labour can increase but slowly, if at all. Some well-informed persons maintain that the supply of free labour for domestic servants is actually decreasing. Foreigners may and do obtain foreign servants, but with difficulty and at high cost. For the natives of the country, there is no obvious course of increased supply, save from the great negro store-house of labour.

The supply is mainly kept up by fresh importation. From a variety of causes, on which it is not necessary to dilate, the negro race in captivity seems to lose the characteristic of being the most prolific of the human family. Large families of slave children, of pure negro blood, born in the country, are said to be rare. In Lower Egypt the climate is not favourable to weakly adults, and very fatal to negro children. Their want of stamina, and tendency to chest diseases, cause great mortality at all times; they are peculiarly obnoxious to epidemics and contagious diseases.

As to the routes by which slaves are imported, official evidence already on record, has established that the Red Sea is becoming, apparently to a greater extent than in former years, the destination of a considerable proportion of the slaves exported from Eastern Africa. Probably the majority are intended ultimately for Jiddah and other ports of the Arabian coast; for Mecca and the ports of the Hedjaz appear to be the entrepôts whence slaves are carried by pilgrims returning to all quarters of the Muslim world. But it is alleged that there is a brisk slave traffic through Massowah, Suakin, and other ports on the Egyptian coast. Sometimes the slaves, it is said, are imported at these places for the East coast, on their way to Arabia, Syria, or Turkey; sometimes for the Egyptian market; and latterly it has been stated that many slaves, brought by land from the interior, have been exported from those ports.

His Highness is of opinion that Sir Samuel Baker's expedition has certainly checked slave-hunting in the immediate neighbourhood of the White Nile, and I found this opinion supported by the testimony of others who have lately arrived from the White Nile region. But, as one further result, the Khartoum traders are said to have this season drawn their chief supplies of slaves from Katarif and Kedarif, on the western bank of the Upper Atbara, and from the districts bordering on the north-western frontier of Abyssinia. Thence slaves are sent to the ports on the Red Sea, as a route presenting fewer liabilities to interruption than the routes down the Nile Valley. Whatever amount of truth there may be in such reports, all who profess to know anything on the subject agree that the slave traders avail themselves of all the facilities which steam communication and electric telegraph afford to elude interruption and official observation.

In the absence of any English Consular Authorities at the Red Sea ports, and of any means or authority for making inquiry on board the steamers or vessels under the Turkish flag, it is not easy to ascertain the truth regarding the trade by sea; and this seems to me one of the directions in which the means of ascertaining the truth and aiding the Viceroy in his endeavours to suppress the trade are within easy reach of Her Majesty's Government by negotiations with Turkey for extended facilities of inquiry, and by an increase of Consular Agency at the ports of the Red Sea.

But probably the main source of supply is still by importation landward along various routes down the Valley of the Nile, one of the most frequented striking the Nile as low down as Asyût (Esiout).

The jallâbs, or slave-traders, are a rich, well-informed, and well-organized body. They not only influence the whole of the up-country trade, but combine to protect their own interests by varying their routes according to the best information as to possible obstacles, and by securing the connivance of local Government officials.

Of the total extent of the importation I can form no reliable estimate. I fear that His Highness has been misinformed as to its having been reduced to a few hundreds. I am informed that, in some of the large and rich remote provincial towns seldom visited by influential Franks, the annual sales of freshly imported slaves might be counted by thousands; but probably it would be difficult to form more than a guess as to the number in any one place; and even His Highness would find it difficult to learn the truth as to the total imports throughout the whole of his extended dominions.

As regards the mode in which the supply is procured, there is little to add to the melancholy but monotonous story of slave-hunting in other parts of Africa. Some are got by simple kidnapping or by purchase from relations or petty local tyrants, but the ordinary mode is to sweep the country in a slave-hunting raid, slaying all who resist, leaving the old and feeble to perish, and carrying off the women, children, and able-bodied male prisoners in numbers sufficient to repay the expenses of a costly expedition.

It is not difficult to meet with credible persons in Egypt, who testify to having been, at a comparatively recent period, eye-witnesses of massacres in remote districts up the White Nile, in which hundreds of lives have been so sacrificed to effect a large capture.

As to the measures to be adopted for the final extinction of the Slave Trade, they naturally divide themselves into those which can be taken independently by the British Government and those which require the aid of His Highness the Khedive, or which rest entirely with the Egyptian or Turkish Governments.

As regards the former class, it seems to me that our present means are least efficient in the deficiency of all agency at the disposal of the Consul-General for independent observation and inquiry. In the Red Sea there is, at present, no Consul or Consular Agent at any of the ports except Suez, and the Consul-General is entirely dependent on chance information, or on the reports of the Turkish or Egyptian officials, whose action or inaction, if any ground of complaint exists, would form the ground of complaint.

To remedy this defect I would recommend :—

1. That an Attaché or Assistant to the Consul-General be appointed to visit or reside occasionally at Asyût, or at one or other of the towns where the routes by which slaves are imported enter the Valley of the Nile. It is essential that he should not be stationary, but should be empowered to move about as the Consul-General may direct or authorize; otherwise the slave-kâfilas will easily avoid his observation. He should speak Arabic, but it is desirable that he should not be a person of local connections or habits. Probably a young military, naval, or medical officer would do the work well. He should be a man of good common sense and judgment, and a gentleman in manners as well as ideas. Probably a salary of 800*l.* per annum, with subsistence money at 1*l.* per diem while travelling, and all travelling expenses paid, would be sufficient.

2. That Resident Consular Agents should be appointed at Jiddah and Massowah under the Consul-General, who should be empowered to depute the Consul at Suez or any other of his subordinates, to visit those or other ports in the Red Sea at irregular intervals, as he may find occasion requires, to report on the Slave Trade or on other subjects of interest. There is now regular communication by Turkish and Egyptian steamers between Suez and all the principal ports in the Red Sea, so that it would be easy for any of the Consular officers in Egypt to make a tour of inspection. But an occasional visit in a British man-of-war on her way to or from the Eastern seas might be useful.

Unless Jiddah, Massowah, Suakin, &c., are to be occasionally visited by a British Consular officer of some position and experience, the Agents at those ports should be well paid Europeans.

If, however, such visits are made at least twice a year, the ordinary current local work can probably be performed by less expensive local agency.

3. It seems clear that our existing diplomatic arrangements with Turkey do not meet all the necessities of the case, now that vessels under the Turkish flag pass through the Isthmus Canal and engage largely in the coasting traffic in which the trade in slaves must form so considerable and lucrative an item.

The anxiety His Highness has shown in one or two late cases, to insure prompt and effectual inquiry, has not sufficed to remove the doubts which naturally arise when there is no tribunal available which can claim freedom from natural bias, and no power possessed by the British Consul to make independent inquiry. I do not know what may be the present views of the Turkish Government on the subject, but it is clear that they now no longer hold the relative position which Turkey formerly occupied as being in advance of many other Powers in the facilities they afford for the suppression of the Slave Trade; and if this were made clear to them it is possible the Turkish Government might be willing to negotiate for the concession of such facilities as are afforded by our Treaties with other Governments for the more effectual examination of ships under the Turkish flag by British cruisers, at least as far the Red and Arabian Seas and the Persian Gulf are concerned.

Unless this be done, I fully expect that, in a short time, when the Northern Arabs

become acquainted with the immunities afforded by the Turkish flag, it will be hoisted by every piratical dhow in the Persian Gulf, and along the Arabian and African coasts as a cover to slaving.

II. As to the measures which might be recommended for adoption by His Highness the Khedive, the following appear to me to be deserving of consideration :—

1. The establishment of a branch of His Highness' Police Department as a bureau officially charged with the duty of taking up questions connected with slavery and the Slave Trade.

It should be presided over by an official whose nationality, character, and antecedents will justify the confidence of His Highness and of all friendly Powers interested in the question, that the enlightened views of His Highness will be carried out without fear or favour.

The Bureau would take special measures—

(a.) To check and prohibit the importation of slaves.

(b.) To inquire into cases of alleged ill-treatment of slaves, whether brought to notice by foreign Consuls or otherwise.

(c.) To provide for liberated slaves.

For this latter purpose—

(1.) A careful Register should be kept, open for public inspection, showing all particulars regarding the slave—age, qualifications, date of liberation, mode of disposal, and subsequent history, as far as known to the Police.

(2.) A note, referring by number and date to the Register, should be given to the liberated slave. It might be inclosed in a small metal case and worn round the neck (like a taweez or charm), and it might be made penal by Police Regulation to deprive a slave of it.

(3.) The Bureau should be charged to provide, first, shelter and protection, and then work for the liberated slaves. Adults should be provided with service. Males, who have no other means of gaining a subsistence, might be passed into the ranks of the army; females should be provided with domestic service, if fit for it, or with some occupation suited to their sex, till they can be married, or otherwise provided for and protected.

(4.) Industrial schools should be opened for the education and ultimate provision and establishment in life of children too young to earn their own living. This will probably be best done by the agency of some charitable institutions, aided and controlled by Government, through the agency of the Slave Trade Bureau. Persons of influence about His Highness' Court would, doubtless, often feel inclined to aid in giving effect to his most just and enlightened views as to the necessity of providing in the shape of free agency for the demand of labour for domestic purposes.

(5.) The collection of accurate statistics regarding the slave population would be an important part of the functions of such a department as I have described. The Police have probably, even now, the means of clearing up much of the present uncertainty as to the numbers and growth or decrease of the slave population. I can speak from long experience in Mohammedan communities that it is quite possible to make all inquiries necessary for such a purpose without offending any Oriental prejudice or infringing the privacy of the harem. As a beginning, all householders of respectability and education are simply invited to state, by filling up a paper, the number of their slaves under the headings—Children under ten, and grown people above that age; no other inquiry, beyond the return of the paper being needed, save in the case of the poor and uneducated. When the novelty of the requirement has worn off, a discreet Police Superintendent will readily obtain any further particulars the Government may require.

There are many other ways in which an officer of judgment and discretion could furnish His Highness with conclusive evidence as to whether the proportion of slaves to freemen in Cairo is as high as one to three, and whether the drain on the slave population is so great as to require an annual importation of 10,000 fresh captives. Both assertions struck me as obvious exaggerations; but, coming from persons resident in Cairo, they might easily pass current as accurate, and I am convinced that in this, as in many other respects, the more accurately the truth is known, the better it will be for the credit due to His Highness' Administration.

But all these suggestions touch only the fringe of the question, and I feel sure that the only way of aiding His Highness to give effect to his wise and liberal views in the matter of the Slave Trade and slave importation is to get him seriously to consider some measure for the prospective abolition of slavery, of a character similar to those lately adopted by Brazil, Spain, &c., viz., that all children of slaves born in Egypt, and

all slaves brought to Egypt after a certain date should be free; that after a certain number of years slavery should cease to be tolerated in Egypt, and that it should be penal to detain against his or her will any person of mature age desiring to be free, and over whom no claim can be alleged but that of purchase.

It can hardly escape so enlightened a ruler as His Highness that slavery is in itself a canker which must eat into the vitals of a country like Egypt whose prosperity depends in so large a degree on the industry of the agricultural class. It will be an evil day when agricultural labour comes to be regarded as degrading; but it is by no means impossible that an extension of slavery might lead to the growth of an Helot caste, which would prove at least as great an embarrassment in Egypt as it has done in all other countries. His Highness has now under his influence a larger population of savage and semi-civilized subjects than any sovereigns except the Ruler of British India and the Emperors of Russia and China. He may, by making Egypt free soil, place himself in the van of the civilizing Powers of the world; but if slavery be upheld as a domestic institution it will be inevitable that his best devised plans for the improvement of his people, should be viewed with suspicion, and that nations which have renounced slavery should hesitate to aid in subjecting to his influence savage races which he has the power to civilize but which in the hands of a careless or indifferent ruler may serve no purpose but to fill up the void in the decaying population of a worn-out social system.

A proposal for making Egypt or any part of it free soil may appear to many who have known Egypt well, even of late years, a very wild idea. I confess it would, till lately, have so appeared to me, for I had not realized the progress made by Egypt in most branches of Western civilization, the growth of her real power in Africa, and the influence which I think she deserves and will probably possess amongst the civilized nations, whilst it is clear that the weight of that influence must depend on the intimacy of her agreement with modern civilization on those few vital points on which all those nations are now pretty fairly agreed, such, for instance, as this question of Slave Trade.

Hence, I believe that further consideration of the subject will show that the proposal is not so impracticable as it must at first sight appear, and, in the end, I feel certain it will commend itself as the only possible solution of the difficulties which beset the question in Egypt.

1. Because the question cannot remain in its present position. During the last half-century the whole civilized world has gradually been coming towards an agreement that the maintenance of slavery is incompatible with the principles of modern civilization. But Turkey has not advanced on this question at the same rate as other nations, so that whereas, a few years ago, Turkey was far in advance of Portugal, Spain, Brazil, &c., she has now been left behind by all those nations, and Egypt, though probably practically in advance of Turkey, on this question is, diplomatically, in the same position.

Moreover, in Egypt, if no effectual check be imposed, slavery must naturally increase. In so far as slavery is a result of wealth and luxury, it must increase with the rapidly increasing wealth and luxury of Egypt. This tendency will be fostered by the increasing discredit which will be naturally increased by free labour. Ultimately, labour will be confined to slaves and Helot races or castes; a state of things which has long existed in India and other countries, and which no one, who has seen what a barrier it presents to progress of every kind, would wish to see grow up again in Egypt. An apprehension of this result can scarcely be regarded as chimerical when we consider that similar social conditions did once exist in Egypt itself; and were only swept away by a complete revolution social and religious as well as political.

His Highness expressed a hope that the stoppage of the supply of slaves from the interior would ultimately tend towards a gradual diminution and final extinction of slavery in Egypt. I feel that all experience is against this expectation. Whilst the demand continues I believe it to be practically impossible to cut off the supply. This is especially the case where the sources of supply are so many and spread over so large an area that ages would hardly suffice to reach them all by separate measures of repression. But if the demand is extinguished the object is at once effected and the trade must cease.

The Khedive now rules over tens of millions of negroes, of various races, all prolific, docile, and capable of great physical, as well as moral and intellectual, improvement. But, whatever may be the capacity of the higher races, few, if any, approach to the standard of civilization long since reached by the lowest orders in Egypt proper. What is to be the destiny of these negro races? Every year decreases the obstacles to intercourse between the Upper and Lower Nile. It is quite conceivable and probable

that these obstacles may be so far diminished as the enlightened and advanced projects of the Khedive for railways, improved navigation of the Nile, &c., are developed, that the great negro storehouse of labour may become easily available to Lower Egypt. But on what conditions? If slavery did not exist in Egypt, the conditions would be mutually advantageous to both races. If, however, slavery continues to exist, free negroes will not come there voluntarily, and negro labour can only come as slaves and Helots.

What a curse and social canker such a state of things must prove cannot escape the observation of His Highness and his advisers, who may see in various parts of the world the difficulties arising from an Imperial dynasty of foreign sovereigns, a rich and luxurious middle class of natives holding honest free labour in contempt, and a labouring class of Helots and slaves. To those who can imagine such a condition of society (and it seems to me imminent in Egypt unless slavery is abolished), it must be evident that such social conditions are not only unnatural, hideous, and dangerous in themselves, but of a character which no European civilized power would like to see extended. With the Lower Nile free soil, the Khedive, ruling over the upper provinces inhabited by negro races, will be truly at the head of a constantly advancing African civilization. All reasonable civilized men will be glad to see his influence extending. As matters stand at present they will hesitate to regard his influence as decidedly beneficent even in the darkest corners of Central Africa. They will always be asking, "Is His Highness' latest acquisition in Central Africa to be a fresh field for the triumphs of civilization and order, or a fresh hunting-ground for the slave trader?"

We have a striking instance at the present moment before us. An Egyptian expedition to the East Coast of Africa in connection with His Highness' efforts to extinguish the Slave Trade on the White Nile, can hardly fail to be looked on by Her Majesty's Government with approving interest. But the aspect in which such an expedition would be regarded must, of course, be very different if it had no other result than the establishment of a position where the Turkish flag would add to existing difficulties in checking the export of slaves.

Nor, when the real difficulties of the proposed measure are examined, will they appear so formidable as might at first be supposed. The gradual extinction of slavery involves nothing repugnant to the law of the Koran, as interpreted by the most learned men in the best times, and under the most orthodox and best of Mahomedan rulers.

It is true that the law of the Koran authorizes the enslavement of captives taken under certain conditions in lawful war, of insolvent debtors, &c. In this respect there is less difference than is often supposed between the principals of the Law of the Koran and those till quite lately followed by Christian nations. The most objectionable features in modern Oriental slavery are points of practice and custom, derived often from the times when Islam was regarded as in a state of chronic warfare with all the non-Islamite world; and when the will of a despotic Prince was the only standard of practical public morality. But the Law of the Koran does not authorize indiscriminate slavery, nor the making of war for the purpose of capturing slaves nor kidnapping, still less the murder of parents for the purpose of enslaving their children.

According to strict Koranic Law most of the children sold as slaves in Cairo are not lawful slaves but simply stolen chattels; and a rigid enforcement of strict Mohammedan Law would frequently punish the slave-buyer, not as a holder of a slave, but as a receiver of goods acquired by theft and murder.

What is suggested for His Highness' consideration is no such revolutionary measure as we have seen of late years safely and successfully carried out in Russia. It is in fact no more than has been safely done, and without detriment to any special Muslim interest or prejudice by foreign rulers in India and Algeria. I can testify that, in many respects, the progress of Egypt under His Highness and his predecessors has been greater during the last forty years than that of India. The weight of Government authority in all matters of internal administration appears to me at least as great in Egypt as in India, and I will not doubt either His Highness' wisdom to desire, nor his power to carry out a measure which after careful consideration was carried out in India without ultimate injury to the interests of the tens of millions of Mohammedan British subjects who were specially affected by it, and without leaving behind in the minds of those so affected any permanent feeling of grievance.

Appendix.

Notes of Information, chiefly oral and unofficial, regarding Slavery and the Slave Trade in Egypt. The informants were in all cases persons who had for many years resided in the country.

DOMESTIC slavery has little diminished of late years in Egypt. In fact, owing to the increase of wealth and luxury, especially since the great rise in the price of agricultural produce consequent on the American war, the possession of a domestic slave or two has become common in families which in former days would never have aspired to any such luxury. We constantly meet with cases of Government employés, on salaries of only 5*l.* per month, who manage to purchase a slave as a domestic servant, such as a few years ago would only have been found in the houses of the wealthy. We know many families of the only "well-to-do" who have six or seven slaves. The desire to possess slaves is greatly stimulated, not only by the change in habits which leads to less household work being done by members of the family, but also by the increasing difficulty here, as in Europe and elsewhere, of obtaining domestic servants; also there are other causes in operation which are peculiar to this country:—

First, menial labour is not considered respectable, chiefly from the public opinion on the subject resulting from slavery.

Secondly, the harem system and general licentiousness render it almost impossible for respectable females to go out to service. The demand for domestic servants is so great and so constantly on the increase that it is often impossible to procure them when required.

Even permanent residents who know where to get everything the country affords, often find great difficulty in procuring them and have to do without them for an inconveniently long time. We have known an instance of a friend who was in great distress for want of a wet-nurse for his child. After vainly invoking the help of all his resident friends, he went to the slave dealers and gave 20*l.* for a negress to whom he gave or promised her liberty when his occasion for her services was or should be at an end.

It is not only among the Mahomedans, but even among the Egyptian Christians, Copts, and Syrians, that domestic slavery is common. The Copts are in this respect but little better than the Turks and Arabs. We had an instance in the Patriarch himself. He was sent to Abyssinia, by Saiad Pasha, and brought down, it is said, nineteen slaves with him. Two of these he gave to his sister. One of these slaves wished to be baptized for years, and was refused permission by his mistress, because, she said: "It was possible they might require to sell him." The slaves are always a difficulty, when a wealthy Copt applies to the missionaries for admission to Church membership in a Protestant communion. The applicant cannot be admitted as a slave holder, but there are often difficulties in the way of freeing such slaves: *e.g.*, it would be a very doubtful boon to a young female slave to free her, and cast her loose on the world. The missionaries are obliged to deal with each case on its own merits, and often to make some sacrifice of what is desirable to secure what is practical. The same difficulty applies to manumission by a Consul, &c. The Consul has no means of looking after the slave when freed, or of protecting him from recapture; and the slave is often no better off than before.

Even when the Egyptian Government officials take all proper steps there is a serious difficulty in providing for the freed slaves, and preventing their being got back by their old masters, and punished. This is owing to the gross ignorance of the majority of slaves, which renders it easy to impose upon them, unless they have some chance friend to look after them. There is no institution to which they can be sent, and they can only be distributed to persons of supposed respectability.

Besides the difficulty of knowing what to do with liberated slaves, the great obstacle to the suppression of the traffic is the absence of any public opinion condemning the purchase and possession of slaves. I have heard a respectable Coptic merchant inveigh bitterly against the tyranny of the English Government, "interfering with the trade of honest people in this matter."

As to remedial measures there is little chance of anything effectual being done, save under pressure from some Christian Power or by a change in public opinion, of which there seems little prospect as long as all the rich and noble in the land are implicated in the maintenance of the evil.

As to the capacity of negroes for improvement, moral or intellectual, there is great difference among diverse races. Some are well-developed physically and capable of a

high degree of intellectual culture, others are in the lowest stage of debasement, and intellectually and physically very hopeless savages.

They are generally very deficient in physical stamina; with great muscular power, they generally succumb easily to disease, and die in greater proportion than other races during the prevalence of epidemic or contagious diseases. They suffer much from lung disease, and generally from cold or damp in Lower Egypt, which suits them worse than the upper country. When sick, a physician is seldom called in to attend to the slaves.

A medical man, who has considerable practice, states that, though sometimes called in to prescribe for a slave in households which he visits, he is rarely called in specially, or a second time, in a serious case. He stated that, as a general rule, more care was taken of valuable horses and dogs than of ordinary slaves in sickness. He said, "I see much of the slave of the better classes in the course of my practice. I am also frequently called in to give certificates of soundness for slaves, and in the case of young children who do not speak Arabic, I know they must be recent importations. I see them hawked about the streets in twos and threes, and there is little concealment in the matter, though a European or any one in Frank dress would not be allowed to enter the slave-dealers' houses. I heard only a few weeks ago that large Kafilas had arrived, and that their advent was hastened by rumours of some measures impending and directed against slavery and the Slave Trade. Judging from what I see in the better class of houses, where the proportion is of course greatest, I estimate that slaves form fully a-third of the whole population, and that the proportion is increasing rather than diminishing."

The supply of slaves is mainly kept up by importations from the interior. As to the extent of this importation from Soudan, Darfur, &c., it would be difficult to make any reliable estimate—certainly far more than 400. There are probably more than 1,000 brought to Cairo alone annually, as may be judged by the number of little negro boys of pure blood, mostly imported slaves, who are to be seen in the streets. A resident at a large town in the Delta, estimated the number of freshly imported slaves disposed of there at several thousands per annum; and another, also in a position to form a good judgment, raised his estimate for all Egypt to 10,000 per annum. But as the import is prohibited, and can only take place through the neglect or with the connivance of officials, any estimate must be mainly guess-work.

The seclusion of the harem affords a veil to the murder of slaves, and especially infanticide, and the temptation is much greater among the Copts than among the Muslims. Comparatively few of the slaves are brought down by way of the river, especially in winter, when European sojourners are upon the Nile. They are mostly brought by the Jelabis by land routes best known to themselves. Without the hearty concurrence of the Government, it would be very difficult, therefore, to abolish the traffic, but with such concurrence it would be exceedingly easy, as the organization for the collection of the internal revenue is so perfect that it is next to impossible for the smallest quantities of agricultural or any other produce to be brought into the towns without paying duty.

A large proportion of the slaves who are brought in (I am told as high as two-thirds) are from the north-western provinces of Abyssinia, which lie adjoining the Egyptian territory. These, when offered to the Copts for sale are said by the Jelabis to be Christians, and Muslims when offered to Muslims.

A resident in Egypt, states:—

"I am not able to speak to what was the case formerly, but of late years there has certainly appeared to me to be an increase in the fashion of possessing slaves. I found the other day the man, to whom I pay monthly 2*l.* as cook, had two slaves to attend on his wife. Of late years there has been a great increase in the luxury of the higher orders. The richer men have numerous wives—Turks, Arabs, Circassians, or Georgians—and for each of these ladies they keep one or more black slaves, often as many as four each.

"Household work has come to be looked upon as a degradation. I have seen hundreds of girls of the lower and middle classes passing through the female schools maintained or visited by Europeans, but not one of them would undertake for hire, household work of any kind under any consideration. They would say, 'Am I a slave that I should do such work?'"

It is this discredit of honest labour which is the great social obstacle to any growth of a class of free-workers which could supersede slave labour.

There is much diversity in their treatment, not only according to the temper and circumstances of the masters and mistresses, but according to the race and character of the slaves.

There is very great diversity in the latter respects. Some slaves possess fine physical and moral qualities, and are valued and trusted. Others are unmitigated savages. As a general rule, the women are little trusted by their mistresses out of their sight. They speak to us of a slave they can trust to go to the bazaar by herself as a treasure; and they give as a reason for their always taking a slave girl with them to a marriage or other meeting, where many ladies assemble, and where you see more slaves than free women, "We cannot leave the girl at home when we are out of the house."

An Egyptian gentleman, long residing and in high authority at Khartoum, whence he has lately returned, says that the great slave-hunting ground lately has been in the country of Katarif and Kedarif (*vide* Keith Johnstone's map of Upper Nubia and Abyssinia) between the Atbara and Blue Nile, and that one-third of the Khartoum slaves this year come from the north-west frontier of Abyssinia, and are imported by the Red Sea ports.

Sir Samuel Baker's operations have very materially checked the Khartoum Slave Trade this year.

The Roman Catholic missionaries from Khartoum found on their latest visit to Kordofan that the agitation caused by Baker's expedition had led to a very extensive emigration of the slave hunters also in the opposite direction from Khartoum to Kordofan. This is, in some respects a gain, as it is much more easy for Europeans to live in Kordofan than at Khartoum, where the Franciscan Mission lost in 14 years 34 out of 39 brethren, chiefly Germans. It has of late been much less unhealthy, but is still very fatal to Europeans. The country of Sennaar, Kordofan and Dafour is magnificent, away from the river, very populous, and capable of being a great country, if slavery were abolished. Slave-hunting is its great curse, and has much increased of late years. Almost all foreign trade is in the hands of slave dealers, or of those under their influence. The correspondence of the Central African Vicariate Apostolic extends over countries roughly estimated at having a population of 80,000,000 of negroes between the Red and Arabian Seas on the east, and the Atlantic to the west; and the annual drain, consequent on slavery, is estimated by the Superior of the Mission at 1,000,000. Egypt of course takes only a portion of these slaves, but the most fertile Provinces whence they are drawn are Egyptian territory or under Egyptian influence. Central Africa is the heart of the evil, and it is only there that it can be successfully grappled with; and that mainly by the influence and authority of the Egyptian Government.

The slaves are obtained chiefly by the system of fomenting petty tribal feuds, and by slave-hunting forays, so often described in other regions; some of the brethren have seen as many as 200 lives sacrificed in a single fight to secure the women and children of the vanquished. They are brought to Egypt by routes constantly varied to elude observation. The experience of the brethren of the Khartoum Mission leads them to form a good opinion of the capacity of the negro for improvement, mental as well as physical; but he requires civilized leaders not far from his own climate and country. It is difficult, the brethren think, to effect this in Central Africa, owing to the obstacles which the climate and distance oppose to keeping up a sufficient supply of qualified European missionaries and teachers. On the other hand, it is little use attempting to civilize Africa by Africans trained in Europe: the climate is unfavourable to their health, and when thoroughly Europeanized they are less efficient in Africa than Europeans.

Monsignor Comboni advocates a training under European superintendence, at some point in Africa, where, as in Egypt, both European and negro can live, labour, and learn, and where the negro may become civilized without being de-Africanized. He also strongly urges the necessity for industrial as well as moral and intellectual training. The places he recommends for his four principal institutions are Algiers, Cairo, St. Denis in Bourbon, and some point not named on the West Coast (*vide* his "Regeneration of Africa through Africa itself," Cologne, 1871, and several papers in the French "Missions Catholiques").

The Convent of the Terra Santa Franciscan Sisters at Cairo have, among their thirty or forty sisters, several negresses, who, beside other works of charity, undertake the education of a large school of female children, among whom are, on an average, about thirty negro girls who are boarded, clothed, and educated; almost all have been slaves, a few acquired by gift, or sent by friends, but mostly purchased. In general they are sickly or troublesome children sold by their owners to the Convent, because no one else would buy them. The owners rarely sell a good or healthy child, but frequently bring a child, dying, as they think, in order to get a few napoleons (ten to twenty) from the sisters, who have the child baptized, and, if it recovers, bring it up.

They are exceedingly well cared for; but, as might be expected from the mode of supply, a very large proportion never recover, and those who survive are rarely favourable specimens of their respective races—many, in spite of all the sisters' care, remaining inveterate little thieves and savages. They are generally affectionate in disposition, but seldom grateful, and but a small proportion ever become fitted for entering the order as nuns. A few have a dim recollection of their native country; but most even of those who come so young as not to know Arabic, remember little but what has happened to them in Cairo. The arrangements of the house seem excellent in every respect, as far as the very scanty means at the disposal of the sisters permit.

No. 14.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received January 20.)

My Lord, *Aden, January 4, 1873.*
 I HAVE the honour to report that I leave Aden this day for Zanzibar.
I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

No. 15.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received February 17.)

(Extract.) *“Enchantress,” off Brava, January 10, 1873.*
 I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that, on my arrival at Aden on the 31st ultimo, I found that Colonel Pelly, Her Majesty's Political Resident at Bushire, and the officer whom the Viceroy of India has deputed to accompany me to Zanzibar and Muscat, was waiting for me.

As there are no spare cabins on board this vessel, I requested Colonel Pelly to proceed to Zanzibar on board the British India Steam Navigation Company's steamer “Punjaub,” which was about to depart on her second voyage to Zanzibar, in execution of the contract recently entered into between that Company and Her Majesty's Government.

Your Lordship is aware that a large majority of the Indian Banians on the African coast are by birth subjects of His Highness the Rao of Kutch, and all are more or less connected with Kutch trading families.

The annexed translation of a communication His Highness has ordered to be made to all his subjects at Zanzibar and Muscat, will show one of the modes in which the Rao's aid is likely to be of special use.

I feel assured that Her Majesty's Government will be pleased to hear of the very prompt and decided manner in which His Highness has expressed to his subjects his intention to give effective support to the measures directed by Her Majesty's Government.

Inclosure in No. 15.

Translation of a Gugerathi Notification issued by the Rao of Kutch, G.C.S.I., addressed to his Subjects residing at Zanzibar.

(His Highness' Seal.)

FROM his Highness Rao Pragmalgi Bahadur.

Be it known to the subjects of Kutch residing in Zanzibar that it has been brought to our notice that you are engaged in buying and selling male and female slaves in Zanzibar. This is a horrible thing. It has been the desire of the British Government

to put a stop to it. In accordance with this desire, Proclamations have been issued by His late Highness our father and by ourselves. Notwithstanding this you have not yet withdrawn yourselves from this inhuman traffic. This is highly reprehensible. We have therefore to desire you entirely to cease from carrying on this trade, and those of you who are engaged in it to give it up immediately, If you continue to carry it on, or be in way concerned in it, the British Government will deal with you as with its own subjects and punish you severely, and, furthermore, your property in Kutch will be confiscated by this Government. Know this to be certain.

Dated Massur Wud, 1st Monday Sumwunt, 1929. (Corresponding with December 15, 1872.)

N.B.—A similar Proclamation has been issued to the Kutch subjects residing in Muscat.

No. 16.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received February 17.)

My Lord,

“Enchantress,” off Brava, January 10, 1873.

INCLOSED is a copy of a letter from Captain Fairfax, R.N., which he has written at my request, regarding the want of a lighthouse at the extreme point of Ras Asir, or Cape Guardafui, which lies in the course of a great part of the trade *via* the Suez Canal, and near which both winds and currents are exceptionally violent and irregular.

I can add from my own recollection two other cases to the wrecks mentioned by Captain Fairfax, which might have been avoided had a lighthouse existed on the point.

The Somali tribes on the coast have a very evil reputation for treachery and violence. I have no doubt, however, that the tribe in whose lands the lighthouse will stand might be easily subsidized, through the Resident at Aden, and induced to protect and supply the lighthouse establishment, which, however, should be as independent of the immediate neighbourhood as the Eddystone, and should be regularly visited from Aden.

As a point of refuge for shipwrecked mariners and boats' crews, the value of the lighthouse would be felt to a distance of many hundred miles of very inhospitable coast, and may prevent such catastrophes as the massacre of the boat's crew of Her Majesty's ship “Penguin,” which unhappily is by no means a solitary instance of suffering by boats' crews in distress in the neighbourhood of this cape.

There may be diplomatic difficulties in the way of asking the Egyptian Government to light this point, as they have done in so many instances and so effectively in the Red Sea. I would, therefore, submit that the duty be undertaken by Her Majesty's Government, in the event of the Admiralty and Board of Trade concurring with your Lordship in my views on this matter.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure in No. 16.

Captain Fairfax to Sir B. Frere.

Sir,

“Enchantress,” off Brava, January 10, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to bring before your notice the great necessity for a light being placed on Cape Guardafui (Ras Asir).

All vessels going from the Gulf of Aden to the East Coast of Africa, and *vice versa*, in either monsoon, pass within a very short distance of this prominent headland, and ships from India to Aden and Suez, are, during the south-west monsoon, recommended to pass to the southward of Sokotra, and between it and Cape Guardafui. The land extending for some miles to the southward of Cape Guardafui is covered with a light coloured sand, and terminates in a high bluff point. As a current is always running along the East Coast of Africa with varied velocity, the weather being generally hazy, ships coming from the southward, at night, are seldom certain of their position, and after

passing the bluff point beforementioned are liable to take it for Cape Guardafui and bear up, in which case the vessel would most likely go on shore under the sand hills.

On passing Cape Guardafui a few days since your Excellency may have noticed a wreck in this position, and eighteen months ago, when I was in command of Her Majesty's ship "Forte," we passed the wreck of a large steamer, on the coast to the northward of Ras Hafun, and I was informed that this vessel was lost in a voyage from Bombay to Aden. Although I have never landed at Cape Guardafui, I have no doubt a light might be so placed there as to be seen by vessels passing up and down, and also from the southward of the Cape.

I also beg to remark that since the Suez Canal has been opened, the number of steam-vessels that pass this Cape have greatly increased.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. FAIRFAX.

No. 17.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received February 17.)

(Extract.)

"*Enchantress,*" on the Line, January 10, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to bring to your Lordship's notice that I find a very strong impression prevailing in the mind of almost every one whom I have been able to consult, and who has opportunities of observing at Aden that the Turkish flag is extensively used in the Red and Arabian Seas and Persian Gulf, and that such use of the flag is increasing, and will further increase, unless measures be taken to prevent it.

This result might be expected from the latest published Parliamentary papers respecting slavery and the Slave Trade.* The correspondence with Austria shows that even the well-managed and well-commanded steamers of the Austrian Lloyd's Company† had been made the vehicle for conveying slaves to Turkey, not indeed to the extent at first supposed by the energetic British Consul at Smyrna, but still sufficiently often to attract ultimately, as it deserved, the attention and increased vigilance of the Austrian officials.

The correspondence from Turkey contains numerous examples of the difficulties‡ under which any inquiry is conducted, owing to the apathy or complicity of the great majority of local officials of every grade.

Not to dwell on the flagrant instances given in Mr. Drummond Hay's letters regarding the officials in communication with the Consul-General at Tripoli,§ it appears that Sir H. Elliot was obliged to write to the Porte on the 25th of July, 1870, that, in the course of the preceding twelvemonth "various cases of flagrant and undoubted slave dealing" had been brought to the notice of the Porte, but that his Excellency had failed to discover that the slave trader had, in any single instance, been punished in conformity with the promises of the Porte, promises, be it remembered, not only of long standing but frequently and emphatically repeated.

In some cases the slaves had been liberated, in others given back by the Turkish officials to the slave dealer, on his promising they should not be sold. Sir H. Elliot justly remarks, "it would be absurd to pretend to believe that this promise will be observed," and he urges a stricter fulfilment of the Porte's promises by requiring the Governor-General at Smyrna "to act with greater energy towards those who venture upon a revolting and illegal traffic."

But beyond empty promises that instructions should be issued, it does not appear that the Porte moved in the matter. Indeed, as remarked by your Lordship in reference to another revolting case,|| "it is hopeless to attempt to put an end to the Traffic in slaves as long as they are bought and sold by persons of high rank and by Turkish officials."

The consular correspondence along the whole of the Turkish sea-board, from those reported by Mr. Gifford Palgrave at Trebizond (p. 110) to those established by Mr. Drummond Hay at Tripoli (p. 124), teems with instances in point.

One of the cases just referred to led to a reference by Sir H. Elliot to Sir P. Francis regarding the Turkish law on the subject. Sir Philip's reply¶ is valuable in many ways, and, with the temperate and thoughtful letters of Sir H. Elliot, deserves careful attention.

* See Class C for 1870.
§ Ibid., pp. 118-125.

† Ibid., pp. 72-77.
|| See Class C for 1871, p. 84.

‡ Ibid., pp. 78-125.
¶ Ibid., p. 85.

Sir P. Francis arrived at four conclusions. 1st, that slavery is still a legal institution in Turkey, in spite of vague professions of a desire to abolish it. 2nd, That the negro Slave Trade is illegal though tolerated. 3rd. That slaves may be sold by private contract but not by auction or publicly. 4th, that the white Slave Trade has never been prohibited.

On the first point there is perhaps less variance between Mr. Consul Cumberbatch's assertion, that the law prohibits slavery, except in the case of prisoners of war, and Sir P. Francis' decision that slavery is a legal institution in Turkey, than might at first sight be supposed. The Consul was probably considering by what process, except by capture in war, can a free man become a slave. Sir P. Francis mentions descent from a slave, or purchase, as two other modes by which a slave may be acquired; but how did the first slave parent become a slave? and how did the slave come into the hands of his first owner? Neither birth as a slave, nor the mere fact of being sold as a slave, necessarily adds to the number of processes by which freedom can be legally changed to slavery; and unless sale for debt, or sale by a parent or guardian of a child under age, be admitted as legal modes of converting a free human being into a slave, I have been unable hitherto to discover any other legal mode than that of capture in war.

The question is not unimportant, when the Moslem law is invoked as a reason for dealing gently with the question in Turkey, or any other nominally Moslem country. What, under the strict law of the Koran, is the legal status of the child stolen from its parents, or taken after the parents have been murdered in a raid undertaken for the purpose of slave hunting? I believe that, if the case were fully argued, it would be found that a large majority of the children which now supply the slave markets, in Turkey and elsewhere, are not legally slaves according to the strict letter of the law of Islam, which in its numerous provisos and safeguards is, when strictly and impartially administered by a vigorous Ruler, far more favourable to the slave than Western nations, judging from modern Turkish practice, are apt to imagine.

The opinion of Sir P. Francis on the second point, as to the illegality in Turkey, according to Turkish law, of the Negro Slave Trade, is still more important; but the whole report deserves attentive perusal as illustrating the vague and unsatisfactory way in which the Porte has played with those Governments which desired the abolition of the Slave Trade; and his subsequent correction of his fourth conclusion, that the white Slave Trade has never been prohibited,* is a curious illustration of the unsettled state of the question in some of its most important bearings.

The result of the discussion was apparently to produce an impression that nothing could be done but to await the development† of a higher tone of moral feeling among the Turks.

With all deference I would submit that the growth of such a feeling might be materially hastened by inviting the Turkish Government, on the one hand, to examine, the strict provisions of its own law, and on the other to weigh well the consequences of the barrier which the practice of a branch Slave Trade, apparently illegal by its own law, creates against the sympathy of all other civilized nations.

Your Lordship is aware that some of the numerous schools of Moslem law read that law as affecting the slave in sundry most important respects, in a much more humane sense than other sects, all are more merciful than modern practice. What is to prevent the Porte, with the advice and consent of competent Doctors learned in its own law, from enforcing with the full weight of its authority the interpretation which is most humane and favourable to the slave, and most in accordance with the general view of Western nations?

Again, without in any way dictating to the Porte, or attempting by moral lecturing to regenerate its social morality, some impression might surely be made on the most callous and cynical Turkish upholder of things as they are, by pointing out how, in this matter, the present inaction of Turkey, and the want of good faith in redeeming promises so often repeated, must alienate from her the sympathy of the most conservative, as well as the most aggressive, of surrounding nations. This is not a question of religion, or of political influence, but of common humanity; and it is difficult to see how any European Government, whether despotic or democratic in its tendencies, could afford effective support—moral or physical—to a Power which can be truthfully denounced as standing alone in Europe as the upholder of the right of one man to acquire, by purchase from another, the power to work, to maltreat, or to slay, according to his will, any third human being; and as maintaining that all labour of particular kinds is permanently subjected to the unrestrained exercise of this right.

* See Class C for 1871, p. 89.

† Ibid., p. 87.

A despatch from Sir R. Dalrymple,* Consul at Roustchouk, is important, as stating; first, The practically lax observance of the wisest and best-intentioned firmans of comparatively late date. Some are not to be found on the archives of even the Governor-General, of a most important frontier province; others, not more than five years old, exist. But when, to use the Governor-General's own words regarding such a document, "miscopying and obliteration of words render the vizirial letter almost unintelligible," his endeavour "to act up to its purport" must be a matter of difficulty.

It would surely be no great stretch of reforming energy that the Porte should use some of the numerous modern appliances for giving to its great officers of State, and possibly even to its subjects, full and correct texts of its Decrees. No national or religious prejudice could be affected by so doing, seeing that no western nation has ever surpassed some of the great Moslem dynasties in the punctilious care with which they framed and published, with every device of the most splendid caligraphy, the Decrees of the Sovereign.

Secondly, it is apparent from Sir A. Dalrymple's letter, as compared with other testimony on the same point, that much practical diversity exists in the treatment of slaves in the different provinces of Turkey, and that the province to which he specially refers has sensibly felt the influence of neighbouring European nations.

Thirdly (and this point is very important) it is stated that in some divisions of the province the slaves give so much trouble that even Moslems would be very glad that slavery should cease.

Fourthly (nor is this less important), that a local fund exists whence the expense of manumission in special cases may wholly or in part be borne. This instance, as Sir R. Dalrymple points out, might suggest a means of materially aiding the extinction of even domestic slavery.

Mr. Consul Raby reported from Jeddah two years ago† that a considerable traffic in slaves was carried on in the Hedjaz, "most decidedly with the connivance of the Ottoman authorities" and of the Egyptian officials at Massowah and Suakin; and he accounts for the fact of their connivance at the trade by stating that most of the officials are themselves slave-owners, that they fear the unpopularity of doing their duty, and have opportunities of making illicit gains by not doing it.

He estimates the yearly import in the immediate neighbourhood at from 2,000 to 2,500, of which 500 or 600 come from the Egyptian ports of Massowah and Suakin, and the remainder *vid* Hodeida from Zailah, nearly opposite Aden.

The Sheikh of Zailah, Abu-Bekr-Shahim, is a tributary of the Porte through the Pasha of Yemen. He is "said to have been long engaged in this traffic," and from 3,500 to 4,000 slaves are annually exported from his territory, chiefly to Hodeida. They are generally carried by sea and smuggled ashore at a little distance from the chief ports by the connivance of the Custom-house authorities.

An open slave market existed at Jeddah. The traffic, which at one time was estimated at from 12,000 to 15,000 per annum, was supposed to have decreased of late "owing to the demand from Egypt having fallen off."

"Not unfrequently" colourable papers of manumission were made out, but kept by the owners or agents; the slaves were then passed as freemen, but were "of course sold as soon as the market was reached."

Mr. Raby believed that, owing to the extreme unpopularity of the Turks in the Hedjaz, any measures for the abrupt abolition of slavery would be attended with extreme danger of revolt.

The practical measure he recommended was that the Egyptian officials at Massowah and Suakin should act in good faith to prevent the export thence, and that a stop should be put to exportation from Zailah.

From what I learnt at Aden, and from the correspondence I found on record there, matters do not appear to have improved since the date of Mr. Raby's report—*e.g.*, when the Indian Government was inquiring into a statement that slaves had been imported from Jeddah to Bombay by the followers of a lady of very high rank who had just returned from a pilgrimage to Mecca, it appeared that rich foreigners performing the Haj were in the habit of purchasing slaves in the slave market at Mecca, which was abundantly supplied by importations from Georgia and Circassia, as well as from Africa; and the trade had been so systematized that, when the purchaser was from India, the form of manumission before the Kazi and local authorities was generally gone through, though the papers securing freedom were not given to the freed man, but kept by the master.

* See Class C for 1870, p. 86.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 90-94.

Again, at pages 14, 15, and 22 of the correspondence, Class B for 1870, will be found the details of a similar case, in which a lady, the daughter of one of the Sultan of Zanzibar's chief officers, appeared, by her father's own account, to have been concerned in what Dr. Kirk justly calls "wholesale slave-dealing" at Mecca and Hodeida, where she bought "a fine collection of Georgians, and added to these at Jeddah," at which latter port she had purchased "two or three Abyssinians," and a Turkish boy.

They cost "several thousand dollars" in Arabia, but in Zanzibar would be worth from 500 to 1,000 dollars each.

These "she had freed, but forced to accompany her."

"The Turkish boy said he was of Mahometan parents, and by law 'hoor,' or free; when bought and carried off he cried very much, but still he was forcibly taken."

It is to be noted in this case the narrator was the father of the lady who bought the slaves, and next in rank to the Sultan himself in the Zanzibar Durbar, so that the account is not likely to be exaggerated. Indeed, when, some months afterwards, the English vessel which the lady had chartered returned to Zanzibar, the Consul elicited from the master much additional information which did not improve the aspect of the case. He said that it was only in consequence of his protests, and after a delay of three days, that the Abyssinians were taken to the Pasha at Hodeidah and certified as free; that she took seventeen freed negro slaves with her from Zanzibar to Jedda, and only brought back six, from which it was inferred that eleven had died at Mecca or been sold there; that she had represented five white boys and girls to be her own children, and that it was not till they had left the Red Sea that he discovered they were slaves, and that they were not included in the list of freed slaves on board,* attested before the English Consulate at Jedda.

This case, it is to be observed, occurred in a vessel sailing under the English flag; but it is not likely that the restrictions are greater under the Turkish, which is the more usual flag between Africa and Arabia; and it shows even more strongly than if the flag had not been English, that the traffic is extensive, and is regarded almost as a matter of course, and is not checked by any action of the local Turkish authorities.

The increased use of the Turkish flag to cover the Slave Trade is looked on as a matter of notoriety; and in this light it was spoken of by natives of the country of the highest respectability resident in Aden, and possessed of ample means of information. One of them, without special reference to Slave Trade or Turkish flag, alluded to the new trade in Galla slaves which had of late sprung up between Zailah and Tajurah on the African coast, and Makullah and other ports on the southern coast of Arabia, as one of the profitable branches of trade which had of late enriched the Makullah Chief. This was almost immediately afterwards confirmed by the statements of some members of the Shoa Roman Catholic Mission, who were waiting at Aden for an opportunity to go to Tajurah, with the annual convoy of recruits and supplies for the South Abyssinian Roman Catholic Mission, and Monsignor Massaya. The Senior Father in charge had attempted, he told Mr. Badger, only a short time before, to make his way to Ankober by Zailah on the African coast opposite Aden, and not far from Tajurah, but was prevented by Abu-Bekr, the Chief of Zailah, under pretence of anxiety for the Padre's safety; but, in reality, as the Padre believed, because he feared the reports the missionaries would give of the inland slavery. 200 young Galla slaves were brought to Zailah from the interior while the Padre was there, and he found the town full of them. Several of the children begged him to purchase them. Hundreds, he states, are brought to Zailah and Tajurah every year from the interior, and exported thence to Hodeida and Jedda without let or hindrance. The slaves are mostly young Gallas, some of whom are sold by their parents to the slave-dealers, whilst others are kidnapped and taken in raids on the tribes.

He also stated that Massowah was the principal port in the Red Sea, from which the more northern Galla slaves were exported to the Hejaz and Egypt. The Padre intended to start in a week or ten days for Tajurah, whence he hoped to be more successful in making his way to Shoa. He had with him five Galla youths, one of whom had been in France for five years. The rest were liberated slaves, educated by the Roman Catholic missionaries of Aden.

He expressed the most unfeigned surprise that Mr. Badger should question the fact of the great extent of this Slave Trade. "Everybody," he said, "who knows anything of the two ports was aware of it. One had only to go there and see it."

Zailah and Tajurah are both claimed by the Porte, and are at present under the Turkish flag. I was assured that, at least in its present delineations, this traffic in

* See Class B for 1870, p. 21.

Gallas is a recent development of the Slave Trade. Formerly they were, as nominal Muslims, to a great extent protected from being enslaved by Mahomedans, and the few, who were brought to market, were the captives taken by the nominal Christians of Shoa and sold by them. It is only of late years that the Muslim Slave-dealers have been tempted by the facilities existing at Zeilah and Tajurah, &c., and by the greatly increased demand for good slaves in Turkey, Arabia, and Egypt, to organise slave-hunts amongst the northern Gallas; and any questions as to the legality of such proceedings under a Muslim Ruler are answered by the assurance that the Gallas are from the south of the Somali country, where they are generally idolaters, or, at any rate, are only nominal Muslims, and, in truth, idolaters, Christians, or in some other form, Kaffirs and infidels.

Some of the northern Gallas, no doubt, are Christians; and this, joined to the fact of their frequently high type of manly beauty, and comparative freedom from some of the less attractive attributes of the negro race, are among the "peculiarly repulsive features" of the traffic to which the resident at Aden refers in his letter.

No. 18.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received February 17.)

(Extract.)

"Enchantress," Zanzibar, January 14, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that, having thought it best to come directly here before looking in at any harbour on the mainland, we arrived at this port on the evening of the 12th instant, after a good passage of eight days from Aden, during which the currents varied from $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour in our favour when nearly off Brava to nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ against us after we passed the Equator.

The heat has very rapidly increased since leaving the Red Sea, and though the thermometer seldom stands above 85 degrees, the atmosphere under the influence of the moisture-laden north-east wind is more oppressive than I have usually felt it on the sea coast of India during the warmest season.

The anchor was hardly let go in front of the British Consulate when Dr. Kirk, Her Majesty's acting Agent and Consul, came on board, and was shortly followed by Nassur-bin-Saeed, the Wuzeer of the Sultan. It was then arranged that our formal official interview with Seyyid Burghash should take place at five o'clock on the following afternoon, in order that I might present the letters with which I have been intrusted by Her Majesty and Her Government, and also those from the Viceroy and the Governor of Bombay.

The British men-of-war which we found here were the "Glasgow" flag-ship, under Rear-Admiral Cumming, the "Briton," and the "Daphne." The American sloop-of-war "Yantic," Commander Wilson, is also here, having been detained by orders from the United States' Government on her way to China, and officers both from her and from Admiral Cumming were sent on board soon after our arrival.

As it was after sundown when we reached Zanzibar, the salute from the flap-ship was deferred till the following morning at eight o'clock.

Early on the morning of the 13th, the "Punjaub" arrived, with Colonel Pelly and the other gentlemen who embarked in her at Aden.

The morning was chiefly taken up by receiving the visits of the Admiral and his officers and by arranging for the State interview in the afternoon.

Captain Wilson, of the "Yantic," also came on board.

In the afternoon, according to appointment, I proceeded on shore with my suite, and met at the Consulate Admiral Cumming and his staff, and the officers of the three ships of war who were off duty. Captain Wilson and the officers of the "Yantic" were also there, by my invitation, and Captain Carr, of this ship, together with his officers, attended me on shore.

There were present in all forty-eight English and Americans, including Dr. Kirk and the members of the mission, and all were in full uniform.

The narrow streets which lead from the Consulate to the Sultan's palace were thronged with a crowd of Arabs and negroes, such as I am told has never been before collected in Zanzibar, but they were all perfectly respectful and orderly, and the work of the Sultan's guard of Arabs and Persian soldiers with which the streets were lined was but a sinecure.

Seyyid Burghash met us at about thirty yards from his door (he has never before been known to advance so far in welcome of any visitor), and after he had exchanged

the customary greetings with myself he proceeded to shake hands with each of the several members of my escort. During this time his guns fired a salute, which was answered by the "Glasgow."

Having reached the reception-room upstairs, to which, according to the etiquette of this country, I preceded His Highness, he seated himself at the end with his five brothers and two of his Ministers, Suleimân bin Hamed and Nassur bin Saeed, on his right hand, whilst we were placed on his left. There was also present, I should mention, Ali-bin-Saood of His Highness' family.

After the usual compliments and inquiries had passed on both sides, I presented the Royal letter. On receiving it His Highness rose, all present following his example, and according to the eastern custom raised it to his head as a mark of veneration. After the other letters had been handed to His Highness, Admiral Cumming, Captain Wilson, and the members of the Mission were severally introduced, and His Highness made a few remarks of cordial recognition of all whom he had met before, namely, Colonel Pelly, Captain Fairfax, and one or two other officers of the navy.

Seyyid Burghash then inquired by which route we had come, and on my informing him asked if we had not been to Constantinople. To this I, of course, replied in the negative, and the subject was not pursued. Admiral Cumming then made some remarks on the subject of the "Sea King" (late the "Shenandoah"), a vessel belonging to His Highness, to which, as your Lordship will remember, some service in the way of repairs was recently rendered by Her Majesty's ship "Wolverene," and which was subsequently lost on her way to Bombay. This terminated the interview, and we returned as we had come, Seyyid Burghash accompanying us far down the street before he took leave, and Nassur-bin-Saeed coming with us to the Consulate where it was arranged that His Highness should return my visit this day on board the "Enchantress."

This he did at 5 P.M.

His Highness left the shore in his own barge towed by his steam-launch, and accompanied by the boats of the English squadron in double lines on the quarters, while the yards of all Her Majesty's ships were manned, and a royal salute of twenty-one guns fired from the Flag ship as he embarked.

The Sultan was received with the same etiquette, so far as the accommodation on the "Enchantress" permitted, as had been observed on the occasion of my visit to him, and a guard of marines from the flag ship was drawn up on board.

His Highness opened the conversation by begging me to consider one of his houses at my disposal while here. This, however, I declined for reasons which I trust your Lordship will appreciate.

His Highness having made a remark about the "Punjaub" mail steamer which is anchored near this ship, I took the opportunity of mentioning the steps taken by Her Majesty's Government for establishing a line of steamers from Aden to the Cape via Zanzibar, and of expressing a hope that the opening of the new line would be useful to Zanzibar. He replied that the merchants had been disappointed at its not running through to Bombay, and implied a doubt as to its permanence. I explained that the line had only just been opened, that a large subsidy had been granted it by Government, and that he might be assured of its ultimate success, and I requested him to allow Dr. Kirk to present the Captain of the "Punjaub" to him. To this he willingly consented.

The interview, throughout which Seyyid Burghash had shown great good-humour, then terminated, and after I had shown him over the ship, he left in the Admiral's barge, accompanied by Flag-Captain Jones and attended by the boats of the squadron, in the same order and with the same ceremony as on his arrival.

In both these interviews I availed myself of the efficient services of Mr. Badger, as interpreter.

I have described the details of these interviews at greater length than would have been necessary in the case of a Court to which such visits are of frequent occurrence, and trust that my proceedings will be approved.

No. 19.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received February 17.)

My Lord,

"Enchantress," Zanzibar, January 16, 1873.

INCLOSED is a translation of an address which was presented to me yesterday by the principal Natives of India now resident at Zanzibar.

[446]

I thought it well, on account of the great readiness shown by the Rao of Kutch, to co-operate with Her Majesty's Government on the Slave Trade question, that I should accede to the wish expressed by the Banian community, and give them a reception, and shall have the honour in another despatch of forwarding to your Lordship a Memorandum on their actual position in regard to the Slave Trade and commerce of Zanzibar.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure in No. 19.

Address presented by the Bhatias, Khojas, and others, natives of India, residing at Zanzibar, to Sir B. Frere, at a Meeting held on the 15th January, 1873.

(Translation.)

May it please your Excellency,

WE, the undersigned merchants, on our own part and on the part of the natives of Western India now residing in Zanzibar, beg to offer your Excellency our cordial welcome on your arrival at Zanzibar. Most of the Indians residing here are merchants and traders, carrying on business under the protection of the British flag. We, therefore, consider ourselves fortunate in having this opportunity of welcoming so high a trusted representative of the august owner of that flag, the Empress of India, as your Excellency. But we have more reasons than one to congratulate ourselves on this occasion. We cannot forget your Excellency's rule in Western India, a rule which has endeared your name among the people whose good fortune it was to be under it. We have also, from time to time, heard of the deep interest you have continued to take in all matters concerning the welfare of the people of India. Grateful for these kindnesses, we pray that the Almighty may grant you a long and happy life. We hope that the business on which Her Majesty has deputed you may be attended with success, and thereby the cruelties and hardships now inflicted on human beings may be put an end to.

January 15, 1873.

(Here follow the signatures of eleven Khojas, two Bohras, five Bhatias, and two Banians.)

No. 20.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received February 17.)

My Lord,

"Enchantress," Zanzibar, January 18, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a Memorandum on the present state of the slave market in Zanzibar, which shows that institution to be still in full force.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure in No. 20.

Memorandum.

A SHORT sketch of the slave market at Zanzibar, as it at present exists, may not be uninteresting, but it should be stated that the following is not meant for a sensational account, but for a plain description of a state of things which will, it is hoped, soon disappear.

The slave market is no longer in the square which it so long occupied, as within the last few weeks Her Majesty's Acting Consul, Dr. Kirk, took advantage of the old site having been bought by a British Indian subject, to prohibit his allowing the continuance of the scandal. The site now occupied is a small square surrounded on three sides by buildings, and the approach to which is, on the one side, through the bazaars, where the trade is carried on chiefly by Indians, and, on the other, through more open streets leading to the outskirts of the town.

Coming towards the market from this latter side, we passed a large covered space

occupied by the cocoa nut mills, which are turned by camels, and the primitive construction of which, consisting as they do of a mere hollow log in which a heavy piece of wood revolves as the camels walk round, is said to be a more paying method of extracting the oil than than the best devised machinery.

On the occasion of the visit of some of the members of the Zanzibar Mission, three slaves were chained close by this mill for having attempted to steal some of the oil. Their jaunty air showed how little the punishment affected either their moral or physical sensibilities.

On entering the market we passed by wooden sheds, under which sat, on the left, some half-caste Arabs, on the right, some half-clothed Negroes. The market was comparatively empty when we arrived at half-past 4 in the afternoon, so we had a good opportunity of seeing the slaves who were already there. They were seated in rows round the square, each batch sitting packed close together, and herded by an Arab or Negro (for the Negro seems to forget the miseries he once underwent as a newly-captured slave, or, like a schoolboy bullied as a youngster, bullies again when able), who forced into position the luckless wretch who stretched his stiffening limbs beyond the limits allowed him. We counted at that time ninety, of all ages and of both sexes. Many wore a set and wearied look, many were fat and gay, while two young men and a boy alone confirmed, by their skeleton frames and looks of misery, the sensational tales often written of these markets. The impression left upon the mind at this time was that the process of sale was not more debasing to the Negro than were the statute-hiring fairs of recent English times to the servant class of England. Most of the slaves were naked, save a clout round the waist of the men and a cloth thrown loosely over the women. I say "naked," for one can hardly consider as clothing what some evidently held to be full dress, viz., the scars and slashes on their faces, and the rings in their ears and noses. Some, however, of the women, chosen probably for some attraction which, great doubtless to Zanzibarite eyes, were hardly appreciable by Europeans, were gaudily dressed in coloured robes, with short-clipped hair, eyes and eyebrows painted black, and henna-dyed foreheads, while the rings and armlets they wore were heavy and large.

About 5 o'clock the frequenters of the market,—the lounge of the true Zanzibarite, strolled quietly in, Arabs and half-castes, Persians of the Guard in their long caps, and all armed with matchlock, sword, or dagger. At once the salesmen woke up, and all was bustle. And now came a cruel time. With a true knowledge of business, the sickliest and most wretched slaves were trotted out first, led round by the hand among the crowd, and their price called out. The price of one boy was seven dollars; he was stripped and examined by a connoisseur, his arms felt, his teeth examined, his eyes looked at, and finally he was rejected.

The examination of the women was still more disgusting. Bloated and henna-dyed old debauchees gloated over them, handled them from head to foot before a crowd of lookers-on, like a cowseller or horsedealer, and finally, when one was apparently satisfactory, buyer, seller, and woman all retired behind the curtain of the shed to play out the final scene of examination.

I cannot say that the subjects of this searching examination seemed to object to it; on the whole they appeared perfectly callous, neither caring whether their merits were dilated on nor apparently sensible of the notice they were attracting from the bystanders.

The prices we heard mentioned varied from sixty-seven dollars for a woman to seven dollars for the boy whose case I have mentioned. We saw no deals actually effected, and were told that the presence of the Mission in Zanzibar had sensibly affected the commerce in slaves as well as in the ordinary articles of trade.

This being the close time, the market was not at its full height, though there must have been at least two hundred slaves there before we left.

No rudeness was shown to us by any one, though I have been told that some officers of the squadron now here have been insulted and hissed by Arabs.

It may be added, though not actually connected with our visit, that since the squadron arrived in this harbour four dhows have been taken by Her Majesty's ships: one, containing one slave, was condemned in the Vice-Admiralty Court, not being defended; a second was also condemned as a legitimate prize; a third was released and the fourth escaped condemnation as her papers were dated three days before the commencement of the close time. She had started from Kilwa with eighty slaves, of whom thirty-eight had died of cholera before she was captured. Two whose lives were despaired of were left by their owner to die on the beach, whence they were rescued by the French Roman Catholic Mission, a fact which would alone show the hardships to

which the victims of the Slave Trade are exposed even before their trials on land commence.

Let people say what they will of the happiness of the negro when landed, I think the above facts will show that the fate of a human being put on shore in sickness, driven in that state and regardless of his sufferings to the barracoon, dragged daily there to broil his wretched carcass in the hot East-African sun, without water, without shade, till the shadow of death is on him (for the more wretched he is and the more unsaleable, the less he will be cared for)—these facts, I say, will show that not one moment too soon, not one whit too strongly, has England interfered to abolish for ever the curse of Africa.

(Signed) CLEMENT LI. HILL.

Zanzibar, January 17, 1873.

No. 21.

Earl Granville to Sir B. Frere.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, February 28, 1873.

I HAVE asked the Admiralty to instruct the Admiral on the East India station to have inquiries made by a competent officer as to the feasibility of having a depôt of captured slaves at Johanna, and as to the probability of finding employment for them with safety to their freedom; and I should also be glad to be in possession of your opinion on the subject.

No. 22.

Earl Granville to Sir B. Frere.

Sir,

Foreign Office, March 6, 1873.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 28th ultimo, I transmit, for your information, a copy of a despatch from Dr. Kirk, relative to the application of the Sultan of Johanna that liberated slaves might be landed in that island, together with a copy of the reply which I have caused to be returned to that officer.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 23.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received March 9.)

My Lord,

"Enchantress," Zanzibar, February 10, 1873.

IN reply to your Lordship's despatch of the 9th of November last, directing me to inquire into the facts of the alleged difference between Drs. Livingstone and Kirk, I have now the honour to inclose a memorandum showing that I consider Dr. Kirk to have been entirely free from blame in this matter.

A copy of this memorandum has been communicated confidentially to the Governor of Bombay.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure in No. 23.

Memorandum by Sir B. Frere on the Correspondence between Drs. Kirk and Livingstone.

February 1, 1873.

I HAVE read with great care and attention all that I can find recorded by Dr. Livingstone on this subject, and all bearing on it that has been published, as far as

I have had access to each publication, by Mr. Stanley and others, either officially or unofficially, either in their own names or anonymously.

I have also been favoured by Dr. Kirk with a perusal of a very detailed explanation of his conduct in reply to some strictures in the Bombay "Times," partly published as editorials, partly under the signature of Captain Fraser, late Indian Navy, then and now residing at Zanzibar. This explanation Dr. Kirk forwarded in September last to the Bombay Government.

I find that Dr. Kirk has been since called on by the Government of India for a report on all the circumstances connected with his transactions on Dr. Livingstone's behalf; and his reply, in obedience to that call, will be in such detail as to supply the fullest information on all controverted points.

It seems to me, therefore, that I shall best fulfil Lord Granville's injunctions by stating succinctly the general impression left on my mind by the very careful study of all I find recorded as above specified, and all I have been able to learn on the subject at this place.

On the first point, as to how far the complaints of Dr. Livingstone were well-founded, there can, I think, be no doubt that they were. The things sent to him did not reach him; those taken by and sent to Mr. Stanley did reach him. Clearly then, there was good ground for complaints of the non-arrival of Dr. Livingstone's packages.

On the second point, how far those complaints were well founded in regard to the class of porters employed by Dr. Kirk on Dr. Livingstone's behalf, I think it quite possible that there may have been some foundation for attributing the failure of the convoys intended for Dr. Livingstone to the class of porters employed. I say "quite possible," because certainty on the point seems to me unattainable: after careful inquiry and comparison of statements, I cannot learn that there was any real difference between the classes of men employed by Dr. Kirk and Mr. Stanley and his agents. Much has been written and said, and much more might be written and said on the subject; but the reasoning is all of the kind which may be heard between two experienced members of the Alpine Club, as to the respective merits of the guides furnished by the landlords of the "William Tell" or the "Helvetia." The question, whether Swiss, or German, or a dash of French or Italian blood is best in a guide, may be debated for ever with all the lights of the longest experience and fullest local knowledge; so may the relative advantages of mountaineer independence, or implicit obedience to the behests of the landlord, to whom every one in the town is in debt. The half-starved traveller detained near the limits of perpetual snow by a dislocated limb, is keenly alive to the defects of men who failed to bring up the supplies he needed, and may often be right in thinking that men from the rival establishment might have done better; but it is difficult for any one else to come to any more judicial decision than that, he who succeeded best was the best chosen.

In the instance under discussion, Dr. Kirk availed himself of the agency of the largest and most influential Hindoo house in Zanzibar. They had been, I believe, with hardly an exception, always employed by the English Consulate on similar work, and had been usually most successful.

Mr. Stanley, I believe, employed the broker of the American Consul, who is himself an experienced merchant in extensive business. His broker is at the head of the Khoja community of Indian Muslims, and ranks only second to the Hindoo house in general estimation.

Between the two houses there is no choice other than that between the oldest and largest, and the younger and possibly more energetic establishment.

But judging from all I hear and have read, I have little doubt that Mr. Stanley's own convoy would have failed to reach Ujiji but for his presence with it, and the extraordinary energy with which he pressed it forward.

I am not shaken in this opinion by the fact that three separate packets sent up by the American Consul are said to have reached Mr. Stanley after he joined Dr. Livingstone. When Mr. Stanley had once gone on, the place of safety was with him, and the most half-hearted messenger once started from the sea coast would not willingly stop till he had joined the white man's caravan.

For all these reasons I am unable to say more than repeat the almost obvious truism, that it is possible that had the agency employed by Mr. Stanley been employed on behalf of Dr. Livingstone, the supplies might have reached him.

On the third and last question, whether Dr. Kirk is in any way to blame for the delays that took place in expediting the stores to Dr. Livingstone, I have no hesitation whatever in stating my conviction that he is not. He seems to me to have done what any one on the spot, not judging after the event, would have said was for the best, and

his want of success was in no way due to any want of due care, precaution, local knowledge, or energy, or to any defect of judgment in the choice of his agents.

I am confirmed in this view by the more experienced opinion of Colonel Pelly, who formerly filled the office of Consul and Political Agent here, with great credit to himself and advantage to Her Majesty's service. He assures me that had he been here in his old post, he would have acted precisely as Dr. Kirk acted, and that he is convinced no one here could have known that any better steps could have been taken than were taken to insure the supplies reaching their destination.

But what appears to me to be conclusive on the subject, is the indirect testimony of the great traveller himself. I judge, of course, simply and entirely from what he has himself written. Under the pressure of his first disappointment he wrote to Dr. Kirk, omitting the habitual forms of personal friendship, and in terms expressive of some bitterness and irritation. Of the precise circumstances and influences under which he wrote we are but imperfectly informed. I am, however, certain that few men disappointed in arrangements which they thought might have been made, when the non-fulfilment of their expectations caused the loss of valuable time, could have written with so little acrimony; and I cannot find that, even in the first manifestation of natural and pardonable vexation, Dr. Livingstone imputes to his old friend anything more than being taken in by their agent. In his subsequent letters, when he found that he was regarded as having charged Dr. Kirk with omission to do his duty in a matter of such vital importance to him, Dr. Livingstone explains very clearly and distinctly that he imputed to Dr. Kirk no more than companionship with himself in the misfortune of putting their trust in men who deceived them, and he disclaims in the most pointed and emphatic manner all intention of accusing his friend of anything more than participation in their common misfortune.

With this question, Dr. Kirk's general merits as a public officer have little to do, beyond the obvious fact that a public officer who, I can affirm from my personal observation, is conspicuous for the careful, conscientious, laborious, and most efficient discharge of every duty connected with the important offices he holds here, is not likely to have failed in what was to him a labour of love, and a duty of long and uninterrupted friendship; and I cannot conclude this Memorandum without expressing my conviction that Dr. Livingstone never had here, possibly not in any part of the world, a truer or warmer friend than Dr. Kirk; and, in saying this, I confidently believe that I am only saying what Dr. Livingstone himself would say, if he were here to give us his deliberate testimony.

(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

No. 24.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received March 9.)

My Lord,

"Enchantress," Zanzibar, February 11, 1873,

I TRANSMIT to your Lordship herewith, a Memorandum giving an account of a short journey up the River Wami which was, by my desire, undertaken by Mr. Hill in company with some of the officers of the naval squadron now anchored in this harbour. Though the expedition was unable to ascend the river as far as I had hoped, I think your Lordship may like to see the account of its proceedings, and I would suggest that the Memorandum might be forwarded to the President of the Royal Geographical Society for the information of that body.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

P.S.—I also inclose a chart of the river which has been drawn out by two of the officers under Captain Malcolm's command.

Inclosure in No. 24.

Memorandum respecting the Wami River.

CONSIDERABLE interest attaches to the River Wami owing to the strong opinion expressed in Mr. Stanley's recent work* of its capabilities of being used as one great inlet into Africa of commerce and civilization.

To prove, if possible, the accuracy of this statement a small expedition was organized during the stay of Sir B. Frere's Mission at Zanzibar by Captain Malcolm of Her Majesty's ship "Briton;" and the following remarks give the results of that expedition, which are, however, but small, owing to the brief time at our disposal.

The Wami is situated opposite the Island of Zanzibar in latitude $6^{\circ} 6' 40''$ south, and between the towns of Saadani (from which it is distant 7 miles) to the north and Windi to the south. It has two mouths, the Chanangu and the Furanhanga, distant from one another nearly 2 miles. The Furanhanga, or northern mouth, by which we entered, is by no means easy to discover from the sea, as the low mangrove covered banks show little or nothing to distinguish them from the rest of the coast. It is, moreover, dangerous to enter except at flood tide owing to the existence at the mouth of bars of shifting sand.

The entrance of the river is from 70 to 100 yards broad, a breadth which it maintains, speaking generally, as far as we ascended it, and its depth as far as the Chanangu junction, at which point the tide ceases, is not, even at this season of the year less than 7 feet. This depth decreases higher up till in places there is not more than 1 foot of water, though 3 feet may generally be counted upon by hugging the concave bank. The river, which, it may be added, is full of snags, winds so greatly that our course varied almost round the compass.

The low mangrove covered banks of the first few miles of the river alter in character as one ascends, becoming higher and more open, while the country is covered with high thick grass interspersed with thickets which become almost a forest at the spot where we first encamped, about 9 miles up.

We saw no natives nor any signs of habitations beyond a deserted hut or two near the river till we reached Galooka and Saguirra, two small villages about 12 miles up inhabited by the Wdoi, a tribe of reputed cannibals, but who showed themselves to us only as a mild and almost vegetarian race.

The furthest distance which we succeeded in reaching in two-and-a-half days from the mouth was 23 miles, our progress being but slow owing to the need of frequent recourse to the oars to make any way against the strong current (of nearly 3 miles an hour) when the wind failed: no light work under an African sun.

This brought us to the foot of the Kibohero Hills, in latitude $6^{\circ} 13' 50''$ south, a low range, of which I can find no mention in either Stanley's or Burton's recent works. From this spot we could see, about 9 miles to the west, two higher hills apparently 1,000 or 1,200 feet high, and which would probably be the Dilima Peaks laid down in Mr. Stanley's map. Here the country became more open, the grass shorter, and the whole appearance more park-like. Here, too, as elsewhere, the river in the rainy season overflows its banks to the distance of at least 3 miles, washing up shells, quartz, and rounded pebbles.

But little game was found except that a herd of ten giraffes and a troop of zebra were seen in the neighbourhood of Saadani. The river, however, abounds in crocodiles and hippopotami (I counted twenty-three of the latter up at once within a space of 100 yards) to such an extent, exaggerated though the statement may sound, as to throw a real obstacle in the way of the passage of light craft. I say this, having felt the heavy pinnace in which we were raised some 6 inches by three hippopotami against whom we struck as they lay under water, on our way up, and having seen holes made in the bottom of a cutter whilst we were in the harbour of Dar-es-Salaam by the teeth of a hippopotamus which attacked it, though unwounded. Had either of these accidents happened in the Wami to a light craft, the crocodiles would not have been slow to take advantage of the presence of its crew in their waters. Doubtless, however, these animals would soon be killed down and the hippopotamus should be capable of being utilized in some way, as glue, leather, or tallow, for instance.

It may be of some interest to mention here that we ascertained by sounding the places where hippopotami had gone down that they can conceal themselves so effectually that not a ripple shall mark their presence in little over three feet of water.

A native of Galooka, with whom I conversed through an interpreter, stated that

* "How I found Livingstone," pp. 233-243.

no slave-dealers came up as far as that village, which, as is the case with all the district through which we passed, is ruled by the Governor of Saadani, under the Sultan of Zanzibar.

The same native said that the Wdoi professed the Mahomedan faith.

All the natives with whom we conversed up this river concurred in stating that we were the first white men who had ever been seen there.

No cases of sickness or fever occurred amongst our party, and I should judge that in the dry season the country is healthy.*

So far as it is possible to judge from the short distance we were able to go, and from the statements of the natives, who said the river continued for the distance of a moon's journey of the same depth and width, there is every reason to suppose that Mr. Stanley may be correct when he says that the Wami can be navigated by steamers drawing two or three feet of water for a distance of 200 miles; but that this navigation would be valuable for commerce is a question on which, as before remarked, time did not allow us to form a definite opinion. I think I shall be supported by the naval officers whom I accompanied when I say that the Wami is not navigable for practical purposes of commerce by any craft which has not steam-power.

The timber we saw—accacias, gourd trees, thorns, with here and there a palm—would not repay an expedition. Cultivation, so far as we went, was but very scanty and confined to pumpkins and a little maize, and the country, rich though the soil apparently is, was so thinly populated that no assistance could be expected from, or trade looked forward to with the natives.

An expedition which had time to penetrate as far as Mbumi might produce valuable results.

Zanzibar, February 10, 1873.

(Signed)

CLEMENT L. HILL.

No. 25.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received March 9.)

My Lord,

"Enchantress," Zanzibar, February 12, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a Memorandum which I have drawn up on the subject of Captain Fraser's estate at Kokotoni in this island, which I think may be of interest to your Lordship, and to the public generally should your Lordship see fit to communicate its contents to the press.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure in No. 25.

Memorandum respecting Captain Fraser's Estate.

"Enchantress," Zanzibar, February 10, 1873.

REAR-ADMIRAL CUMMING, C.B., having done me the honour of accompanying me in Her Majesty's steam-yacht "Enchantress," we left the harbour of Zanzibar on the afternoon of the 3rd instant, to touch at some points of special interest as connected with the objects of this Mission, and I found what I saw at the estate of Kokotoni on the northern end of the island of Zanzibar, of sufficient importance to induce me to draw up a separate Report on the subject.

We anchored in the evening, about 19 miles north of the town of Zanzibar, off the entrance to Kokotoni Channel, which separates the islet of Tumbat from the main island, and affords to those who know the winding channels, between sand-banks and coral-reefs, safe shelter for dhows and vessels of light draught.

Tumbat is said to be inhabited exclusively by Wahadeemo—"people of the hand," or "workpeople"—who are generally regarded as the aborigines of these islands. Those on Tumbat are said to number 350 to 400 souls, and to live mainly by fishing. There is no water on their islet, and they bring it in canoes from the main island. Nearly half the population is said to have perished in the hurricane last year.

* Some cases of intermittent fever occurred subsequently both amongst the officers and men, which were probably to be attributed to our having spent the last night in the open boats near the mouth of the river, where the mangrove trees are very numerous.—C. L. H.

Kokotoni Channel is a usual point of departure for native craft bound northwards, and a favourable haunt of slave-runners. In the shelter its bays and inlets afford, cargoes of slaves can be safely and secretly transferred to boats bound for the north, or landed and kept secure from capture on the main island, where some of the most notorious slave-traders have "shambas"—estates with houses on them—near the shore, whence slaves can be sent, a few at a time, without exciting observation, or risking recapture by the boats of the British squadron.

I understand from Captain Fraser, late of the Indian Navy, that the estate which I went to visit was purchased by him about eight years ago, in association with some gentlemen of the great Bombay and London houses of Nicol and Smith, Fleming, and Co.; large sums were spent in draining, road-making, planting, and setting up machinery. Subsequently, the whole estate was bought by a Hindoo British subject, from whom it is now leased by Captain Fraser, who naturally takes unusual interest in a place where he has resided for a considerable part of the last ten years, and which, under his management, has changed from an unimproved Zanzibar rice swamp into a well-arranged and well-cultivated tropical estate.

Owing to circumstances on which it is unnecessary to dwell, Captain Fraser had given me only a general invitation to visit his estate; and I had given him such short notice of my intention to accept his invitation, that he had scarcely time to send down horses, donkeys, and carts, to meet our party on landing. I mention this, as showing that we saw the estate in its ordinary every-day condition, without its being brushed up for the reception of special visitors.

The estate comprises, I believe, about 2,300 to 2,500 acres of land, mostly dark alluvial soil and clay, lying along a flat shore line with a back ground of low hills, conspicuous among which is one of coral-rag, or limestone, about 250 feet above the plain, on the top of which is a small temporary dwelling-house for the manager of the estate. A stream runs through the estate, and the sugar-mill is built on its bank, surrounded by the huts of the labourers. Others are scattered near the landing-place, from which the mill is about a mile and a half distant.

That portion of the estate which is under cultivation has been cleared, drained, and laid out in regular parallelograms, with broad raised roads running through it at convenient intervals; the main roads being cross drained and metaled, where necessary, with coral-rag.

About 220 acres are devoted to sugar-cane. It seems to grow much more rapidly and luxuriantly than any I ever saw in India, the chief difficulty being so to regulate the planting that the cane shall come to maturity in the short dry season, which is best for sugar-making. I understand that about 80,000 cocoanut-trees have been planted, and the greater number were so young that the hurricane, last year, did them no permanent damage; when they are in bearing they will add immensely to the productiveness of the property. Screw palms ("vacoa") have been brought from Seychelles, to make the mat-bags required for packing sugar, palm-oil-trees from Pemba, and a variety of other tropical fruit-trees, oranges, limes, grafted mangoes from Bombay, &c., have been planted, and all seem to thrive.

The mill contains two steam-engines, of 35 and 15 horse-power respectively, which drive a quantity of excellent English machinery for making sugar, pressing oil, boiling soap, and crushing coir (the fibre of cocoanut); all appeared to be in excellent order and perfect in their several ways.

But the estate has a special interest far beyond its fertility or the excellence of its machinery, owing to the fact that all has been done by English capital and Captain Fraser's energy and fertility of resource, entirely through native agency and by native workpeople, the labour being now entirely free.

Not only all the field labour and road making, but all the masonry, carpenters' and smiths' and coopers' work, the cart making and mending, the transport and putting together of a large quantity of heavy machinery, its repair and daily starting, feeding, and stopping—all are worked, managed, and directed entirely by free negroes working for regular wages; Captain Fraser himself is much engaged in town, and can seldom visit the estate. He has of late seldom had more than one European assistant at a time, and when we saw the factory, the assistantship, in the temporary absence of Mr. Johnston, the permanent incumbent, was filled by a gentleman who had only arrived from Europe a few weeks before. But Captain Fraser assured me no difficulty whatever was experienced, the native headmen in each department carrying on all details of the work with only a very general supervision from the European manager.

These headmen are of various tribes and from various parts of the coast and interior. With only one exception all have been slaves; and it is curious that, at

least in one case, a sort of leadership is voluntarily attributed to a man whose parents in his own country belonged to a ruling clan.

There can be no doubt that the consciousness of freedom has, in many ways, improved the moral and intellectual, as well as the physical condition of these freedmen; and they have at various times, and occasionally in a manner inconvenient to Captain Fraser, manifested a strong desire to assist their enslaved fellow-countrymen to recover their freedom.

One of the most pleasing and note-worthy facts we witnessed was that of troops of healthy-looking well-fed children, numbering altogether eighty-five, of all ages under 8 or 9 years old. They came round Captain Fraser directly they saw him, and evinced none of the fear of the white men usual with slave children who have been taught to believe in the cannibal propensities of the white races.

The existence of such numbers of children after recent visitations of cholera and small-pox, and of much fever and other disease consequent on the late hurricane, is indeed a very important fact, for, as your Lordship will recollect, it has been confidently and persistently affirmed, as an excuse for defending a constant importation of fresh slaves from the mainland, that the slave population of Zanzibar is infertile, and would die out in a few years, if not steadily replenished by bringing fresh slaves from the interior of Africa.

Of the fact there can, I believe, be little doubt. Slaves in Zanzibar have few children except under specially favourable circumstances, and, taken as a body, would, as asserted, soon die out, if no fresh slaves were brought into the island. The question is whether this infertility is due to climate or other similar causes, or is it in any way connected with the status of slavery?

Some learning and much ingenuity has been expended in proof of the former proposition, but after taking great pains to arrive at the truth, I feel convinced it has not an atom of sound foundation. I have met with no single well-ascertained fact to support it, while there is abundant incontestable evidence to prove that the causes why this naturally most prolific race does not increase and multiply in Zanzibar, are all more or less connected with slavery.

The facts patent at Kokotoni, appear to me strongly corroborative on this point and I mention them, not because they are at all peculiar to the place, but because I found there collected examples and proofs of all the facts I had separately noticed elsewhere, and they may be accepted with the less hesitation because I believe Captain Fraser himself was for some time a believer in the theory of the natural infertility of the negro race in Zanzibar.

The negroes, as he first collected them on the estate, were slaves who naturally retained all the characteristics and vices of slavery. Among other peculiarities observable was that of infertility.

Marriage as a permanent tie, or as any restraint on almost promiscuous intercourse, was hardly recognized. Every kind of consequent disease, in its several forms, was common. Children generally were looked upon simply as a restraint and an incumbrance, and neither shame nor blame was attached, in the opinion of slaves among themselves, to any means for preventing or terminating the existence of children before or after their birth. The maternal instinct was deadened, if not extinguished; and the manager's public sitting to hear and dispose of complaints and controversies among the labourers, frequently testified to an almost incredible amount of shamelessness, want of natural feeling, and sensual depravity.

The change for the better was very gradual and attributable to a great variety of causes, of which it is difficult to assign special prominence to any one beyond saying that all resulted more or less directly from the status of freedom, with the exception of the kindly good sense of Captain Fraser and his manager, Mr. Johnston, which, of course, it is conceivable might have been manifested to slaves as well as to freedmen.

General habits of order, decency and regularity, good medical attendance from a qualified English practitioner (Dr. Christie) when ill, and many such causes operated to aid improvement, but the most efficient agency, no doubt, was the sense of property, that what they had was their own. This cause acted most effectually in raising the freedmen from the more degrading vices of slavery.

It is curious that the first marks of an anxiety to have children about them, as desirable additions to what they possessed, were remarked by Captain Fraser among the men. The women followed, and are not, he thinks, now at all behind their husbands in looking upon their children as natural and desirable additions to the comforts and respectabilities of their homes, but in the earlier annals of his primitive court for the adjustment of matrimonial as of all other disputes, it was the husband

who generally appeared the more anxious of the two to see his children grow up around him.

The total number of permanent residents on the estate may be taken at about 500 of both sexes and of all ages. Their houses of "wattle and dab" and cocoanut leaf mat work are, I think, quite as commodious and neat as those of the labouring classes on the coast in most parts of India, and I observed, not only at Kokotoni, but wherever I went, that it is a mistake to suppose that the negro, as a matter of course, generally remains content with the barest necessaries of life. They seem to me to show fully as much desire to acquire the ornaments and superfluities of life, in various shape of dress and household plenishing, as more civilized races. I found here the same kind of stock-in-trade which the Cutch Mehmon, or Bohrah pedlar, or village shopkeeper, exposes for sale in a remote Mahratta or Guzeratti village. Cotton cloth of various kinds, plain, coloured, and printed; cheap European or American cutlery, earthenware, small tinwares, looking-glasses, childrens' toys, &c., of the same sort as would be seen in the stalls at a small country fair in India.

The wages of an ordinary able-bodied man at Kokotoni range from 2 to 2½ dollars per month according to the season. Women work nearly as hard as the men, and can carry about the same—a part of all wages is advanced to those who prefer it, as almost all do, in a daily ration of grain, salt-fish, and tobacco. All who earn it receive good conduct pay on Sunday morning; and, after a time, good conduct badges, which are much prized. This may add as much as 1⅓ dollars per mensem to the wages. A permanent labourer living on the estate may cultivate as much land as he pleases for his own subsistence; and every hut has its patch of the cassava root (manioc) the great staff of life to the lower orders here, gourds, sweet potatoes, yams, &c., and most of them possess a poultry shed. The labourers are thus very amply supplied with food, and all other first necessaries of life.

An important feature in the economy of Kokotoni, is the extent to which extra labour can be got from other "shambas." The slaves in Zanzibar have, by long custom, two days in the week to themselves—Thursday and Friday. These days they very generally spend in idleness; but, in the neighbourhood of Kokotoni, Captain Fraser's practice of paying regular money-wages has induced a habit in the slaves on neighbouring estates of going to work at Kokotoni on their holidays; and he has at times had as many as 600 candidates for work on the same day.

There is extremely little crime, beyond that of small thefts, which are rarely committed by people resident on the estate. Any but very petty cases are sent to his Highness' Court in Zanzibar: but only two such cases have occurred in eight years; one was, killing and eating the manager's bullock.

Since the estate has been thoroughly drained, it has become extremely healthy. Mr. Johnston has enjoyed fairly good health there for nearly seven years. Captain Fraser and Dr. Christie have both lived on the hill for long periods of several months together, at all seasons of the year, without suffering in health; and European residents in Zanzibar, ladies, as well as gentlemen, have derived marked benefit from a change to Kokotoni. This is evidently the result of clearance and drainage, for there can be no doubt that, in its original state, uncleared and undrained, the place was extremely dangerous to sleep in. I need here not recall the fact, that the deadly climate of the island, beyond the town of Zanzibar, was one of the few accepted facts regarding which there were hardly two opinions. Extended cultivation has done much of late years to improve the climate of the island. I am told that, in the Portuguese settlements, on the coast, the Europeans make it a rule never to sleep on a plantation till it has been cleared and cultivated for two or three years. When first cleared, they visit it only between sunrise and sunset.

The fugitive slaves from other estates are a great pest at Kokotoni, sometimes thieving, sometimes merely hiding, and occasionally threatening to cause a temporary breach in the friendly relations between Captain Fraser and his Arab neighbours, with whom he has always lived on the most friendly terms.

His example has been by no means lost on them, and, I am told that, on several Arab estates, machinery of some kind has been introduced, and that, in two or three cases, mills of considerable size have been set up. On the Sultan Seyid Burghash, especially, the results of Captain Fraser's exertions seem to have made a considerable impression. His Highness, in the course of recent discussions, has more than once referred to them, admitting that they prove the possibility of economizing slave labour, without my having in any way alluded to them, or invited attention to them. His Highness maintains that it is impossible for Arabs to do as Captain Fraser has done; but the difficulty is by no means apparent. If the Slave Trade were abolished

there would be no difficulty in getting Indian or European capital, and nothing is wanted here beyond what has been done, and is done daily by hundreds of Arabs in Egypt.

In fact Captain Fraser seems to me, practically, and very completely, and the more effectually because in some respects almost unconsciously, to have solved some of the most difficult problems connected with the questions before us. It is clear that, whatever difficulties can beset any attempt to do without slave labour in Zanzibar, belong to an unwillingness to risk a small amount of present inconvenience for the sake of redressing a great wrong. It seems to me vain to argue that there is any impossibility, or even any difficulty which might not be overcome by the smallest possible amount of resolution. There are, no doubt, political and social difficulties in the widely ramified interests of the slave-dealing community, and in the bigoted obstinacy of the Arab slave-holders; but if, by any despotic exertion of power, not only the Slave Trade, but the status of slavery itself were abolished to-morrow, I feel convinced that no general or commercial interest in Zanzibar need permanently suffer. Any temporary or partial inconvenience would be more than compensated by the increase of labourers, by the confidence arising from the settlement of a great cause of difference between the local and the British Government, and by the easier terms on which Indian and European capital would be lent, when this question was once finally disposed of. Except in the prejudices of the small but dominant Arab race, the question, as far as these islands are concerned, is really beset with less difficulty than it was in many parts of India, when slavery was abolished there. The serfdom in many parts of India was certainly more severe in the tasks it exacted than the slavery of Zanzibar, though it was robbed of some of its natural horrors by the immobility of the serf, by the privileges as well as the restrictions of caste, and by the consequent absence of a great trade in slaves.

I have had the greater pleasure in reporting thus fully what I saw on Captain Fraser's estate, because a very unjust impression has got abroad that he is in some sense a defender of or apologist for slavery as it exists in these parts. I confess to having been myself, to some extent, affected by an impression of this kind; for which I can discover no better reason than that Captain Fraser sees, I think in an exaggerated form, the difficulties of a change of system, and perhaps underrates the general importance of what he has already taught by his own example. He hoped, perhaps, for even greater results, which only time and capital can fully develop.

(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

No. 26.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received March 9.)

(Extract.)

"*Enchantress,*" Zanzibar, February 13, 1873.

BEFORE this despatch reaches England your Lordship will have already learnt, by the telegram which I have this day sent out, the failure of my efforts to induce the Sultan, Seyyid Burghash, to sign the Treaty which Her Majesty's Government had instructed me to propose for his acceptance.

Much as I regret that I have so far been unable to carry out the measure which Her Majesty's Government had deemed best calculated to effect the immediate abolition of the East African Slave Trade, yet I do not think it impossible that, on my return from the inspection which I propose to make of the southern slave ports, His Highness may have so far reconsidered his refusal as to be willing to sign a Treaty, which, even if it may not go so far as that which I have already proposed, may yet carry out the wishes of Her Majesty's Government for the very speedy extinction of the traffic in slaves.

His Highness' final answer was only received on the 11th, so that I am not able to forward to your Lordship by this mail copies of the correspondence which has been carried on with him, or to do more than set before your Lordship, very briefly, the manner in which the negotiations have been conducted. I shall, however, have the honour, in a subsequent despatch, of sending to your Lordship copies of all the correspondence on the subject, and will now confine myself to a brief recapitulation of the arguments which have been used on either side.

In the two interviews which I had with His Highness, subsequent to the presentation of the draft Treaty, I urged upon him verbally, as I had already done in writing, the ultimate gain that would result to his dominions, as it had done to other countries, from the abolition of the Slave Trade; I promised that, should he sign the Treaty and

heartily co-operate with us in the objects we had in view, England would gladly give him the benefit of her friendship and support in tiding over any difficulties which might at first arise; I pointed out to him the danger, to his power and commerce, which would inevitably ensue from the absence of such friendship; I dwelt on the full determination of the Government and the people of England to put down the abomination of Slave Trade; I pressed him to state to me what were the chief obstacles in the way of his acceptance, whether financial or political; and I begged him to submit to me any scheme for a Treaty which he should be able to accept, if he found the terms of that which I proposed were too severe.

The counter arguments of his Highness, and the grounds on which he based his refusal, were the ruined state of the island, owing to the late hurricane, and the necessity under which he laboured of conforming to the wishes and watching the interests of all his Arab subjects. In connection with, but always subsidiary to these reasons, were adduced assertions that he had always faithfully kept the Treaty, and that England could not withdraw from it; expressions of desire to be allowed a term of years before the final suppression; entire refusal to pay up the arrears of, or in any way to recognize his liabilities under the Muscat Subsidy Arrangement of 1861; whilst, throughout, the Sultan evinced a mistrust of my statements, and even of the extent of my powers to negotiate, which I can only attribute to the action of some secret advice, to which he has been misguided enough to listen. He asserted that his difficulties were not purely financial, and has not hitherto submitted any counter Treaty for my consideration, declaring his determination to adhere to the letter of that of 1845.

Such, my Lord, is the present position of affairs. The wishes of England, and of a large majority of the civilized nations of the world, expressed in a manner calculated to give them the utmost weight, have been thwarted, and treated with marked disrespect by a Sovereign who claims the right to dispose for his own benefit of the liberty and happiness of races over whom he has no right either of conquest or succession, and whose persons he can only acquire through theft and murder committed by his subjects.

No. 27.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received March 9.)

My Lord,

"Enchantress," Zanzibar, February 13, 1873.

I REGRET to have to inform your Lordship that the health of the Reverend G. P. Badger has suffered so severely since his arrival here that I have very reluctantly become convinced that it is necessary he should return to England without delay, and he will leave by the steamer which conveys this letter.

As negotiations with His Highness are at present suspended, his services can be better spared than at an earlier period of the Mission; but as we return northwards, I shall greatly miss his hearty co-operation in whatever work the Mission had to undertake, and the aid I have always derived from his long experience and intimate acquaintance with the manners and feelings, as well as with the language of the Arabs. I beg to bring to your Lordship's special notice the valuable services so cheerfully rendered by Mr. Badger to this as to former Missions; and I would record my grateful sense of the excellent spirit in which those services have been always performed.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

No. 28.

Earl Granville to Sir B. Frere.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, March 12, 1873.

I HAVE to request that you will convey to the Rao of Cutch the thanks of Her Majesty's Government for the prompt and decided measures taken by His Highness to prevent his subjects engaging in the Slave Trade.

No. 29.

Earl Granville to Sir B. Frere.

Sir,

Foreign Office, March 14, 1873.

I HAVE received your despatch of the 10th ultimo, and have learnt with much satisfaction, from the memorandum which accompanies it, that you consider Dr. Kirk entirely free from blame in the matter of the alleged difference between him and Dr. Livingstone.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 30.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received April 1.)

My Lord,

"Enchantress," Zanzibar, February 14, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that Admiral Cumming has directed Her Majesty's ship "Briton" to accompany me on the visit to the southern slave ports, on which I intend to proceed to-morrow morning. The "Glasgow," flagship, leaves to-morrow for Bombay, while the "Daphne" remains at Zanzibar.

I gladly avail myself of this opportunity to request your Lordship to inform the Lords of the Admiralty how much indebted I feel to Admiral Cumming for the cordial support he has always afforded me during my stay at Zanzibar.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. FRERE.

No. 31.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received .)

(Extract.)

Mozambique Channel, February 27, 1873.

WE left Zanzibar on the 15th and have since been coasting southwards seeing as much as we could at the places where trade is, or might be, carried on. Nothing could be finer than the coast, full of good ports and anchorages, and with a fine country inland and plenty of tractable industrious people to trade and cultivate, if the slave traders would only let them alone. For the moment the want most present to my mind is a good survey. We have had an anxious time of it, feeling our way into half-surveyed anchorages, and missing much we should have wished to see, but could not without a good chart venture to attempt in the "Enchantress." The only survey we have was a wonderful work fifty years ago, but it only professes to be a mere running sketch of the coast, which ought to be surveyed more minutely than the Red Sea. It would pay for surveying better than almost any coast I know, for it is full of ports and facilities to shelter, which are worse than useless when no stranger dare approach them for want of charts.

Two surveying vessels, whilst on the coast, will be a most valuable addition to the squadron employed to check Slave Trade.

Next to the urgent need of a good survey, what has struck me most on this coast is the enormous increase of Indian commercial interest during the past thirty years. I will only state that it is hardly an exaggeration to say that all trade passes through Indian hands; African, Arab, and European, all use an Indian agent or Banian to manage the details of buying and selling, and without the intervention of an Indian, either as capitalist or petty trader, very little business is done. They occupy every place where there is any trade. At Zanzibar they have the command of the Custom-houses along nearly 1,000 miles of coast; wherever we went we found them monopolizing whatever trade there might be, spending and keeping their accounts in Guzeratti, whether in small shops, or as large mercantile houses. Their silent occupation of this coast from Socotra to the Cape Colony is one of the most curious things of the kind I know. It has been going on for forty years but I had no idea, till I came here, how complete their monopoly has become.

Two inferences may be drawn from these facts:—First, that everything connected with African trade is at least as much an Indian as it is an English question. The

German, American, and French trade is altogether larger than the English. But Germans, Americans, and Frenchmen, as well as Englishmen, trade through Banians, natives of India, with Indian capital and Indian homes, whither they carry the greater part of their African profits. India, therefore, must share with England the responsibility for what they do and the obligation to protect them in their lawful callings.

Nor, on the other hand, can either India or England justify indifference to the general complicity of Indian traders with offenders like slave traders, who are guilty of crimes against humanity.

2nd. England through India has an immense practical hold on East Africa. The Sultan and his Arabs can do nothing for good or evil without the Indian capitalist. The present difficulty is how to use this hold for the purpose of putting down the Slave Trade, which has grown with the growth of Indian interests on this coast.

I fear there can be no question as to the complicity of the Indian traders. They advance the capital for that as for all other trade on these coasts, and reap the capitalist's lion's share of the profits. They know every turn of the trade, and all who are engaged in it, and they do their best to shield it and those implicated in it, for the sake of the large profits which it brings to them and their customers.

Such being the case, it seems to me no excuse for the body to say that many of them are not more directly implicated than the merchants who, in the days of slavery, advanced money on the mortgage of a West India estate. A few, no doubt, are directly engaged in Slave Trade everywhere.

I have been much struck with the extremely superficial character of the Sultan's hold over the coast. I knew his authority did not extend far inland, but I was not prepared to find it so entirely confined to a few ports on the coasts, and that even at some of the more important of these ports his garrisons are hemmed in by the petty chiefs of neighbouring tribes. At one place, Lindy, which is his principal garrison to the south, and which is supposed to command the mouths of the Rovuma and all up to the Portuguese frontier, we found the town in nightly expectation of a plundering attack from some negro tribes who have never acknowledged the Sultan's authority. The traders were embarking their goods, and the country people were flying to islands in the river, where they hoped to be safe, or to more distant refuge in the jungle. Formerly, when the Sultan had a navy, he would promptly have sent a few hundred Arabs, and removed them again when they had driven off the marauders; now the hurricane has destroyed his ships, and with an empty Treasury he cannot replace them.

The Portuguese dominion north of Mozambique is nearly as superficial as that of the Sultan in his dominions. It hardly extends, in fact, beyond the islands and a very few ports on the coast; but, as far as I could judge from the few days we were with them, the Portuguese have turned the corner. They have begun to relax their high duties and exclusive policy, seem really anxious to attract foreigners, and especially Englishmen; they are well satisfied with the results, as far as they can be seen, of lowered duties. Slavery will be at an end in three years, and though there is still some export of slaves to the north and to Madagascar, it has been partially checked of late years, and if the Governor-General succeeds in the expedition he is preparing against Bonga, an insurgent half-caste chief, on the Zambesi, the territory may prosper; but they have much lee-way to fetch up.

The great want of Mozambique just now is better communication with the rest of the world, and I hope the new line of steamers to Zanzibar and the Cape will touch there. We found their latest dates from Lisbon were early in November, and the Governor-General had, of course, heard nothing officially of our mission. He was, however, very obliging, and would have done anything we wanted, as far as his very limited means would allow.

March 12.—Since I began this letter we have visited the Hova port of Majunga, and the French islands of Nossi Beh, and Mayotta, and Johanna, and returning to the mainland, we looked in at Kilwa Kavinja, next to Zanzibar the largest port on the coast, and the great place of export for slaves. We got a pretty good idea of the extent and character of the southern Slave Trade. It is not so great as a few years ago, when large vessels used to take their 700 or 800 slaves at a time to Cuba or Brazil; but moderate estimates make out a total of 8,000 or 10,000 annually taken to Madagascar from the African coast, a few being smuggled into the Comoro Islands on their way.

The Portuguese Government is so ill-served that their good intentions are little restraint to the collection of a small cargo, which, in the habitual absence of our

cruizers from these seas, is easily run across, and landed in some of the innumerable fine bays which abound on the north-west coast of Madagascar.

The Hova Government is said to act in perfect good faith whenever they can, but they hold only a few points on the coast, and the Sakalavas are as inveterate slave-dealers as the Arabs. A few slaves are smuggled into the French islands as "engagés," but I have no doubt a little more frequent visiting of these seas and coasts by our cruizers would greatly check what now goes on. But to do the thing effectually you require some Consular authority, who should move about occasionally from port to port. There is ample work for two—one on the Portuguese coast, the other for the Comoro Islands and Madagascar; but one man actively moving about could do a great deal. Nothing can exceed the beauty of the islands, and they do not seem more unhealthy than India, if men took the same precautions as in India.

I was glad we visited Kilwa Kavinja. It is the real hotbed of Slave Trade on this coast, and we had been foiled in our attempts to see it on the way down, having been misled and sent to other places of the same name many miles off. It turned out to be a very large town, even more thriving than Zanzibar, not marked on our charts, and placed out of sight of cruizers, among unsurveyed reefs, difficult of access to any but Arab dhows. A very large trade, especially in slaves, has its seat here, where Europeans are very rarely seen, but a Banian emissary, we were told, had been there and to other places on the coast, warning all slave-traders to send their slaves inland, and to tell us nothing.

These orders were well obeyed, and I never saw anything so insolent as the soldiers of the Arab Governor, or so obstructive as the usually mild and obsequious Indians. I have specially reported the circumstances, and was really thankful when I got the whole of our party embarked without a collision. But I am certain these people would never have behaved so without distinct orders, and equally certain that, unless both Sultan and Banians are brought to their senses, we shall somewhere have a very unpleasant manifestation of slave-traders' anger, at our interference with their proceedings.

I have little hope from what I saw that we shall find any change in the Sultan's feelings or policy when we get to Zanzibar.

We are all in good health, notwithstanding a good deal of exposure and great heat. The thermometer has been repeatedly 107 degrees in the ward room officer's cabins, and when rain or heavy sea prevents our sleeping on deck it is not easy to get to sleep below. It is like living in an orchid house or Turkish bath.

No. 32.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received April 7.)

My Lord,

*"Enchantress," off Comoro Island,
March 10, 1873.*

I HAVE the honour to submit to your Lordship the following summary of the facts which I have gleaned during my visit to the southern ports of the Sultan's dominions, and of the opinions which I formed from those facts, and trust they will not be without value to Her Majesty's Government.

The ports which I visited were Dar-es-Salaam, Kilwa Kiswani, and Kilwa Kavinja, Kiswara, and Lindy with the Island of Monfia.

The most salient point is the very slight tenure by which His Highness maintains his hold on his African possessions.

A striking instance of this was afforded us at Lindy, where we found that many families of natives had escaped to an island in the middle of a creek of the harbour, in order to avoid the attacks of an independent hostile tribe who were then within a few hours' walk nightly plundering some neighbouring villages, and against whom the Arabs were powerless to defend them. The Indian traders outside the port of Lindy were, for the same reason, embarking their goods; and persons living close to the coast some miles to the north, assured us they feared to cultivate beyond their immediate wants, lest they should invite the attacks of these marauders.

The power of the Sultan, which, even before the recent hurricane, was always most limited, has, since that event deprived him of his navy, become little more than nominal. Were not the natural indolence of the African supplemented by the debasing influence of slavery, there would long have ceased to be any Arabs on this part of the eastern shores

of Africa. Their influence, if they have any, is never exercised for good; capital, they have none to invest in the land or in its products; and in a financial sense they are entirely in the hands of the natives of India, who carry on almost exclusively the trade of the coast.

These Indians, traders by nature and education, are chiefly the agents for some of the wealthy houses of their native land. They naturally connive at the slave-trading practices of their nominal rulers and do not attempt to overthrow a system which, lucrative to them in itself, was already established when they settled in the land. Their wants are few, and spending but little in the country they do little or nothing to increase its material prosperity. Skilful accountants, they are entrusted with the books of the Government Custom and Registration Houses, and we must not be surprised if they know how to turn this fact to their own advantage.

At each port we visited a Custom-house is kept where all the particulars of the local trade purport to be registered; and these returns are sent annually to the Custom-house of Kilwa Kivinja, whence they are forwarded to the Custom-house officials of Zanzibar.

Where Arabs and Indians thus work together in maintaining the existing state of affairs, there is much difficulty in obtaining correct information in a hurried visit. We were evidently looked upon with suspicion; and no small reluctance was shown to afford more than the most general information.

This was so marked at Kilwa Kivinja, the great slave port on the mainland, that I have made it the subject of a separate despatch.

Another instance was afforded at Kiswara: the Arab soldier, who represents the Sultan, at that village denied there being any Indian residents, though some were seen running away when the boats approached. Again, at Lindy, where a dhow had been captured the day before our arrival by one of the boats of Her Majesty's ship "Briton," it was only after considerable hindrance from Arab and Indian that I obtained an interview with the headman of the place.

I gathered from conversation with several newly imported slaves at the different ports that most had been brought as captives of war from the regions around the Nyassa, statements which entirely confirm those already made by Drs. Kirk and Livingstone.

There was an evident desire on the part of the natives to take service on board ship and thus earn money, and stowaways were discovered on board at almost every port we visited. More than one said he would emigrate to Zanzibar were he sure of freedom when there.

Wherever we went the country was covered with a luxuriant vegetation, and, though almost uncultivated at present, there can be no doubt that, on the cessation of Slave Trade and the consequent security of life and property, a great impulse would be given to agriculture, and a large trade would soon spring up.

The innumerable creeks and bays along the coast must always afford shelter to slave traders or smugglers in spite of the utmost vigilance of cruizers; but when the export of all slaves is prohibited, and the markets for their reception are abolished, that evil will shortly be reduced to a minimum.

I see at present two steps, regarding the necessity of which, towards affecting this end more speedily there can be no doubt.

First. A thorough survey of the coast should be immediately undertaken. The splendid harbours with which this seaboard abounds are at present almost useless through want of such survey, and the dangers of navigation are great. I believe I am correct in saying that none of Her Majesty's ships have ever completed their time on this station without having once, at least, grounded on some one of the many unknown reefs.

Secondly. I see in the monopoly of trade carried on by British Indian subjects on this coast a means of coercion which cannot fail greatly to facilitate the object in view. It will need but the strict enforcement of our legitimate rights over these traders to prevent their assisting with their capital the impecunious Arab slave dealer, who now looks to them for the means of carrying on his trade.

The interests of India and of the Imperial Government are both so closely allied and so greatly concerned in the existence and in the development of the East African commerce, and in the repression of the abuses with which it is now attended, that they cannot, in my opinion, be separated, whilst the responsibilities they have already incurred on its behalf are so grave that it has become impossible for them to be longer ignored.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received April 7.)

(Extract.)

“*Enchantress*,” March 12, 1873.

IN continuation of my immediately preceding despatch I beg to offer the following remarks on the present state of affairs in the Mozambique and at the French Settlement of Mayotte, as they appeared to me during my recent visit.

There is, undoubtedly, a considerable Slave Trade still carried on within the Portuguese possessions. General Amaral, the Governor of Mozambique, himself admitted this; no one with whom I conversed denied it, and that it is so is moreover evident from the numbers of freshly imported slaves whom we saw on the Island of Mozambique.

General Amaral informed me that he believed the chief part of this contraband trade was carried on in Arab dhows with Madagascar, that the papers of these dhows were frequently irregular, but whether from ignorance or wilful neglect he could not say.

He estimated the contraband Slave Trade, which he lamented he had not the means of stopping, at 2,000 souls per annum. But I have little doubt that the estimates of nearly five times that number, which I heard from people who have better opportunities of knowing than his Excellency can possess, are nearer the truth. I was assured that the large cargoes of former days are seldom run from the Portuguese coast at present; but the northern Arab dhows, which used to be laid up at Madagascar whilst waiting for the change of monsoon, are now, I am told, rarely allowed to lie idle. After landing their Indian supercargo with the import cargo of cloth, &c., at Madagascar, they stand over to the opposite Portuguese coast, pick up a small cargo of slaves at the outports, with which they return to Madagascar, making sometimes more than one trip of the kind before it is time to return northwards. These dhows are said frequently to put into the Comoro Islands for water and provisions, and sometimes clandestinely part with some of their slaves there; but they generally put into the Sakalava ports or unfrequented harbours which abound on the Madagascar coast, avoiding the Hovas, who have the reputation of exerting themselves, sometimes with much effect, to keep their engagements with the British Government to put down Slave Trade.

I heard, however, on apparently good authority, of one case of a brigantine having loaded a full cargo of slaves at Conducia Bay, in sight of Mozambique, not more than twelve months ago, and running them safely to Madagascar. She was followed by a Portuguese gun-boat, but at such an interval of time it was hopeless to expect to see her again.

The external commerce of the Mozambique is not very extensive, and hardly any of it is carried on by Portuguese subjects.

The French and the Banians appear to share it between them; the Banians collecting and distributing the articles of trade in detail for a Marseilles firm, which runs several vessels annually, chiefly freighted outwards with goods of English manufacture, and homewards with ivory and sessamum seed.

The imports reach nearly 250,000*l.*, and the exports nearly half that amount, as I was informed by the head of the Customs.

Considerable discrepancy existed between the official statements respecting import and export duties, and those which were made by persons unconnected with the Government, whom I questioned on the subject. The former represented the import duties to be from 6 to 10 per cent., and those on exports from 4 to 6 per cent. *ad valorem*; while the latter made them amount to from 16 to 20, and even 25 per cent. on imports, and from 10 to 16 per cent. on exports.

The Portuguese have hardly any establishments on the mainland, and so recently as eighteen months ago foreigners were not allowed to settle there. This restriction has, however, been removed by the present Governor; and he assured me of his desire to see English capital and enterprise come to the rescue, and redeem Mozambique from the disgraceful state in which it now lies. At present there are no English residents on the island, or in the northern portion of Mozambique; indeed, beyond a French merchant, who does nearly half the trade of Ibo, and the small garrison at that place, there seem to be hardly any Europeans on the 250 miles of coast north of the town of Mozambique.

The Portuguese have hitherto failed to attach to themselves either the affections or the respect of the natives of the mainland, and the same remark which applies to the want of power of the Sultan of Zanzibar applies to them. Out of the sight they are

out of the mind of their so-called subjects. The consequence of this has been a failure in the development of this very rich Colony—a failure which is the result of over three centuries of occupation, and which will continue till slavery and Slave Trade are effectually stopped, and a direct and easy communication is established with European markets and manufactures. At the time of our visit their latest date from Europe was of the 11th November.

Experience in the development of trade and civilization in other parts of the world situated much as Eastern Africa now is would suggest to the Portuguese Government that they should send out as Governors to their East African Possessions men of financial ability and European experience, whose age and health would enable them to bear with impunity the risks of the climate; that they should assist them with a skilled and competent staff; that the salaries assigned to these officers, should, unlike those at present paid be such as to raise them above the temptations of poverty; that the taxation and dues should be still further reduced; that the immigration of foreign capitalists should be in every way encouraged; and that the mainland should cease to be a penal settlement. By such a policy, when once regular steam communication with Europe is established, a bright future would, I venture to say, be insured to those fertile, but hitherto most neglected and mismanaged, provinces.

The French Colony of Mayotte calls for little remark from me at present.

Situated in wonderfully picturesque islands, Mayotte and Nos Beh are well conducted settlements. They are, I was told, self-supporting, and are certainly very fertile. Sugar is the chief article of cultivation, but the want of labour is so great that few of the plantations are nearly as productive as they would be otherwise. So, at least, I was told on the spot, for time did not allow me to visit the fields and judge for myself. The fact (for fact I believe it to be) speaks well for the determination of the Governor to prevent any participation in slavery. Though he did not express a very favourable opinion of the "engagé" system, under which labour is at present supplied, he seemed anxious to put down the Slave Trade when brought to his notice.

Unsatisfactory as the results of the East African Colonies of these two nations may be, they still teach us a useful lesson as to the capabilities of the negro and his country under proper management. Both these countries have practically shown that it is possible to go much farther than we have hitherto demanded of the Sultan of Zanzibar in the way of the abolition of slavery without bringing on the evils so much dreaded by His Highness, since nowhere have there been any risings or hostile combinations of the natives, brought on by any cause but persistence in slavery and Slave Trade, and industry and trade have been visibly stimulated wherever any attempt has been made to put down the traffic in human beings.

It is clearly very desirable that these coasts should be more frequently visited by our cruisers than is possible with the present numbers and arrangement of our squadron.

No. 34.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville. —(Received April 7.)

My Lord,

"Enchantress," Zanzibar, March 12, 1873.

I HAVE thought it best to mention in a separate despatch what struck me at Majunga, on the north-west coast of Madagascar, and at the Island of Johanna, as the two places have considerable relations with one another.

The power of the Hova Government of the Queen of Madagascar is not, I fear, equal to their will, to carry out their Slave Trade engagements with England. Though I saw no signs of Slave Trade myself at Majunga, I was informed on very good authority that between 5,000 and 8,000 slaves were annually landed on the northern and western shores of the island, whence they are re-exported as labourers to the French Colonies or to Johanna, or else find masters in Madagascar itself. The boats of Her Majesty's ships cruising more often than is now the case in this direction would probably soon put a stop to this traffic, and the more easily, since the Sultan of Johanna has engaged, in the document of which I inclose a copy, to grant freedom to all future immigrants to his island, and to protect all slaves whom our cruisers may liberate there. This engagement will also solve any difficulty that might otherwise have been experienced by our cruisers in disposing of any large number of slaves which they may happen to capture in these waters.

The Government of Madagascar, as your Lordship is aware, is composed of the Hovas or dominant tribe, the Sakalavas comprising the rest of the aboriginal population. The Hovas show the greatest desire to imitate the English in all things, and the

Governor at Majunga showed us the utmost civility. I have little doubt that if it were represented to the authorities at Tananarivo that Slave Trade is being carried on within their jurisdiction, they would take what steps lie in their power to assist us in stopping it.

I was particularly struck by the manner in which the forms at least of Christianity have taken root among the people. All business is prohibited on Sunday, and one of the two churches of Majunga which I visited was filled with an attentive congregation, who listened to a service, conducted somewhat in the Presbyterian style, with an appearance of devotion which I have rarely seen exceeded.

This cannot be attributed to the immediate influence of missionaries, as there are no Europeans resident at Majunga.

There is no doubt that the commerce of Madagascar is capable of considerable and immediate extension. It now forms the great depôt whence all the surrounding European Colonies draw their chief supplies of bullocks and rice, and produces amongst much other valuable timber, ebony of a superior quality.

On the commercial aspect of Johanna I need add nothing to the inclosed Memorandum and Reports of Colonel Pelly therein alluded to, and would only remark, that Colonel Pelly's observations are as substantially correct now as on the day they were written.

Of its connection with the Slave Trade, of which there is at present little doubt, I would speak without harshness. Though the Sultan has, I fear, occasionally laid himself open to charges of having infringed the Treaty now in force between Johanna and England, yet his whole conversation, and the execution of the engagement of which I have inclosed a copy, show a desire to act in concert with Her Majesty's Government in this matter, which I trust may result in the eventual abolition of the status of slavery in his island, while the more frequent presence of a British cruizer will act at the same time as an encouragement to his good and a check to his evil propensities.

I saw great cause to regret that Mr. Sunley had resigned his Consulate some years ago. His influence appears to have been entirely for good. It is mainly owing to his example that the Sultan and his people have turned their attention to sugar and coffee culture, and he seems to be the principal check to any open attempt to revive the import of slaves.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 34.

The Sultan of Johanna to Sir B. Frere.

Sir,

Johanna, March 8, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that, from this day, I engage to insure to all immigrants into this Island of Johanna the rights and privileges of free natives of Johanna; and I especially engage to protect any persons who may be rescued from slavery by the vessels of Her Britannic Majesty's navy, and who may be permitted by the orders of Her Majesty's Government to reside in this island.

I have, &c.
(Signed) ABDALLAH.

Inclosure 2 in No. 34.

Memorandum.

THE Island of Johanna has been so fully described by Colonel Pelly in two Reports addressed by him to the Government of Bombay, that there is no need to enter into a long account of it here, but a few particulars of the present position of Mr. Sunley's sugar plantation on that island will serve to show the results of which that wonderfully fertile and beautiful spot is capable under careful and skilful cultivation.

Mr. Sunley has been resident on the island for more than twenty years. Coming to it alone and with but little capital at his command, he fixed on the land in the vicinity of the little Harbour of Pomony, as best suited for his purpose, obtained from

the reigning Prince a concession of 6,000 acres of wholly uncultivated land at a rent of 200 dollars per annum, and at once set to work to form an estate now fully equal in its products to the majority of those in Mauritius.

He has now under cultivation some 700 acres of land devoted to the production of sugar.

The cane is crushed and the sugar extracted by English machinery, superintended and worked under Mr. Sunley's directions by negro overseers and labourers. The land yields sugar at the average rate of 2 tons per acre.

This sugar is of fine quality, and worth from 31*l.* to 37*l.* per ton in England, which gives a net average, after all costs of duty, freight, &c., have been paid, of about 23*l.* per ton. With a new machine which Mr. Sunley contemplates erecting in place of that hitherto in use, he calculates that he will be able to utilize one-third more of the juice of the cane than at present, thus nearly doubling his receipts.

The refuse cane is used with timber, of which there is a quantity on the estate, as fuel for the engines.

There are over twenty miles of good roads on the property, while others are in course of construction.

Bullocks are employed as beasts of draught.

Mr. Sunley employs on the estate 800 persons—500 males and 300 females—who live in neat huts of palm, and are looked after by overseers, of whom five are Johanna men and five natives of the African Coast.

In their dress, demeanour, and general air of comfort all these people show a close approach to European civilization, and a decided superiority over any similar community which has yet come under our notice.

Ten men are told off as police to keep order, but they are little needed amongst so peaceful a population.

Each labourer, be he slave or freeman, receives 30 dollars a-year, with rations, principally rice, and clothing, and some have patches of garden or coffee, and a bullock or so of their own.

Mr. Sunley makes no difference in the case of slave or free, but when the former is employed he pays over to his master 18 dollars of the total amount received by the slave, who retains for himself the remaining 12 dollars. To the negro, as a labourer, Mr. Sunley gives a better character than to the idle and thievish-inclined Johanna man, who has earned on these coasts a rather unenviable notoriety for sharp practice in all his dealings.

The estate is well watered by two streams which flow down from the mountains and never dry, and produces in profusion cocoas (of which some 20,000 have been planted), bananas, pine-apples, and various other tropical fruits, while the rose and cabbage have been both successfully introduced from Europe. Mr. Sunley considers the climate decidedly healthy to any European who will take ordinary precautions against fevers.

There are four Europeans now resident on the estate as assistants, but they have been so short a time as to enable one to say with justice that Mr. Sunley has hitherto been alone in the management of his property.

And here it seems not out of place to endeavour to correct a misconception which has arisen as to the form of slave-labour employed by Mr. Sunley. Slavery is still understood by the majority of people in England as a state of things such as that depicted in "Uncle Tom's Cabin," where the over-worked slave is habitually ill-treated by a brutal master. Now, on the East Coast of Africa, at least, and indeed in most Muslim communities, the position of the slave is rather that of a labourer in the feudal times of England. His master has, indeed, full power over him, but rarely exercises it in all its severity. A great portion of his time and earnings are devoted to his master's benefit, but when his services are not needed by his master, he is frequently allowed to work for hire for any person who will pay him, and of course it is to his owner's interest that his wages should be as high as possible, since he receives a share proportionate to their amount. Having once hired himself out, the slave usually makes his home on the estate of his employer, and, with the exception of the tax which he pays his owner, is there as much his own master as the free man. It is slave labour of this kind that Mr. Sunley employs. The slaves are not his slaves, but so far as he is concerned are as free as any English labourer.

As long as slavery exists in these countries, slaves will form the chief portion of the agricultural labour-supply, and it is difficult to see how any successful steps along the road of civilized enterprise can be taken by any European who sets out with, and

adheres to, a determination to employ only the services of men whom he knows to be, in the English sense of the words, free labourers.

The effects of Mr. Sunley's example are now, though perhaps long delayed, most apparent. Sugar plantations have become quite the rage among the fashionables of Johanna. The Sultan and his brothers are planters busily employed in the personal superintendence of their estates. The Sultan's plantation has machinery erected on it conducted by native labour, and produced last year nearly 200 tons of sugar, and he hopes considerably to increase this amount.

Coffee, too, is being grown in considerable quantities; Mr. Sunley estimates the present product of the island at about 25 tons annually. In short, an impetus has been given to the natural love of gain which is so marked in the natives of Johanna, and it promises to carry them on to a state of agricultural development such as does not at present exist between Aden and the Mauritius.

(Signed)

CLEMENT L^d. HILL

March 10, 1873.

No. 35.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received April 20.)

My Lord,

Mombasah, March 24, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith copy of a letter which I addressed to Dr. Kirk requesting him to take charge of and forward by the first safe opportunity to the Sultan of Johanna the letter and presents, of which a copy and list are inclosed.

I have thought it right to make these gifts to the Sultan of Johanna as a proof of the good feeling which exists between Her Majesty's Government and himself, and of our appreciation of the readiness with which he engaged to declare all future immigrants into his island free, as reported in my despatch of the 12th instant.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 35.

Major Smith to Dr. Kirk.

Sir,

Zanzibar, March 15, 1873.

I AM directed by Sir B. Frere to place in your hands a selection of presents (of which a list is inclosed), which his Excellency requests that you will be kind enough to have forwarded with the accompanying letter to His Highness the Sultan of Johanna by the first safe available opportunity.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

C. B. EUAN SMITH,

Private Secretary to Sir B. Frere.

Inclosure 2 in No. 35.

Sir B. Frere to the Sultan of Johanna.

Your Highness,

Zanzibar, March 15, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Highness that I have left in the hands of Her Britannic Majesty's Consul at Zanzibar, to be forwarded to your Highness by the first available opportunity, a selection of presents, of which a list is inclosed, which I trust your Highness will accept as a token of the friendship which exists between your Highness and Her Britannic Majesty's Government, and of the satisfaction with which I have experienced your Highness' ready desire to co-operate with Her Majesty's Government in the abolition of the Slave Trade.

I take this opportunity of saying how glad I shall always be to hear of your Highness' welfare and prosperity, which I trust may long continue.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure 3 in No. 35.

List of Presents.

For His Highness the Sultan of Johanna—

1 state chair, 1 writing table, 1 rifle in case, 1 aluminium revolver in case,
1 photographic album.

For Prince Mohammed, His Highness' Wazir—

Gilt belt and sword, silver snuff-box.

For the wife of His Highness, sister of Prince Mohammed—

1 shawl, 1 photograph of Queen in frame, 1 clock.

For the ladies, wives of Prince Mohammed—

3 shawls.

For the brothers of the Sultan—

A binocular each, No. 2.

Received as above.

(Signed)

JOHN KIRK.

No. 36.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received April 20.)

(Extract.)

Mombasah, March 26, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to submit the following précis of the negotiations with Seyyid Burgash, together with copies of all the correspondence that passed on the subject up to the 11th of February, the date of his final refusal.

On the 13th January, the day after my arrival at Zanzibar, I had the ceremonial interview with His Highness which was described in my despatch of the 14th January, and which was returned on the 14th by His Highness.

The Sultan had ordered a very commodious house, belonging to Luckmidass, the Banian farmer of the Customs, and situated close to His Highness' palace, to be prepared for the use of the Mission. I thought it better myself to remain on board the "Enchantress;" but I availed myself of the house for the use of the Rev. Mr. Badger, whose health had already begun to suffer from the great heat and confinement on board ship. He had been long personally intimate with His Highness before his accession; and it was convenient for all parties that he should be at hand, to translate and explain to His Highness all I had to communicate.

On the 14th January, Mr. Badger had an interview with the Sultan (Inclosure No. 1), and on the 15th and 16th there were the meetings of the Arab Chiefs and advisers of His Highness which are described in No. 2. On the 16th, in answer to two letters of Mr. Badger's, describing his further proceedings (Nos. 4 and 5), I wrote a letter (No. 3), expressing the views which I wished laid before His Highness. On the 17th I sent Mr. Badger a note (No. 6), in consequence of which he had an interview with His Highness, reported in Inclosure No. 7. Referring to what His Highness then said to Mr. Badger, I requested the latter to assure His Highness of my willingness to meet him or his Chiefs, to give any further explanations, or to listen to any arguments or alterations they might have to propose; adding that, though I would gladly discuss the matter with his Chiefs, we must look to His Highness for a decision, as Chief of the State.

On the 19th Mr. Badger received from the Sultan a note (No. 8), and I forwarded to him, for translation, a note (No. 9) in which I called on His Highness for some decision in the matter.

On the 21st, Mr. Badger had another long interview with His Highness (No. 10), and urged on the Sultan my previous arguments. I replied to this Report by a note (No. 11), wherein I explained certain points on which His Highness appeared not to be quite clear. No answer having been received from the Sultan to my letter of the 19th, Mr. Badger, on the 22nd and 24th, had interviews with His Highness' Wazir, Nasir bin Said (Nos. 12 and 13), in which he pressed on him the expediency of an answer being shortly forthcoming.

On the 24th I also received from Dr. Kirk a Report (No. 14) of a visit he paid to the Wazir.

On the 25th Mr. Badger again saw the Sultan (No. 15), and submitted to him a letter, saying I could not modify the terms of the Treaty.

On the 26th, Mr. Badger supplemented his Report of the previous evening's interview by some further remarks (No. 16).

On the 27th according to arrangement, I had a private interview with the Sultan at the Consulate. No. 17 is a note of what passed.

Mr. Badger met the Sultan finally on the 29th, and again urged him (No. 18), to give me a written answer. This arrived on the 31st (No. 19); and though its tenor showed the Sultan did not mean to accept the Treaty, yet I thought it best to give him one more chance of doing so, or at least to ascertain from him that he meant his letter as a clear and decided refusal. I accordingly had an interview with His Highness on the 1st of February, a note of which is appended (No. 20), and addressed him a letter (No. 21). No answer arrived to this letter before the 3rd of February, when I left Zanzibar to visit Pemba and Dar-es-Salaam, returning to Zanzibar on the 8th. I had requested Mr. Badger to let all communications with the Sultan during my absence be carried on through Dr. Kirk, as I considered that the Consul was, under the circumstances, the appropriate channel for any further communication with His Highness.

The inclosed Memoranda (Nos. 22, 23, and 24) will show Dr. Kirk's action during that time, and I would add that it met with my entire approval.

It will be remarked in them that the Sultan gave Dr. Kirk to understand that he would sign the Treaty if its operation were not immediate. On learning this, I at once told Dr. Kirk that if His Highness would write to me to that effect, I should be willing to negotiate with him on that basis. However, this did not appear to suit His Highness' views, and I was without any further communication from him till the 11th of February, when he at last, after constant pressure from Dr. Kirk, sent me the letter (No. 25), whose contents, as I have already informed your Lordship, were a point blank refusal to sign the Treaty proposed to him by Her Majesty's Government.

Voluminous as are the notes now forwarded, they give but an imperfect idea of the amount of argument brought to bear on His Highness with a view to induce him to concur in the principle of the Treaty proposed to him.

His Highness also invited a long discussion on the subject with Captain Frazer, the only English merchant at Zanzibar, an old acquaintance and much trusted for his outspoken frankness. Some of His Highness' remarks at all these interviews, as related to me, threw much light on his motives and on the reasons of the alterations which his views from time to time underwent.

I endeavoured, without much success, to find out what sort of aid, assistance, or palliative was hoped for by His Highness or his advisers as a possible compensation if they gave in to the demands of the British Government? It was clearly no pecuniary payment to the Sultan, for His Highness and his advisers intimated, at a very early stage of the discussions, that his acceptance of anything of the kind would be considered by his Chiefs as a sale of their rights, and that it would be regarded by them as an insult were we to offer anything of the kind to His Highness.

This precluded any direct use of the authority given me by your Lordship's instructions to promise that the British Government would take on themselves the liability for the Muscat subsidy if it would facilitate His Highness' acceptance of the draft Treaty. Such an offer, if made directly, would have been more likely to impede than to facilitate His Highness' acceptance of the Treaty. It was clearly understood, not only by His Highness, but by all his Chiefs, that exemption from the subsidy was a boon which we were prepared to offer in the event of his carrying out our views regarding the Slave Trade; but neither His Highness nor his Chiefs seemed to attach much value to such a promise of exemption. His Highness' own views regarding the subsidy I was unable, up to the date of my leaving Zanzibar, clearly to understand. He believed that payment would not, or could not, be enforced; but the grounds of his belief he gave me no opportunity of discussing, though invited by me, and repeatedly pressed to do so by the Consul.

The view of his Chiefs was, I imagine, that which one of them expressed in discussing the question. In reply to a remark that 40,000 dollars, the amount of the subsidy, was a large sum for the British Government to pay for Zanzibar, he observed, "But that is Seyyid Burgash's affair, not ours; he pays it, not we Arabs, and no one will be richer or poorer if it be paid or withheld, except the Seyyid himself."

I doubt whether any plan of compensation was ever seriously discussed; but among the plans talked about, I am told, were such as a general remission to Arabs of all the debts they owed to British subjects; the purchase, by the British Government, of all Zanzibar slaves, as, they were told, had been done in our West India Colonies; and various schemes for legalizing undisturbed slave-running to Zanzibar for a series of years, the period allowed for the prospective abolition of slavery in the Portuguese possessions

in Mozambique being a favourite illustration of what might be reasonable. But none of these schemes were ever formally put forward, nor, as far as I am aware, ever seriously discussed by His Highness or his advisers, who to the last avoided submitting any propositions of their own, having any reference to a complete stoppage of the trade by sea.

I have confined myself in this despatch to a simple narrative of the course of our negotiations. From what I have seen since I came to Africa, I much doubt whether, if His Highness had signed the Treaty at once, our labours would have been at all lessened; I believe we should still have had to do the entire work ourselves, and under some disadvantages, arising from the unreal and unsubstantial character of His Highness' support. I feel quite convinced that, now we clearly understand His Highness' views, we shall be not the less able effectually to put down the sea-borne Slave Trade, without infringing the just rights of any other Power; but I shall be better able to form an opinion upon this somewhat complicated question when I have seen all that it is possible for me to see of those coasts the inhabitants of which are concerned in the traffic, either as exporters or importers of slaves, or as furnishing, from among their own population, the supply of foreign slave-markets.

Inclosure 1 in No. 36.

Report by the Rev. G. Badger.

I WAS sent for by the Sultan a little before noon, and had a long conversation with him. He asked to know what our wishes were. To this I replied by giving him a translation of the draft Treaty, which I read over to him, and which I allowed him to retain. His remarks were to the following effect:—"You must know well how much Zanzibar has suffered in every respect by the recent hurricane; hundreds have been reduced to poverty, and it will require years to recover the losses. This, of itself, is a great blow to our prosperity; and now the prospect of being obliged to give up the supply of slave-labour, which we have hitherto drawn from the mainland, will absolutely ruin us—by us, I mean the owners of land, the employers of labour, merchants and tradesmen, to say nothing of the public Treasury." I combated some of these ideas as well as I could, but requested him to state them in writing, together with any suggestions which might occur to him to alleviate the alleged evils. This he promised to do at length, and said that he would submit them to me for my opinion before presenting them to Sir Bartle Frere. I replied that I would do as he wished in that respect; at the same time I should prefer that he laid all he wished to say before Sir Bartle, whose orders I should take, and convey to him respecting them. The Seyyid seemed much hurt by some reports, which he referred to Livingstone, about the existence of slavery and the Slave Trade near Unyamwesi. He solemnly declared that there was no such trade in that region, and that those poor creatures whom Livingstone took for slaves were probably beggars, or unfortunate creatures, such as might be found even in Europe.

On my remarking, in reply, that what took place at Unyamwesi did not concern him, and that, therefore, he need not heed Livingstone's criticism, he told me in reply that Unyamwesi was part of his territory, and that his flag was hoisted there.

I was surprised to find a large collection of Arabic books printed in Egypt in one of the recesses of his Durbar room, comprising biographies, histories, and grammars, besides some religious works. I found out, moreover, in conversation with him that he diligently reads other modern Arabic works on the comparative power, resources, military and naval strength of the different European States. He had come to the conclusion that the Viceroy of Egypt was a very wealthy Sovereign, and he listened attentively while I explained his position as Khedive towards the Sultan.

The Seyyid Burghâsh has greatly advanced in general knowledge since I saw him in 1861, and he seems delighted to acquire information on all topics, but especially on the relative powers and influence of the great European kingdoms.

I mention the subject, because such comparatively small matters exercise a favourable influence on Oriental Sovereigns, that the Seyyid Burghâsh expressed his high appreciation of the style in which the letters addressed to him from England had been translated and got up. He especially admired the caligraphy of the Arabic translation of Her Majesty's letter, and called it a work worthy to be preserved and copied.

January 14, 1873.

Inclosure 2 in No. 36.

Memorandum by Dr. Kirk.

LAST night (15th instant) there was a meeting at the palace, at which the relatives of the Sultan and his advisers were present. The letters delivered by the Envoy were all placed before them.

It was arranged thereon to call the Chiefs and heads of the various Arab families. I am told that the Chiefs of the Zanzibar families likely to attend are—

- Of the El-Harth—
1. Sultan-bin-Abdulla, El Barwani.
 2. Saeed-bin-Ali.
 3. Amr-Mohamad, El-Barwani.
 4. Salim-bin-Saeed.
 5. Selim-bin-Saeed.
 6. Ali-bin-Saeed.
 7. Saeed-bin-Salim.
 8. Ali-bin-Isa.

Maharama—Mohamad-bin-Sultan, El-Maharami.

El-Gurun—Hamed-bin-Muselim, El-Gurni.

Beni-Rusiha—Abdullah-bin-Ali, Er-Rueihi.

El-Khanajeva—Amer-bin-Ali, El-Khanjevi

Es-Sumriyat—Selim-bin-Ali, Es-Sumri.

El-Marboobe—Hashib-bin-Suelin, El-Marboobi.

El-Munathera—Mohamad-bin-Suleiman, El-Munathera.

Er-Rostakia, people of Rostak, not a tribe—Mohamad-bin-Abdulla, Es-Shugsi.

El Masakara—None here (Mesken).

El-Mazaria—None here (Mazrui).

9 A.M. The Harthi Chiefs and their relatives, about forty, have passed on their way to the palace to the Council, and I have requested the Sultan to put the draft Treaty before them at once.

Memorandum of men of influence near the Sultan :—

1. Seyd Suliman-bin-Hamed.
2. Seyd Ali-bin-Saood.
3. Seyd Hamed-bin-Suliman.
4. Seyd Naser-bin-Saeed.
5. Seyd Mohamad-bin-Hamed.

Brothers—Khalifah (under arrest; nothing can be given him or notice taken, although the eldest here present).

1. Seyd Hamed-bin-Saeed (late Saeed).
2. Seyd Ali-bin-Saeed (late Menin).
3. Seyd Salim-bin-Saeed (late Nasir).
4. Seyd Talib-bin-Saeed (late Abder-Roh).
5. Seyd Bedr-bin-Saeed (late Bedran).

Secretary—Mohamad Bakashmar.

January 16, 1873, 8 A.M.

Inclosure 3 in No. 36.

Summary of Note addressed by Sir B. Frere to the Rev. G. Badger.

IN a note date dated Her Majesty's steam-yacht "Enchantress," 16th January, 1873, Sir Bartle Frere acknowledged Mr. Badger's report of his interview with the Sultan. We were well aware of His Highness' heavy losses in Zanzibar from the hurricane, &c., but did not think draining the lifeblood of the mainland would repair the ruin of the islands.

The English Government would do their best to obtain labour for the islands, by sending our freemen thither, if His Highness could satisfy us that they would be well treated.

If the new Treaty were refused the strict enforcement of the old would be still more onerous.

His Highness might be assured that if he accepted the draft Treaty it would be our object to maintain his power and augment his resources.

"As to his anger against Livingstone, His Highness is quite in error as to his writing of slave-hunting in Unyamwesi. The hunting-grounds are further on, so Livingstone says; but it matters little whence the slaves come. Yesterday, in sight of this ship, a dhow landed some forty slaves, some of them in the last stage of exhaustion, all that remained of nearly eighty shipped about three weeks ago; two were, I am told, left to die, as not worth paying duty on. Does His Highness really think that is the way to recruit the labour market of these islands? Whether they came from His Highness' dominions or not they are equally a curse to take into his lap, and any one who believes in an over-ruling Providence might wonder why a cyclone does not come annually.

Inclosure 4 in No. 36.

Report of a Second Interview between the Rev. G. Badger and the Sultan of Zanzibar, his two Wazirs, Násir-bin-Said and Muhammad Bakashmar, being present and taking part in the discussion.

THE Seyyid began by complaining of the hard conditions of the proposed Treaty, alleging that a worse time for its imposition could not have been chosen. "Why had they not been presented during the prosperous reigns of his father and brother?" The cultivation of the island had been so injured by the late hurricane that it would require along period and double the number of slaves to repair the damage; and yet he, who had only been in power two years, was called upon to stop the importation of slaves at once. In other cases, argued His Highness,—and he instanced Portugal,—some space was given for the abolition, whereas he was required to stop the importation forthwith. "Again," said the Sultan, "you import coolies from India into the Seychelles and Mauritius; what would be the consequence to those islands if such supplies were stopped at once?" To this I replied that the coolies left India of their own free will, and were not kidnapped from their homes and forced into slavery. Bakashmar then argued in favour of a gradual abolition, by saying that a man who accustomed himself to take small doses of poison became eventually proof against its deadly effects; but that if he took an overdose at once, he would endanger his life. "And is it just," said the Sultan, "I appeal to you as a God-fearing man, to impose such hard conditions upon us under our actual circumstances?" I fully admitted the hardship. "On the other hand," said I, "in reply to your solemn appeal, let me ask by what right do you impose tenfold greater hardships on the wretched slaves who are torn from their homes—wives from husbands, and children from parents—to alleviate your distress? Has not the Creator made all men of one blood, and given them all souls, which before Him are of equal value, as your own religion testifies; and if so, how can you consistently treat these Africans as if they were irrational animals?" "But the Korán," remarked the Sultan, "sanctions slavery." "Granted," I replied, "but it does not sanction the kind of slavery which you wish to perpetuate. The Korán found domestic slavery to be an ancient institution in the land, and it enacts many rules for the treatment of slaves which, if fully carried out, would virtually abolish most of the evils of slavery. But the Korán does more; by the very fact of its laws making it a pious and meritorious act to manumit slaves; it so far favours the abolition of slavery." This argument, which the Sultan was disposed to combat, was seconded by Muhammad Bakashmar, who admitted the meritoriousness of manumission when slaves were freed voluntarily and not under pressure. "But would the slaves be better off," said the Sultan, "if they were all freed? Can you say that they are not well fed, and generally humanely treated? Do not some of them actually come back of their own accord to Zanzibar, after they have returned to their own country?" I admitted, upon the almost unanimous testimony of well-informed foreigners, that the slaves at Zanzibar had little to complain of in the respects mentioned. I even went further, and allowed that they acquired at Zanzibar a certain degree of religious knowledge and civilization which raised them above their native condition; but all these benefits, I added, and others to boot, would be the result of their freedom, as was proved by the example of the negro adduced, who must have been freed, otherwise he could not have left Zanzibar, and would certainly not have returned thither.

Such is the brief summary of what passed on the occasion. The Sultan was moved almost to tears when he spoke of the consequences which he felt sure would result from the proposed Treaty. He expressed over and over again his most anxious wish to concede what Her Majesty's Government demanded, and asked me to relieve him from the dilemma of either sealing the doom of his country or incurring the displeasure of the English. I said all that I could to assure him that he had exaggerated his difficulties,

and that in this as in all other earthly matters time would bring their alleviation,—that things would right themselves at last under the guidance of the Divine Providence. I also pointed out to him the danger to which he would expose himself and his sovereignty by resisting the wishes of the British Government, which had hitherto been the firm friend of his dynasty; and, in conclusion, I urged him to accept the Treaty, ready acquiescence in which might secure for him certain advantages which would go a good way to mitigate the consequences which at present he feared and deplored.

I am bound to state that the Sultan and his Wazirs were most courteous, and even affectionate in their demeanour towards me, and on taking my leave His Highness told me that he would ponder over all that I had said, and give me a reply to-morrow.

Zanzibar, January 16, 1873, 9 P.M.

Inclosure 5 in No. 36.

The Rev. G. Badger to Sir B. Frere.

(Extract.)

Zanzibar, January 16, 1873, 2 P.M.

THE Wazir, Nasir-bin-Saeed, has just called, bringing with him a letter from the Sultan, of which the following is a translation:—

“What we wish to explain to his Excellency our beloved friend Sir Bartle Frere, the Envoy of the exalted (British) Government. Your Excellency must be aware of our present condition, owing to the late hurricane, of the ruin of the trees, the plantation of years. All our people have become as a sick man full of pains, and requiring a skilful physician to treat him with gentle medicines until his disease is cured. But this which the (British) Government requires of us is a grave matter which we are unable to bear, for we are poor, and we have nothing but agriculture to depend upon, and this agriculture cannot be carried on except by slaves, and their importation to us to keep up the islands. Had your demand been light, we should have been delighted to consent to it at once out of respect for the (British) Government. This is the exposition of our state. Salam.”

To the above I wrote a reply, of which the following is a translation, and sent it by the Wazir:—

“(After compliments.)

“Your Highness’ letter has come to hand, and, seeing that I had informed his Excellency the Envoy of your communication yesterday, and had received his reply to the same, I am able to answer your present note. The summary of his Excellency’s reply is to this effect:—That there must be no hesitation about the new Treaty, since if you refuse to accept the same there will remain nothing for him to do but to return to England, where ships will be prepared to carry out the old Treaty in its entirety, which will result in greater evils than those which you allude to. But if you accept the new Treaty, then discussion may be becoming regarding the losses which the island has sustained, and regarding the importation of agriculturists from the mainland for its cultivation; also respecting any measures which may conduce to lighten your difficulties and those of your people: for Sir Bartle Frere is intensely desirous to support your Government and to promote your prosperity. This, in brief, is what I am authorized to say by the Envoy, and my loving advice to you is that you accept the Treaty, and, God willing, some arrangements may be made afterwards to assuage your embarrassments.

“(Signed) GEORGE P. BADGER.

“16th January, 1873 (16th Dhul Kaadah, 1289).”

The Wazir gave me to understand that the Seyyid wished a reply in writing in order to lay it before his advisers. I trust that the above will meet your approval. I may add that, by way of encouragement, I gave the Wazir some idea of the remarks which you made about Unyamwesi, &c.

An hour subsequently the Wazir returned with the message that the Sultan wished his note to be submitted to you. I told him in reply, adducing your note as proof of the same, that you had been fully informed by me of what the Seyyid had written, and that, in fact, I had dilated to you on his expressed difficulties more largely than His Highness had done in his note. I have sent another friendly message to His Highness urging him to accept the Treaty, and to trust to the generosity of the British Government to do all in its power to alleviate his difficulties.

Inclosure 6 in No. 36.

Extracts from Sir B. Frere's reply, dated January 17, 1873, to Mr. Badger's Memorandum of 16th instant.

I HAVE always said that I would gladly undertake that Government should aid His Highness in any plan of free immigration, provided he issues such firman as shall secure the immigrants against being enslaved and transported, and we cannot, I think, make our willingness in this respect too plain to His Highness.

I see no difficulty as to details: the immigration might be exclusively in the Sultan's own vessels—steamers if you like, and from a limited number of ports; and an English Consular officer might always be present to certify that every negro on coming on board was duly registered, furnished with a certificate of freedom under His Highness' and the Consular seal, and his position and rights fully explained to him in his own language before the steamer sails.

But then we must have a firman from His Highness defining what their position will be when they get here, to which our Consul and the immigrants can appeal as containing their Magna Charta.

The firman might provide that, from some future date all children born in Zanzibar and all new-comers should be free; and might also provide for the future power of redemption by persons now in slavery. Dr. Christie says they have now some right of the kind. There are now many ways of doing the thing if the Sultan will agree to do it somehow.

I am content to wait as long as His Highness likes, and if he wishes, to go away and come back again so as to give him ample time. But I doubt whether he will like it any better a month hence than he does now.

Altogether, if I were Wazir, I should advise His Highness to strike whilst the iron is hot, and get all the help he can from England whilst England is prepared to give it; otherwise I fear he may find "Enchantress" has brought him leaves from the Sybil.

I have drafted a reply to His Highness' letter, which I shall be much obliged if you will translate. It is a little more than you have told him; but it should go in writing, so that he can think over it, and show it to his people if he likes. Perhaps before it goes it may be well to let him know, if he likes, what its purport is likely to be.

Inclosure 7 in No. 36.

Report by the Rev. G. Badger.

Zanzibar, January 17, 1873, 8 P.M.

THE latitude which your note of the 17th allowed respecting the presentation of your letter to the Sultan led me to try to see His Highness again prior to delivering it. (In any case the translation and transcription of the letter will occupy me a couple of days.) I accordingly sent a message to the Sultan at 5 P.M. by Colonel Pelly's servant, soliciting an interview. He sent back word that he was very much engaged, and begged me to write what I had to say. The Wazir came in while I was writing a note, of which the following is a translation:—

"(After compliments.)

"I especially asked an interview with your Highness in order, if possible to render unnecessary the delivery to you of a letter which I have this day received for you from Sir Bartle Frere. But do as you please. If you wish, I will come to you; but if you prefer it, I will prepare and send you the letter referred to.

(Signed) "GEORGE PERCY BADGER."

The Wazir had been sent to say that the Seyyid was very busy preparing letters for the mail, but would see me to-morrow at 10 o'clock, and that he wished to see the letter also. I requested him to tell the Seyyid, upon my own responsibility, that his yielding to your demands without reading the letter would be one thing and his concession afterwards another.

I then begged the Wazir to set before the Seyyid the great risk which he ran of incurring the displeasure of the English by fruitless opposition, and urged him to induce His Highness to send me a few lines in confidence, if he could do so conscientiously, expressive of his sincere hope, at least, that this matter would be speedily arranged to your satisfaction.

9 P.M.—The Sultan sent a messenger for me an hour ago. I found him with his two Wazirs and one of his principal Arabs, I explained to him that my retention of your letter was to give him an opportunity of conceding the demands of our Government without even the pressure contained in your remarks. He did not plead for delay, but he pleaded the absolute ruin which would befall his people, and he, for the first time, expressed a fear that his life would be in danger if he conceded your demands. "Of course," he said, "the exalted (British) Government is strong and we are weak, and it can do with us what it pleases." I asked him to give me a straightforward reply. He answered that he dared not do so; he had had two gatherings of the Chiefs yesterday and their verdict was a flat refusal. As an alternative, and in the hope that he might be better able to overcome the opposition of the Arab magnates, he suggested that you should meet them either on Sunday or Monday next at the palace, when I could translate to them the substance of your letter received to-day, and you yourself might address them on the question. I shall await your decision on this proposition.

Inclosure 8 in No. 36.

Memorandum by the Rev. G. Badger, containing the Reply of the Sultan of Zanzibar.

Zanzibar, January 19, 1873, 3.15 P.M.

THE following is the translation of a note which I have just received from His Highness:—

"In the name of God, the Pitiful, the Compassionate.

"What we wish to make known to our beloved friend, Mr. Badger. May God, as I hope, increase his renown.

"To-day some of the Arabs waited upon me, and I acquainted them with what the (British) Government required of us. They replied unanimously, as on a former occasion, that they could not take away their lives with their own hands. I represented to them that the ships of the (British) Government, should they arrive, would cause us still greater damage, such as we could not bear. They replied, 'We respect the (British) Government too much to believe that they would resort to force and plunder unjustly; and we hold by God and the old Treaty.' This was the decisive view of all. Salâm."

The note is just what I expected at present. Let us hope that the consideration placed before the Chiefs by the Sultan will not be without effect. Having the translation of your letter to His Highness prepared, I sent it by his own messenger. If he can deal with the Chiefs himself, without our intervention, unless we are specially called upon to interfere, so much the better. We must regard and treat him as the head and representative of his people.

Inclosure 9 in No. 36.

Sir B. Frere to the Sultan of Zanzibar.

(After compliments.)

20th Dhil Kaadah, A.H. 1289 (January 18, 1873).

I LEARN from your friend Mr. Badger that he has delivered to your Highness the substance of the Treaty which I have been instructed by Her Majesty's Government to invite your Highness to enter into with a view to the entire stoppage of the Slave Trade by sea, the closing of all public slave markets and other matters.

I have received the reply with which your Highness has honoured me and its contents have been fully understood.

I have also been made aware of your Highness' wish that the views and intentions of Her Majesty's Government should be explained in the presence of your Chiefs and Elders convened.

Nothing could be more consonant with my wish than clearly to explain to your Highness and to all interested in the prosperity of your Highness' dominions, the views of Her Majesty's Government in respect to the Slave Trade, and accordingly I have instructed Mr. Badger to wait on your Highness for this purpose at any time most convenient to you.

But as regards the contents of your Highness' reply above referred to, I must take exception to your Highness' conclusion that agriculture must necessarily suffer if fresh

slaves be not continually imported. On this point I would ask your Highness to consider the facts well-known to you in countries around you.

Not to dwell on the case of Egypt, where all agriculture is carried on by "fellaheen," who are not slaves, or of Aden, whither Africans flock in great numbers to earn wages by labour because there is no slavery, or the Cape Colony and Natal, and many other places on the African coast where slavery once existed, but where agriculture is now carried on by free labourers, I would ask your Highness attentively to consider the case of the Seychelles, Mauritius, and many other islands not far off, which are more like Zanzibar in being entirely dependent on the labour of negroes or other natives of hot countries, and where all such labour has now been for many years free. What is needed from abroad is there freely imported. This cannot be done here, because free negroes coming would be liable to be seized, sold, and carried beyond your Highness' dominions; but if the transit of slaves by sea be effectually stopped and free immigrants assured of good treatment and freedom in the Islands it would be easy to arrange for their importation. All this rests in your Highness' own hands and can be done by your own orders, wherefore I cannot admit your Highness' conclusion that agriculture must suffer in Zanzibar if the importation of slaves be stopped. Nevertheless, I solicit the favour of your Highness intimating to me whether I am correct in supposing that your Highness' objections to the proposed Treaty are purely financial.

Your Highness compares the state of Zanzibar to a sick man requiring a skilful physician and gentle medicines. I admit the justice of the comparison, and if I can aid your Highness in discovering and applying the medicine I shall best fulfil the intentions of Her Majesty's Government.

But it seems to Her Majesty's Government that to continue the importation of slaves is to administer to the sick man more of the poison which has made him sick, and that its administration must be stopped before any remedies, however salutary, can be applied.

I beg further to submit another consideration to your Highness' notice. It is indisputable that the Treaty of 1845 has been broken even from the time that it was made. Therein the late Scyyid Saïd engaged to "prohibit, under the severest penalties, the export of slaves from his African dominions." But your Highness is well aware not only that slaves have been freely exported by thousands from those dominions every year since the date of the Treaty referred to, but that such exportation has been connived at and prompted by the officers of your Highness, and that a large revenue has been annually paid into the Zanzibar Treasury in consequence of the constant infraction of that Treaty. This fact being undeniable Her Majesty's Government would be fully justified in denouncing that Treaty on account of its constant infraction by your Highness' officials.

But, further, your Highness must be well aware, from the experience of the few years in which active exertions have been made by officers of Her Britannic Majesty's Royal Navy, that it is quite possible seriously to cripple the export trade in slaves, even with the very small squadron which has been employed on this service, and that there can be no doubt that Her Majesty's Government has the power, with an augmented force, to prevent it altogether. But such a plan could not be forcibly carried out without serious detriment to the legitimate port-to-port trade in your Highness' dominions. Such injury can only be avoided by your Highness accepting the arrangement set forth in the Draft Treaty furnished to you by Mr. Badger.

On this subject generally let me earnestly beg your Highness' serious attention to the concluding sentence of the letter from Earl Granville, Her Majesty's Minister for Foreign Affairs, which runs thus: "Should your Highness, as Her Majesty's Government confidently trust you will, join with them frankly and cordially in carrying out efficient measures for putting an end to the export of slaves from your dominions, your Highness may reckon upon the friendship and support of this country and of the Government of India; but should your Highness, on the other hand, decline the terms which will be submitted to you by Her Majesty's Envoy, your Highness may be assured that, however much Her Majesty's Government may regret your decision, the objects which they have in view will none the less be pursued."

Such is the decision of the British Government, of which I am unable to waive any part; but as an old friend and as a sincere well-wisher of your Highness' prosperity and of the prosperity of the Zanzibar dominions, I advise your Highness to accept the same, since by doing so you will best secure the permanent friendship of the British Government, and promote in every way the welfare of your Highness and your dominions. This is what I have to say; and may you ever be preserved.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure 10 in No. 36.

Report by the Rev. G. Badger.

January 21, 1873.

EARLY this morning I sent a message to the Sultan requesting an interview with him. My principal object was to give him to understand personally, what I had explained to his messenger at the time, that his note to me of Sunday last (viz., January 19) could not be regarded as a reply to your letter forwarded to him immediately after. As His Highness was reported to be asleep, at 11 o'clock I repeated my request for an interview, and His Highness appointed 4 p.m. for that purpose.

Accordingly, at the hour fixed, I waited upon the Sultan at the palace. At first only the two Wazirs were present with His Highness, but subsequently were joined by the old Wazir, Suleiman-bin-Hamed, who still appears to exercise some influence, and two other Arab officials. I explained to the Sultan in the first place—following your instructions—that you did not wish to hurry him to a decision. Secondly, that if by yielding to the demands of Her Majesty's Government he apprehended any personal risk, or that an attempt would be made to subvert his authority—which we trusted was not the case—he might rely upon our support, and it was only for him to indicate in what shape the support should be given. On this point I am glad to say that, notwithstanding what His Highness said on a former occasion, he freely owned to having no such fear. Thirdly, I pointed out to him that, although you had no objection to his taking the Arab chiefs into his counsel on the subject of your demands, and had assented, at his own suggestion, to my discussing the matter with them in his presence, if he thought fit, nevertheless, seeing that we recognize His Highness as the head of the State, our ultimate dealings must be through him, and him alone.

His Highness commenced by saying that his acquiescence in those demands would entail the absolute ruin of the island and its inhabitants. I combatted this view by adducing the example of the Seychelles and Mauritius, as set forth in your letter to him, and I added the example of Oman, where there was no lack of native agriculturists, nevertheless thousands of free Belooches resorted thither every year to work, and returned home with the fruit of their labour. To his insistence on his own view of the case I again pointedly asked His Highness and those present with him, whether it was just that the disasters of Zanzibar should be repaired by the cruelties attending the importation of slaves; "Or," said I, "what would you think if a foreign Power, occupying an island contiguous to your own, were to come over here and kidnap, not your slaves, but your wives and children to cultivate their lands as slaves?" This argument appeared to tell on the listeners: but the certain ruin of the island, if the supply of slaves was cut off, was repeated again and again in different forms. I then adduced His Highness' own argument, which he informed us he had used with the Arab chiefs, namely, that his non-compliance with the demands of the British Government would probably entail even greater evils, and I urged him and those present to yield at once, and to trust to Her Majesty's Government to co-operate with him in alleviating the distress which he apprehended.

His Highness then appealed to me to use my efforts on his behalf to mitigate the demands of the Government, and to plead with you in the same sense. Thereupon I assured him in the most solemn manner that I was quite powerless in the matter, and that even you, as you yourself had told him, could not wave one jot of the demands. All that you could do—and I assured him of your readiness to do it—would be to represent his case to Her Majesty's Government and to aid him, in any practicable way, to insure the prosperity of the island and of His Highness' dominions generally.

I then urged His Highness' advisers present to join with me in counselling him to yield, pointing out to them the responsibility which they incurred by following a different course, that it must be clear to them—and they all frankly admitted it—that continued resistance was not only futile, but fraught with danger, whereas by a ready concession they might rest assured of the firm support of Her Majesty, of Her Majesty's Government, and of the British people.

I think that a favourable impression was made, and, on my rising to take leave, His Highness promised to ponder over what had been said, and to send you a reply as soon as possible. My parting kindly injunction to him was to avoid further useless arguments, and to come to the gist of the matter at once. To the expression of my sincere regret that I had come upon this Mission, seeing that my advice as an old friend was not listened to, His Highness and all present declared unanimously that it was by God's kind providence that you and I had been sent to them on this matter.

Inclosure 11 in No. 36.

Sir B. Frere to the Rev. G. Badger.

January 21, 1873.

(Extract.)

HIS Highness appears to be under a misapprehension on some most important points, regarding which I think we might at once enlighten him.

His Highness seems to think, that if he finally decides to reject the Draft Treaty, he will be able to revert to the old system of unlimited permission of all imports and transports of slaves within certain limits of latitude, &c. Such, however, is not the case. The permission so accorded has been notoriously abused, and whilst it lasts must be better guarded in future, after pointing out the possibility of the Treaty of 1845 being denounced by Her Majesty's Government on hearing of His Highness' refusal of the new Treaty.

I shall request the Admiral commanding the station to take steps, from a notified period, to establish a strict and permanent supervision of all transit of slaves between any two points on the high seas, and to detain all slaves in transit under His Highness' or the English flag, till it has been ascertained whether they are really destined for His Highness' dominions, and that His Highness can give sufficient assurance that they shall not be sold away from those dominions. Every slave so captured will be examined, and none will be permitted to be landed in His Highness' dominions unless they appear clearly to be adult working slaves, the lawful property of His Highness or his subjects, other than notorious slave dealers. Such adult slaves, with their own children, will be then permitted to proceed to their destination, only on His Highness giving, in writing, an acknowledgment of them by name and number, and undertaking that they shall be kept in His Highness' dominions, and shall not be sold away therefrom.

All slaves who, on examination, may appear to have been kidnapped or sold otherwise than by parents or lawful owners shall be at once set free; and all aiding or abetting in the detention of the kidnapped person will be proceeded against under the general Laws recognized by all European and civilized nations, as applicable to acts of violence on the high seas.

Adults so set free will be furnished with certificates of freedom, and landed in the territory of some native Chief who may engage to protect them as freed men whilst they stay in his dominions, and to permit them to go whithersoever they list.

Children who cannot be returned to their parents will be protected till able to earn their own subsistence.

I shall immediately, in concert with the Admiral, proceed to examine the coast, with a view to find some chiefs in whose territories the liberated slaves can be securely placed, and where all captures can be landed pending inquiry.

Of course, if Her Majesty's Government decide to declare the Treaty at an end, all slaves captured will be sent to such free colony, and none will be allowed to come to Zanzibar.

This is, of course, subject to all Treaty rights of foreign Powers to have vessels under their flags made over to them for adjudication; but the unrestricted transit to Zanzibar by the high seas will not the less be pretty effectually stopped.

His Highness will see, that in neither case, can his desire to secure slave labour for his islands be attained. The transit must, practically, be stopped, whilst he will lose all the advantages he might now secure by aiding us in our object.

If you think the time has come for explaining this to His Highness, it might be well to do so in brief, promising him to let him have it in full and in writing if he wishes hereafter.

Unless His Highness is prepared to accept the Draft Treaty, I think it would be well that we should have another interview before His Highness sends any written refusal.

If he is prepared to accept the Treaty, our interview, after signing the Treaty, would have a much more pleasant object, viz., to see what can be done to ease off the pressure of the new order of things.

Inclosure 12 in No. 36.

Report by the Rev. G. Badger.

January 22, 1873, 8 P.M.

I HAVE just received a visit from the Wazir, Nasir-bin-Saeed, who was sent by the Sultan to inquire after my health. I took advantage of the opportunity to entrust him

with the message to His Highness that, whether he accepted our proposals or not, the British Government were determined to put a stop to the transport of slaves by sea; and that he must not entertain any hope whatever of a continued supply of slave labour for the island. Thereupon the Wazir dilated, on his own responsibility, upon the serious losses which the arbitrary proceedings of the cruisers and their boats had entailed upon the Sultan and his people. He adduced several instances in point, which of course I could neither credit nor controvert.

I then intimated to the Wazir that it would form a part of your Mission, after the draft of Treaty had been accepted by His Highness, to concert measures, in communication with him, whereby any of the evils alleged should be remedied, and other arrangements made to alleviate, as far as possible, any detriment which might arise either to His Highness or to his people by his acquiescence in the demands of Her Majesty's Government.

On my urging the Wazir to use his influence with the Sultan to induce him to accept the conditions submitted to him, he replied that the subject was one which required delicate handling on the part of His Highness, and that we must not expect to receive a reply before the expiration of a couple of days.

Inclosure 13 in No. 36.

Report by the Rev. G. Badger.

January 24, 1873, 6.30 P.M.

I SENT to request the Wazir Nasir-bin-Saeed to pay me a visit. He has just been with me, and I have urged him to press the Sultan to a favourable decision without further delay. He said that His Highness regarded accepting our conditions as tantamount to taking his life with his own hands, and that of course he hesitated to do. I combated this notion, and asked him to second me by assuring the Sultan that every proper facility would be accorded for the immigration of free labourers, and that wherever there was a demand for such labour the supply would certainly be forthcoming in time, especially if the immigrants were well treated. "But, admitting for argument's sake," I added, "what His Highness states, will his refusal better his prospects?" As the Wazir admitted that it would not, I pointed out that that consideration alone was a sufficient reason for his acquiescence in our demands. To the Wazir's plea that His Highness must consult his people far and near, I replied that he had most probably made up his mind what to do, and the sooner he acquainted you with this resolve the better. Were his chiefs to blame him for concession, was there not every chance that hereafter, when the screw was put on, which it certainly would be, that they would turn round and blame him for having refused to accept our conditions? That Her Britannic Majesty's Government would not have selected a personage of your standing for its envoy had it not fully decided on the course which it intended should be taken; and that, inasmuch as the principal foreign Powers had expressed their approval of your Mission, the Sultan, in the event of non-acquiescence, would meet with their disapprobation and with the certain cessation of the friendship which had hitherto existed betwixt the Sovereign of Zanzibar and the British. I then reiterated my former advice to the Sultan not to trust to the hope of obtaining any more slaves from the mainland; that the restrictions enforced during the first four months of the year would be continued; and that, whereas he and his people might be accorded a short respite if His Highness accepted our conditions, no such respite would be granted if he refused them. The Wazir promised to report all that I had said to the Sultan, and then suddenly asked whether you were about to leave for the mainland in the flag-ship. I told him that I had not heard of any such arrangement; all that I knew was that it had always been your intention, before finally leaving Zanzibar, to visit different places on the coast. "I should like very much to accompany you," said the Wazir. To which I replied that, in the event of the signature of the Treaty, I felt sure that you would be very glad to have the company of His Highness, or of any one deputed by him, as your object in that case would be to concert measures for the benefit of the island, in which you would be delighted to act in unison with His Highness. The Wazir appear gratified with this assurance, and, in taking leave, again told me that he would not fail to convey all that I had said to the Sultan.

Inclosure 14 in No. 36.

Dr. Kirk to Major Smith.

January 24, 1873.

(Extract.)

I HAVE just come from the Wazir. He said—"How blind we were, when you came with terms that allowed us all the slaves we need, not to close with you." He continued—"Now, is there no means of going back to those terms?" I replied, none whatever. He sounded me in different ways, always to see if there was not a hope of terms. The impression left in my mind was—1st. That the pressure from the outside Arabs is gone, and all left in the Sultan's hands. 2nd. That the Sultan and his Council until now have not understood that modification of what has been asked is utterly out of the question; and, even now, they hardly believe we will carry out our proposal to the bitter end if they refuse. I backed up all Mr. Badger's arguments, and with some effect.

Inclosure 15 in No. 36.

Report by the Rev. G. Badger.

January 25, 1873.

DR. KIRK called upon me after his interview with the Sultan to-day, and we agreed that it would be desirable to give His Highness a written note, which he might show to the assembled chiefs to-morrow, telling him plainly that no compromise could be accepted by you. The following is the translation of the note:—

(After compliments.)

"Having been led to understand from the tenor of a conversation which I had with your Highness' Wazir, Nasir-bin-Saeed, last evening, and also from what passed between you and the Consul Kirk to-day, that your Highness still trusts that some modification of the demands made in the proposed new Treaty, or that some middle course may be proposed to you, his Excellency the Envoy has instructed me to assure you, before your next meeting with the chiefs, that, acting upon the orders which he has received from the Exalted Government, he cannot agree to any such compromise: therefore your option lies exclusively between acceptance and refusal, and, as your sincere friend, I beseech you to elect the former, which will be better for you and your people in every respect; whereas refusal on your part will bring upon you great troubles, and deprive you of the friendship which has hitherto existed between you and the British Government. So much from—

(Signed)

"GEORGE P. BADGER.

"January 25, 1873 (26th Dhil Kaadah, 1289)."

The Sultan had sent to say that he would pay me a visit, and before I had completed the translation of the above into Arabic, he came accompanied by his Wazir, Nasir-bin-Saeed.

Inclosure 16 in No. 36.

Report by the Rev. G. Badger.

January 26, 1873.

I FORGOT to mention one remark made by the Sultan, in the report of my interview with him last evening. He said, in deprecation of the conditions in the draft Treaty, "What is to become of the ivory which has already been ordered, and of the slaves who are coming or to come with it, on the faith of the old Treaty? Just fancy what a fearful loss the stoppage of those consignments will entail upon all concerned." Thereupon I pointed out to him that the date to be fixed for the operation of the new rules had been left blank by Her Majesty's Government; that therefore you had some discretion in that particular. "In that respect," I remarked, "you will have a privilege, if you accept the new Treaty, which certainly will not be accorded you in the event of your refusing it. Your Highness is at perfect liberty to discuss that matter with Sir Bartle, who I am sure will allow time for the expiry of all existing legal contracts, and take into his best consideration any valid arguments which you may adduce for a little further respite to cover accident," &c. Of course I studiously avoided naming any terms being

allowed but the prospect of some term being allowed was evidently a great relief to His Highness, and I doubt not that he will adduce it to his Chiefs and others as an alleviation of the terms proposed in the new Treaty.

Inclosure 17 in No. 36.

Note of what passed at a Meeting between the Sultan and Sir B. Frere on the 27th January, 1873.

ON the morning of the 27th, at the Sultan's own request, I met him privately at the British Consulate. After a few remarks of a general nature had passed, His Highness said that he had requested this interview to talk over the terms of the Treaty. He said that the Arabs were at this time ruined and without a dollar in their houses, as I could see with my own eyes if I would ride through the island which had been devastated by the hurricane. That he was sure that Government did not know this fully or it would not have chosen this moment to insist on the sudden abolition of the only means which the Arabs could command of procuring labour to remedy their disasters. That I was an old and trusted servant of Her Majesty's Government, and that I ought to give the weight of my observation and experience to impress on Her Majesty's Government the extent of the ruin which had overtaken the island and the necessity of some mitigation of the terms demanded and delay in carrying them out. I replied that your Lordship had passed the whole of your official life in the study of foreign politics and especially of this question. That you had been informed in the fullest possible manner, not only by Dr. Kirk but by private individuals, of the actual state of the island, and that, knowing all this, you and Her Majesty's Government were still firmly convinced that the effect of the measures proposed would not be otherwise than beneficial to His Highness and his dominions. His Highness then inquired how the supply of labour was to be kept up if the export of slaves were put an end to, saying that in four years' time those now on the island would have disappeared through deaths, kidnapping, &c. To this I replied by pointing out to him the instance of Kurrachee, a bare sandy plain, where free labourers for all and every variety of work were induced to come by liberal payment, from Muscat, Mekran, the people of which he knew, and many other places, even from China. On this His Highness said, "Yes, but our Arabs will now have no means of paying them owing to their recent losses, and trade is so dull they will not soon recover those losses." I pointed out that the present commercial dead-lock was owing to the fear his subjects felt that His Highness would not agree to our proposals, or, at least, to the uncertainty which existed on that head.

His Highness hereupon dropped this point, and said that he required something to tell his Arab councillors as the result of his interview, and asked what we would do to carry out the promises of aid which we had given him should he accede to our wishes, for that at present they were blindfolded in that respect. I replied that he must first tell us whether he was with us or against us in our desire entirely to stop the export of slaves from Africa, and the best way of assuring us in that point was to do what we desired by signing the Treaty, and then I could discuss with him as to how we could best help him; that the Treaty which I was commissioned to negotiate was definite, and that the only point on which I had any discretion was the date of commencement of some of its provisions. His Highness now reverted to the losses caused by the hurricane, whereon I told him that it was too late to discuss them, that I was here to carry out the instructions of Her Majesty's Government, and that I was quite assured if he rejected the present offers he would hereafter repent his rejection as a far greater calamity to his dominions than any hurricane. Seyyid Burghash replied, "Your hand is most powerful, and we cannot resist." I said that we did not wish to carry our Treaty by force. "Then why destroy us, as we are assured you will by insisting on your Treaty?" "The Arabs," he continued, "were a poor people, and trusted in the honour of England, whom they could not resist."

I then pointed out to His Highness that this was no new thing that was asked of him; that he and his predecessors had over and over again been urged to take steps in the sense indicated by the Treaty, and had been told that the consequence of refusal would be our insistence on the total abolition of Slave Trade. Here His Highness broke in with some warmth. "When," he said, "have I ever broken the Treaty? Have not I always to the best of my power and with the freest will always aided Her Majesty's Consul in carrying out any measures against any of my subjects? Have not my soldiers aken slaves by force from the houses of their masters? Have not I suffered in silence

the outrages of your cruisers, even the burning before my very eyes of my own dhows uncondemned and innocent, as happened to one brought from Dar-es-Salaam? How can I do more? I cannot with the force at my command prevent thieves and kidnappers carrying on their trade."

It was, I replied, to stop these things of which he complained that I had come, and to give security to his kingdom. "Then why not stop the northern Arabs coming here? I do not want them, they are no good to me; let your authorities in Persia and Bombay put them down, if you wish to aid me."

His Highness, who had spoken with much vehemence, here called for a glass of water, and I took the opportunity to point out to him that as by his religion the use of intoxicating liquors was forbidden, since their abuse led to crime and ruin, so in this matter of Slave Trade it should be put down entirely, as its partial continuance led to excess, and thereby to the ruin and disasters of his country. His Highness replied, "We are in your hands; if you persist, all the Arabs will die, and die through your instrumentality, and I do not wish it so; for if 200 people were shut up in a house, and no food brought, will they not die?" I told His Highness that, if ever I met him again after I left Zanzibar, as I hoped to do if ever he carried out his intended journey to Jerusalem and prolonged it to Europe, I was sure that he would then thank Her Majesty's Government for what they had done, though now their measures might seem harsh to him. I said, "Aid will come to your Highness if you accede to our wishes, and our Government will help you, but that Government has spoken, and its word is now final; it is not in my power to alter its decision save in the one point of extending the date when the Treaty should commence." He asked if this would be for years. I said "Most certainly not." "But," said the Sultan, "you allow Portugal fifteen years to put an end to slavery, and I hope I may consider our welfare as almost dearer, and ourselves as a little nearer to you than Portugal." When I had convinced him, through Dr. Kirk, of his error in this comparison with Portugal, His Highness returned to the subject of the extent to which our demands had been stretched. "Twice," he said, "did you raise your demands in Seyyid Said's time; again in Seyyid Majid's time did you do the same; now this fourth time have you come to me, Burghash, with still more crushing exactions, and if I grant this, God only knows what the fifth demand may be." (Referring, probably, to the abolition of the status of slavery in the island.) "How do I know this is final, is there nothing beyond?"

I then said that, as I had over and over again assured him, the Treaty was the one sole imperative object of my Mission, beyond which I had no intention to demand anything. That what subsequent measures might be discussed, would depend on His Highness' own wishes and suggestions; and told His Highness that if he would give me his word of honour that the answer should be favourable, I was prepared to take on myself the responsibility of granting the continuance of the present state of affairs till the 31st of December of this year. Hereupon he excitedly addressed Dr. Kirk, and said we had come when the island was ruined; that the time offered was of no use, and that he could not do now what at a time of ordinary prosperity he would readily have done. I replied, as I had replied before, that I could not now consider that; that if he did not accept our terms, England would take steps which would annihilate his Slave Trade, and with it unavoidably deeply injure his legitimate commerce. Here he again referred to the ruined state of the island, and all connected with it. I resumed that matters were now at a crisis; that his choice lay between acceptance or refusal of the terms which Her Majesty's Government had, through me, submitted to him. The Sultan answered—"It is good; I asked for this interview to assure myself if there was no middle course open to me, which you might have yet kept back. I do not want you to go back to England unsuccessful through my acts; but in your success lies my ruin. A spear is held at each of my eyes, with which shall I choose to be pierced? Either way, it is fatal to me." I again denied this, and said that I had no alternative beyond those I had already mentioned. He said that were the slaves at Dar-es-Salaam, or some other sea-coast town, the matter might be different; but with none there, and so short a time in which to get them down, no supply could possibly be obtained. I emphatically repeated my assurance that I could do no more; that so sure as the sun shone above, so sure was it that England could and would put down the Slave Trade. His Highness said, "Do what you like, we will never give up your friendship. We could submit to be cut in bits by degrees for your sake; but you come by the right of the stronger to cut off at once the life and the head of the weaker. I have troubled you much, and kept you long; but, please God, you shall have a favourable answer." I pressed him to tell me when I might expect it; but he answered, "Give us yet a little time; we are a poor and but a narrow-minded people, and require time to see our way."

Thus ended an interview of nearly two hours' duration, which I have thought it well to summarize at this length, as it shows the difficulties which have to be contended with in dealing with this Prince. He came evidently hoping that there was some alleviation in the terms which might be granted to him, in spite of the earnest assurances to the contrary which have been frequently reiterated to him by Dr. Kirk and Mr. Badger on my behalf.

His Highness on this occasion was unattended by any of his own Ministers. Dr. Kirk, at His Highness' request, was attended by the Interpreter to the Consulate, Mr. Hill, Secretary to the Mission, and Major Evan Smith accompanied me; and I had the aid of the Rev. G. P. Badger, for which, invaluable at all times, I felt on this occasion the more obliged, as Mr. Badger was suffering severely from gout, and was unable to walk without severe pain.

Inclosure 18 in No. 36.

Report by the Rev. G. Badger.

I SENT word to the Sultan after you left that I wished to see him. He sent a written message in reply asking me to go to him at once. I found with him old Suleiman-bin-Hamed, his two Wazirs, and another official, who together seem to form his private council. I delivered the memorandum, which was as follows:—

“His Excellency the Envoy directs me to inform your Highness that his vessel will be shortly ready for sea, and that he therefore wishes to have an answer to the communications already made to you, inasmuch as there are other matters which he is charged to discuss with your Highness before his departure.

(Signed)

“GEORGE PERCY BADGER.

“30th *Dhil-Kaadah*, 1289 (*January 29, 1873*).”

After reading the memorandum the Sultan remarked: “I am answering the communications,” meaning that he was preparing a detailed reply. I questioned whether he could urge any fresh arguments against signing the Treaty, and that, therefore, further procrastination was useless. To which he answered:—“This is a very grave matter indeed to me and my people, and I should not be doing my duty were I not to deliberate fully and to advocate their cause and my own; but if you want to force me to sign the Treaty, let the Envoy send me a few lines saying that Her Majesty the Queen imperatively orders me to sign it and I will do so.” I explained to His Highness that what I meant was, that a bare repetition of what he had already urged was useless, unless he also specified distinctly what his objections or difficulties were to signing the Treaty. “Objections,” he said, “we have none, for as I told Sir Bartle Frere the other day, the Arabs are ready to be cut up piecemeal by the English, but hesitate to be killed outright.” I told him to put metaphor aside and to speak out plainly. He answered: “I mentioned it the other day to the Envoy, when I said that the Arabs had asked what compensation they were to receive for the great losses they would inevitably incur.” My rejoinder was: “The Envoy has to deal with you as the head of the State, and it is for you to deal with your chiefs. If your difficulty is simply financial, why have you not already explained that fully, seeing that his Excellency gave you an opening to do so in one of his letters. Those were not vain words which he used, and you ought to have attended to them; still, rest assured, that in this matter of a gratuity in any shape you must be content to trust to the Envoy's reserve, for he will not enlarge on that subject to you until you have signed the Treaty.” “But, why not?” he asked. “Because,” I said, “Her Majesty's Government does not intend to buy your acquiescence in conditions which are founded on justice, and which it can carry out without your acquiescence. But the Envoy, acting under the instructions of Her Britannic Majesty's Government, wishes to carry out this measure in a friendly way, and in a way that will benefit and not injure you.” This argument seemed to have weight with all present, especially the remark that you would not purchase the signing of the Treaty. Nevertheless, I was urged again and again to state, confidentially, what you meant by “assisting” them,—whether it meant a money gratuity. That I positively refused to do, beyond referring to the words of your letter to the Sultan, saying, that I had already, perhaps, gone too far,—although I had premised that in this matter I spoke, on the present occasion, on my own responsibility,—when I intimated to them that if the difficulty was only a financial one there was good reason for them to believe that you would do all you could

to remove it; but since nothing of the kind could be discussed before the signature of the Treaty, I urged the Sultan to lose no time in signing it as his only chance of securing favourable consideration, and by all means to avoid unnecessary delay in sending you a decided reply. He hoped to be able to do so now in a very short time, and promised, if possible, to send me a "gratifying" note, as a forerunner, during the evening.

8 P.M.—His Highness has sent to beg me to excuse his not writing. The new moon has been announced, and, besides the public festivities on such occasions, religious readings are held in which he takes part, so that he has no time to-night to fulfil his promise.

Inclosure 19 in No. 36.

The Sultan of Zanzibar to Sir B. Frere.

(Translation.)

January 31, 1873.

TO his Excellency the eminent Wazir, our beloved friend, Sir Bartle Edward Frere, the Envoy of the British Government, may God add to his renown.

Your respected letter, dated the 20th of Dhil Kaadah (19th January, 1873) reached us, and I, your friend, understood perfectly all that you set forth therein. Moreover, the friend of all, Mr. Badger, delivered to us the draft of the Treaty which was committed to your Excellency by the Queen. We read it, and we considered it attentively, and found therein what distracted our mind. If we receive and accept it, we shall compass our own destruction, and we fear that insurrections may arise were we to do so, and that it would happen to us as it happened to the Americans (the reference here is to the civil war in the United States, which Captain Wilson, of the United States' corvette "Yantic," told him in an official letter had arisen out of the Slavery question). On the other hand, if we refuse it we should be distressed at your returning disappointed.

With regard to your remark that agriculture would be promoted in Zanzibar if the negroes were protected from seizure and slavery (we reply that) in Zanzibar all are protected from seizure and slavery, excepting those who were in slavery in their own country, and who were brought hither as slaves.

Then, again, even the wealthiest man in Zanzibar has not the means of doing what Captain Fraser has done, who has set up a sugar-press, extracted oil, and manufactured soap, &c., paying (the labourer's money) wages; were he to attempt it he would certainly become bankrupt. This institution (slavery) which exists amongst us is of old date and is not contrary to our law.

With regard to your remark, intimating that you had inferred from our first reply that perhaps we demurred to the new Treaty from financial considerations only, would that such were the only reasons. The reasons, however, are many. In the first place, we cannot [accede to it] through fear that our concession might lead to insurrection. 2nd. Because all our subjects being agriculturists, if slave labour were cut off, their agriculture would perish. 3. If their slaves escaped from the islands it would be impossible to bring them back from the mainland, owing to the danger [of seizure] on the sea betwixt them and the mainland. 4. That at the present time all the plantations are ruined by the (late) hurricane, and require a thorough renewal, and can yield no profit for a long time, until the trees are fully grown.

With respect to your observation that a large sum has been paid into the Zanzibar Treasury, derived from the export of slaves, pray ask the Farmer of the Customs the amount of the debts owing to him.

Touching what you say about the Queen assisting us, you have not explained that to us in such a way that we might estimate it, and use it as an agreement with our people.

You wish to force upon us a new Treaty, telling us that we have broken the old Treaty. Has any order ever emanated from us sanctioning the transport of slaves beyond the prescribed limits? Or have we ever even complained to the (British) Government of what the crews of the men-of-war have done justly beyond those limits? Or have we ever taken part with any one found transporting slaves in violation of the Treaty? The Treaty provides that whoever is found transporting slaves beyond the (prescribed) limits shall be seized and his ship burnt. And, as far as we are concerned, whenever any violation of the rule has been made known to us, we have punished the offender.

Further, owing to the oppressive proceedings of the crews of the men-of-war, most of our subjects have secured the protection of the French Government. They have not

done this for the sake of carrying slaves, but as a security against violence. And this year those who have not yet done so will seek the same protection.

Our officials are as sheep (submissive), and if one of them is found guilty of a wrong we dismiss him; but how can we trust to, or place any confidence in, the new Treaty when, as is fully set forth in a pamphlet (Blue Book), the preceding Treaties have been so violated?*

To sum up: If your Excellency can ask of us something lighter than these demands, such as we could bear, and such as would involve less loss to us, we would bring ourselves to grant them out of respect for the (British) Government, and in consideration of your having come to us. On the other hand, if this matter is to be forced upon us we have no power (to resist), and we commit our cause to Almighty God. Salam. From your loving friend.

(L.S.) BURGASH-BIN-SEYYID.

Written at Zanzibar, 2nd Dhil Raadah, A.H. 1289 (31st January, 1873).

Inclosure 20 in No. 36.

Note of an Interview between the Sultan and Sir B. Frere on the 1st February, 1873.

AT 4 P.M. the Envoy went, by appointment, to visit His Highness. His Highness had inquired in the morning, through Dr. Kirk, whether the visit was to be a formal one, at which the Envoy expected the attendance of all His Highness' Court, or a private one, at which His Highness alone would be present? Dr. Kirk replied, that the Envoy's visit would be to make a formal and important communication to His Highness; but he believed it would be the Envoy's wish to leave it to His Highness to judge who should be with His Highness on the occasion.

For two or three days previously there had been a cessation of the little civilities, in the shape of presents of fruit, ice, &c., which had been usually sent by His Highness to persons connected with the Mission on shore. At 4 o'clock, the Minister, who usually comes some time before the hour appointed to conduct the visitor to the palace, had not appeared. There were, at first, no guards or escort on the street, though a few subsequently turned out. The Minister met the Envoy in the streets in front of the place, but His Highness did not come out to meet the Envoy, who was kept waiting in the audience-room for some minutes before His Highness appeared from a side room. The Envoy was subsequently informed by the Consul that there had been some mistake as to the time of the appointment owing to the difference of English and Arab time; but nothing whatever was said by His Highness at the time or subsequently by way of apology or explanation, beyond the slightest possible allusion to the difference of watches.

After this, singly or by twos and threes, his brothers and principal Ministers dropped in, till perhaps fourteen or fifteen of His Highness' Court were present.

The Envoy addressed His Highness, and stated, that after what had passed between himself and His Highness at their last interview, he had received His Highness' letter of the day previous with much regret. That he wished to reply in writing to His Highness' remarks—as far as he understood their purport—in sufficient detail to prevent His Highness, supposing that he concurred in them, and to explain what he seemed not to understand; but that he found such correspondence necessarily occupied much time, and as he was about to leave Zanzibar for a while on the 3rd, he wished, before he went, to say a few words, which he particularly begged His Highness would hear patiently to the end, when he would be glad to hear anything His Highness might wish to say in reply.

That his instructions were to visit Zanzibar and Muscat and to conclude Treaties with His Highness and with other Chiefs, with a view effectually to put a stop to the exportation of slaves from Africa; that, in writing to His Highness, he would take the liberty to quote those instructions in detail, because he felt some misunderstanding from the terms of His Highness' letter that the object of this Mission had been imperfectly apprehended by His Highness.

That he gathered, generally, from the tone of His Highness's letter, that His Highness was in no way disposed cordially to aid Her Majesty's Government in any fresh measures intended to give more perfect effect to the objects of previous Treaties, viz., the complete and final stoppage of the export of slaves from the coast. But, after what

* This, I presume, refers to the reports of some illegal seizures by or excesses on the part of the crews of cruisers.—G. P. B.

had previously passed on the subject, he was unwilling to believe that His Highness could mean a distinct refusal to co-operate with Her Majesty's Government, and he therefore would ask His Highness for a clear answer as to whether he would or would not sign such a Treaty?

That, in the event of His Highness declining, it would be the Envoy's next duty to proceed to the coast and to Muscat, and to report to Her Majesty's Government the means whereby the export of slaves could be best checked without His Highness' assistance; that he had already consulted the Admiral as to the naval force required effectually to watch these coasts, and much as he should regret to rely on forcible means of repression, which must more or less impede legitimate commerce, he could not too often assure His Highness of his conviction that in this mode, even if His Highness' aid were withheld, it was in the power of Her Majesty's Government very completely and effectually to stop the Slave Trade by sea.

That His Highness had referred to the use of the French flag adopted by His Highness' vessels to escape search, and the Envoy could not but gather from His Highness' remarks and from other circumstances that His Highness had some doubts as to whether the French Government concurred with Her Majesty's Government in desiring to see the Slave Trade by sea effectually stopped. He therefore begged to repeat more explicitly, and in greater detail, his reasons for believing that the two Governments were in accord on this question, and his hope that, in due time, instructions would reach the French Representative here effectually to check such abuse of their flag.

The Envoy then briefly described his probable movements before and after the arrival of the mail, due about a week hence, and informed His Highness that there were several matters regarding which he would address His Highness or communicate with him through Her Majesty's Consul, but which required attention before he could finally leave Zanzibar.

There was also the matter of the connection of British subjects with the Slave Trade. This was a question which was materially affected by whatever might be His Highness' course regarding the Slave Trade. But it would be the Envoy's duty very emphatically to warn all British subjects of the risk they run if, directly or indirectly, by lending money or otherwise they mixed themselves up with slave trading transactions.

That there were expressions in His Highness' letter relative to the compulsion which Her Majesty's Government could employ to enforce compliance with their wishes which had caused the Envoy great regret, because, as His Highness was well aware, the Envoy had studiously sought to carry His Highness with Her Majesty's Government in this matter and to avoid the slightest appearance of dictation or threatening. But that, if His Highness meant his letter to be a distinct refusal to enter into a fresh Treaty, the Envoy could not tell what might be the course ordered by Her Majesty's Government. He could only assure His Highness that Her Majesty's Government would not be turned aside by any difficulties from putting a stop to the Slave Trade and would use whatever means they thought most effectual for enforcing their just demands.

The Envoy then took leave of the Sultan, informing him that he would not again trouble His Highness with a visit before his departure, unless he intimated a wish to see him, but that Her Majesty's Consul and Political Agent would be, as usual, the channel for all communications between the two Governments.

As Mr. Badger interpreted, sentence by sentence, in Arabic, His Highness heard the Envoy throughout with some expressions of dissent and warmth of temper, and an occasional remark, *e.g.*, when the Envoy observed that he had found some parts of His Highness' letter difficult to understand, His Highness asked Mr. Badger whether he had not been able to comprehend it? to which Mr. Badger replied, that it was not the words but the drift which the Envoy did not understand.

At the conclusion of the Envoy's remarks, His Highness remarked, "We have considered what has been said, and we are convinced it involves destruction to us. It is quite in your power to destroy us, but you ask us to destroy ourselves, and that we cannot do. If your object had been to require something short of that from us, we should have granted it at once, for we have no better friends than the English."

The Envoy took his leave. His Highness accompanied the Envoy to some paces beyond the door. The Wazir followed the party to the Consulate attended by some Persian soldiers.

Inclosure 21 in No. 36.

Sir B. Frere to the Sultan of Zanzibar.

Highness,

"Enchantress," Zanzibar Harbour, February 1, 1873.

I HAVE received your Highness' letter of the 31st January, but I have not fully understood it.

I have already informed your Highness of the precise tenor of my instructions, viz., that "The experience of the last few years having conclusively proved that the existing Treaty engagements between Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and your Highness for the suppression of the export trade in slaves from your Highness' dominions on the East Coast of Africa, do not suffice for the attainment of the object for which those engagements were framed, and Her Majesty's Government having determined to spare no effort to put a stop to this traffic," Her Majesty had sent me as her special Envoy to your Highness and the Sultan of Muscat, with full powers "to enter into negotiations, and to conclude Treaties with you both, and with any other chiefs with whom it may be desirable to contract engagements for the suppression of the East African Slave Trade."

I have accordingly come, and, in accordance with Her Majesty's orders, have endeavoured in every way, by oral explanation, as well as by writing, by friendly remonstrance and argument as well as by official communication, to "impress upon your Highness the extreme disappointment of Her Majesty's Government at the want of an efficient execution of the provisions of his (your) existing Treaty engagements," to "explain" to your Highness "that this evasion of his Treaty obligations can no longer be tolerated by Her Majesty's Government, and that they call upon your Highness to co-operate with them in framing arrangements which shall effectually put a stop to the exportation of slaves from your Highness' dominions on the East Coast of Africa."

Having faithfully performed this duty, and forwarded to your Highness a Draft of a Treaty such as Her Majesty's Government wished to enter into, I have been surprised to receive from your Highness a letter full of reasons why you should not only make no effort effectually to put a stop to the exportation of slaves, but complaining of the efforts made by Her Majesty's Government under the Treaty to stop such traffic.

Your Highness refers to your fears of insurrection, of sufferings like those of the Americans, and of trouble caused to you and your people by the action of the men-of-war engaged in checking violations of former Treaties, but your Highness must be well aware that I have urged your Highness to accept the Draft Treaty mainly because I believe it to be the best preventive that can be desired to obviate all risk of such things as your Highness apprehends happening hereafter.

I have repeatedly explained to your Highness that now, when every civilized country has abandoned, or declared its intention to abandon, agricultural slave labour, it is too late to argue that free labour is anywhere incompatible with prosperous agriculture. Nor can the losses caused to Zanzibar by the hurricane be admitted for a moment as a valid reason why men, women, and children should be kidnapped, or forced from their homes in Africa to come and labour in your fields here.

I cannot understand your Highness' remark regarding the debts owing to the Farmer of Customs; but it can be no answer to the fact that your own Customs returns show that for many years past your Highness' treasury has received Customs on numbers of slaves, far exceeding the utmost wants of your own islands, and that the surplus supply of slaves on which you have so received Customs must have gone elsewhere, in direct contravention of all the Treaties made by the British Government with Zanzibar during many years past.

Neither do I understand the reference to a "pamphlet" as a reason why you can place no confidence in the new Treaty, nor your Highness' remark regarding the Treaty being "forced" upon you. It has been my anxious wish, since I came here, to make it clear to your Highness, and to all in Zanzibar, that what Her Majesty's Government desired was your Highness' free co-operation in the great work which has been so long a national object with the British nation.

These remarks of your Highness are not the words of friendship, nor, as it seems to me, of reason, when your Highness knows the earnest desire of Her Majesty's Government effectually to stop the exportation of slaves, and the firm determination of Her Majesty's Government to spare no exertion to accomplish that object.

I am well aware of many difficulties which beset your Highness' Government in any attempt to put a stop to a traffic which, however inhuman and condemned by all civilized nations, is of considerable standing, and very profitable to many in your Highness'

dominions. I am also fully cognizant of the heavy losses which have fallen on all classes in Zanzibar consequent on the hurricane of last year, and I have assured your Highness of the earnest desire of Her Majesty's Government effectually to co-operate with your Highness in any practicable measures which can be suggested for meeting and overcoming your difficulties, provided your Highness consents to enter into the engagements which I have proposed to you for the more effectual suppression of the East African slave traffic.

This being the case, I am unwilling to believe that your Highness' letter is intended as a direct refusal to co-operate with Her Majesty's Government in this matter; and I must beg your Highness to state in distinct terms, and in writing, whether your Highness is prepared to execute the Treaty, of which a draft has been submitted to you, or not?

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure 22 in No. 36.

Dr. Kirk to Major Smith.

Sir,

Zanzibar, February 8, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to inclose, for the information of the Right Honourable Sir Bartle Frere, a Memorandum of what has passed between His Highness the Sultan and myself during the absence of his Excellency the Envoy.

His Highness may be said now to have completely withdrawn in conversation the refusal he before gave when the draft Treaty was submitted to him; and I understand he would, if permitted, gladly sign that Treaty in its entirety, if the full operation thereof were delayed for a term of years, and the slaves to be introduced limited during that time to a yearly import of 3,000.

In recording this change in His Highness' Council, I must point out that I have not for a moment given him to hope that such terms will be accepted by the Envoy.

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

Inclosure 23 in No. 36.

Memorandum by Dr. Kirk.

ON the 3rd of February, after departure of Her Majesty's ship "Enchantress," having the special Envoy on board, the Sultan solicited an interview with Mr. Badger, without expressing the object in view. Having communicated with Dr. Kirk, Mr. Badger explained by note to His Highness that, in the Envoy's absence, all communications must take place through the usual channel, *i.e.*, the British Agency.

The same evening the Agent, having addressed His Highness the letter annexed, was invited to an interview the following day, at 10 A.M.

On the 4th of February Dr. Kirk was received with the usual courtesy by His Highness outside the palace, and taken to a private chamber, with none present, save His Highness and the Moonshee of the Agency.

His Highness next inquired when the Envoy might be expected, and, being told that he would probably return on the 9th or 10th day of this month, replied that an answer would be prepared. Thereupon His Highness, addressing the Agent slowly and deliberately, said: "When you find you have heaped a load upon your camel that it cannot pass the city gate, do you not lessen the burden and gain your object? Now, lessen this heavy burden the Government have laid on us, be it ever so little, and we are your servants, and you will gain all you desire; give us some respite, and we will accept the Treaty."

Dr. Kirk assured His Highness that his Excellency, in offering one year before the Treaty should come in force, had already lessened the difficulty of which he complained, and almost exceeded his instructions; but this year of grace, which was held out in the hope of a cordial compliance on the part of His Highness with the wish of England, had now been withdrawn. It was beyond the power of his Excellency to accept any proposition short of the Articles contained in the Draft Treaty, the time when these should take effect being alone in any measure left open to his discretion; but, once these were accepted, his Excellency was empowered, and would be only too willing, to comply with

every possible and reasonable suggestion His Highness might make that would be to the good of his Kingdom with especial reference to his own position and that of his people, owing to the operation of the Treaty.

Being invited to show in what way this would be done, the Agent said that, under such circumstances, His Highness might require support, and that this could be given in any way most pleasing to himself; it might be by ships or in money. His Highness had already been pressed to say if his objections had been of a financial nature clearly with the implied object of relieving him if that were the case. His Highness was now without vessels, and in the present state of his finances ships could not be easily obtained. But in thus asking His Highness if his difficulty was financial, the Envoy had avoided all possible misunderstanding, and could not be accused of wishing to purchase the Sultan's compliance with money, as the consideration of such matters had been placed after an unreserved acceptance of the Government propositions.

There could, moreover, be no doubt Her Majesty's Government might be able to assist His Highness in finding labour and he might be assured that the furtherance of this would be one of the chief objects his Excellency would consider, so soon as the Treaty had been signed.

His Highness had now taken a course openly against all that the Envoy had been commissioned to ask of him in the name of the British people.

Instead of discussing the good offices that might have been asked had His Highness taken an opposite course, it had now become the Agent's painful duty to address His Highness the short note he had received yesterday, and that awaited a reply. This referred to a duty which, while the two Governments were in accord, Great Britain was ready to permit, although so clearly forbidden by Treaty; thus a source of revenue greater than that he derived from the Slave Trade had been already cut off, and this was but the first result of the difference of interests that His Highness' refusal had caused.

The Agent proceeded to explain that it was impossible for him to discuss anything relating to the Lord Canning's arbitration, out of which results, probably quite unforeseen to all parties, might arise, in the event of a prolonged refusal on the part of His Highness to meet the wishes of Her Majesty's Government in the Slave Trade. But there were still nearer contingencies to which it was the Agent's duty to call His Highness' attention, namely, the effect of Her Majesty's Government forcibly carrying out what had been asked, in direct opposition to His Highness. He might say that he cared little for himself or for his continued rule, which certainly would be imperilled, but he could not thus shut his eyes to the fate that must befall to his people, for whose good he had been placed over them as guide in times such as these. There could be no doubt that, first, the present want of confidence in the credit of all Arabs would be continued; his subjects compelled to sell or mortgage at ruinous prices; and debts to British subjects enforced, perhaps with a high hand. Such proceedings, together with the forcible action of the fleet, could not long continue without causing a rising of slaves, and an object unanticipated in the present negotiations brought about with a violent convulsion and the utter ruin of the Arab race in these parts.

Having heard all this—which was given not consecutively, as above, without comment from His Highness—the Agent was told that it was now most important that the substance of what had passed should be repeated in his (the Agent's) presence to the Council, as they would never believe such words coming through the Sultan, and the effect of his stating them only be to make a settlement more difficult by raising doubts in their minds as to his own sincerity in the Arab cause.

Thereupon the following Councillors, who were evidently in readiness in a room adjoining, entered—the Seyyids Suleiman bin Hamed, Ali bin Sood, Hamed bin Suleiman, Mohammed bin Hamed, Nasser bin Saeed, and the Sheikhs Mohammed Bakashmir, and Mohammed Abdulla es Shagsi.

His Highness, without preamble, began to repeat to his Council the substance of all the Agent had said, calling upon him from time to time to confirm the statements.

Ali bin Sood then said that this was indeed force, and under compulsion what was left for them to do? The Agent repeated that whatever they, from their point of view, might think of the terms of the draft Treaty, there was some hope there, some benefit to them. Their right in present slaves was left unmolested, and an arrangement made that would introduce the new order of things slowly, whereas the course they had forced the Sultan to follow was utter ruin. Not that England would stir up their slaves, but that the slaves, sure of the neutrality of England, and seeing the rude way in which the Arabs must necessarily be dealt with, would of themselves rise and throw off their masters.

The Agent was then pressed by Hamed bin Su'eiman to show what were the specific ways in which they would be assisted; on being told again that Great Britain did not come here to purchase their assent, he replied, "That is true, but we are led like blind beasts; it may be to corn, it may be to chaff." Being asked what he would ask, he replied, "Our Sultan will sign if you will promise to give what we require; we ask neither money, nor arms, nor ships; we have hitherto got on alone, and do not desire to accept such things; Arabs have been poorer than seen now, and our fathers have worked with the spade, but we never have, some one has always done that for us; now, what we ask, and the only thing we can accept, would be for Government to grant to us a time before bringing the introduction of slaves entirely to a close, and allowing us during that time just what might be thought absolutely needed." The Agent, being asked how many he supposed Zanzibar Island had been in the habit of retaining after making all allowance, said that he knew it did not exceed 2,000 or 3,000 yearly. Seyyid Hamed bin Suleiman at once said, "Give us that, even for a few years, and the matter is ended." It was in vain to call attention to the fact that such a relief would be granted in opposition to one of the clauses in the Treaty, and reversing its nature if allowed for any long period, to which the answer was, "Not so; it is only a matter of detail when it takes effect; the Envoy mentioned one year, we say a term of years: surely, this is a subject fairly open to discussion."

Again, after some discussion among themselves, in which Ali bin Sood was heard to say that, after all, if the thing was to be done, money would be almost essential, Seyyid Hamed bin Suleiman said to the Agent, "Tell the Government we have decided, and are ready to sell our slaves to them, and accept money in exchange; on that let slavery be abolished." The Agent replied that this would be accomplishing more than Government had ever spoken of, and that he, for one, should much regret anything that led to immediate and unrestricted freedom; that, as the friend of the country of the Arabs and of civilization, this was a process in which the Arabs could give England the greatest assistance; and that nothing could be more inopportune than sudden emancipation.

On taking leave, old Seyyed Suleiman bin Hamed laid his hand on the Agent's arm, and in the most earnest manner, with tears in his eyes, said, "I have heard nothing of what has passed, I am now old and deaf; but, if Government press this matter, I myself will live to reach London, and Paris, and New York, and claim a hearing and justice for the Arabs."

Feeling sure that the discussion had produced a serious effect on the Council and completely drawn them from their former open opposition, the Agent left His Highness, who assured him that before the return of Her Majesty's ship "Enchantress" the whole subject would be reconsidered and answered with the additional light now thrown upon it.

Throughout the whole discussion nothing could have been more deferential or courteous than the conduct of every Arab present. There was not one angry or strong expression let fall, although conversation passed most freely, unrestrained either by the presence of the Sultan or the British Agent.

Inclosure 24 in No. 36.

Report by the Rev. G. Badger.

February 3, 1873.

AT about 4:30 P.M., or just after you had sailed in the "Enchantress," I received a note from the Sultan, of which the following is a translation:—

"To our beloved friend Mr. Badger, may his glory be permanent!

"I wish an interview with you, let me know when it may be. Will it suit an hour and a half after sunset or on Tuesday morning? It is for you to decide and send me an answer. Salam.

(Signed)

"BURGHASH-BIN-SAID."

I was about to reply in accordance with what I conceived to be your instructions yesterday, namely, that I had been charged not to hold any intercourse with His Highness unless he first assured me that it was with a view to accepting the conditions of Her Majesty's Government, when the Kadhi Shahab-ud-Din happened to mention your having told him that we must now hold no further communication with His Highness except through the Consul, I accordingly sent for Dr. Kirk, who confirmed this, giving your reasons for the prescribed course. I then wrote to the Sultan as follows:—

"To His Highness the Seyyid Burghash.

"Before his Excellency the Envoy left to-day he directed that any communication which you wished to make should be made in the first instance through the English Consul. I must, therefore, request your Highness to apply to the Consul about the desired interview. Salam.

"(Signed) GEORGE PERCY BADGER,
"February 3, 1873 (5th Zhil Hijjah, A.H. 1289)."

4th. The Kadhi and I removed into the Consulate this morning.

6th. To-day Dr. Kirk sent back the customary present of two goats which the Sultan makes to the resident Consuls on the occasion of the impending Muslem festival of the Hijj. Dr. Kirk explained to His Highness, in a note which I translated into Arabic, that he could not receive such courtesies while the demands of Her Majesty Government remained unaccommodated to; expressing his earnest hope at the same time that His Highness would speedily accept the proposals which had been submitted to him.

8th. I close this Memorandum as I understand that you have returned in the "Enchantress." Dr. Kirk will doubtless inform you of the position of affairs up to this date.

Inclosure 25 in No. 36.

The Sultan of Zanzibar to Sir B. Frere.

(Translation.)

February 11, 1873, 10 P.M.

IN the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate!

To his Excellency the exalted Wazir, our beloved and highly-esteemed friend Sir Bartle Edward Frere, the Envoy of the British Government. May his renown be perpetual!

Your esteemed letter arrived, and your friend understood what you stated. As respects the new Treaty, we cannot sign it on account of the hardship which it involves to us; on account of dread of insurrection; and on account of the ruin which it would cause to the plantations of our subjects. Then, he who is the friend of all, Mr. Badger, mentioned to us that if we do not accept the new Treaty, the exalted (British) Government would send their ships to carry out the old Treaty in its entirety, from which there would arise much more damage than we have yet experienced. But if they carry it out according to its provisions, that would cause us no harm, and we form that estimate of them and of their justice; but should they violate (those provisions), we are helpless, and shall take patiently whatever God may decree with regard to us.

You also request at the close of your letter that we signify to you either our acceptance or refusal in one word, No. But it does not become (behave) us to use that word to you. Besides, we have (already) informed you that if your Excellency had asked what was less onerous for us, such as a diminution in the imports (of slaves), or the prohibition of the markets where the public slave dealers meet, or the diminution in the number of boats (carrying slaves), we should have rejoiced at your returning satisfied with us.

This is what we have to communicate to you. Salam.

From the loving, &c.

(L.S.) BURGHASH-BIN-SAID.

12th of Zhil-Hijj, 1289 (11th February, 1873).

No. 37.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received April 20.)

My Lord,

Mombasah, March 27, 1873.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 10th instant, in which I referred to the reception with which I met at the great coast slave-depôt, Kilwa Kavinja, I have the honour to inclose, for your Lordship's information, the accompanying Memoranda and copy of a letter which I addressed to Dr. Kirk on the subject.

The Memoranda give both sides' versions of the affair. I need not say which is the correct one.

I requested the removal of the Governor, as I considered that, at the present moment, it would be unwise to allow an insult like that complained of to pass unnoticed, and trust your Lordship will approve my having done so.

Dr. Kirk, who arrived here to-day with the mails in Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," tells me that, on his delivering a letter in the terms requested to the Sultan, His Highness promised to punish the Governor as Dr. Kirk saw fit. I shall have the honour to communicate the end of this incident on a subsequent occasion, when the result of my application is known.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 37.

Memorandum by Colonel Pelly respecting Kilwa Kavinja.

KILWA KAVINJA being one of the most notorious points for the export of slaves, Sir Bartle Frere visited it on board Her Majesty's steam-yacht "Enchantress."

His Excellency, accompanied by his staff, landed on the afternoon of the 11th March; but on debarking, there was a total absence of those courtesies which are invariably paid by the local officials of the Zanzibar Government to our Representatives, &c.

His Excellency observing at an open doorway, near the landing-place, some British Indian subjects, and being informed it was the residence of the representative of the firm of Jeyram Sewjee, and also His Highness' Custom-house, approached, and spoke with them in his usual kindly manner. But these men—who proved to be Bhattias—received his Excellency with signs of mingled fear, aversion, and insolence.

I explained to these Indian subjects who his Excellency was, and asked them whether they were unaware of his arrival in Her Majesty's vessel, then lying in front of them. They admitted the fact of their being aware; and then indolently rising, led the way into an inner room of one of their houses.

His Excellency then continued his conversation, inquiring as to the condition, trade, &c., of British subjects at Kilwa Kavinja, and expressing his desire to see their principal men. But for the time none of these principals appeared, and it was impossible to elicit more than the admission that there were, in Kilwa Kavinja, about eighty families of Khojas, twenty-five houses of Bhattias, and three Mehmons.

In regard to all other questions and matters these Indian subjects were doggedly reticent.

By degrees his Excellency came to the question of the Slave Trade, and requested some information concerning the statistics of this trade, as carried on at Kilwa. But the aspect and manner of these men at once became that of culprits, determined to deny their guilt and brave all consequences. "There was no Slave Trade; and if there was, they had no records of it; perhaps slaves were exported, but the books were kept at Zanzibar, &c., and the duty on slaves was levied at that port; accounts were not balanced, as between the firms at Kilwa and Kavinja."

Prominent among the Indian subjects who thus conducted themselves was one named Ramdass, who is Custom-house Agent at Kilwa, on behalf of one Lukmeedass, who in turn is Custom-house master and Customs farmer at Zanzibar, on behalf of the well-known firm of Jeyram Sewjee, of Bombay, and which firm therefore is, through its Agents on the African Coast, an accessory in the Slave Trade, and a participator in the profits thereon.

Among the persons present, I particularly noted Laljee, Samjee, Purshotum, and Dial.

This Dial, who appeared on the scene only at a late moment, pretended to be the Mookhee, or Headman.

But few Khojas appeared, nor was anything to be elicited from the Bhattias.

His Excellency then requested to see the head local authority, or his deputy. Excuses were made that this person's house was a long way off. Eventually, however, one of the company proceeded to inform the head authority, who, I am told, is Salim bin Syud bin Omar, of his Excellency's presence; and after some delay returned with the asserted reply that the said person was unwell; but no excuse was offered, no deputy appeared; and it seemed clear to me either that the messenger had not gone to the local authority, or that the local authority was resolved to ignore the presence of the Envoy.

In view of clearing this point I proceeded myself, and quite alone, to the Wali's house, which I found to be within two or three doors of where his Excellency was sitting. I found a servant at the doorway, and asked if his master were in, and if so, whether he were ill. The man laughed and said he is here and quite well. "Then," said I "I wish

to see him." The servant then opened an inner door and called to his master, who came out in a careless manner and asked what I wanted. I asked him "if he were ill?" he said "No." I then informed him of what the messenger had said, explained to him the wish of his Excellency to see him. The man said he wished to put on his turban, &c., and would come. So I waited at the street door until he reappeared, when I indicated the road, and moved on to apprise his Excellency of the Wali's approach.

But I was almost immediately stopped by another servant who ran after me, and called me back; on turning round I saw that the Headman instead of following had merely crossed the street and was standing among some ruffian looking half-caste Arabs and negroes beckoning me back.

Presuming the man wished to make some apology for his conduct I went back to him, when he seated himself on a sort of a curb-stone raised along the street, and desired me to sit by him. I explained to him that I had come only on the part of his Excellency. The man then insolently replied, "Then let him come here and sit here, I will not move to see him."

Having myself passed twelve years in representing British interests with the Sultans of Muscat and Zanzibar, I could no longer conceal from myself that the conduct of this local authority must be dictated by the Sultan of Zanzibar and was simply an expression of the policy of that Sultan.

I therefore deemed it unnecessary to prolong explanation with this subordinate, but turned on my heel and rejoined his Excellency with an intimation of what had occurred.

(Signed) LEWIS PELLY.

March 13, 1873.

Inclosure 2 in No. 37.

Memorandum by Sir B. Frere.

AFTER Colonel Pelly had left the Wali's house, Captain Fairfax, R.N., Major Euan Smith, Mr. Hill, and Navigating Lieutenant Rowe, R.N., happened to pass with one of the interpreters attached to the Mission, Mr. Hill had just proposed that they should visit the Governor as a matter of courtesy, when they found him seated in the street where Colonel Pelly had last seen him. They went up to shake hands, knowing nothing of what had previously passed. He only half acknowledged their salutations and immediately attempted to raise a discussion on the pretext that they had gone to the fort without his permission. Captain Fairfax immediately assured him in most conciliatory terms that they had no idea of the kind, that passing the Fort, a dilapidated old building used as a prison, and seeing the Jemadar of Arabs at the gate, they had inquired of him what the building was, and had visited such parts as he had, of his own accord, shown them.

The Jemadar being present and entirely confirming all Captain Fairfax had said, the Wali could say no more to the English officers; but abused the Jemadar for having shown them the Fort; talked much in an excited manner of which the officers understood the purport only from observing Arab and half-caste armed men collecting round and appearing inclined to make a disturbance.

They therefore took leave of the Wali, who omitted the usual courtesies to a parting visitor and they joined me at the Custom-house.

The Wali subsequently sent for the interpreter, demanded his name and threatened him, and the Swaheli pilot with evil consequences for bringing the party to the place; some of the Arabs round asked whether they should arrest the interpreter there? others observed, "It would be better to let him go to Zanzibar where he could be seized." The Wali whilst talking at, but not to the party, had said in the interpreter's hearing, "These English show force to Seyyid Burghash and come here to show force to me, but I will meet force with force."

The Jemadar Suleiman bin Hafiz appears to have behaved civilly and to have used his influence to keep others quiet.

Six of the Arab soldiers pushed their way into the Custom-house whilst I was sitting there, ranged themselves on each side of the doorway handling their arms as if preparing to use them at once and looking ready for immediate mischief. They subsequently moved away when I took no further notice of them beyond asking who they were; but the demeanor of all the Arab officials was unmistakably insolent and defiant as that of the Indian traders was impertinent.

(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure 3 in No. 37.

Sir B. Frere to Dr. Kirk.

Zanzibar, March 15, 1873.

Sir,
ON my return from my late visit to the Mozambique Channel and Madagascar, I put into Kilwa Kavinja on the 11th, and landed with all the gentlemen of my suite and two officers of the ship about an hour after the vessel came to an anchor.

You will understand the manner in which we were received from the inclosed memorandum by Colonel Pelly, who remained with me when the other gentlemen went to walk through the town.

The Custom-house officials, as well as the Wali Salim bin Syud bin Omar, were perfectly aware of the position which their visitors held in the service of Her Britannic Majesty, and their neglect and insolence had the effect of inciting the rabble of Arabs and negroes about to be so very threatening in their demeanor that I was at one time not free from anxiety lest some of the armed ruffians in the crowd should assault the gentlemen, who had gone ashore unarmed, in reliance on the courtesy shown to them in visiting a friendly port.

I am unwilling at the present moment to enter on any discussions with His Highness on such matters; but the consequences of no notice being taken of such conduct may affect the future safety of Her Majesty's officers who may have to visit the place on duty, and I request therefore that you will explain in detail to His Highness' Minister what occurred, and require that Salim bin Syud bin Omar be removed from his office, and caused publicly to apologize to you for the conduct of himself and his subordinates towards officers who, he was aware, were of high rank and consideration in the service of Her Britannic Majesty.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure 4 in No. 37.

Salim bin Sa'ed bin Omar to the Sultan of Zanzibar.

(Translation.)

(After compliments.)

ON the 11th an English ship arrived, and the people landed in the afternoon. Their chief entered into the Custom-house, and the Captain and four other men went on till they entered into the Fort without giving warning. Your slave, the Akida, was inside, and the door-keeper could not prevent them. Then Suleiman came out to them, and they went away. They have done nothing. This is what took place with the Captain. But regarding the Governor, who was in the Custom-house, he sent a man from thence to call me, and when he reached the house he found the sepoy who was at the door, and asked him where Salim was. He told him, "Asleep, but we will call him;" and when he received this answer he sent an Englishman, who came with violence and kicked the Sepoy who was at the door, and entered by force and spoke much, but I did not understand him; and when I went out to ask what he wished, he took hold of me to drag me to the Governor. I did not consent to be drawn by one who had no authority, and I refused to go, because it is an insult to our King if I followed him as a goat.

Then the news went to the town that Salim was seized, and they arose to seize me, and to know the truth. When they reached and found me sitting, they sat with me. Then we asked the English about their going to the Fort; they had no reply, but asked for pardon—and also about their going to my house and seizing me. To this also they made no reply, but begged pardon.

This is what happened. I feel it best to tell you; and then they went on board ship and went away, and their second ship followed them. She was behind them when they left.

Dated 13th Maharram, 1290.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received April 28.)

My Lord,

“Enchantress,” April 1, 1873.

THE Sultan of Zanzibar having up to within a few days of my final departure from his dominions given no answer to the letter with which Her Majesty the Queen was graciously pleased to entrust me for presentation to His Highness, nor to any others of which I was the bearer from members of Her Majesty's Government, I addressed to Dr. Kirk on the 15th ultimo the letter of which I inclose a copy.

Acting on the hint conveyed in the note which, in consequence of my letter Dr. Kirk addressed to him, Seyyid Burgash at last forwarded to my care the letters which, with a translation, are herewith inclosed.

As His Highness himself says, “they are all of one tenor,” and the discourtesy of replying to Her Majesty's letter by a Circular note will, I doubt not, convince your Lordship, as it has confirmed my own conviction, that the tone of Seyyid Burgash's refusal to accept the proposed Treaty did not arise from a momentary fit of temper, but from a studied policy of disregard to the wishes of England.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 38.

Sir B. Frere to Dr. Kirk.

Sir,

Zanzibar, March 15, 1873.

I REQUEST that you will inform His Highness the Sultan that it is not my intention to return to Zanzibar after leaving it early next week, and that as it is my duty, in accordance with the instructions of Her Majesty's Government, to return at once to India and England to report the results of my Mission, no further opportunity is likely to occur for His Highness to address Her Majesty's Government through this Mission on any of the subjects which I was directed to bring before him, or for him to make me the bearer of any reply to the letters to His Highness' address which I have had the honour to deliver to him.

It will be sufficient if you give His Highness the opportunity of stating to you anything he has to say, and of forwarding through you any letter he may wish to have delivered to me.

It would not be consistent with the respect due to Her Majesty's commission that I should at the present moment further press His Highness on these points, or do more than give him the fullest opportunity of reconsidering before it is too late the position in which he has placed himself by his refusal to attend to the wishes and advice of Her Majesty's Government, and by his neglect of the forms of courtesy invariably observed by civilized nations on such occasions.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure 2 in No. 38.

Dr. Kirk to Sir B. Frere.

Sir,

Zanzibar, March 18, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith five letters from His Highness Seyyid Burgash to Her Majesty the Queen, the Viceroy of India, Her Majesty's Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs and India, and the Governor of Bombay.

These letters were written by His Highness immediately on receipt of my note of the 18th instant, and given to me at the interview on the evening of the same day. Being sealed, and no copy supplied I informed His Highness, as instructed by your Excellency, that it was impossible for you to accept closed letters in reply to those of which you had been the confidential bearer. His Highness at once said that the letters were of one tenor, and that he had no objection to my opening them, but that he would give me a copy of the text which was common to all.

I inclose herewith the Arabic copy of these letters with translation, from which it

will be seen that His Highness unhesitatingly refuses to accede to the demands and wishes of the British Government as regards the Slave Trade between the mainland and the islands, while, with reference seemingly to the charge of having failed to check the Arabian slavers, he only remarks that there are thieves in all countries.

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

Inclosure 3 in No. 38.

Dr. Kirk to the Sultan of Zanzibar.

(After compliments.)

March 15, 1873.

I AM instructed by Sir B. Frere to inform your Highness that, as it is not his intention to return again to Zanzibar after leaving it on Monday, no further opportunity is likely to occur for your Highness to address Her Majesty's Government through his Mission or any of the subjects which his Excellency was directed to bring before you, nor will your Highness be again able to make his Excellency the bearer of any reply to the various letters which were delivered to you at the beginning by the hand of his Excellency.

According to his intention Sir B. Frere will now proceed at once to India and England to report the results of his Mission.

It is my present intention to proceed in one of Her Majesty's ships to join his Excellency at one of the harbours on the African coast.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK.

Inclosure 4 in No. 38.

The Sultan of Zanzibar to Dr. Kirk.

(Translation.)

THE letter to the Queen, the Wazeers, the Governor-General, and the Governor of Bombay, all of one tenor, namely:—

Your honoured letter has reached, and what you mentioned has been understood, and his Excellency Sir Bartle Frere has reached, and we were glad with his arrival in safety; he has explained to us the demand of the honourable Government to prohibit the import of slaves to the islands, and to close the markets, and we replied to him as we were able: and the above-named is now leaving Zanzibar, and we do not wish that he go from us with other than a glad heart; but the demand which he asked was hard upon us, and upon all our subjects, on account of the hurricane in Zanzibar last year. As for the prohibiting of the transport of slaves to Arabia, we will endeavour as much as we can, but let it not be hidden from your knowledge that there are thieves everywhere.

From your friend,
(Signed) BURGASH BIN SAEED.

Dated 16th Imharram, 1290.

No. 39.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received April 28.)

My Lord,

"*Enchantress,*" April 2, 1873.

BEFORE leaving Zanzibar finally on the 17th ultimo, I thought it advisable, in view of the reception which I had met with at Kilwa Kavinja, to request His Highness the Sultan to furnish me with letters to the Governors of all the northern ports of his dominions, which I thought I might have occasion to visit. This I did through Dr. Kirk, in a letter, of which I have the honour to inclose a copy; and it is only due to the Sultan and his local Governors to say that, in consequence of the letters which he gave me, I met with every possible courtesy at all the ports at which I touched.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure in No. 39.

Sir B. Frere to Dr. Kirk.

Sir,

Zanzibar, March 15, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to request that you will inform His Highness the Sultan, that it is my intention on leaving Zanzibar on Monday to visit Bagamoyo and also Mombas, Lamoo, and possibly other ports to the northward, and request that, if general instructions have not been already sent to His Highness' officials on the coast, the necessary steps may be taken to insure that the usual marks of respect and courtesy shown to high officers of Her Britannic Majesty's service may be observed towards any of the officers of the Special Mission, who may visit any of His Highness' ports.

Should there be any difficulty in forwarding His Highness' instructions, I shall be happy to direct that they be taken charge of by the officer commanding this vessel, or one of Her Majesty's ships which may accompany us, who will see that they are delivered by the first boat which may land at any place we may visit.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

No. 40.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received April 28.)

(Extract.)

"Enchantress," April 3, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith a copy of a letter and Report by Mr. Elton on the Slave Trade, which is carried on in the Portuguese possessions on the East Coast of Africa.

This paper is particularly interesting, as touching on a part of the world of which, since the removal of our Consul in 1858, Her Majesty's Government have little, if any, reliable information.

It speaks so fully for itself, that I need not trouble your Lordship with any comments on it, further than saying that it confirms my conviction that the immediate appointment of a Consul at Mozambique is almost essential for carrying out our policy for the suppression of the East African Slave Trade.

The presence of a Consul at Mozambique would doubtless speedily attract to that fertile but almost neglected province many English traders and much English capital, a state of things which, as I have already stated in a previous despatch, the Governor-General is most anxious to see brought about. Hitherto, with no one to protect British interests, our traders have been naturally shy of venturing there. The development of commerce which would thus ensue would in itself be one of the greatest possible checks to the Slave Trade, and the presence of a Consul would encourage the Portuguese authorities to take more active steps than they have hitherto done for its suppression, while he would always be in a position to furnish Her Majesty's cruizers with information as to the probable whereabouts of a slaver, or the shipment of cargoes on dhows.

The Consul should also be empowered to visit the Comoro Islands and Johanna as opportunity offers. As I stated in my despatch of the 12th ultimo, Johanna will soon, I trust, become a depôt for liberated slaves who may be taken in the Mozambique Channel; and the occasional visit of the British Consul would control their employment, and guarantee their safety and good treatment by the Sultan.

Inclosure 1 in No. 40.

Mr. Elton to Sir B. Frere.

Sir,

British Consulate, Zanzibar, March 20, 1873.

IN obedience to your Excellency's wish expressed to me on board Her Majesty's ship "Enchantress," I have the honour to inclose a Report on the East Coast (Portuguese possessions), bearing on the general position of affairs, and especially on the Slave Trade question.

May I call to your Excellency's recollection a fact which I had the honour of stating in conversation, and which I should perhaps have inserted in my Report, viz., that should any difficulties arise in the future with regard to the disposal of captured slaves, Natal would always be ready to take over any number for employment on the coast plantations.

They would fall under the Refugee Act and be bound to work for a term of three years, receiving their wages before a magistrate, after which period they are free either to choose a new master, remain with the old one, or be received into a native settlement.

I have, &c.

(Signed) FREDERIC ELTON,
Acting Assistant Political Agent and Vice-Consul, Zanzibar.

Inclosure 2 in No. 40.

Report by Mr. Elton on the Portuguese Possessions on the East Coast of Africa.

AT Delagoa Bay local influences combine against Slave Trade. Considerable commerce exists between Natal and this port; the Portuguese are on bad terms with the surrounding tribes, and an eager immigration in search of work to Natal is popular amongst the Amatonga, a numerous and agricultural tribe, which, under varied titles, extends from the head of St. Lucia Bay almost to the banks of the Zambezi.

This system is described in the Report of the Special Committee of Inquiry into the Introduction of Native Labourers into Natal, dated November 13, 1872, which speaks for itself, and all arrangements which could be effected for the facilitation and protection of such immigration would not only confer a boon on the community of Natal in general, but also be a valuable aid to the future movements of civilization, as it gradually stretches out beyond its present limits, by accustoming the native mind to the practicability of earning the goods they covet by their own industry.

These tribes, who but a few years past were actively employed in "collecting" men and women for their neighbours, have totally discontinued, and could not now be tempted, into resuming the slave traffic in any form. They have discovered that all their wants can be sufficiently supplied by sending their young men down to Natal to work for three or four years, and speak with disgust of the old days within their memories when their only source of gain sprung in many instances from selling their own kith and kin.

Slaves are of course still held by the inhabitants of the town of Lorenzo Marques, but the numbers are not increased by purchases from without, although the children of slave women are still to be considered as chattels belonging to the master's establishment and estate.

The Inhampura (Limpopo) River was a frequent resort of slave vessels in years past, and the tribe on its mouth, the Mindongues, is composed of an agricultural people whose young men would anxiously embrace any opportunity of travelling to Natal by a safe route.

The immigration by sea has been carried on with some degree of regularity from Delagoa Bay to Natal of late years, the natives usually paying their own passages with money advanced them by relatives returned from work. Five or more fresh hands place themselves under the direction of one of their friends who has already accomplished a similar journey, and on their arrival in the Colony either accompany their guide to his old master, or to some neighbouring planter enjoying a "good name" amongst the tribe.

But after a time an order was published enforcing the Portuguese native passport system. This involved the payment of fees amounting to 15s. to the Governor of Lorenzo Marques, who was obliged to testify to having himself witnessed each man furnished with the necessary papers before leaving the shore.

The natives, unable to see the justice of this extra charge (the tribes do not pay tribute to the Portuguese Government, and simply used the town for the purpose of embarkation), discontinued the sea route for some time, until at last the planters agreed to pay the passport dues. This led, however, to questions of allotment, terms of agreement, time, bargains, &c., and was gradually replaced by the adoption of another system under which the natives shipped at Delagoa Bay, and on arrival at Natal remained on board until their friends, actually at work in Natal, brought sufficient money to the captain of the ship to refund him for their passport fee, 15s. per man in addition to the sum of 1l. per head for passage money. Strange as it may appear this arrangement was frequently carried out, and the fact of its being possible is a clear proof of the persevering wish of these tribes to reach the scene of labour, from whence they return laden with beads, blankets, clothes, knives, cooking pots, and sufficient money to pay their chiefs' fees (either 10s. or 1l., the amount varies in different tribes), and very often to purchase the highest object of their ambition—a cheap gun and ammunition from the Portuguese.

Although still carried on to a small extent, this immigration by sea is discouraged

by the Home authorities at present. From my own personal observation during three separate visits to Delagoa Bay, I cannot detect any of the evils of "collecting," or the slightest suspicion of illegal traffic in the system, and I venture to think a great justice would be done to the surrounding native tribes, and at the same time a great impetus given to the planting interests of a British Colony by—

1. Thoroughly clearing up with the competent Portuguese authorities the questions of passport dues, and the forms to be complied with both on departure from and return to the port of native immigrants,

2. Appointing a protector of immigration at both Natal and Delagoa Bay, whose duty it should be to see that the men are not overcrowded and supplied with a sufficient quantity of food, and to report on the manner in which each party was assembled prior to shipment.

I need only cite two cases which show the pressing necessity of protection. The natives are in the habit of providing food for the voyage themselves, but they are naturally improvident and always ready to curtail expenses, indeed, willing to starve for a day or so in order to save a few extra pounds weight of meal.

The "Basah" schooner sailed from Delagoa Bay for Natal in December 1872 with about sixty men on board, who brought their own food and paid their 1*l.* 15*s.* per head themselves. Of course no inspection was made of the quantity of food shipped by the passengers, it being nobody's absolute duty to carry out such inspection. On sighting Natal a mistaken signal lead the captain to keep off the shore fearing an approach of bad weather, and it was only on the tenth day that she anchored at her port. The "Amatonga" had only brought two day's provisions and, already half starving, could not understand passing the Natal bluff, which some of them recognized. They became noisy and inclined to be mutinous, pointing to the sails and to the shore actually frightening the captain into loading his guns and pistols and warning his men to be on the look-out, when fortunately one man was found who understood the position and explained it to his comrades. Whatever could be spared from the schooner's stores was served out to the natives who behaved, as soon as they realized the necessity of the case, admirably. All were eventually landed rather pulled down after a week's short commons, yet this was a case which might have led to a frightful disaster and scandal, and, indeed, was only saved from such an ending by a happy accident.

An equally dangerous blunder occurred some months earlier, when a smaller schooner, overcrowded, ran short of water whilst making an unusually baffling passage.

Now, however, should the Royal mail-steamers touch at Delagoa Bay, there is no doubt a regular supply of free labour could be imported to Natal by a forty hours' passage, at the rate of 1*l.* passage money per head, and every steamer would find scores of men to return by the same route, and willing to pay such a fare rather than risk the long land journey and the black mail levied by the Amazulu.

In a conversation with Senhor Amaral, the Governor-General of Mozambique, his Excellency stated that some difficulties had arisen in consequence of reports reaching Europe that natives were forcibly "collected" for this immigration, and that the Governor of Lorenzo Marques was in the habit of realizing for himself so much per head for all men so "collected." In consequence of this report he had suspended the Delagoa Bay immigration for a time, and personally paid a visit of inspection, when he was satisfied that only the legal charge of 15*s.* per head had been exacted for the passport fees, and that no pressure was used to "collect," and in consequence at once directed the embargo to be removed. I ventured to assure his Excellency of what I feel no doubt of in my own mind, that the eagerness on the part of these natives to work in Natal was so great that, unless allowed to proceed by sea, they would certainly travel, with difficulty and some danger, to the Colony in order to seek employment; and I detailed the facts of the system which had fallen under my actual observation.

In reply, his Excellency begged me to assure the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal that, with proper supervision at the port of Lorenzo Marques, the Portuguese Government would in every way aid the Colonial Government in any endeavours to place this immigration on a sound basis for the future. I do not think there can be any doubt that, to the healthy tone of the demand for labour and the fair payments of the Natal planters, the coast in a very great measure owes its immunity from slaving as far as these Amatonga tribes extend.

Inhambane.

Inhambane furnishes annually over 5,000 tons of cargo, produced in and around the settlement, and from the plantations on the mainland, known as Masheesh. During 1866-67 the Custom-house receipts amounted to 310*l.* In 1868 they exceeded 2,000*l.* and in 1870 recorded 3,108*l.*, the exports being principally india-rubber (which has been recently found in great abundance), oil-nuts, sesame, coffee, bees-wax, hides, and

ivory. The inhabitants are occupied in legitimate trade, and though holding many slaves, do not increase their numbers to any great extent by purchase in the neighbourhood. At Bazaruto, Chilwaone, and Sofala the hold of the Portuguese is strictly limited to their small towns and the immediate environs. The natives who are under Umseila, although willing enough to come into the factories to trade, jealously guard against any approaches on the mainland, where, however, it is perfectly safe for an Englishman to travel.

Umseila holds all the country from Delagoa Bay close up to the Zambesi, and to the westward to the Matabili, under a feudal form of Government, exacting tribute and military service from the Amatonga, his tribe, pure Zulu originally, although intermarrying with the women of the conquered race, still carefully foster and preserve their warlike character. He is entirely independent of the Portuguese, and even enforces tribute from Sofala and the settlements on the lower bank of the Zambesi, taking good care to insure regular payment by a display of force.

The Boers of the Transvaal Republic are exceeding unpopular amongst Umseila's people on the Limpopo. Indeed, the hold of the Boers on their own district of Zouthpansberg is purely nominal. Here their offence was, and continues to be, a system of kidnapping and binding to service—in reality, simple slavery, not unfrequently exaggerated by the employment of force and the stirring up of native tribes to indiscriminate war. An active promoter of dissension and the worst form of forced labour is Albasini, formerly Portuguese Consul to the Republic, who now lives in a stockaded fort in the Zouthpansberg district, and has made himself an object of fear and hatred to all around him. I do not wish to assert that the Transvaal Boers are generally implicated with proceedings which may be construed as slavery, but there is not the least doubt that many "outlying" Boers, and especially those of the Zouthpansberg district, engage in practices which, *per se*, are purely and simply forcible slave collecting followed by slave holding.

At Quillimane and on the Zambesi, on the adjoining rivers, such as the Mecusa and the Mariagomo, and especially on the Angoxa, the question of implication in slave traffic becomes serious, and the extreme difficulty with which reliable information can be collected is hardly appreciable to people at a distance. The involved interest, distrust, and, above all, the intense jealousy of all foreign interference, combine to render both a tedious and disagreeable task. The custom of permitting individuals to own small armies of slaves has worked the complete destruction of all law, and the seeds of rebellion have been sown broadcast by the atrocities which slave-hunting marauders have committed on tribes whose natural bent it would be to dwell in peace. Bonga commands the traffic of the Zambezi from a fort marked on the maps by his name, and dictates to all around him. Two considerable expeditions sent against him have resulted in the almost total loss of the Portuguese troops engaged. Stockaded forts called "aringas" are held by men who, barely able to control their armed slaves, can be of no possible assistance to the Government. The slaves of Valentino Moraes (who captured Angoxa some years ago for the Portuguese), on his death, drove his brother, the heir to his property, into Quillimane, and declared their independence on and above the Mariangomo, where they hold a large and formidable "aringa." The late Captain Faulkner met his death at the hands of Belchior's slaves from a natural result of the demoralization consequent on such total subversion of Government as that at present existing on the Zambezi.

The inland Slave Trade cannot be said to have been suppressed. About Christmas 1870, a gang of about 100 women and children were brought down from the Shiré by a native chief to the town of Quillimane for sale. I arrived there from Mozambique about the 10th January, 1871, when the matter was openly talked about, and I saw a number of the recently-purchased slaves.

During a considerable delay in and around Angoxa I heard constant reports of slaves being shipped for Madagascar from the adjoining rivers. I see no reason to doubt the truth of these reports; and that there is a considerable traffic now carried on from Angoxa is allowed by the authorities themselves, who state they are powerless to interfere.

With regard to the shipment of slaves to Cuba, referred to especially in the Earl of Kimberley's despatch to the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, I should state that public conversation gave 1869 as the latest date on which any such shipment had been effected on the coast; two ships were waiting for cargo near Quillimane during that year, then suddenly disappeared, and were said to have been successfully dispatched with slaves on board.

I have heard men who hold Crown grants of land, the natives on which pay tribute to the holders and supply them with labour, say that they could at any time collect large

Boers of Transvaal.

Albasini.

Quillimane, &c.

Bonga.

Valentino Moraes.
Angoxa.

Slaves for Cuba.

numbers of slaves for export. They regret the failing demand and laugh at the idea of active interference on the part of the authorities.

Slave brigantine at
Mozambique.
March 1872.

One open case occurred near the town of Mozambique in March 1872. A brigantine lay at anchor high up in Conducia Bay for more than a week, waiting for a cargo of slaves. One morning it was reported she had taken them all on board and sailed out of the Bay. This turned out to be perfectly true, and the authorities dispatched a vessel in pursuit of her twenty-four hours after her departure. Of course it was then too late, and news was afterwards received that the cargo was successfully run to its port of destination.

Dhows with slaves destined for the northern ports of the Island of Madagascar are constantly running from the inlets dotting the difficult coast extending from Mozambique to Cape Delgado, and the difficulty of suppressing such a traffic without any earnest co-operation on the part of the Portuguese authorities would be very great.

I should add that the custom of exchanging unruly slaves and sending them from one part of the coast to another is very prevalent. Large launches manned by slaves keep up the communication between Inhambane, Bazaruto, and Sofala, and between Angoxa and Mozambique.

(Signed) FREDERIC ELTON.

*Her Britannic Majesty's Consulate,
Zanzibar, March 20, 1873.*

No. 41.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received April 28.)

My Lord,

"Enchantress," April 3, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith copies of two letters addressed respectively to Dr. Kirk and the Political Resident at Aden, on the subject of the disposal of liberated slaves.

As the season is now approaching when we may reasonably expect that a considerable number of captures may be made by Her Majesty's cruisers, I have thought it well to give these temporary directions which are founded on the experience I have gained during my stay on this coast; and, should they meet your Lordship's approval, I would suggest that letters to that effect should be addressed to Dr. Kirk and General Schneider by the Imperial and Indian Governments.

I shall have the honour of treating of this subject in greater detail in a subsequent Report.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 41.

Sir B. Frere to Dr. Kirk.

Sir,

"Enchantress," April 1, 1873.

THE following suggestions regarding the disposal of slaves captured by Her Majesty's ship on this station, may suffice till further instructions can be received from Her Majesty's Government.

From slaves declared free at Aden, the Political Agent will generally be able to provide for many of the young girls an asylum with the Roman Catholic Sisters of Mercy at Aden. With these exceptions, and the few who may be provided with local service under respectable and responsible masters at the Political Agent's direction, all should be sent to Zanzibar.

At Zanzibar you will have open to you, as an asylum for children, the Universities' Mission and the French Roman Catholic Missions at Zanzibar and Bogamoyo, the Church Missionary Society's Mission at Kissoludini, and the Free Methodist Mission at Ribbi.

The two former establishments can probably take all or more than you are likely to have to provide for; but it may be well to keep a few, not exceeding twenty or thirty in all, at the disposal of the missions near Mombasah, as it is very desirable to make a beginning with similar establishments in that direction. Mr. Wakefield

informed me he could take half that number at once, and it would be very desirable to send Galas or northern negroes thither. George David* seemed to think that he could take an equal number at Kissoludini, but it would be necessary before sending them to obtain the sanction of Dr. Rebmann, or whoever may at the time be the superior local authority of the mission.

A few of the adults may likewise be taken charge of by the missions, others you may provide with service in the household of respectable Europeans or other inhabitants of Zanzibar. Captain Frazer told me he could take almost any number likely to come at Kokotoni, and I see no reason why freedmen should not be assigned tentatively and with due precautions to respectable and responsible native landed proprietors on the island, who are able to satisfy you that they will treat such servants as freed men and not as slaves, and be just and humane in their dealings with them.

In the event of any remaining undisposed of, they might be sent to Johanna to Mr. Sunley's care, and he will see that they are provided for there on any terms you and he may think reasonable.

Registration should be carefully attended to, and no one should have a freed man assigned to him who is not willing to keep account and inform the Consul what becomes of such servant.

Some token should be devised, to be given to all who can take care of it, as a mark of freedom. Various suggestions have been offered for some peculiar bead or article of metal, which can be worn round the neck or wrist. It should be something uniform, cheap, easily kept, and of a kind that all would learn to value and take a pride in possessing and preserving. I have no doubt you will soon fix on something which will fulfil these conditions.

There remains the question of terms of assignment. It will probably be best to proceed tentatively, beginning perhaps with terms similar to those which are found to satisfy free emigrants to Natal.

In some cases of the very young and invalid it will be necessary to pay for their being duly cared for. I agree very much in the opinions I find you have recorded on this subject, and request you will act on them at your discretion pending further orders from the Home Government.

You should retain such establishment as you find absolutely necessary for giving effect to these suggestions, reporting your proceedings from time to time as you find necessary.

I shall be obliged if you will favour me with any observations which may occur to you on these suggestions, and on the general subject; and I authorize you to act on my suggestions as far as you concur in them, pending further instructions from higher authority.

I am, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclcsure 2 in No. 41.

Sir B. Frere to General Schneider.

Sir,

"Enchantress," April 2, 1873.

THE maintenance of slaves captured by Her Majesty's cruizers and liberated at Aden, has for some time been a question of some difficulty, owing to but few of them being required at Aden itself as servants or labourers, and to the want of means of housing them until employment is found for them, or till they can be shipped to Bombay.

For many of the young girls you will no doubt be able, as hitherto, to provide an asylum with the Roman Catholic Sisters of Mercy; for others, and for some of the boys and adults, you will be able to find a home under respectable and responsible masters, as domestic servants, or otherwise. But the majority, I am of opinion, will be best disposed of at Zanzibar, at Johanna, and at the various missions established on the mainland of Eastern Africa. I have informed Her Majesty's Consul at Zanzibar of my views on this subject, and suggested to him the means of disposal which seemed to me most likely to insure the welfare of liberated slaves. I have accordingly now to request that, pending orders from the Home Government, you will forward to Zanzibar by the first suitable means of transport all negroes who may be handed over to your charge by the Commanders of Her Majesty's cruizers, and for whom you are unable to

* Dr. Rebmann's head catechist.

insure speedy and suitable employment at Aden, always bearing in mind that this should be done as economically as possible.

I am, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

No. 42.

Sir B. Frere to the Sultan of Zanzibar.

Your Highness,

Mombasah, March 28, 1873.

SINCE I had last the honour of an interview with your Highness, I have visited many of the principal ports in your Highness' dominions, and have satisfied myself by personal observation and inquiry as to the substantial truth of the facts which formed the foundation of the proposals I had the honour on the part of Her Majesty's Government to submit to your Highness.

The records of your Highness' Custom-house show that as many as 30,000 slaves have of late years passed through the various Custom-houses in your Highness' dominions, and paid duty to your Highness' Treasury; in addition to which, there can be no doubt that large numbers have been smuggled past without being recorded or paying duty.

This number is far in excess of what can possibly be required to supply the domestic demand of Zanzibar and the other islands and places in your Highness' dominions, for supplying the wants of which reservations have been made by Treaty, permitting the free passage of slaves from one part to another of your Highness' dominions at certain seasons and within certain limits.

The residue, to the number of many thousands annually, are exported to Madagascar and other foreign countries to the south, and to Somali Land, Arabia, Persia, and other foreign countries to the north. On most of these slaves so exported, contrary to the express provisions and in defiance of the spirit of Treaties, custom dues have been paid to the farmer of your Highness' Customs. All suffer the greatest privations and tortures from the commencement of their captivity till their arrival at the ultimate destination, and many more persons die from the sufferings thus inflicted on them than are finally sold into slavery.

Some of the persons thus destroyed or sent out of Africa are your Highness' subjects, or might in their own country contribute to the prosperity of your dominions. So far their export or destruction increases the dearth of labour so much spoken of by way of justification for the import of slave labour into Zanzibar and the islands; but the great majority are not subjects of your Highness, nor persons over whose lives or liberties your Highness can claim the slightest original legitimate jurisdiction.

I have further satisfied myself as to the truth of the statements that great numbers of Her Majesty's Indian subjects are more or less directly implicated in the traffic. Some of them, in various capacities under your Highness' orders, are required by your Highness to pass and tax all slaves so exported, and to become parties to a systematic evasion of the Treaties with Great Britain; and as the greater part of all trade passes through the hands of Indian subjects of Her Britannic Majesty, or of Indian potentates in subordinate alliance with Her Majesty, such traders are as capitalists and dealers indirectly implicated in all the ramifications of the Slave Trade.

Your Highness has been made aware of the determination of Her Majesty's Government not to permit this state of things to continue; and having satisfied myself that there was no misrepresentation or exaggeration as to the essential facts, and your Highness having expressed your determination to take no part in any measures for giving better effect to the spirit of the Treaties with the Government of Great Britain on the subject, I have been compelled to give such instructions to Her Majesty's Consul and to the Senior Naval Officer on this station as seem to me necessary, with a view to give effect to the determination of Her Majesty's Government.

Your Highness is aware that heretofore during the months of May to December inclusive, Her Majesty's naval officers employed on this station have been directed to respect all passes granted by the officers of your Highness' Customs to vessels freighted with slaves, provided such passes professed to cover vessels proceeding from one part of your Highness' dominions between Kilwa and Lamoo to another; and no slaver with such papers on board has been seized and condemned, unless there was something in the circumstances of her condition at the time which was plainly inconsistent with the Custom-house pass.

It has been found, by experience, that this practice opens a door to the greatest abuses. Your Highness' officials grant passes, and receive customs, without restriction or discrimination, for all slaves exported from your ports, provided the Commanders of the vessels ask for a pass within the prescribed limits. Once provided with such a pass, the vessel sails; and if able to elude the vigilance of Her Britannic Majesty's cruisers, frequently escapes with her cargo direct to some foreign country, where the slaves are landed and disposed of. At other times the slaves are landed in Zanzibar or Pemba, or some other part of your Highness' dominions, and there await a convenient opportunity of being shipped, and sent away.

In either case, the clear intention of the reservations provided in the Treaty are frustrated; and slaves, which could never have been intended by the framers of the Treaty of 1845 to be allowed to pass, are passed, and exported from Africa, in direct contravention of the objects of that Treaty.

No. 43.

Sir B, Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received April 28.)

My Lord,

"Enchantress," off Cape Guardafui, April 5, 1873.

ON finally leaving Zanzibar on the 17th ultimo, I took passage, with all the members of my Mission, on board Her Majesty's ship "Daphne," and proceeded to Bagamoyo, leaving directions for the "Enchantress," which was not quite ready for sea, to meet me at Pangani.

The anchorage at Bagamoyo, though good, is in an open roadstead, so exposed to every wind that it is by no means always safe for vessels to approach, more especially as they cannot get within a mile of the shore.

A small-sized town, of which, as usual, our Indian subjects are the chief inhabitants, has sprung up, and is chiefly enriched by the caravans which are in the habit of collecting here, both before and after a journey into the interior. One of these caravans arrived, during our stay, from the Unyamwezi country; the savage-looking natives, who then made their first visit to the coast, presenting a marked contrast to the domesticated slave, from whom one is apt to form one's ideas of what a free African is. They had never heard either of Dr. Livingstone or Mr. Stanley.

We were met on the beach by Lieutenant Cameron and Dr. Dillon, of the Livingstone Relief Expedition, by the Fathers of the French Mission which is here established, and by the usual crowd of Arabs and Indians. The Relief Expedition has been considerably delayed by various causes, such as a difficulty in obtaining porters, which I imagine may, to some extent, be traced to the unwillingness of the Arabs to afford them any assistance, but they had got a considerable quantity of baggage, with a sufficient carrying-power over to Kikoko, on the other side of the River Kingani, and were, I trust, in a fair way to make a successful start before the rainy season sets in.

We were indebted for a night's shelter to the hospitable care of the French fathers. Their Mission at Bagamoyo was established four and a half years ago, by Père Horner, on land granted them by the late Sultan, and in that time they have, with no other aid than that of their pupils—chiefly slaves liberated by our cruisers—cleared some eighty acres of land, built comfortable houses for themselves and the Sisterhood which is attached to the Mission, and set up a chapel and dormitories, and schoolrooms for their 300 pupils. Most of these are boys and girls, but there are some adults, who have married, and live in a small village close by. The Mission would be almost self-supporting by this time were it not for the recent hurricane, which blew down several of their buildings, including the greater part of the chapel, and otherwise did much harm. The brethren of this order are chosen on account of special aptitude for their work, and are themselves the instructors in the several trades which their pupils learn. These latter seem happy and intelligent; some quite little boys, who had not been at the establishment more than two months, were already able to spell out their French lesson books.

This order being Alsatian, has naturally suffered considerably from the late war, and their superior, Père Horner, whose acquaintance I made in Zanzibar, where I accompanied him over the establishment which they have in that town, has now left for Europe to endeavour to collect more funds. The Zanzibar establishment receives liberated slaves and educates them in the same manner as at Bagamoyo; it possesses, besides, a foundry, which is worked by negroes, and till lately maintained a hospital and resident French

physician, whose services were always at the disposal of any European sailors or indigent persons who might require them. The poverty caused by the war has, however, necessitated the recall of this gentleman to Europe, and the hospital no longer exists, though the Fathers still assist the sick as best they can. Whilst I was at Zanzibar they took in and cared for, till his death, a young Englishman, named Hicks, who had come out to collect natural history specimens. I was so much struck with the admirably practical system on which this Mission is conducted, that on finding their funds were at a low ebb, and that they had received nothing on account of the liberated slave children made over to them, I contributed to their funds, on Government behalf, the sum of 200*l.*, and feel sure that my having done so will meet with your Lordship's approval.

We left Bagamoyo on the morning of the 19th, and having rejoined the "Enchantress" off Pangani, stood on in company with the "Daphne" to Mombasah, which we reached early on the morning of the 20th.

As the town of Mombasah is one of the most picturesque, so its harbour, extending as it does with good anchorage for large ships almost round the Island, is one of the best and its position at the end of one of the numerous spurs of the Kilimandjaro range is one of the finest on the coast. I consider, now that our monthly steamers run so close by the town, that they might easily touch there if necessary; there are few if any sites along the coast which afford so good an opening for English colonization, with so fair a prospect of immediate success.

The accompanying interesting memorandum by Colonel Pelly gives an account of its past history and present trade.

As I was anxious to receive the mail which was expected by the 24th at Zanzibar, I requested Captain Malcolm of the "Briton," who met us at Mombasah, to allow the "Daphne" to return for it to Zanzibar, and profited by the opportunity to pay a visit to our two missionary stations at Ribe and Kisoludini, both a short distance inland from Mombasah.

We were supplied with porters and a guard of the Sultan's soldiers by the Governor of the town; and, after landing some distance up the creek behind Mombasah, proceeded through a well-wooded and undulating country to Ribe, the home of Mr. Wakefield of the United Methodist Free Churches Mission. The country was but little cultivated, though it supports a considerable number of inhabitants, Wanika and Wakamba, who rushed out to greet us in full war attire and in a manner which might have been alarming had not the friendly salutation 'Yambo' mingled with the yells of the warriors as they passed brandishing their spears and bows and arrows.

The mission-house at Ribe is well and healthily situated on a hill commanding a view of a wide tract of country stretching to Mombasah and the sea, from which it is some fifteen miles distant. Mr. Wakefield gives the natives a good character for friendliness. We saw at the Sunday Schools and Services about forty Wanika and Galla converts, the latter drawn to the mission by having made the acquaintance of Messrs. Wakefield and New during their journeys in the Galla country, of which accounts have been published by the Royal Geographical Society.

From Ribe we went on to the Church Missionary Society's establishment at Kisoludini, prettily situated in a spot where the numbers of cocoa-nut trees, the wild cotton, which grows abundantly, and other valuable products of the soil, show of what it is capable were only its cultivation attended to.

Mr. Rebmann, who for nearly thirty years has been resident missionary in this part of Africa, was himself at Mombasah, where I had much interesting conversation with him; but we were received by his native catechist, George David, who was educated at Nassick, and has for some time been resident at Kisoludini. There is a small colony of eight, including women and children, at this station, which consists of a few well-built and comfortable houses.

Mr. Rebmann, whom I was sorry to find utterly prostrated in bodily strength by overwork and solitude, is a scholar of the highest repute, who has devoted his life to the study of the languages of East Africa. He has completed dictionaries of three of the most extended dialects—one of the tribes round Lake Nyassa, another of the Suaheli or Coast dialect, and a third of Kanika—the first and last being ready for the printer, and the other only requiring fair transcription. If these works could be printed they would be of inestimable value to future labourers in Africa; but Mr. Rebmann seems unwilling to part with his manuscripts, and unequal to the task of taking them to Europe.

Except by the study of languages, the example of a holy life, and precept to those who sought his teaching, Mr. Rebmann has been able to do little missionary work, and the results of his mission, as far as number of converts goes, would in general be deemed

disappointing. He has, however, gained a high character for the mission among the natives; and I have no doubt that here, as at Ribe, far greater results would follow if a larger industrial element were admitted into the establishments. I have discussed this subject very fully in my despatch on the mode of employing liberated slaves.

The natives of this port are quite alive to the advantages they would gain by the presence among them of Englishmen in whom the conduct of the missionaries has inspired them with perfect confidence (we were more than once asked to remain in the country), and I feel sure only want example to advance rapidly in the path of civilization.

The "Daphne" having returned with the mails we left Mombasah on the 28th under her escort for Lamoo, the "Briton" returning to Zanzibar. At Lamoo, which is a thriving commercial town with a large fort, situated up a long creek, and somewhat difficult of access for large vessels, owing to an awkward bar outside, we were well received by the Governor, but could gain little information, though we heard that three dhows had started north with slaves, chiefly Gallas and Abyssinians, the day before our arrival. We did not overtake them on our way north, and had no means of verifying the statement.

We approached Merka close enough to distinguish people on the walls, but it was too late to go on shore that evening, and the anchorage in the open roadstead being bad we did not land. It is a small walled town, with many stone buildings, at the foot of a bare hill of red sand and rock, with precarious shelter for dhows behind a small reef. The country at no great distance must be more fertile than the bare hills on the coast, for we saw numerous clusters of Somali tents and huts with flocks of sheep, cattle, and camels in the neighbourhood, confirming what we were told that anything in the shape of protection on this coast invariably draws round it population.

We were told that the town is managed by a kind of council of the townfolk—many of whom are Indian Borahs—that his Highness has a Governor in the fort with a small Arab garrison, and a Custom-house managed, as usual, by a Banian. No countryfolk are allowed to stay in the town after sunset, when all strangers are turned out, the gates are closed and not opened without an express order from the Governor till next morning.

This was the last town in the Sultan's dominions which we saw, and nearly the last where he has a garrison, though he is said to have a port at Warseck.

Though the Sultan's want of power is not so apparent in the northern as in the southern portion of his dominions, owing to his keeping stronger garrisons of troops for fear of the Muscat Arabs, I saw nothing which did not confirm the views which I had previously formed, and which I expressed in my No. 25 of the 10th ultimo.

From Port Durnford to Ras Hafun, on the Somali coast, there is no safe harbour for vessels; and it is to the central shores of Eastern Africa, rather than to the inhospitable coast further to the north, that our attention must be turned for the development of its commerce and the suppression of the Slave Trade.

But this Somali coast should not be neglected. In the interior it is said to be a fine pastoral country. Cattle and sheep, asses and camels abound, and are largely exported, as are hides, orchilla-weed, and oil-seeds. The cultivation of the latter is said to be rapidly extending, and of late years many slaves have been landed on this coast. It was formerly supposed that all these slaves were re-exported, either coastwise, or by being sent across the Peninsula to the coast opposite Aden. But Dr. Kirk has lately been informed, on good authority, that as many as 4,000 are annually imported to remain in the country.

The Somalis have a bad name among the Coast people further south as cruel, blood-thirsty, and untrustworthy; but they have not been found to be so at Aden, whither they flock from the opposite coast, and have a good character as cheerful, industrious, and intelligent labourers, much quieter, and more easily managed than Arabs.

Possibly, as in the case of the Galla, they by no means deserve the character given them by their neighbours. Fifty years ago, Captain Owen was assured that the Galla on this coast were the most cruel and untameable of savages; but later travellers have found them even more easily managed than their Negro neighbours. Herr Brenner, a companion of the late Baron Vanderdecken, and now Austrian Consul at Aden, assured me he had travelled alone for months together in the Galla country, and had never been molested. I know of but one Englishman who has resided on this coast. Mr. Heal has for some years lived at Brava as local agent for the Hamburg house of Hanning and Co. He describes the place as much resembling Merka, and the people as extremely uncivilized and impulsive, and subject to no central authority whatever; but by no means ill-disposed or untrustworthy to one who understands them.

The "Daphne" quitted us at Ras Hafun, in accordance with orders from the Senior Naval Officer on this station; and I would take this opportunity of expressing

my sense of the cordial co-operation which I have always met with from Commander Bateman.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 43.

Remarks made to Colonel Pelly by the Rev. — Rebmann at Mombasah concerning the Muzrooi Tribes.

THERE is an interesting notice of this tribe in Dr. Kraff's work.

When the Portuguese were expelled Mombasah, the Mombassians found themselves unable to maintain their independence unless supported from without. They therefore dispatched an Embassy to Muscat soliciting a Governor from the Imam of that State. The Imam sent them a chief and following of the Muzrooi tribe—being a tribe of the hill regions of Oman, in the neighbourhood of Roostack. These Muzrooi deputies gradually made themselves independent at Mombasah, which district they continued to rule for a century or more.

Eventually, the Imams of Muscat endeavoured to reduce the Muzroois of Mombasah to obedience, and the Muzroois, in their extremity, turned to the English, some of whose vessels of war, under the command of Captain Owen, R.N., chanced to be then present in the Mombasah waters. This occurred between 1820 and 1830. Captain Owen accorded the Muzrooi provisional protection, pending confirmation of the same by his Government. But the British Government refused to interfere, and after two unsuccessful attacks, the Imam of Muscat was successful in a third attack against Mombasah, which was prosecuted, as it was said, with ammunition supplied by the English.

The Muzrooi then retired to the mainland, while twenty-five of their more powerful tribesmen were deported by the Imam to Bunder Abbas.

At present the head of the tribe is one Moobaruck bin Rashid,* who still pretends to entertain hopes of re-establishing his dynasty. Only last year he went into open rebellion, and, attacking the adherents of the Sultan of Zanzibar, the latter was compelled to dispatch a force of some 400 soldiers against him. Moobaruck retired to a mountain stronghold called Mooalee, distant some 20 miles inland from Bunder Ghasee. The Sultan's force followed him thither. Moobaruck, promising obedience, no action had taken place, and the troops returned to the coast.

At present† Moobaruck is residing at Mooalee with a few followers. It is said that he is a man of character and considerable personal influence. The Waneeka of the mainland secretly favour his pretensions, and some even among the inhabitants of the town of Mombassa itself are suspected as his adherents.

After the rebellion of Moobaruck the Sultan declared Moobaruck's younger brother Khutam head of the tribe, and this Khutam now resides at Bunder Ghasee, a port distant about 60 miles to the southward of Mombasah, while another brother is entrusted by the Sultan with the Government of Onyombo, a port about 60 miles distant to the northward of Mombasah.

The walls of the town of Mombasah were built by the Muzrooi dynasty.

Among the tribesmen of the Muzrooi is one Shaik Ali bin Abdullah, who has long studied at Mecca, and is reported a deeply learned man. He now usually resides at Mombasah, but is for the moment gone to Zanzibar, where he is supposed to possess many books and manuscripts.

The town of Mombasah is considered to be healthier than the surrounding districts. The Mooalee hills are considered to enjoy a very healthy climate.

(Signed) LEWIS PELLY.

Mombasah, March 27, 1873.

P.S.—Appended is a memorandum showing the present export and import trade of Mombasah, the details therein given having been collected from the Custom-house records at Mombasah.

L. P.

* Called Barakoo by the Swahelis.—L. P.

† I understand from Dr. Kirk that the Sultan's expedition of last year wholly failed; and that the Muzroois Chiefs, whether at Mooalee or Ghasee, are still in a state of semi revolt.—L. P.

Inclosure 2 in No. 43.

*Memorandum on Trade of Mombasah.**Imports, 1872.*

From mainland.—Ivory (elephant's teeth) 1,250 farislah: 1 farislah equal 36 lbs. (price for 1 far. 60 dollars); gum copal 1,774½ far. (price for 1 far. 5 dollars); horns 61½ far. (price 12½ dollars per far.); hides 77 (price 2 dollars per hide); hippopotamus teeth, 2 far. (price 6 dollars per far.); bees-wax 1 far. (price 9 dollars per far.)

From Bombay.—Piece goods, rice, and other articles to the value of 13,318¾ dollars.

From Zanzibar.—Long cloth and other articles to the value of 150,000 dollars, as follows:—Linen, long cloth, kanakee (blue dyed cloth), chintz, coloured cloths, drills, shirtings (bleached), beads, wire-brass, American soap, gunpowder, firearms, lead, metal, brass dishes, &c., china plates, Muscat cloth, dates, loaf sugar, rice, pepper and other cardamons.

Exports, 1872.

To Zanzibar.—Ivory 927 far.; gum copal 3,294 far.

To Bombay.—Ivory 323 far., gum copal 480½ far., horns 61½ far., hides 77, hippopotamus teeth 2 far., bees-wax 1 far.

Tribes.—Kindanee, Changama, Kengana. Chief: Mohamed Unes.

Suaheli.—Tribes. Kallefee, Mombasse, Bravee, Motarfa, Wakatwa, Joomboo, Malindy, Someli, Paja. Chief: Sheikh Khamees bin Kombo.

Arabs.—Tribes.—Rajabee, Remeche, Mamree, Ben Haroosee, Mangaree, Jenabee, Muzroe, Thimamee, Ben Shakalee, Riamee. Chief: Sheikh Majeo bin Jalur—Arabs resident of Maculla and Shehr.

(Signed) LEWIS PELLY.

March 28, 1873.

No. 44.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received April 28.)

My Lord,

"Enchantress," Macallah, April 7, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatches of the 28th February and 6th March respectively, inclosing correspondence and asking my opinion on the subject of forming a depôt of liberated slaves at Johanna.

I have anticipated your Lordship's wishes in this respect in my despatches from which your Lordship will have seen that I am in favour of acceding to the Sultan of Johanna's application. I am, however, now engaged on a despatch on the whole question of liberated slaves, in which I shall again touch on this subject.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

No. 45.

Earl Granville to Dr. Kirk.

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 15, 1873.

THE reports made by Sir H. B. Frere of the results of his investigation into the state of the Slave Trade in the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar establish the complicity of British subjects in that nefarious traffic, and impose upon Her Majesty's Government the obligation to use the utmost endeavours to relieve the British name from the scandal and disgrace which their unlawful practices bring upon it.

I have therefore to direct your particular attention to the 16th and 23rd clauses of the Order in Council of the 4th of November, 1867, by which you are empowered to deal with British subjects engaged in, or being accessory to, the purchase or sale of slaves, or having slaves illegally in their possession; and I have to enjoin you to cause all such British subjects against whom you can obtain sufficient evidence as having been engaged in such practices to be brought before you, and thereupon to deal with them according to the powers vested in you by the Order in Council.

I send you herewith copies of the Acts of Parliament now in force, defining the crime of slave-dealing and the punishment to which British subjects engaged in it are made liable.

The crime itself is of so serious a character, and the punishment to which persons convicted of it are amenable are so severe, that it may probably be desirable in the majority of cases to remit the parties accused for trial in the High Court at Bombay; but in regard to this, much must be left to your discretion.

You will give the greatest publicity to the instructions contained in this despatch, a copy of which will be sent to the Viceroy of India.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

Inclosure in No. 45.

Earl Granville to the Duke of Argyll.

My Lord Duke,

Foreign Office, May 15, 1873.

THE reports of Sir H. Bartle Frere having established beyond all question that great numbers of Her Majesty's Indian subjects are more or less directly implicated in the Slave Trade, it has been my duty, in obedience to Her Majesty's commands, to send to Her Majesty's Consul at Zanzibar the instructions of which I inclose a copy, directing him, under the powers vested in him by Order in Council, to adopt the most decided measures for the apprehension and punishment of any subjects of Her Majesty directly or indirectly engaged in the Slave Trade.

In pursuance of this instruction Her Majesty's Consul may be expected to send to Bombay, for trial before the High Court of that Presidency, subjects of Her Majesty who may be brought before him charged with such offences; and I have the honour to request that your Grace will communicate a copy of my instruction to the Viceroy of India, to the intent that his Excellency may apprise the Governor of Bombay thereof, and direct him to co-operate in carrying out the determination of Her Majesty to spare no pains to relieve the British name from the stigma which now unfortunately attaches to it, by reason of the large participation of British subjects in the East African Slave Trade.

It will be for the Viceroy of India to consider whether, as it is supposed that the British subjects carrying on this Trade on the East Coast of Africa are in communication with parties in Her Majesty's Indian dominions, some public notice, such as Her Majesty's Consul is directed to issue, might not conveniently be published in India.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 46.

Earl Granville to Dr. Kirk.

Sir,

Foreign Office, May 15, 1873.

HER Majesty's Government have been much disappointed by the refusal of the Sultan of Zanzibar to accede to the proposals which Sir Bartle Frere was instructed to make to him with a view to the suppression of the Slave Trade carried on from his dominions.

Her Majesty's Government are not, however, prepared to acquiesce in this refusal, and I have accordingly to instruct you to inform the Sultan that Her Majesty's Government require him to conclude the Treaty as presented to him by Sir Bartle Frere, with the insertion of a passage in the first Article, by which the Sultan will specifically engage to take effectual measures within all parts of his dominions to prevent and suppress the trade.

I inclose a copy of the Article as amended.*

You will further state to the Sultan that, if the Treaty with this insertion is not accepted and signed by him before the arrival of Admiral Cumming, who is ordered to proceed at once to Zanzibar, the British naval forces will proceed to blockade the Island of Zanzibar.

* See Article I of Treaty, Inclosure in No. 57.

If the Treaty is signed by the Sultan you will say that Her Majesty's naval forces will co-operate with His Highness for the execution of its provisions, by seizing all vessels having slaves on board belonging to countries between which and Great Britain, as between Great Britain and Zanzibar, there exist Treaties for the suppression of the Slave Trade which admit of such seizure being made.

With regard to vessels belonging to other than such countries, you will inform the Sultan that Her Majesty's Government will hold him responsible if such vessels escape from his ports, or enter into the waters of Zanzibar.

The British naval officers are to follow the instructions that they have with regard to such vessels.

If the Sultan, having made this Treaty, should infringe its obligations, you must refer home for instructions before any penal measures against him for the purpose of enforcing it are adopted.

Instructions will be sent by the Board of Admiralty to the naval officers, directing them to establish the blockade of the Island of Zanzibar, and to enforce it according to the law of nations, on being informed by you that the Sultan refuses to sign the Treaty.

You will furnish the naval officers with a copy of this despatch.

I am, &c.
(Signed) GRANVILLE.

No. 47.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received May 17.)

(Extract.)

Muscat, April 15, 1873.

IN accordance with the instructions contained in your Lordship's despatch of the 9th of November last, directing me to obtain Treaties with other Chiefs on the African, Arabian, and Persian coasts, besides the Sultans of Zanzibar and Muscat, I proceeded to Makallah, on the Arabian coast, and arrived there on the 6th instant.

I found it a thriving town, with a small sheltered anchorage, and with every mark of considerable commercial activity. I was very well received by the Nukeeb, Silah-bin-Mahamed, who, on the 14th of May, 1863, signed an anti-Slave Trade Engagement with Her Majesty's Government. This engagement was considered by the Arabs as personal, and only binding during the lifetime of the Chief who signed it;* but the Nukeeb readily consented to renew it for himself, his heirs and successors, and I have the honour to inclose a copy of his agreement to that effect.

From Makallah I went to Shahah, with the Nukeeb of which place we have an engagement precisely similar to that signed by the Nukeeb of Makallah. The Nukeeb, or Jemadar, lately in the service of the Nizam of Hyderabad, lives some twelve days' journey in the interior, and I did not therefore see him; but his Minister came off to the ship and assured me that his Chief had recently sent to Aden a renewal of his engagement to put down the Slave Trade; that Sir Salar Jung, the enlightened Minister of the Nizam, and his other friends in India, had fully convinced him of the necessity for doing so, and that he would undoubtedly send down to Aden, as soon as possible, a duplicate of his renewed engagement in case the former had miscarried.

In commercial prosperity, Shahah, exposed as it is to the force of every wind, is much inferior to Makallah, and it is probable that no large number of slaves are ever taken there from the African coasts.

In Makallah we saw a large number of negroes, and owing to our neglect of the place where till quite recently no man-of-war had been since the "Dryad" in 1868, there has been probably a considerable importation of slaves, especially of Gallas and Abyssinians; but a more frequent supervision of the Arabian coast, and an occasional call from a man-of-war, and visit from an assistant to the Political Agent at Aden, would doubtless soon put an end to it.

Inclosure in No. 47.

Engagement by Nukeeb of Makallah confirming for Heirs and Successors the Engagement of May 14, 1863.

(English version.)

WHEREAS under date 14th May, 1863 (25th Dhil-Kanda, A.H.), a solemn agreement was entered into by me, Silah bin Mahamed, Nukeeb of Makallah, with Brigadier

* Silah-bin-Mahamed has died since signing this agreement.

William Marcus Coghlan, covenanting to abolish and prohibit the export or import of slaves from or to any part of my territory, from or to any other place whatever in Africa or in Asia or elsewhere; and whereas his Excellency Sir H. B. E. Frere, G. C. S. I., K. C. B., Her Britannic Majesty's Special Envoy, has now impressed on me the advantages of adhering in perpetuity to the terms of the said Agreement, therefore, and accordingly I, Silah bin Mahamed, Nukeeb of Makullah aforesaid, on behalf of myself, my heirs, and successors, do hereby solemnly confirm and engage to be bound by the terms of the aforesaid Agreement of May 14, 1863.

Done at Makullah this 7th day of the month of April, in the year of our Lord 1873.

(Signed)

H. B. E. FRERE.

(And on the Nukeeb's behalf.)

No. 48.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received May 17.)

*"Enchantress," off the Coast of Omdn,
April 16, 1873.*

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to report that, in pursuance of your Lordship's instructions, I arrived at Muscat on the 12th instant. Colonel Pelly at once went on shore to announce my arrival to the Sultan, Seyyid Toorkee-bin-Said, to explain to him the objects of my mission and the nature of the Treaty which I was instructed to propose for his acceptance, and to arrange an interview. Colonel Pelly soon returned with the gratifying assurance that the Sultan was in every way disposed to meet the views of Her Majesty's Government, and bringing a memorandum which His Highness had signed to that effect.

Accordingly, at 8 o'clock on the morning of Monday the 14th, I landed at the steps of His Highness' palace, with my Staff and the officers of Her Majesty's ships "Enchantress," "Vulture," and "Kwangtung," in full uniform, and in company with Captain Miles, the Acting Political Agent. After the customary formalities had been gone through, and the letters from Her Majesty and Her Government had been delivered, the Treaty, of which I have the honour to inclose a copy, and which had been carefully gone through the day before by His Highness, was signed, and a duplicate copy left in His Highness' possession.

The Arabic version of this Treaty was certified to be correct by His Highness' own Mirza, by Captain Miles, and by Mr. Lucas, the translator to the Resident in the Persian Gulf.

Your Lordship will perceive that by this Treaty, Seyyid Toorkee engages, for himself, his heirs and successors, to prohibit absolutely the import and export of slaves within his territories, to abolish all public slave markets, and finally confers for the future freedom on all slaves as soon as they set foot in his territory. This last stipulation I consider peculiarly valuable, as it will discourage slave traders from bringing their human wares to a country where the latter at once cease to be available property.

Seyyid Toorkee did not conceal either from himself or from me the difficulty which he would meet with in enforcing the faithful observance of this Treaty on all his subjects, but with the support and good-will of Her Majesty's Government this courageous Prince will, I doubt not, compel its practical fulfilment.

I had other interviews with the Sultan during my stay at Muscat, in which topics were touched on of much interest to His Highness but foreign to the Slave Trade, amongst others the Muscat subsidy, concerning which I shall have the honour of addressing your Lordship after consultation with the Viceroy of India.

I would take this opportunity of expressing my thanks to General Schneider for his courtesy in affording me the escort of the "Kwangtung" as far as Muscat, and to Captain Elton of that vessel for the readiness with which he performed all that was required of him.

I cannot conclude this despatch without an acknowledgement of the value of Colonel Pelly's services at Muscat. During his long residence in the Persian Gulf he has acquired an influence to which I attribute the good-feeling shown towards England by Seyyid Toorkee, and much of the success which attended the negotiations at Muscat.

The replies of His Highness to the letters of Her Majesty the Queen, the Duke of Argyll, and your Lordship, are herewith inclosed, with translations. I was much struck with the good tone which pervades them.

I have the honour to add that I left Muscat this day to report my proceedings to the Viceroy of India.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 48.

Treaty between Her Majesty and the Sultan of Muscat, signed April 14, 1873.

Preamble.

HER Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Majesty the Seyyid Toorkee bin Saïd, Sultan of Muscat, being desirous to give more complete effect to the engagements entered into by the Sultan and his predecessors for the perpetual abolition of the Slave Trade, they have agreed to conclude a Treaty for this purpose, which shall be binding upon themselves, their heirs and successors; and Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland having appointed as Her Plenipotentiary Sir Henry Bartle Edward Frere, Knight Commander of the Bath and Grand Commander of the Star of India, he having communicated to the Sultan of Muscat his full powers, found in good and due form, and the aforesaid Sultan of Muscat, Seyyid Toorkee bin Saïd, acting on his own behalf, they have agreed upon and concluded the following Articles:—

ARTICLE I.

The import of slaves from the coasts or islands of Africa or elsewhere into the dominions of Muscat, whether destined for transport from one part of the Sultan of Muscat's dominions to another, or for conveyance to foreign parts, shall entirely cease; and any vessels engaged in the transport or conveyance of slaves after this date shall be liable to seizure and condemnation by all such naval and other officers or agents, and such Courts as may be authorized for that purpose on the part of Her Britannic Majesty; and all persons hereafter entering the Sultan's dominions and dependencies shall be free.

ARTICLE II.

The Sultan engages that all public markets in his dominions for slaves shall be entirely closed.

ARTICLE III.

The Sultan engages to protect, to the utmost of his power, all liberated slaves, and to punish severely any attempt to molest them or reduce them again to slavery.

ARTICLE IV.

Her Britannic Majesty engages that natives of Indian States under British protection, shall, from and after a date to be hereafter fixed, be prohibited from possessing slaves, and in the meanwhile from acquiring any fresh slaves.

ARTICLE V.

The present Treaty shall be ratified by Her Majesty, and the Ratification shall be forwarded to Muscat as soon as possible.

In witness whereof Sir Henry Bartle Edward Frere, on behalf of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, and Seyyid Toorkee bin Saïd, Sultan of Muscat, on his own behalf, have signed the same, and have affixed thereto their respective seals.

Done at Muscat this 14th day of April, 1873.

(Signed)

H. B. E. FRERE.
(L.S.)

An Arabic translation of the same by his Highness Mirza, and certified to be correct by Captain Miles, Acting Political Agent at Muscat, and by Mr. Lucas, translator to the Agency, was signed and sealed on the same day by His Highness Seyyid Toorkee.

Inclosure 2 in No. 48.

The Sultan of Muscat to the Queen.

(Translation.)

Madam,

Muscat, April 15, 1873.

I HAVE received with sentiments of the profoundest deference and respect the letter with which your Majesty honoured me from your Court at Balmoral, under date the 16th day of November last.

In selecting my most highly esteemed friend Sir H. Bartle Edward Frere to visit me, your Majesty has conferred on me an additional honour. His Excellency's name, so revered in the East, was already familiar to me, and I trust that I have received your Majesty's special Envoy in all respects as your Majesty would wish, and particularly in reference to the Slave Trade.

His Excellency, on his return to your Majesty's Court, will doubtless submit to your Majesty my earnest and respectful reciprocation of the desire which your Majesty is pleased to express for the improvement and perpetuation of those friendly relations with which your Majesty has hitherto honoured my ancestors and myself. And be assured, Madam, that, so long as the grace of God may preserve me to rule in these territories, the policy of the Muscat State will always be conformed to that of your Majesty's Empire.

Permit me to submit an expression of my most earnest and solemn hope that the Almighty may continue to bless your Majesty with uninterrupted happiness and prosperity, and that your Majesty will always honour me with your commands.

Your Majesty's faithful friend,

(Signed) TOORKEE BIN SAID.

Inclosure 3 in No. 48.

The Sultan of Muscat to Earl Granville.

My Lord,

Muscat, April 15, 1873.

I AM honoured by the receipt of your Lordship's letter dated from the Foreign Office on the 9th of November last.

Her Majesty's Special Envoy, Sir Henry Bartle Edward Frere, has visited me at Muscat, and I am unaffectedly sensible of the high honour which Her Majesty's Government have been pleased to accord to me in deputing this high functionary and great statesman to make known to me the views of Her Majesty's Government.

I doubt not that the fresh Treaty which I have signed for the complete suppression of the Slave Trade within my dominions will be agreeable to your Lordship and meet the full approval of Her Majesty.

So long as it may please God that I should rule at Muscat, my policy and actions will always be in deferential conformity with those of Her Majesty's Home and Indian Governments, and I am confident that, when the real facts of questions are known to those Governments, they will always treat me with justice and generosity.

Your Lordship may be aware that some years ago the British Government divided my late father's (on whom may God have mercy) dominions into two separate States. At that time I ruled at Sohar, and under your arbitrament I lost my position and became subject to the Sultan of Muscat.

God has at length provided that I should become Ruler of the Muscat territories, and Her Majesty's Government have been graciously pleased to recognize me accordingly. I find, however, that the terms of the British arbitrament are persistently ignored by the Ruler of Zanzibar, while, on the other hand, hostilities by sea are forbidden to me by your Government.

I have begged my friend, Sir Bartle Frere, to represent the real facts of this question to your Lordship. And if your Lordship should take the trouble to read the terms of the Arbitration and the present state of the question in general, your Lordship, or any other high-minded statesman, would say that either the Government are in honour bound to see that the terms of their arbitrament are fulfilled, or, failing this, at least to permit me to put the question to a renewed arbitrament of the sword.

However, Sir Bartle Frere and your Lordship will doubtless confer on this matter, and I will cheerfully abide by whatever his Excellency and your Lordship may decide.

Meantime I beg your Lordship to believe me your true friend,

(L.S.) TOORKEE BIN SAID.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received May 17.)

My Lord,

"Enchantress," Gulf of Omán, April 16, 1873.

THE accompanying copy of a letter and its inclosures, addressed to me by Colonel Pelly, Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, and now attached to this Mission, will show how successfully he has carried out the instructions which he received last year, to hold the Trucial Chiefs of the countries near the Persian Gulf strictly to their anti-Slave Trade engagements.

The letter also contains a copy of a letter from the Sultan of Muscat, which gives an earnest of his readiness to sign the Treaty, of which a copy was forwarded to your Lordship in my immediately preceding despatch.

The renewal of these engagements, coupled with the new Treaty with Muscat and the Agreement of the Nukeeb of Makallah, completes our power to prevent the Slave Trade on the littoral of Eastern Arabia, and leaves the Sultan of Zanzibar alone in his determination to resist the wishes of the civilized world and to maintain the horrors of the Slave Trade.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

[Inclosure 1 in No. 49.]

Colonel Pelly to Sir B. Frere.

Sir,

"Enchantress," March 31, 1873.

DURING the summer of last year I received from the Indian Office copy of correspondence instructing me to hold the Sovereigns and Trucial Chiefs of the countries near the Persian Gulf strictly to their engagements for the suppression of the Slave Trade.

2. As the anti-slavery engagements of the Trucial Chiefs had been of a personal character, and did not expressly bind their heirs and successors, it seemed expedient to transmit to the present Chiefs copies of the engagements when communicating to them the instructions of Her Majesty's Government.

3. Accordingly I addressed to all the Trucial Chiefs a Circular letter, and forwarded it through the British Agent on the Arab Coast, with a transmitting letter.

4. Inclosed are translated purports of the replies of the Trucial Chiefs now marginally enumerated, and I trust that these renewed assurances may be deemed satisfactory by your Excellency.

5. The British Agent has not forwarded to me the reply of the Chief of Shargah,* but from his letter of the 4th September, 1872, it appears that his reply was favourable. It appears further from the Agent's letter of the 5th October, that he had personally visited the several Chiefdoms, and found them free of imported slaves.

6. As regards the Sultan of Muscat, I addressed His Highness, suggesting his adherence to his anti-slavery engagement.

7. A translated purport of the reply of the Sultan of Muscat is inclosed. This document is at the present moment remarkable, and on the whole, I think satisfactory.

8. Referring to the Persian littoral of the Gulf, I beg to inclose for your Excellency's information a copy of a letter I addressed to the Persian Slave Commissioner at Bushire, and of a translated purport of his reply. Your Excellency is aware that our Anti-Slavery Convention with Persia is insufficient for the purpose of practically suppressing the Slave Trade with that country.

I have, &c.
(Signed) LEWIS PELLY.

P.S.—Since writing the above letter, I have received the reply of the Chief of Shargah. It is quite satisfactory, and I beg to append its translated purport.

L. P.

* The engagement with the late Chief of Shargah, Sultan-bin-Sujgur Joasmee, included Ras-ool-Khymah.

[Inclosure 2 in No. 49.]

Circular addressed by Colonel Pelly to the Chiefs of Bahrein, Aboothabee, Shargah, Ras-el-Khymah, Ajman, Amulgavine, and Debaye.

(After compliments.)

August 20, 1872.

IT will be in your recollection that in 1847 A.D. (1263 A.H.), Shaik (name of subscribing Chief) entered into solem engagements with the British Government for the suppression of the Slave Trade between Africa and the Territory of (subscribing Chief); a copy of this engagement is now inclosed.

Her Majesty's Government having come to suppose that the Trade in Slaves is still actively carried on between the East Coast of Africa and the Coast of Arabia, I am directed by Her Majesty's Government to hold all the Trucial Chiefs of the Persian Gulf strictly to their engagements, and I doubt not you will afford me your earnest and constant support in endeavouring wholly to prevent the import of any African slave into your territory, and in endeavouring also to prevent any of your craft from becoming in any manner engaged in the prosecution of the Slave Trade.

(Signed) LEWIS PELLY, Colonel,
Her Majesty's Political Resident in Persian Gulf.

Inclosure 3 in No. 49.

Colonel Pelly to the British Agent at Shargah.

(After compliments.)

August 20, 1872.

I TRANSMIT to you inclosed circular letters addressed to the Chiefs of Aboothabee, Shargah, Ras-el-Khymah, Ajman, Amulgavine and Debaye.

I request you will yourself hand these letters to the several Chiefs at your early convenience, and impress on them the illegal and odious character of the Slave Trade, and the grave nature of the responsibility they would incur should they in any manner encourage or permit that Traffic within their several territories, or on the part of craft owned by their tribesmen or subjects.

I request you will yourself watch and instruct all over whom you may possess influence to watch and report faithfully whether any of the craft along the pirate coast are *bond fide* engaged in the Slave Trade, and whether any slaves still find their way into the Trucial Chiefdoms, and if they do find their way, by what route; that is to say, whether by direct import from seaward, or whether from some distant point by land transit.

You will repeat to me once every month the result of your inquiries and observation.

But you will, of course, clearly understand that while the suppression of the Slave Trade is to be rigidly observed, this suppression is not to be allowed to interfere with the lawful coastal or sea-borne trade of the Arab chieftains and their communities.

(Signed) LEWIS PELLY.

Inclosure 4 in No. 49.

Translated Purport of a Letter from Rashed ben Hamad ben Rashed, Chief of Ajman, to Colonel Pelly.

(After compliments.)

Bushire, October 1, 1872.

I HAVE received your letter of 15th Jemadee al Sanee, with copy of Treaty, stipulating the prohibition of slaves with my grandfather, father, and self. Since the date of the Treaty I have always prohibited the Traffic, and shall hereafter do the same, please God.

Inclosure 5 in No. 49.

Extract of a Translated Purport of a Letter from Sheikh Ahmed ben Abdullah, Chief of Amulgavine, to Colonel Pelly.

(After compliments.)

I HAVE received your letter, a copy of Slave Treaty. I have prohibited the importation of slaves, according to the desire of the Government, and shall always do the same.

Inclosure 6 in No. 49.

Husheer bin Maktoom, Chief of Debaye, to Colonel Pelly.

(Translation.)

(After compliments.)

YOUR letter arrived. You write concerning the Slave Trade; up to the present I do not know that craft have brought slaves to my country to trade in them. When Hajee Abdool Rahman came I sent two of my men with two of his to search the crafts which arrived from Batinah. They saw nothing, and I, please God, will obey your orders. Any time that I hear that any slaves are brought to my country I shall stop them.

Inclosure 7 in No. 49.

Translated Purport of a Letter from Evan ben Ali Al Khuleefa, Chief of Bahrein, to Colonel Pelly.

August 24, 1872.

(After compliments.)

I HAVE received your letter of 15th instant in regard to the engagements which in the year 1263 was entered into between the British Government and Sheik Mahomed ben Khuleefa, Chief of Bahrein, for abolition of Slave Trade between Africa and the Island of Bahrein.

I now inclose an engagement from myself, and will endeavour to the best of my ability to abolish the Traffic in the same manner as I have done heretofore.

I am always ready to carry out the terms of this engagement.

The Agreement is word for word like the Agreement entered into in the year 1273 (1856), marked B in compilation of Treaties for abolition of the African Slave Trade, but in Colonel Pelly's name.

(Signed)

J. C. EDWARDS, *Assistant Resident,
Persian Gulf.*

Inclosure 8 in No. 49.

Translated Purport of a Letter from Hajee Abder Rahmen, British Agent at Shargah, to Colonel Pelly.

August 24, 1872.

(After compliments)

FROM instructions conveyed in your letter of 15 Jenadi Sani, you ordered me that I should caution the Chiefs of Oman that they should not engage in the Slave Trade in this country, and they should forbid their subjects and others to use their ships for the purpose of bringing slaves. Your letter to the Governor of Shargah I have given, and told him what was necessary. He replied favourably, and now I want to go to the other Chiefs and give them your letters, and I will tell them that bringing slaves is forbidden; and according to your orders I shall leave a man in each of their countries to give me intelligence.

Inclosure 9 in No. 49.

Translated Purport of a Letter from Hajee Abder Rahmen, British Agent at Shargah, to Colonel Pelly.

October 5, 1872.

(After compliments.)

THE people of Batinah are importers of slaves in these parts, and I have warned the Chiefs of these parts to discontinue the Traffic. I have arrived from Ras-el-Khymah, Amulgavine, and Ajman, and found that the boats in those parts did not contain any slaves. I shall always take prompt measures to prevent the trade.

Inclosure 10 in No. 49.

Colonel Pelly to the Sultan of Muscat.

August 20, 1872.

Your Highness,

HER Majesty's Government having reason to suppose that the African Slave Trade is still actively carried on, and that numbers of the slaves exported from the East Coast

of Africa are imported along the coast of Arabia, I have requested my friend Lieutenant Colonel Ross to peruse to your Highness a copy of a Circular letter which I have addressed on this subject to the Trucial Chiefs of the Persian Gulf, and of a letter of instructions which I have issued to the British Agent on the Arab Coast.

It is unnecessary to remind your Highness of the solemn engagements entered into by the ruling dynasty of Oman and the British Government for the suppression of the African Slave Trade, and I am well assured that your Highness' attention and efforts have already been turned in this direction. I feel equally assured your Highness will persist in your endeavours absolutely to prevent the import of slaves into your dominions, or the passage of slaves along your coast line towards the ports of the Arab Littoral of the Gulf.

(Signed) LEWIS PELLY.

Inclosure 11 in No. 49.

Translated Purport of a Letter from the Sultan of Muscat to Colonel Pelly.

(After compliments.)

September 20, 1872.

I HAVE had the pleasure of receiving your letter, and was glad to hear of your welfare.

I have understood all that you had written to me, particularly that in regard to the Slave Trade as between Africa and the Arabian ports.

This trade, in fact, continues to be carried on because of there being no check to it at its source. But if vigilance and exertion were used at the proper place, the object in view would be gained, and the matter would be stopped effectually.

On my part, every attention is given and all efforts made to prevent the sale of slaves and the importation thereof to the best of my means and ability.

But it would be impossible for me to put a stop to this matter (trade) unless I had some means of connection with a place in Africa; for in that case it would be easy for me to prevent [the trade] and see to matters. And then if you or the Sirkar wished me to undertake this affair I would have no excuse or difficulty in carrying out your wishes. But this on condition that I should have a place there, and liberty to settle therein and exercise power and enforce authority. I would then be in a position to meet your wishes in regard to the export of slaves from Africa, and I would bind myself to its being altogether stopped. It is evident that, for one having a settlement in those parts, there would be no difficulty in this matter; on the contrary, there would be every facility in managing it.

Inclosure 12 in No. 49.

Colonel Pelly to Mahmood Khan.

(After compliments.)

Bushire, August 28, 1872.

I SHOULD feel obliged by your deputing one of your Assistants to resume his place of residence in the southward position of the Gulf, in view to being enabled more readily to co-operate with the British Officers in their lawful endeavours in regard to the trade in slaves.

I think that the thriving port of Lingah would be the most convenient point for your Assistant to reside at, and I am addressing the British Agent at Lingah in view of his affording your Assistant every aid on my part, and towards facilitating his communications with the Commanders of Her Majesty's vessels of war in the event of their requesting the presence of a Persian Commissioner on board their vessels whilst cruising.

(Signed) LEWIS PELLY.

Inclosure 13 in No. 49.

Translated Purport of a Letter from Mirza Mahmood Khan, Slave Commissioner, to Colonel Pelly.

(After compliments.)

August 30, 1872.

YOUR friendly letter has been read, and I was happy to hear of your welfare.

In regard to the Assistant, I shall carry out anything you may consider advisable. I have sent my Assistant, Mirza Abdul Hereen, and am about to leave myself: please God,

I shall shortly arrive. Attention to the business I am deputed on is necessary for satisfaction of both exalted States; and I will not be found wanting in carrying out anything you may suggest connected with [the duties of] my appointment.

Inclosure 14 in No. 49.

Translated Purport of a Letter from Salem bin Sultan, Chief of Shargah, to Colonel Pelly.

(After compliments.)

February 28, 1872 (Zilhaj 25, 1289).

I WAS very happy to receive your letter of 15th Jemadi-ul-Sani, with two copies of Treaties entered into by my father, Sultan bin Saggur.

I beg to inform you that as regards fresh importations of male and female slaves, I have prohibited all my subjects and the vessels in my territories from trading in slaves.

All slaves that come into my territories I seize, according to the terms of the Treaty, and make over to the Government Agent.

You may rest assured that I shall carry into effect whatever the Government may desire, and am always happy to receive your commands.

No. 50.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received May 17.)

*“Enchantress,” off the Coast of Kattywar,
April 22, 1873.*

My Lord,

WITH reference to my despatch of the 12th ultimo, respecting the erection of a lighthouse on Latham Island, to the southward of Zanzibar, I have now the honour to transmit copy of a letter which was addressed to Dr. Kirk by the captain of the steam-ship “Calcutta,” belonging to the British Indian Steam Navigation Company, suggesting that a light should be placed on Pemba Island and on Moina Island, to the north of Zanzibar.

When I wrote the despatch referred to, I overlooked the obstacle which the Commercial Treaties with European and American Powers present to the Sultan's imposing any port duty or anchorage fee, however light or useful. No such levy can be made in his name or by his authority without the concurrence of all the Treaty Powers.

As, however, the necessity is urgent, I would submit for consideration the following propositions:—

That with His Highness' consent, and under his authority, an International Board be created at Zanzibar, similar to that which has managed the improvements at the mouth of the Danube. A Convention might be drawn up, empowering His Highness and each of the Consuls to appoint a delegate to sit on a Board for managing the expenditure of the funds to be raised by a tonnage duty for lighting the ports on the Zanzibar coast. They should have power to raise funds by loan or security of the tonnage dues, to make contracts, and to appoint competent executive and inspecting officers, rendering accounts to His Highness, and doing all in his name.

I would further suggest that the Convention should be entered into in London by the representatives of the four Treaty Powers, and should then be sent to the Consuls, with instructions to request His Highness to attend to it.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure in No. 50.

Commander Atkinson to Dr. Kirk.

*British India Steam Navigation Company's Steam-Ship “Calcutta,”
Zanzibar, March 26, 1873.*

Sir,

AS I hear that you are about to meet Sir Bartle Frere, I take the opportunity to represent to you the great advantage it would be to the mail steamers and vessels generally, if there was a light shown from the north end of Pemba during the night, or, say, just before daylight, and by so doing ensure their arrival at Zanzibar during that day. This would be dangerous to attempt without a light, as the land is very low, and

the strength and direction of the currents very uncertain. The second, that on Moina, would enable steamers to run on after dark (if delayed and unable to get further), and reach a safe anchorage, from whence they could reach Zanzibar early next day. As commander of a mail steamer, bound to arrive on a certain day, I feel deeply the importance of "leading lights."

Had there been a light on Pemba, I would have arrived here yesterday, but was unable to do so, having to make Pemba during the night. The uncertainty of the strength and direction of the currents about these islands is well known, and therefore all the more necessity for lighting the channels leading to Zanzibar.

Hoping that this may meet your approval and support, I have, &c.

(Signed)

J. H. ATKINSON.

No. 51.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received June 1.)

My Lord,

Poona, May 7, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith for your Lordship's information copy of a Memorandum which I have drawn up, showing the history of the connection with the East Coast of Africa of the Indian traders generally known as "Banians," and the manner in which they are at present associated with the Slave Trade on that coast.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 51.

Memorandum by Sir B. Frere regarding Banians or Natives of India in East Africa.

OF all classes connected with the trade of East Africa there is none more influential than the natives of India generally known as "Banians."

Greek and Roman authors describe a flourishing commerce between India, Arabia, and East Africa, and the earliest detailed accounts we have of this coast represent a distribution of races connected with trade very much resembling what we now find existing: native African races as cultivators, labourers, and sometimes, though rarely, as rulers; the ruling power at ports generally in the hands of foreigners of Arab or Persian origin; and all trade monopolized by Indians, or Arabs with Indian connection, and having their homes and chief places of business sometimes on the Egyptian, Arabian, or Persian coast, but more often in India, at Tatta in Sind, Mandavie in Cutch, the port of Kattywar on the Gulf of Cambay, Surat, Calicut, and other ports on the Malabar coast.

Vasco de Gama and the Portuguese who followed him found a trade relatively to the rest of the commercial world much larger and more important than at present, but carried on much in the same fashion by vessels of the same build and character as the modern dhows, availing themselves of the regular trade winds to sail to and fro between the ports on the same coasts of Africa, India, Arabia, and Persia, and carrying articles of much the same character as at present.* And what is more to our present purpose, he found all this trade in the hands of men whose homes were in India, or closely connected with India, and he describes the traders as in dress, habits of life, and trade, character, and names exactly resembling what a modern traveller would find at the same ports on the same coasts. The Indian traders do not appear, in his day, to have reached further south than one of the large rivers south of Sofala, where he met the first of the Moors seen in his first voyage. But they were then in possession of all the best trade, at every port from Sofala northwards to Aden.

This vast Indian trade seems to have been sorely crippled, and in some parts extinguished, by the advent of Europeans to these seas. Empire in these parts, then as now, fell to the nation which had the greatest command of ships of war, fire-arms, and artillery. The Portuguese were far more powerful at sea than any nation they met with on the coast, and speedily subdued the whole coast from the southernmost limit of the Indian trade to Aden and Socotra, and by Muscat and Ormuz to the Persian Gulf, building forts

* See "The Three Voyages of Vasco de Gama," translated by Lord Stanley of Alderley, for the Hakluyt Society, 1869.

at all the principal ports, and commanding points of estuaries and islands, and destroying the Arab and Indian marine. Their own account of their proceedings, and of the wholesale cruelties they practised on all who opposed or were suspected of opposing them, are sufficient to account for the extinction of the greatest part of such trade as they found, for the bitter opposition they met with from the Arabs, who ultimately resumed the dominion of all north of Cape Delgado, and for the sterile character of their occupation of the coast, where they had no hold but on the fears of the natives, and thus missed the opportunity of developing their hostile occupation into an African Empire.

At the same time, during the greater part of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, rovers—English, Dutch, and Arab—made these seas unsafe to all but large and well-armed vessels. Of the proceedings of the English and Dutch, some idea may be found from Defoe's novels, *e.g.*, "Captain Singleton," and the second part of "Robinson Crusoe," and from the adventures of European privateers and pirates, as related in the "Tales of Buccaneers;" nor, if we may judge from the sober narratives of our earlier voyagers, did the native Indian or Arab merchantman fare much better at the hands of the regular European trader, up to the time when the English East India Company obtained the undisputed mastery of Indian foreign commerce. The Great Company then put down English and Dutch freebooting and piracy at the same time, and by the same measure by which they put down all "free trade," as competition with their own monopoly was then called; but it was not till the present century that much was done to check Arab piracy, which went far to destroy what little Indian trade with Africa Portuguese misgovernment had spared.

Up to thirty years ago the depredations of Arab pirates in the Indian seas, and even on the Indian coasts within sight of Bombay, were matters of recent memory. I have met, in my early life, many men, natives and Europeans, who had suffered from their outrages or had taken a part in putting them down. The pirates came from all ports between Aden and the head of the Persian Gulf; but the most numerous, active, and cruel were from the southern parts of the Persian Gulf, where Wahabee and other forms of religious fanaticism gave a species of sanction to their depredations and cruelties. Their suppression was mainly due to operations directed by considerable land and sea forces of the East India Company against the pirate nests in the Gulf, to the activity of the Bombay marine and Indian navy, both in cruisers and surveying vessels, and to the growth of the comparatively civilized authority of the Imaum of Muscat, who, during the first forty years of this century, built up a considerable navy and became a conquering power on the East African Coast.

The Indian traders seem never to have quite forsaken the East African trade; when it was at its lowest, which was probably in the latter part of the last and the earlier years of the present century, a few ships made an annual voyage from Mandavie, in Cutch, and from Surat, Bombay, and occasionally from other ports of the Kattywar and Malabar coasts, bringing ivory and other African produce in exchange for cloth, metals, and beads; but their return from what was then a most hazardous voyage was a great event at all the ports to which they belonged, calculated and watched for as the season of fair winds came round, and greeted at Mandavie and all the smaller ports by crowds assembled on the shore, and by firing of guns and general rejoicing in the shipping and town.

While Surat and Guzerat had a large manufacture of blue cotton cloth as late as fifty years ago, East Africa was the chief market for it. Some, it is said, was carried by the Portuguese to Brazil, but the greater part found a market in the interior of Africa. About that time Captain Owen found a few Banians and Indians at every place of trade on the coast, but the very small commerce they carried on seems often to have struck him.

I have met during my present visit to this coast few Indian houses which boast an antiquity of more than forty years. Some have told me that the usual system of trade in former days was for a supercargo to deal from the ship, though there were always a few Indian residents at each port where there was sufficient of a settled Government to make their property secure. In Madagascar and elsewhere the Indians assured me that though their oldest house was not more than sixty years standing, their caste had traded to the coast for ages previous.

During the past forty years the great Indian immigration to this coast has gone on at a constantly increasing rate, which bids fair to restore the Indian trade with East Africa to more than its old proportions. Many causes have contributed to this end: the general peace in Europe, the final suppression of Arab piracy, the establishment of the Muscat Arabs at Zanzibar and on the coast, the appearance at Zanzibar and elsewhere of English, French, German, and American houses, and probably, above all, the great impulse given to Indian trade by the extinction of the Company's monopoly, and by the

vast development of commercial enterprize among those Indian castes which have heretofore almost monopolized this branch of commerce. I have been assured on good authority that the fresh arrivals from India last year numbered more than 250 traders to Zanzibar and its neighbourhood alone. For some of the Indian trading classes, trade in East Africa seems to have the same charms as colonizing has for some of our own countrymen at home.

Present numbers
and classes.

It is difficult to arrive at exact conclusions as to the total numbers of Indian traders on the East African Coast, but I am convinced that the best official returns are considerably below the truth. Dr. Kirk estimated the Indian traders connected with Zanzibar in 1870 at 3,710 of all castes.* Probably the returns at his disposal, chiefly furnished by the Sultan's Farmer of Customs, gave only the residents at the principal port, or those who were known to the heads of the community at Zanzibar; for we found at almost every place we visited numbers considerably in excess of those he set down, and we met them as long-settled residents at many places omitted in his list, and were assured of their residence at many more. It is possible that they may at some of these places be late arrivals, or be included under large centres of trade entered in Dr. Kirk's list of 1870. But there can, I think, be no doubt that the aggregate number is much larger, and that they are more widely scattered than would be supposed from that Return.

Each individual is generally an independent trader or partner or managing clerk in a house of business, and few have families, so that their numbers in Zanzibar would represent in India a commercial community many fold more numerous.

Most of them belong to four or five of the great trading classes of Western India. We met a few representatives of other castes—a few goldsmiths (sonars), tailors (Guzerat dargis), servants, such as cooks, washermen, &c., and two bards (bhats), travelling separately, and testifying to the extent to which the love of African travel has of late years possessed some of the least moveable of Indian races.

Bhattias and
Banians.

All these, however, were rare exceptions, and the Indians we met with were generally Bhattias, Lohanna Wantias, Khojas, Mehmons, or Bohras. The Bhattias are probably the most important by wealth and influence at Zanzibar, and with the Banians proper, or Johannas, who are comparatively few in numbers, form the Hindoo portion of the Indian community. The Bhattias are one of the very ancient, skilful, and important subdivisions of the Hindoo commercial castes, but from being a comparatively small caste, and more addicted to foreign than domestic commerce, they are not so well known to us in India as many castes of less importance, except in Bombay itself and in Guzerat, Cutch, and Kattywar, where their red turbans, often with a peak in front, strike the stranger as differing from the ordinary head-dress of the Hindoos.

Among their ranks have been found of late years some of the most active and intelligent of Hindoo reformers, as well as some of the most bigoted upholders of ancient abuses. They are all Vaishnavas, and the notorious "Maharajah case" dragged to light the worst peculiarities of a decaying superstition; but its frightful revelations did scanty justice to the courage and high principle of a few men whose exertions in the cause of truth and purity of life are likely to have a permanent influence on the moral history of India.

I have met with no rational explanation of the fact that, whilst the Bhattias in India as well as in Africa are most jealously observant of Hindoo rites and formalities in their most rigid form, while a visit to Europe entails absolute exclusion from all religious, social, and caste privileges, they have always been permitted to visit and reside in East Africa without incurring more penalty than a series of purgatorial observances of no great severity, and not entailing more than a few days' exclusion from the caste and social communion.

I have been told that a residence on an African island, like Zanzibar or Mozambique, is not, according to the Shastris, such a separation from the land of orthodox Hindooism as a residence on the mainland would be. But this distinction is certainly not now observed in practice. Another and perhaps more probable explanation is that the practice of visiting and trading with the East Coast of Africa had become habitual to this class before the extreme restrictions of the present Hindoo system were invented, and that an old-established and profitable exception was allowed to be made in favour of an influential caste. But none of these explanations satisfactorily account for the anomaly.

Khojas, Mehmons,
and Bohras.

The Khojas, Mehmons, and Bohras are well known to all residents in West India as Mohammedan traders who are found everywhere, almost monopolizing by dint of

* *Vide* Administration Report, July 18, 1870.

frugal industry many most profitable branches of trade. In a West Indian market town or seaport the tinman, dealer in marine stores, locksmith or ironmonger, dealer in looking-glasses, furniture, glass or china, millinery and small drapery wares, and most of the pedlars, are generally Bohras. The Khojas and Mehmons are mostly occupied in foreign trade. Cutch and the Kattywar ports, especially Jamnugger, Surat, and Bombay, are their usual homes. The few Bohras who are engaged in agriculture are reckoned among the best cultivators in the finest cotton-producing villages near Broach, and Khojas and Mehmons bear a similar character in Sind, Cutch, and Kattywar. All three classes are very reticent regarding their origin or religious tenets, partly from reserve, but very frequently from want of knowledge or interest in the subject, all their thoughts from their early youth being generally turned to business. All are sectaries, deemed more or less heretical by the orthodox division of Muslim. The Bohras and Khojas seem, in part at least, of Semitic or Persian descent; but they, as well as the Mehmons, are charged by more orthodox sects with various remnants of idolatrous and mystical worship. The history of the Khojas has been carefully investigated in the course of the remarkable trial in the High Court of Bombay, when the origin and tenets of the sect were traced with judicial precision by the counsel in discussing and by Sir Joseph Arnold in deciding on the claims of Agha Khan to be spiritual head of the sect and lineal representative of the "old man of the mountain."

On the African Coast and in Madagascar all these classes showed a tendency to the kinds of trade usually followed by them in India. They generally monopolize all that the Hindoo Bhattias and Banians do not possess of the trade in cloth and cotton goods, ironmongery, cutlery, china, and small wares. In Madagascar they assert that they have been, for at least a century, settled at Nosi Beh and other ports, and that they preceded the Hindoos on the African Coast.

At larger ports a few representatives of all castes will be found, but generally one or other caste will be found to preponderate at all the smaller ports. The Bhattias and Banians are most numerous at and near Zanzibar, the Khojas on the island and mainland of the equatorial regions, and the Bohras to the south in Madagascar, and to the north in Galla and Somali-land. Everywhere, wherever there is any foreign trade, it passes through the hands of some Indian trader; no produce can be collected for the European, American, or Indian market, but through him; no imports can be distributed to the natives of the country, but through his agency. At every port the shops which collect or distribute articles of commerce are kept almost exclusively by Indians. Throughout our whole circuit, from Zanzibar round by Mozambique and Madagascar, and up to Cape Guardafui, we did not, except at Johanna, meet half-a-dozen exceptions to the rule that every shopkeeper was an Indian. We could converse everywhere with the whole body of retail traders and local merchants in Hindustani or Guzerati; and their accounts, at every shop, were kept in Guzerati or Cutchi by double entry, with the proverbial neatness and clearness of a Guzerat accountant.

Some of the large firms have been long established, and have a large capital; but, in general, the career of the young Indian trader in Africa is very similar to that of the Marwarree adventurers in Central or Southern India. Arriving at his future scene of business with little beyond credentials to his fellow castemen, after perhaps a brief apprenticeship in some older firm he starts a shop of his own, with goods advanced on credit by some large house, and after a few years, when he has made a little money, generally returns home to marry, to make fresh business connections, and then comes back to Africa to repeat, on a larger scale, the same process.

With rare exceptions, all these Indian traders are birds of passage. The houses they belong to may be of old standing, and we met a few old men who had been in Africa all their lives; but they were exceptions. The Hindoos never bring their wives or families to Africa, the Bohras and Khojas do, frequently; but even they seem to have as little idea of settling or adopting the country for their own as a young Englishman in Hong Kong.

Of all these races, it may be observed that they have been less affected than the upper classes of Indians in general by European education in India. All are so devoted to trade that the boy goes into the counting-house as soon as he can read and write; and in the case of the Khojas I am assured that the pontifical authority of Agha Khan has been actively exerted to prevent any of his followers from attending an English school. In Zanzibar itself the relation between the European or American house and the Banian very much resembles that with which we are familiar in India. The European merchant buys and sells with the aid and advice of a Banian, who sometimes stands to the foreign firm in a relation more like that of a partner than a mere broker, agent, or go-between.

Away from Zanzibar the Banian, or Hindi, is more of a retail dealer, bartering his import wares for country produce, which he sells wholesale at Zanzibar to the exporter. In the outports and country marts he does little wholesale business, except by making advances of import goods to adventurers going up the country, on engagement to be repaid by returns of up-country produce.

The Banians generally keep to the ports, or within a short journey of the coast, or navigable parts of large rivers. The trade with the far interior is almost exclusively in the hands of Arabs, or Arab half-castes, and Swahili, or coastmen, who push as rapidly as they can across the first 200 miles from the coast, halting little by the way. Livingstone tells of their having penetrated far beyond his furthest, into Cazembe's country; he had found them years before on the Upper Zambesi, and the Governor-General of Mozambique told me that when he was at Loanda, two or three years ago, two Zanzibar Arabs from Kilwa appeared in Angola, about the same time that some natives sent from Loanda reached Ibo, on the East Coast, taking two years to go and return.

I may remark, in passing, that the stock in trade which we usually found in the Banians' shops was as frequently of German or American as of English origin. The cotton fabrics were English, American, or German, with smaller quantities of Indian or French. The best hardware was English, but much, inferior in make, was of continental manufacture; coarse crockery, of German; brass and copper, of American make; beads, English and German (Venetian?); guns, old, of English make; new, of German or French; some as low as 10s. or 12s. each, in retail price.

Total extent of trade carried on by Indians.

Of the total extent of the trade which passes through Indian hands, it would be difficult to form any reliable estimate. Dr. Kirk shows that the Zanzibar Custom-house Returns are a very fallacious guide, nor will Indian or English Returns be a better index; for the German and American, the French, Arabian, Persian, and Malagash trade, which comes direct, as well as the English and Indian, passes through the same hands.*

Dr. Kirk was, however, good enough to show me the details of transactions of a single Indian house, whose affairs had been the subject of judicial investigation in his Court. The books showed a capital of about 434,000*l.*, invested in loans and mortgages in East Africa. Of this, about 60,000*l.* had been advanced in various ways to the Sultan and his family, a rather larger sum to Arabs in the interior of Africa, a somewhat smaller amount to Arabs in Zanzibar and on the coast; but the total of advances and loans to Arabs and natives of Zanzibar, all slave-owners, and most of them slave-dealers, was little less than 200,000*l.* This sum had been lent and advanced in various ways, by loans, advances and mortgages, on every kind of property, real and personal, and on various kinds of security, by advances of goods for trade, &c. Loans and advances to Europeans and Americans were set down at about 140,000*l.*, and those to Indians in Africa at about 100,000*l.* These were African assets, and did not include stock in trade or the capital of the Indian corresponding firms, composed of members of the same family, and doing a very large business with Africa at Mandavie and Bombay; so that, as far as I could judge, the capital employed in African trade and banking, by this one family, must be reckoned by millions sterling.

Our Indian firms are said to be doing business on a similar scale, and Dr. Kirk calculates the British Indian capital now invested in Zanzibar Island alone at not less than 1,600,000*l.*

I am assured that few of the larger Arab estates in Zanzibar are unencumbered by mortgages in Indian capitalists, and that a large proportion are so deeply mortgaged as virtually to belong to the Indian mortgagee.

In a word, throughout the Zanzibar coast-line, extending along 14° of latitude, with numerous large and fertile islands, all banking and mercantile business passes through Indian hands. Hardly a loan can be negotiated, a mortgage effected, or a bill cashed without Indian agency; not an import cargo can be distributed, nor an export cargo collected, of which almost every bale does not go through Indian hands. The European or American, the Arab or Swahili may trade and profit, but only as an occasional link in the chain between producer and consumer, of which the Indian trader is the one invariable and most important link of all.

Thus, a vast commerce has grown up, or rather revived during the last fifty years on these coasts, which has been in a great measure re-created and silently monopolized by a few of the less prominent classes of Indian traders. I know nothing like it in the history of commerce, and it is difficult to convey to those at a distance an adequate idea of the extent or completeness of the monopoly. We wonder at the vast development of Greek commercial industry during the same period, but though their business may be on

* *Vide* Administration Report for 1870.

a larger scale in individual transactions, nowhere have the Greeks the same sort of monopoly which the Indians enjoy on the East Coast of Africa.

I have spoken here much of the Zanzibar coast-line; but it must be remembered that the preponderating influence, if not monopoly, of the Indian trader is equally great, as far as the Portuguese possessions extend to the south, and on the north-west coast of Madagascar; northwards, it extends with rare intervals along all the shores of Africa, Arabia, Persian Gulf, and Beloochistan to the western frontiers of India. Along some 6,000 miles of sea-coast in Africa and its islands, and nearly the same extent in Asia, the Indian trader is, if not the monopolist, the most influential, permanent, and all-pervading element of the commercial community. I doubt whether along the whole coast, from Delagoa Bay to Kurachee there are half-a-dozen ports known to commerce at which the Indian traders are not, as a body, better able to buy or sell a cargo than any other class, and at most of the great ports a cargo can only be sold or collected through them.

It may be asked, how is it possible that such a trade can have grown up so little noticed by the commercial world elsewhere? The explanation is to be found in the fact that the Indians engaged in it all belong to the commercial classes which less than any others in India have assimilated their methods of commerce to ours. The Parsees, and many other mercantile classes in Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras, even when they have not adopted our habits, join our commercial associations, and, so to speak, make more or less common cause with the European merchant. But this has not been done by any of the classes who have absorbed the African trade; and our European merchants and officials, and Chambers of Commerce, know probably less of their proceedings than of any other class in the mercantile community.

Then, the European and American commerce to Africa has been almost a secret monopoly in a very few hands. The greatest pains have been taken to keep everything quiet, and though some of the houses traded on a great scale, and employed quite a fleet of merchant-vessels, the extent of their business was known to none but themselves, and was not fully realized by any but the most observant of their neighbours at Zanzibar.

As regards the extent to which the Indian traders are connected with the Slave Trade, I would premise that I found the question one which was regarded, as might be expected, with the utmost interest by the large and influential body of Indian merchants at Zanzibar. I had repeated conferences and discussions with the trading men, and the subject was one which was never lost sight of in my intercourse with this class of traders on the coast, and in the islands off it.

Complicity of
Indian traders in
Slave Trade.

I would refer to the inclosed paper, as giving in a readable form the views of a person who has paid great attention to the subject, and embodied in this paper the result of his inquiries, which amount to a verdict "Not proven."

In judging between opposite conclusions, it must be borne in mind that slaves are throughout this coast a great article of commerce and investment; that they are dealt in without any feeling of legal or moral responsibility by most natives of the coast, and by their Arab rulers; and that the Indian traders are, to a great extent, the capitalists, and almost monopolize the functions of collecting and distributing all articles of trade in this country.

This being the case, we may judge how nearly impossible it is for any one so employed to feel sure that no part of his commercial transactions is connected, directly or indirectly, with slave-dealing.

The Sultan's Customs are farmed by one of the most eminent Indian houses, and no doubt, as is customary elsewhere, the profits and responsibilities are not confined to one house, but are shared by other houses in friendly correspondence with the principal. Specially salaried establishments are rarely employed in such cases at the outports; one or more of the leading firms at an outport agrees to keep the accounts and pass-documents, almost all cash payments being settled at Zanzibar. Slaves are a considerable item at most ports, and everywhere are a direct and regular source of Customs revenue, and it is not only the Indian trader who farms the Customs, but his Indian agents at the outports who are thus directly implicated. It is their business to know of every slave landed or shipped, and thus to become accomplices in all the schemes for evading the exertions of British officials and the British Government to stop the trade. The collection and concealment of the slave cargo before shipment, the misleading the British cruiser, the running the cargo, and its concealment at Zanzibar or elsewhere on its way to its final destination in Arabia or other distant regions—all these are matters of everyday concern and business-interest to the Indian agent of the Indian farmer of the Sultan's Customs. He cannot help being aware of them, and taking part in them, at least by concealment of what he knows, and as an accomplice after the fact. If true to

his employer's interests, he cannot help siding with the slave-trader, and against the British Government and British officers employed in stopping it.

More than this, if the Customs agent does his duty, he must take an active part in considering whether this slave is too weakly to be shipped, or that one so near death as to entitle the importer to be excused the payment of Customs, provided the wretched slave be left to die on the beach and the importer does not attempt to smuggle him past the Custom-house.

These, be it remembered, are the everyday duties of every Custom-house agent at every port from Cape Delgado to Magadoxa, and the Custom-house agent is, with few if any exceptions, one of the most respectable Indian traders at the place.

Such being the plain undoubted facts of the case, it seems to me almost superfluous to inquire what proportion of Indian traders have any direct dealings in slaves, and buy or sell them on their own account, either openly or under such terms as "black pepper" or "soiled ivory." The records of the Consulate and Vice-Admiralty show that instances of British Indian subjects committing themselves by direct participation in the Slave Trade are not unfrequent. Two such cases occurred during my stay at Zanzibar. But it is not necessary to refer to such instances as establishing the fact that no one who trades at Zanzibar, as the Indian trader, can be absolved from something more than a silent spectator's share in the practical cruelties and iniquities of the Slave Trade as now carried on.

Many of the Indians I believe to be as worthy of confidence in all their other commercial relations as any merchant in Her Majesty's dominions; but it is impossible to deal either as buyer or seller, on the Indian system of advances, with men whose ordinary business is slave-dealing and not to share their profits; nor can I see where any clear line of distinction in this respect can be drawn between the man who, in express terms, shares the slaving adventure from beginning to end, and he who advances wholesale a cargo of cotton goods to be paid for by the slave-dealer when his slaving adventure is terminated and the profits realized.

As far as I could judge, after repeatedly discussing the matter very fully and freely with the most respectable of the Indian merchants, there are very few of them who would not be liable to prosecution under the laws against participation in Slave Trade, if those laws were rigidly enforced. Where the moral elements of guilty participation are absent, no Government would initiate a prosecution; but there can hardly be a doubt that a large proportion of the rich and influential Indian community at Zanzibar is liable to be dragged into Court to answer a criminal charge of aiding and abetting slave-dealing, whenever an accident might give to malicious or venal men a knowledge of the remoter ramifications of an everyday mercantile transaction.

If the general opinion of well-informed persons may be trusted, the Hindoo Indian traders (Bhattias and Banians) less frequently commit themselves by direct slave-dealing than the Mahometans (Khojas, Mehmons, and Bohras), and I heard of arrangements made by a Bhattia firm for alleviating the sufferings of slaves on arrival at Kilwa Kivinja, the great emporium of slave export, by a permanent dole of food and water. But at this same place the leading member of a Bhattia firm, acting as His Highness' Customs Master, repeatedly assured me that no slaves were exported from his port, nor any account kept of them, though, as I told him, I had seen at Zanzibar the abstracts of the accounts and the returns of the Customs received on slaves from that very port. Against Lamoo, at the other extremity of His Highness' dominions, where the Bhattia Customs Master received us with all honour, and professed the utmost willingness to give information, he denied that the slaves were exported, save in very small numbers, clandestinely; though we were subsequently assured that a day or two previous to our arrival, news having come of our approach, several dhows cleared out with cargoes of slaves, mostly Gallas and Abyssinians, and at both these ports the fact of a large and constant trade in slaves is not only notorious, but is not denied by the central authorities at Zanzibar. It can hardly be said in cases like this that, however free the Bhattia may be from direct slave-dealing, he is not clear of complicity in the crime of aiding and abetting and concealing it.

As regards practical remedies for this state of things, I confess I can think of none save the extirpation of slave-trading as a branch of ordinary and legitimate trade in the dominions of the Sultan. While it is permitted by His Highness' laws, and participated in by every member of the reigning family, and by their associates and dependents, it seems to me to be impossible to devise regulations which shall effectually bar our own subjects, who monopolize the trade of the country, from sharing its profits. All trade in human beings must be prohibited and cease to be legal. With the aid of our subjects, controlling as they do the whole of every kind of trade, the Slave Trade may then be effectually stopped.

But nothing less will, I feel assured, be effectual, or will acquit our Government of its responsibilities in the matter.

It has been proposed to withdraw British protection from British Indian subjects who are implicated in the Slave Trade, and this ought of course to be done as a part of the punishment when such implication is proved. But where all are, in a greater or less degree, indirectly implicated, such a measure would be ineffectual if partially applied only in cases of proved complicity, whilst it would be impossible to make it of general application.

Nor, if it could be applied by a general withdrawal of protection, would it absolve our Government from its natural liabilities. Our subjects have come to the East African Coast, and got implicated in this criminal Traffic, because they were our subjects; under no other flag could they have come in such numbers, and so monopolized trade. We cannot, if we would, now withdraw our protection, except for proved breach of our laws; and, as matter of fact, whatever we might say about withdrawals, it would not be possible to avoid protecting an Indian trader in his lawful calling if any other Power were seriously to molest him.

But whilst a complete stoppage of the Slave Trade is the only effectual remedy, other subsidiary measures should not be neglected. The strictest notice should be taken of all cases of direct participation, and fuller effect should be given to the measures commenced by Colonel Rigby for dissevering all Indians, whether subjects of Her Majesty or of her allies, from slave-holding.

Whilst I cannot acquit any portion of the Indian community of indirect connection with Slave Trade, I believe there is no class so anxious to see this question settled, and so cordially desirous that the Slave Trade should be at once and permanently prohibited, as the more respectable Indian houses at Zanzibar. They see clearly that whilst it is an open question all other trade must suffer, and the full development of the unrivalled commercial capabilities of the Coast must be indefinitely postponed.

(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Off Somali Coast, March 31, 1873.

Inclosure 2 in No. 51.

Memorandum respecting the Banians of Zanzibar and the Slave Trade.

THE people generally known as "the Banians" of Zanzibar are Hindoos and Mahometans of Cutch, Kattywar, and a few from other parts of the Bombay Presidency. It is said of them:—1st. That they hold slaves; and, 2nd. That they support and encourage the Slave Trade, which, but for them, would dwindle into small proportions.

2. It is not necessary to allude to the sources from which these impressions are derived; suffice it to say that they do prevail, and, with some, amount to conviction. It is however certain, so far as I am aware, that they are not based on the result of any formal inquiry. The evidence taken by the Committee of the House of Commons in 1871 does not supply the want of such an inquiry, as it merely touches incidentally on the subject. On the contrary, the information it gives is of so general a character as likely to mislead, in absence of specific details; for instance, the answer to questions Nos. 296 and 636 may lead one to believe that all the Banians in Zanzibar, who are subjects of native States, are free to acquire, and that they do acquire, and hold slaves. Such, however, is not the case, as will be seen from the following remarks.

3. The first intimation the Banians received against holding slaves was given them about the year 1859, by Colonel (now Major-General) Rigby, who followed it up with rigorous measures, and succeeded in emancipating the slaves held by the Banians. Many of these Banians had lived in Zanzibar for twenty-five years and upwards, and had been allowed to possess slaves. The legality of Colonel Rigby's proceedings with regard to subjects of native States was disputed by his successor; and on the question being submitted to the Governor of Bombay, it was decided that those subjects of native States who might declare themselves to be under the authority of the Sultan should not be interfered with. Some of the Banians took advantage of this decision, and began to buy slaves. But His Highness the Rao, whose subjects the bulk of them were, issued a Proclamation, placing all his subjects at Zanzibar under the protection of Her Majesty's Consul, in the same way as purely British subjects; so that the case now stands thus: No native of India can either purchase or sell a slave; and out of the whole Indian

population at Zanzibar, about 4,000 in number, only 76, who had registered themselves previous to the Rao's Proclamation, as subject to the Sultan's authority, with the sanction of the Government, and who at the time had among them 171 slaves, are recognized as legal owners of slaves; but they are not allowed to sell any of them, or fill casualties by buying fresh ones.

4. The rest of the Banians, and all new arrivals from India, are absolutely debarred from buying or holding slaves; and I have discovered no grounds on which to suspect the prevalence of slavery among them. There are appearances, however, which subject them, along with all other residents in Zanzibar, to unfavourable suspicions on the part of casual observers. Large numbers of negroes are to be seen in their shops and houses, and employed on out-door work, apparently differing in nothing from the slaves of Arabs. But with regard to those employed in shops and houses, the Banians declare that many of them are servants receiving wages, and some of them are freed slaves, who, of their own free-will, prefer to remain in their families, where, I am convinced, from what I have seen of Zanzibar, they are much better off than they would be by leaving them. Numbers of this latter class live with their families in their own huts; and when one of them dies, the master whom he was last serving usually reports his death at the Consulate, in order that his property may be disposed of according to law. All these negroes know well that they are free, and that the Banians cannot hold slaves. They go to the Consul when ill-treated, and change one family for another. I am informed that within the last three years or so, only one case of slavery (not domestic) has been detected, in which a Bohra, being found guilty of having bought slaves on the coast, was sentenced to banishment and fine.

5. With regard to the negroes employed by the Banians in outdoor labour, they (the Banians) declare that they are so employed usually on daily, and in some cases on monthly, wages. If a Banian requires fifty labourers he collects them without difficulty in half-an-hour. It is a matter of indifference to him whether any of them and how many are slaves. But in this he acts like all other merchants, paying the price of labour to the labourers in person. I may mention one significant fact, that no Indian thinks of agriculture in Zanzibar, simply from not being able to hold slaves like his Arab neighbours. The following are the rates of daily wages:—Muccadam (overseer), 4 annas (Bombay money); adult labourers, from 2 to 2½ annas.

6. Possibly slaves are hired from their masters, or, what is more probable, contracts for the work to be done are given to persons holding slaves; but I am told this practice is general among the European and American merchants in Zanzibar. When the case of a British protected subject hiring slaves from their master is brought to the notice of the Consul, he interferes to break the arrangement. If, however, it were held criminal to employ slaves either in indoor or outdoor work at Zanzibar, it would, under the existing state of things, be almost impossible for Banians or Englishmen to live on the island. But whatever may be the practice resorted to by Banians and other foreigners to obtain labour, it requires a strong prejudice to believe, even for a moment, that all the negroes employed by them are their slaves.

7. Such is the information I have obtained from the Banians with regard to their connection with slavery in Zanzibar, and this information has been confirmed by independent and most reliable authority. I have questioned the Banians collectively and individually, and they have all declared that they do not deal in or own slaves. After this declaration what more can we expect them to do? How can we, without taking any steps to prove them guilty, persistently accuse them of the crime of slavery? If I am not wrong, Her Majesty's Consul is competent to deal, and he does deal with it in the same way as a magistrate or judge deals with the crime within his cognizance. It is, then, clear that if any of the Banians break the law they do so through the want of adequate supervision on the part of the British authorities.

8. With regard to the connection said to exist between the Banians and the Slave Trade, on which much has lately been said, it is necessary to understand the circumstances under which the trade of Zanzibar is carried on. There are no Arabs who are known exclusively to be slave importers. Those who bring slaves to the coast from the interior also bring ivory, copal, hides, and other merchandize as occasion may offer. Arab merchants receive advances in goods and money, not only from the Banians but also from the five or six European and American houses in Zanzibar, which I am told do about one-half of the business. No stipulation as to slaves one way or another is made from beginning to end, money or goods being the things advanced, and ivory, hides, or money received in repayment. Cases are sometimes taken before Her Majesty's Consul arising out of these transactions, but in no recent case has it been discovered that any understanding with regard to slaves existed between the Arab merchant and his creditor.

Arabs know well that with such an understanding Banians could not recover their money in Court, and they would not be slow to take advantage of this knowledge to impose their own terms on their creditors in disputed cases.

9. In the majority of cases the advances are repaid in goods and sometimes in money. It is well known that the Arab merchants employ these advances as well in obtaining ivory and other merchandize as slaves. But when, after having received the necessary advance at Zanzibar, an Arab leaves for the interior he is no longer under the control of the lender, and, as in his eyes one investment is as legitimate as the other, it would be useless for the lender to stipulate his abstaining from obtaining slaves. No Arab would feel bound by such a condition, and if any did enter into it there would be no guarantee that he would faithfully observe it. Under these circumstances, the effect of holding British subjects, who advance goods and money to Arab merchants, guilty of participating in the Slave Trade would be to drive the legitimate trade of the East Coast of Africa exclusively into the hands of Americans, Germans, and others, over whom we have no control. We should lose the trade and gain nothing.

10. Among the goods supplied to Arab merchants are muskets and powder, which are undoubtedly used for capturing slaves in the interior, as well as in the defence of the merchant's persons and property. It must, however, be borne in mind that no one who has a rag to lose, much less a merchant with valuable goods such as are much coveted by savages, can venture into the interior of Africa without means of defence. Moreover, there is an unlimited demand for these articles among the negroes themselves, who often accept them in preference to other goods in exchange for ivory.

11. But the share of the Banians in the trade of muskets and powder is that of middlemen. The principals are the Europeans and American merchants at Zanzibar, who order from their respective countries the kind of articles required and sell them to the Banians, who retail them along with prints from Manchester, beads from France, Merikani and dyed cloth from America, &c. Yet little is said of these merchants in connection with the Slave Trade, while the Banians are constantly held up as criminal for their share in what is a legitimate branch of trade.

12. It is not my object to defend the Banians; I know that they do not regard slavery as a moral crime. Possibly there are few among them who evade the law. But I do think it hard for them to be persistently accused without inquiry of serious crimes in general, when they declare themselves to be innocent. They have no opportunity of defending themselves, even if they know when and by whom they are accused. I will cite a few instances to show how necessary it is thoroughly to investigate the whole subject.

13. Dr. Livingstone has published it to the world that the men with whom supplies were sent to him (in 1870 or 1871) from Zanzibar, were slaves of Banians, and that their masters were to receive all, and themselves not a cent of their wages. Now I have satisfied myself that in this matter the Doctor was entirely misinformed. In one of his published letters he says, "I had no idea before how bloodthirsty men can be when they can pour out the blood of fellowmen in safety, and all this carnage is going on in Manyema at the very time I wrote. It is the Banians, our protected Indian subjects, that indirectly do it all!" But on inquiry I find that from the regions west of the Tanganyika, whence the Doctor wrote, few, if any slaves came to the East Coast. In another letter Dr. Livingstone says, "It is not to be overlooked that most of other trade as well as slavery is carried on by Banians." As to "most other trade," I have already stated what share of the trade of Zanzibar is in the hands of European and American merchants. If letters do not reach the Doctor, it is the Banians who intercept and destroy them. But from what we have read of the interior of Africa, the wonder is that any letters reach him at all. Philanthropy is not incompatible with justice, and it is the duty of the British Government to order a searching inquiry into the whole subject, and punish severely those who may be found guilty, instead of allowing the whole Indian community at Zanzibar to be execrated and reviled by the world as the principal agents in the work of carnage and kidnapping of negro races.

14. His Highness the Rao of Cutch has requested the Government of Bombay to order inquiries to be made to ascertain which, if any, of his subjects at Zanzibar are really guilty of that share in the Slave Trade which Dr. Livingstone has imputed to them. He is naturally anxious that the name of his country should not be mixed up, as it has of late been, with this horrible crime. It is due to him that his request should be granted. It has been stated by one witness before the Committee of the House of Commons, that domestic slavery prevailed in Cutch; and a Bombay paper has informed the public that Cutch is a centre of the Slave Trade. I beg to state that both these statements are simply untrue.

15. I beg to offer the following suggestions for the purpose of detecting and punishing the crime of slavery and Slave Trade among the British-protected subjects among His Highness the Sultan's dominions :—

(1.) An inquiry into (a) suspected cases of holding slaves ; and (b), business transactions with Arab merchants.

(2.) A resumé of the Law on Slavery, with rules such as the result of the above inquiry might suggest, to be printed in English and Guzerati, and distributed at Zanzibar and on the coast.

(3.) Constant supervision.

(4.) A Proclamation to be published in Arabic and Guzerati on the 1st of January of every year, setting forth the inability of the British-protected subjects and all natives of India to buy or hold slaves.

(5.) The above duties to be exercised at Zanzibar and over 1,000 miles of coast will require an augmentation of the Consular Establishment.

Zanzibar, February 9, 1873.

No. 52.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville—(Received June 1.)

My Lord,

Poona, May 7, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith, for your Lordship's information, copy of a Memorandum showing the present position and actual authority of the Sultan of Zanzibar.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 52.

Memorandum on the Position and Authority of the Sultan of Zanzibar.

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inions.

HIS Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar has possessions extending about 660 miles from Toongee, the frontier of the Portuguese territory beyond Cape Delgado on the south, to Warsheek in about 2° 30' north, which is the most advanced post actually held by his troops and under his flag to the north.

Eastward the ocean limits his possessions to the continent and islands adjacent ; westward his flag is said to fly in Uniyambi, 300 miles from the coast, but his actual dominion does not extend much beyond the forts and ports on the coast held by his officials, at most of which customs are levied in his name, and a few spots, like Tabora in Uniyambi, where a sort of Arab colony has established itself. Some of the tribes on the coast even opposite Zanzibar own a sort of allegiance to the Sultan, but regularly pay tribute to some petty Negro potentate in the interior who is better able to protect or annoy them ; and on no part of the coast can his authority be said to be more than skin-deep, extending very rarely beyond the shore and the points which can be reached from his vessels.

The southern and eastern limits of these possessions are fixed. To the north and west His Highness and his subjects, if they give any thought to such a question, would consider him justified in advancing his garrisons, as far as his means and the weakness of his neighbours might permit.

Thus within the last two years he has occupied Brava to the north, and asserted his authority over the province of Urori to the west. Brava, a populous and thriving Somali sea-port, was already nominally his, being within the northern limit of his coast line. But it was quite independent, and His Highness had no representative of his authority there. An outrage was committed by the townspeople on a dhow captured by Her Majesty's ship "Columbine," and the question arose from whom should redress be demanded? Captain Tucker thought from the townspeople, but the Consul decided on demanding it from His Highness, who thereupon sent a force of about thirty Arabs. They occupied a stockade, and hoisted His Highness' flag, much, it is stated, to the benefit of peace and order.

The process in Urori was described to me as somewhat different. An Arab ivory trader having established himself there, wrote to the Sultan to ask His Highness to grant him permission to hoist His Highness' flag. This was granted, and a flag sent with some

ceremony and a suitable escort by the hand of an Arab of rank, who, on his arrival, quarrelled with and slew the ivory trader, and confiscated his property, duly hoisting His Highness' flag, and reporting to His Highness that his authority was now paramount in Ururi.

The Sultan's position has been variously defined as that of a "sovereign prince," "a feudal chief," and a "royal magistrate;" but none of these terms give any accurate idea of his real status and authority. He is a sovereign, in our sense of the word, only to us, and by virtue of loose and varying expressions in some of our official writings. To his own subjects, speaking of him among themselves, he is never Imâm, a religious and elective title which he has never received; he is simply "Seyyid-na," "our Prince," and is addressed as "Yasidi," "my Lord," and neither form is confined to him. Most Arabs, except his immediate courtiers, are apt to speak of him with somewhat of emphasis as "Seyyid Burgash;" directly, he has been spoken of by a stranger as "Sultan."

At Zanzibar itself, and wherever his authority is fully established, the Sultan's rule is absolute, in form and mode of action, only when he is not dealing with any of the great Arab families or their dependents. In all that concerns them he is not Sovereign, but only *primus inter pares*, and would generally make over an offender who belonged to a great Arab clan to the head of that house, to be dealt with as his immediate superior might think right. Authority of Sultan.

Over all except the members of these great Arab families, and those under foreign Consular protection, who include, it may be observed, nine-tenths of the trading population, his authority in Zanzibar is absolute enough. Justice is administered in his name and executed by his officers, and he alone can deal with capital offences. The best account I have seen of his authority in these respects is that given by Captain Burton (Vol. I of "Zanzibar," chapters 6 and 7).

It is not easy to convey to an European mind a correct idea of the very superficial character of the Sultan's authority away from Zanzibar and out of reach of his ships. Below Kilwa we found the country people on the coast itself much more afraid of the petty Chiefs of Negro tribes in their neighbourhood than of His Highness, and nowhere, out of the sea-port towns, relying on his power to protect them. Nor had they the slightest idea that the Sultan or his officers had anything to do with the land away from the port, provided the person wanting to cultivate the land did not build any fortified post.

At Lindy, a considerable place, the authority of the Arab Governor seemed of little avail for the protection of life or property beyond the walls of his fort. A Chief of the M'gao Tribe was ravaging the country within a few hours' walk of the town, and his scouts were said to plunder and burn houses at night in the very suburbs. The Banians in the town told us they were packing up their goods and sending them on board dhows for fear of the insurgents, and the country people up the river were found by some of our party congregating on an island by hundreds, to escape nightly attack. The Governor had lately received a small reinforcement of Arabs from Zanzibar, and when we visited him had just returned lamed and ill from an unsuccessful attempt to attack the invaders.

The officers of the squadron, boat-cruising further south towards the mouths of the Rovuma and Cape Delgado, found the same state of things prevailing up to the Portuguese frontier. The country generally was in the hands of independent Native Chiefs, and the Sultan's authority extended little beyond his fortified posts and Custom-houses.

Even where his authority appears to be most established, it is something very different from what we should understand as sovereign power. In the islands and along the coasts Seyyid Said, the Sultan's father, came with considerable forces of ships and fresh hardy Northern Arabs, to supersede the degenerate Portuguese, and effete Swaheli chiefdoms of mixed Arab or Persian and Negro descent. The Portuguese soon utterly disappeared, and throughout our whole stay on these coasts we have met but one resident of the race of its former conquerors, in the person of a spirit-seller at Bagamoyo, and he was from Goa and had followed the fortunes of Sultan Majid.

But the families of the Swaheli Chiefs, though much degenerated, are still numerous, and some of them are wealthy and influential, and nowhere was even Seyyid Said able to dispense with their alliance. He did not obtain possession of Zanzibar itself till he had purchased the surrender of the sovereignty from the Swaheli Chief, by the promise of a large pension, and the continuance of certain forms of sovereignty. The pension was never regularly paid, but the forms of sovereignty were continued, and are, I believe, still maintained on ceremonial occasions, and in grants of land, &c. We Influence of Swaheli families.

saw the present youthful representative of the whole family, who lives in considerable style, and who, though apparently destitute of any qualities which could make him of much political importance, is regarded as one of the magnates of the place.

On the continent the extent to which the powers of the old ruling Swaheli families have been absorbed by the Sultan of Zanzibar depends much on their proximity to head-quarters. For example, on the coast immediately opposite about Bagomoyo, though the Sultan got the sea customs, the Swaheli Chief continued to levy a kind of land custom, or transit duty, on all caravans from the interior, till they were stopped by Seyyid Said and compelled to accept a commutation paid through the Custom-house, which still levies an extra duty on that account.

But at Kilwa Kavinja, where the same custom prevailed, the Swaheli Chiefs were more powerful and further out of reach. The Sultan was never able to enforce the surrender of their separate exactions, and to this day their dues are levied by a very singular process. Caravans of Arabs and Indian subjects arriving from the interior are not meddled with beyond the levy of a sort of extra land custom duty. But every Negro caravan is met by delegates from the Swaheli families, at a day or two's march from Kilwa. Each trader is invited to select his Swaheli patron, and till every one is provided with such a coadjutor the progress of the caravan is stayed. As long as the trader remains at Kilwa he must, under heavy penalties, deal through his Swaheli patron, and buy and sell with no one without his patron's consent. I was told that the Sultan had endeavoured, but ineffectually, to abolish or modify this system, for which no excuse of its facilitating trade can any longer be alleged.

At Mombassa the Sultan has been even less successful in superseding the authority of the old ruling family. Few parts of the history of this coast are better popularly known than the revolutions of the powerful and flourishing city which the Portuguese found here—its conquest, reconquest, repeated sieges, wholesale massacres, and utter destruction. Its position of great natural strength, with a beautiful harbour, forming the outlet to a fine populous country, ensured its recovery from ruin, and fifty years ago the British Captain Owen surveying the coast, found its flourishing town and port ruled by descendants of the Arab Chief of the Muzrooi tribe, who, a century before, had expelled the Portuguese, and were then much in dread of the encroachment of Muscat filibusterers. Captain Owen accepted its protectorate, and allowed the British flag to be hoisted, on condition that the ruler bound himself to abolish the Slave Trade; but this step was not approved by the Home Government, and the protectorate was withdrawn. In a few years Seyyid Said's forces returned, aided with ammunition and guns furnished by the Bombay Government, and having detached some of the leading Swaheli families from their adherence to the representative of the old ruling family, he obtained possession of the fort and seaboard of the province. All the elders among the former Chiefs who were likely to prove troublesome were deported to Muscat and Bunder Abbass.

But, as the younger branches have grown up, and as the rigour of the Zanzibar Government has somewhat relaxed, the old ruling family has begun to reassert its claims. Some of its representatives had become so formidable about two years ago that they were only prevented from blockading Mombassa by a timely reinforcement of 200 or 300 Arabs being sent to the Governor. This did not, however, enable the Government effectually to put down the rebellion. One of the brothers who led the insurrection was pacified by being made Lieutenant-Governor of a district nominally as His Highness' delegate; but the other, Moobaruk Muzrooi, is still at large and undisturbed, with a following of 50 or 100 men, about 40 miles south from Mombassa, not apparently as an outlaw or a fugitive, but in unmolested possession of a tract of country with access to the sea-coast.

In the town His Highness is worthily represented by an intelligent Arab gentleman, son of one of the old Imâm's staunch followers. He nominally rules the whole province as Wali or Governor. In a position but little inferior in dignity to him is the Jemadar, a Beelooch, also a son of a trusty servant of Seyyid Said. To him, with characteristic jealousy of trusting too much to any one distant subordinate, is given the charge of the fort and its garrison. The town is divided into two portions. In one live the Arab families and their dependents and the Indian merchants, who monopolize the trade; in the other live the older Swaheli inhabitants and their followers. This latter division is ruled by the Arab Governor through the Chiefs of the Swaheli families, and to them, in ordinary cases, he makes over all complaints and disputes among their portion of the population.

We found the same system prevailing at Lamoo—the Arab Governor supreme in all important matters, but generally concerning himself only with the affairs of his

Arab followers and foreign merchants, committing all affairs connected with the old local population to the management of their ruling families in the town, and asserting but little authority at a few miles' distance from the town.

Further north, where the Gallas and Somali tribes come down to the coast, his authority is still less recognized beyond his Arab garrisons. Near Cape Bissell we were told of a Colony of Majertyn Somalis, who say they marched across from near Berbera opposite Aden, and established themselves on the Eastern Coast, south of the Juba River, about five years ago. They seem willing to be friendly with the English, of whom they have heard much at Aden, but do not recognize the Sultan's authority.

Magadoxa, which is nearly a degree south of the nominal northern limit of the Sultan's dominions, is said to be held by an officer, Ahmed Yousuff, son of a Sultan Yousuff, with whom friendly relations were established by an officer of the Indian navy some years ago. Ahmed Yousuff is a Somali Chief. His chief town is Gilaidi, one day's journey inland from Merka, where Seyyid Burgash has a garrison. He is well spoken of, and has shown a wish to open friendly relations with the British Consul at Zanzibar.

Brava paid tribute to him till about eighteen months ago; when, as already mentioned, it was occupied by a detachment of His Highness' troops.

At all these towns, Brava, Merka, and Magadoxa, such internal police as exists is administered by a kind of Council of Elders. The Bush Somalis, as they are called, the inhabitants of the environs, are, we were told, cleared out of the towns at sunset, and none but townspeople allowed to sleep within the walls.

Warsheek is nominally the northern limit of His Highness' territory; but his authority, we were assured, is represented only by a small detachment of Arabs, who live on a coral islet, and do not pretend to any authority over the tribes on the mainland.

Still more shadowy is the Sultan's authority in all matters connected with the land throughout his territory. None of it pays any land-tax to him, and he is supposed to be precluded, by the provisions of his Commercial Treaties with foreign nations, from imposing any tax on land or its produce. In the islands, and perhaps in a very few places on the main, a formal grant from His Highness would be a wise precaution, if not a necessary preliminary to any one who would expend much in cultivation, and anywhere the Arab officials would be sure to interfere with any one who settled near their posts without some authority from the Sultan, especially if he attempted to build. But generally the thing most needed is the permission of the local negro Chiefs and tribes. This they seem always glad to grant, if assured of the friendly and peaceful disposition of the intended settler. Englishmen are generally well-received, for the natives seem to think that if he comes with no hostile intent his presence is certain to be a tower of strength to them. At Bagamoyo the petty local Chiefs always claim from the French Mission some annual acknowledgment of their rights. A dollar for a large plantation quite satisfies them; but though they frequently remind the foreigner of the claims of their superior—"a great Chief who lives six or seven days' journey in the interior"—nothing like a regular demand for land-tax or tribute is ever made on his account.

When the Universities Mission commenced a small Settlement in the Shamballa country, they found themselves, immediately on leaving the coast, outside the limits of the Sultan's authority. One long day's journey inland they dealt directly with the superior Chief of Fuga, a son, I believe, of the Chief visited sixteen years ago by Captain Burton. Though not so powerful as his father, he is still a great potentate, who was said to have 500 recognized sons. He readily gave the missionaries as much land as they asked for, on the sole condition that "they should build no fort or stockade where his authority might hereafter be defied."

One of the missions near Mombassa had some difficulty in making the local Chiefs accept a small sum, as earnest of the new-comer's right to settle. The Chiefs said, "We asked you to come here because you are our friend, and we wish you to be our neighbour. Take as much land as you want, and cultivate it, provided you do not meddle with other people's fields. How can we sell or take money for God's land?"

It would in all these cases have been dangerous to attempt to settle without the leave of the tribe; but the jealousy seems to relate to residence and neighbourhood, and to have no connection with any notion of regal or other rights in the land such as are so universal in India.

Seyyid Majid made an attempt, by the advice I believe of one of the Consuls, to impose a light tax on the land in the islands. But the other Consuls immediately protested on behalf of their respective protégés, and all the Arabs said, they had as much right to the land as the Seyyid, who was their Sultan, chosen by them, and not Sultan, or Imâm, or anything else in his own right, or by his own power; and the Sultan finding that he could enforce the levy in but very few cases, and that it gave rise to unpleasant discussions, dropped the project.

Clearly, where he has so little control over the land, any ideas derived from feudal Chiefship will give a very erroneous impression as to the Sultan's authority. Even as military Chief he has no power, and little influence to protect any one further than within reach of his ships, or of a party of his Arab soldiers, whose posts are nowhere more than a few miles from the seashore.

The Sultan's authority is further practically limited by the necessity for exercising it in conformity with the wants, wishes, usages, and prejudices of his own Arab race, and of some influential classes of his subjects—notably of the trading classes—from whom his revenue is mainly derived, and the most influential of whom are foreigners.

Such authority, of course, depends much on the personal character of the ruler, and of those who advise or control him; and also on the extent to which he may be able to keep in his pay those who will execute his orders with more regard to his wishes than to other influences.

In all these respects the Seyyid Burgash has more authority than his predecessor Majid. He seems to be a man of remarkable good sense, and, for an Arab, generally frank and good-humoured, somewhat brusque and even rude in manner at times, and very obstinate, personally inclined to bigotry in religious matters. He has hitherto been extremely just in all acts of a judicial character, and Dr. Kirk believes that justice has never been administered in Zanzibar so promptly and impartially as it is by His Highness.

He seems usually ready to listen to advice, official or otherwise, but he is much less under the influence of advisers, ministers, and courtiers, than his predecessor. This is partly due to his firmer and more independent character, partly to the removal of the older and more energetic men who assisted his father to extend his African dominions—some have died, others are too old to take much part in public affairs. Of the younger men, the more enterprising have probably gone to seek their fortune on the frontiers, and the life of a rich Arab in Zanzibar is not calculated to train his children to habits which would give them much weight in public affairs.

The Sultan's father, Seyyid Said, having acquired supreme power in Oman by his astuteness and personal daring, extended his power in Arabia and Persia, and obtained his vast African dominion by a curious mixture of naval, military, and commercial enterprise. Many of his proceedings would be now considered as rank filibustering; some might be reckoned as fair conquest; but he everywhere traded himself and made his captains trade, and he commenced the system of clove and other cultivation, which latterly enriched all the Arabs of Zanzibar. The few visitors to this coast, from 1811 to 1834, seem generally to have found the Arab Governor of the places they called at in his Custom-house, looking after his trade and Customs collections. Of late years this duty has been delegated to Hindoo farmers, and the Governor keeps to his fort. But trade under the old Seyyid was only the occupation of intervals of peace. He and all his old followers were "men of war from their youth," trained in one of the hardiest of schools among the fierce tribes who inhabit the deserts and wild mountains of Arabia and Mekran.

Very different is the life of their descendants in Zanzibar and on the coast.

Their time is for the most part passed at their "shambas," estates in the country, where they live a life of indolent ease, surrounded by slaves, borrowing money with facility from Indian traders if their estates are flourishing, doing without it if the estate is in difficulties. At the worst, the poorest estate in this rich island will always yield enough food and shelter for them and their slaves, however numerous, and it is one of the peculiarities of the Arab character that, with great capacity for luxurious enjoyment, the Arab seems never to lose his power of living content and respected on the most frugal supply of the bare necessities of life.

Though many of them have large handsome houses in Zanzibar, they seldom come into town except on a visit, or on occasions of ceremony, to attend a summons from His Highness, or the like. They never lose the dignified bearing or the haughty courtesy of their Arab ancestry; but constant association with slaves gives them a contempt for every form of personal exertion. Men so reared are very different from the old stock who conquered the country, and are not likely to exercise more than a sympathetic influence on a ruler of real energy.

Seyyid Burgash has maintained the Arab and Belooch mercenaries on which his father and brother mainly depended, and he has added to them a body of about 120 Persians, nominally artillerymen, a kind of body-guard, but who seem by no means implicitly to be relied on.

Colonel Pelly, who has had excellent opportunities for forming a sound judgment, is of opinion that the personal authority of the Sultan is now much greater than in his brother's time ten years ago, and this opinion is quite borne out by Dr. Kirk's observation.

Character of Seyyid Burgash.

Arab Chiefs in Zanzibar.

Mercenary troops.

The post of Minister is ostensibly held by Nasseer bin Saeed, a young man of the Beit Wakil family; but in all, save matters of mere routine and ceremony, His Highness is his own prime minister and transacts all business in person. He sits in open Durbar almost every day, and is accessible at such times to the meanest of his subjects, who, in any case of real oppression, are said seldom to appeal to him in vain. Advisers.

With a few exceptions, most of his brother's ministers have retained office under him, but few have any real weight, nor is he believed to be much influenced by his relations, though his unmarried sister, the Beebee Kholi, who has always befriended him in all his reverses, and who is said to be a woman of some capacity, is supposed to have much influence over him in ordinary affairs.

Seyyid Burgash's mother is an Abyssinian. He is unmarried. He had a wife who was divorced, and he has only one acknowledged child, a daughter by a Georgian concubine. He looks about forty.

The only one of his courtiers who seems to have much real weight with His Highness in important matters is Sheik Hamood el Farahi, his spiritual director. It was as his disciple, and as the advocate of the Mutawas or fanatics of the Ibadhiyah sect, of whom Sheik Hamood is one of the chief teachers, that Burgash proposed to contest the throne with his brother Majid soon after the latter's accession. When Burgash succeeded peaceably at his brother's death, he gave every indication of acting as a zealous religious reformer of ultra Mutawa views: the propriety of interdicting tobacco and similar sinful indulgences was seriously discussed, and it was generally supposed that religious fanaticism, according to the tenets of that sect, would be his ruling principle. But he soon after threw off all pretensions of the kind, and for some time was liberal even to laxity in his religious observances. The year before last he performed the Haj, and visited Mecca; since his return it is said that he has fallen much more than formerly under the influence of Sheik Hamood, who acts as his director in his daily prayers.

The common people, consisting of negroes of every shade and tribe known on the East Coast of Africa, from Egypt to the Cape Colony, Arabs, and Arab-creoles and half-castes, of every variety of mixed descent, count for little here; they have, doubtless, their national feelings and prejudices, and feel keenly, if we could only understand them, on many subjects to which we think them utterly indifferent; but if they have opinions on any political question they rarely express them, and their rulers would care little or nothing for them if they did. The present is, for all freemen and for most slaves, a mild rule, and I have never heard of any despotism so severe as to rouse the people to revolt in East Africa. The people, therefore, can hardly be taken into account as a political force in Zanzibar. It is the more necessary to notice this because it is in complete opposition to the habits and usages of Omân, and indeed of all Arabia, where sovereign power seems to be always more or less dependent on popular preference. The common people.

It is far otherwise, however, with the trading classes, who influence more or less every other section of society, and, as a body, have probably more power at Zanzibar in the aggregate than any other portion of the community. It is not, however, a power which is easily moved to any combined action. Trading classes.

The most numerous, and, probably on the whole the most influential, are the Indian traders, loosely and generically known as "Banians." Their position is so peculiar, and so important to a correct understanding of East African politics, that I have described them at some length in a separate Memorandum. Banians.

They are generally under British Consular protection; some have neglected to claim it, and a few have in some form or other renounced it, in the vain hope of thereby being at liberty to hold slaves. But since they have discovered that they will still remain liable to penalties for slave-holding or slave-dealing, such renunciations will be few; and I doubt if there be any of this class who would not claim and obtain English protection if subjected to lawless violence at the hand of the Sultan, or any other foreign Power.

The trading subjects of other foreign Powers are mostly Europeans or Americans. The flag in these seas affords a most fallacious index to the nationality of the owners of either cargo or ship, or the habitation or destination of owners, shippers, or consignees. It is determined almost as often by the Admiralty orders as to search, as by anything connected with ownership of vessel or cargo. The red Arab flag is naturally very common, as is the British ensign, hoisted by most Indian owners. The German flag, which ought to be next most frequent, is rarely hoisted by native vessels, which, when they do not hoist the Arab or English flag, generally sail under French or, in a few cases, Turkish colours. National flags.

I could, however, hear of hardly any Turkish trade, and the real French trade or ownership bears no proportion to the number of vessels covered by the flag.

I could hear of no explanation of this beyond the fact that a dhow visiting Zanzibar or either of the French settlements can, through French subjects or Banians domiciled in the colony, easily obtain a French registry; and that the French flag is found to be very convenient, as exempting the bearer from detention by our cruisers though the vessel may be full of slaves; the same is, in some degree, the case with the Turkish flag.

Connection of trading classes Slave Trade.

The Slave Trade generally is in the hands of Arabs, or men of mixed Arab and African descent. Beyond furnishing the capital for it, I do not think the Indian or other foreign traders are often directly implicated in it, and as regards the European merchants and the more respectable Indian houses I doubt whether any case of wilful and direct participation in slaving ventures could be established against any of them, though probably few could escape implication for indirect aiding and abetting, often unconsciously, if all the ramifications of their commercial connections were laid open.

Feeling of the trading classes regarding Slave Trade.

Their general feeling regarding Slave Trade is, I have little doubt, as expressed by one of the best and most respectable foreign merchants to an English officer, one of "entire hostility to our efforts for repressing it—not that they approve of it in the abstract, but that they believe it to be a necessary and ineradicable evil inherent in the existing state of native society and Government, and not to be got rid of whilst that state exists. They wish it let alone, not from wishing to participate in it or its profits, but because when the Slave Trade is flourishing other trade flourishes; when the Slave Trade is depressed or persecuted other trade is dull."

Latterly many of the more intelligent have become convinced that England and civilized Christendom generally is in earnest in this matter, and that the Slave Trade is doomed. They would gladly, therefore, see the question settled by the entire abolition of the Slave Trade, and if the Sultan had consented to our proposals would have given him hearty support. But as His Highness believed that the feeling of his Arab and other *entourage* was too strongly in favour of Slave Trade for him to appear as assenting to our suggestions, they would not press him further unless we persevere in our agitation of the question. If we do, they would be glad if His Highness gave in, and so settled the question; but it is the termination of the discussion which they desire, because while it lasts it paralyzes trade, rather than the stoppage of an inhuman and immoral traffic of which, on high moral grounds, they disapprove.

There are of course notable exceptions. I received hearty co-operation from the leading European merchant at Zanzibar; and from other members of the European community, such as Captain Fraser. I feel sure there are many of the Indian as well as the European traders who heartily and entirely sympathized with the objects of the Mission. But I speak of the general feeling as justifying my belief that the Sultan felt that neither from the mercantile nor from any other part of the community could he look for any active support against the opposition of his Arab relatives and supporters.

Commercial Treaties.

The English, Germans, French, and Americans all trade under Commercial Treaties, some of them made long ago, and most of them differing somewhat in their provisions from existing practice, but all containing the most-favoured nation clause, thus enabling any one of the four Powers to claim all the privileges accorded to the others.

See Treaty of 1859 with the Hanseatic Republics.

By these Treaties the Sultan is precluded from imposing more than a 5 per cent. duty on imports "as a full equivalent for all import and export duties, tonnage dues, licenses to trade, pilotage, anchorage, or any other charges whatever." Monopolies are forbidden, except within a certain space of coast, and these only of two articles, ivory and copal.

The wide immunities thus accorded practically to all European, American, and Indian foreigners have been construed, by what appears to me to be a strained interpretation, to preclude His Highness from levying land or other tax on any landed property held by a protégé of any of the Treaty Powers.

Rules of dynastic succession.

It is necessary briefly to notice the dynastic rules of succession in the Sultan's family. These have been most fully investigated by Sir William Coghlan,* aided by the Rev. Mr. Badger, who is by his great learning in this particular branch of Arabian history probably the highest living authority on the subject. They have shown that "among the Arabs of Omân there is no recognized law determining the succession to the Imamship," (the word being used not as a mark of authority, but merely of fitness for the office of Imam). "Primogeniture gives no claim to succession. The selection was generally confined to the same family or dynasty, but even that restriction appears to have been the result of the influence which its members have acquired over the people, and the

* Vide paragraphs 6 and 11, and Appendix B, of General Coghlan's Report of the 4th Feb, 1860, printed at page 132 of the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons. 1871.

candidate who was strongest in that respect usually obtained the supremacy; in no one instance do we find that a successor has been able to maintain his position without the suffrage of the chiefs of the principal tribes, and, in every case recorded, such a concurrence is noticed as confirming the newly-appointed Sovereign in his authority"—or, as Colonel Rigby's very competent informant explained it—"might, coupled with election by the tribes, is the only right."

Practically, as Seyyid Burgash explained it to Dr. Kirk, "the only right is that of the longest sword." When Dr. Kirk argued with him that some more certain rule of succession should be devised, to obviate the many inconveniences and uncertainties of contested succession, Seyyid Burgash warmly asserted that the existing custom was the palladium of Arab supremacy.

It would be a great mistake to suppose that the Arab notions regarding election by general acclamation, of the whole tribe or nation, have much in common with an English idea of popular election. Every Arab has more or less of the characteristic noted in the prophetic declaration regarding Ishmael, when it was said that "his hand should be against every man, and every man's hand against him." The notion is less of universal hostility than of entire independence, such as is embodied in the homely old northern proverb, "Let ilka herring hang by his ain head;" and when a great body of men, actuated by this above all other feelings, concur in desiring any one man to be their ruler, the feeling to the more imaginative and religious is, that *vox populi* is really *vox Dei*, that the elected is the Fated One, the One destined to rule, and as long as his acts commend themselves to the general sense of those who elected him, they recognize, in all he does, the manifest finger of God.

It is obvious to remark that whatever may be the advantages of such a mode of selecting a successor in Omán, where every Arab bearing arms has some voice in the selection, and may be, at least in his own estimation, himself a potential candidate, the system has no single recommendation for a state of affairs such as exists at Zanzibar, where the election rests not with the people nor with the aristocracy as a body, but with a section of a single class of foreigners. The selection in fact is, in no sense, as in Omán, the choice of the people, but of a very small portion of a foreign oligarchy.

In Omán, whatever the inconveniences and perils of the process, the result must generally be the selection of a man of great natural ability and force of character; in Africa the nominees of a small and degenerate clique must soon cease to be distinguished by such rude power as alone could make them popular favourites in Omán.

It is perhaps to this habit of acknowledging no right of succession but that of popular selection, on account of personal qualities, that we must attribute the difficulty of conveying to an Arab mind any notion of the respect due to dynastic obligations. When Seyyid Burgash unhesitatingly repudiates a State obligation incurred by his predecessor for public purposes, as in his proposal to wipe out the debt notoriously due to the Customs farmer, Jairam Sewjee, or when he denies any obligation to pay the Muscat subsidy, the condition on which, in our European estimation, he holds his realm, we are apt to hear much of "Arab faithlessness." But the fact is, the obligation never presents itself to the Arab mind in the same light as an obligation personally undertaken.

It is of course necessary that on points like this the Sultan and his people should be made clearly to understand our Western view, and to learn that it must prevail, and rule all questions arising between them and us. But it is not the less important to bear in mind that what appears to us as inconsistent with good faith is really due to absence of conviction that any moral obligation has been incurred.

There is a total absence at Zanzibar of that element consisting of natives of the country trained in Christendom, and thoroughly understanding the languages, habits, and modes of thought of Western Europe, which has done so much to bring Turkey and Egypt within the circle of Western society, and to render possible political union with the rest of Europe. There is none of the desire to understand us, or to copy from us, which we see in the Japanese and other nations. We are simply the nearest, the most powerful, and generally the least troublesome of infidels.

We think it extraordinary that so little attention should be paid to the wishes of Western nations in this matter of the Slave Trade; but to Arabs of Zanzibar the demands of England must appear in much the same light as an argument against hunting or shooting, on the grounds of inhumanity, would to an average Englishman. They may admit some small modicum of reason in the argument; but, as a practical question, the thing is not to be thought of, except on the ground of the absolute will of the stronger power, and it is, I believe, only in this light, as an inevitable necessity, that it can ever be presented to the Sultan of Zanzibar or his Arab subjects, with any chance of securing their acquiescence.

I have by no means satisfied myself as to the real reasons for the Sultan's apparent uncertainty of purpose regarding the Slave Trade, and final refusal to accede to the wishes and demands of Her Majesty's Government; but whatever element of religious fanaticism or foreign influence may have strengthened his final resolution, I think he felt himself unequal to a task, which would certainly alienate from him the sympathies of all his Chiefs, and possibly lead to attempts on his life. I believe he is sensible enough to see, as all the best and most intelligent of the trading classes acknowledge, that there can be no quiet or commercial ease till this Slave Trade question is out of the way. He is sincerely anxious that the English or any other Power would settle it for him and have done with it, but he is not inclined to risk anything himself in aiding us. He stands well now with all his people, and gains credit for his firmness; and if he avoids any collision with the English, or active resistance to whatever they may do, he believes he will not, in the long run, be the loser. Such, as far as I can judge, is the way he views the position.

First suggestion.
—Let the Slave Trade alone to cure itself.

Specious arguments have been urged for withdrawing from all attempts to stop Slave Trade, and "leaving it alone to cure itself;" and our cruizers have been charged with enhancing the sufferings of the slave by increasing the difficulties of the passage. I am satisfied that there is not a shadow of foundation for this argument. I never heard a single fact or argument which could justify the faintest hope that if slavery or Slave Trade were let alone they would cure themselves in any number of ages. There is ample evidence to prove that the sufferings of the slave from overcrowding, the want of air, food, and water, are quite as great when there is no fear of capture. The same causes, greed for gain and callousness to human suffering, which render it necessary to impose legislative restrictions on emigrant ships, even when the emigrants are free and intelligent Europeans, impel the slave-trader to overcrowd and starve his victims, even when there is no fear of capture; and we saw one instance, and heard of many more, where the suffering and loss of life during the short and legal passage from Kilwa to Zanzibar might compare in horror with anything which has ever been written of the most desperate slave-running.

Again, a vast amount of nonsense has been talked about the impossibility of stopping Slave Trade, because slavery is an ancient institution, interwoven with all the usages of Arab society, and the Arabic domestic slave is always well treated. It would be just as reasonable to permit domestic servants in England to be recruited by the murder of parents and the kidnapping of children, because domestic servitude is a time-honoured state of life, and the servants often fare as well as the masters and mistresses in England.

Slavery in Arabia or India was a state of life as essentially different from slavery in Zanzibar as from English apprenticeship. The mode of acquiring and treating the slave was entirely different, and still more different was the general social feeling regarding the sale of a slave as an ordinary article of trade. An Arab Sheikh of the olden time might, under great pressure, sell his slave, as a lady might sell her jewels, or a nobleman part with his ancestral estate; but till corrupted by residence in a slave-trading community like Zanzibar, he would unhesitatingly condemn the modern East African system of slave-hunting and slave-trading.

It seems to be forgotten that the East African Slave Trade in its present shape is the growth of the last half-century. A few slaves probably always went; but in their present numbers, and with the present horrors of original capture and conveyance, Slave Trade has become possible only since piracy was suppressed; not only because it is chiefly the old pirate tribes among the Arabs who have, of late years, turned their energies to slave-trading, but because such valuable and portable property as a cargo of slaves would have presented unusual temptations to any pirates, so that it is only since the seas have been cleared of pirates that slave-trading on a great scale and as a branch of ordinary commerce has become possible.

Again, it has been urged that our attempts to suppress Slave Trade "diminish the prestige of the ruler, which it should be our object to maintain." This is an excellent reason for carrying him with us, if he is inclined to co-operate; but if he refuses his aid, we could not do worse for him than by leaving him to continue a practice which saps every source of national prosperity, and condemns him and his people to remain in the ranks of barbarous and uncivilized States.

Second suggestion.
—Plans for gradual limitation.

Somewhat more of an argument might be made out of some gradual limitation and progressive restriction of the trade. Something of the kind was more than once alluded to by His Highness as a thing he might think about if it were proposed; but I never could get any definite statement of what might be thought possible or reasonable, and none of the plans I have ever heard suggested would bear discussion.

The effect of the limited permission accorded by the Treaty of 1845 is an instance in point. Its object was to restrict, but its operation has been greatly to facilitate the transit of slaves in the directions which the Treaty aimed at preventing. I can imagine no limitation, either of numbers or place, which must not have the same effect, irrespective of the obvious inconsistency of protecting and allowing during one part of the year or at one place, what elsewhere and at other seasons, we disallow.

Nor do any of the reasons usually assigned for permitting limited import stand the test of inquiry. It is not true that there is any existing deficiency of slave or other labour in Zanzibar; what is now there is more than enough for all the wants of the island, and no recruiting, by bringing in fresh slaves, is necessary to keep up their numbers.

There is not a shadow of proof of the asserted infertility of the African races in Zanzibar; they clearly reproduce themselves there with the same extraordinary fecundity observable elsewhere; and there is no obstacle to a natural multiplication of the slave population save those artificially created by overabundance of slaves, whereby the island has become a huge slave-barracoon.

Even were it otherwise, it might fairly be asked, on behalf of the races in the interior, whence the slaves are driven, what right have we, however indirectly, to sanction and permit, for however brief a period, the murders and kidnappings which are said to be necessary to keep up the cultivation of an island where it is pretended the race cannot naturally exist? And if the constant wasting away of the enslaved races is, as I am satisfied it is, an artificial consumption of human life, due only to the crimes and social disorganization consequent on slavery so recklessly recruited, it is difficult to exaggerate the weight of the national responsibility for actively supporting or sanctioning by Treaty such unnatural and wholesale destruction.

Lastly, every temporary expedient for prolonging the existing mode of slave supply defers the only effectual and natural remedy in an increased supply of free labour. I am convinced that the doubts and difficulties which have been stated as to the possibility of such a supply are purely imaginary; nor can there be any real difficulty in organizing and regulating and watching its transport, so as to guard against its becoming a Slave Trade in a new form. The only one necessary condition is that the Slave Trade should be finally and effectually stopped before the legalized transport of free labour is attempted; and it must be borne in mind that as much energy and vigilance are needed for many years afterwards to prevent the revival of a Slave Trade as effectually to stop it in the first instance.

No. 53.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received June 1.)

My Lord,

Poona, May 7, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to inclose, for your Lordship's information, copy of a Memorandum in which I have expressed my views as to the best means of disposing of and maintaining slaves liberated by Her Majesty's cruisers, and have made some observations on the various missionary establishments now in existence on the East Coast of Africa.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure in No. 53.

Memorandum on Disposal of Liberated Slaves.

THE objects to be aimed at are obviously—

- (1.) The security and freedom of the liberated slaves.
- (2.) The maintenance of the able-bodied by their own labour without imposing any permanent burden on the public exchequer.
- (3.) The improvement in civilization, and education of those not too old to learn.
- (4.) Proximity to their own country, or, at least, such similarity of climate as shall render it suitable in a sanitary sense.
- (5.) That the liberated slaves should be in a position to aid the formation of free, self-sustaining communities.

Objects to be aimed at with regard to liberated slaves.

(6.) That these objects should be secured at no inordinate expense by the English Treasury.

All these objects indicate some place not very remote from the place of capture and condemnation, which, as regards condemnation, will probably be Aden or Zanzibar.

Aden.

At Aden living is expensive; it is, comparatively, far from the native country of most slaves; there is little opening for agricultural or unskilled labour of a slave who can only speak his own language, and no organized plan for training him to any other means of earning a livelihood.

For all these reasons it does not seem a very suitable place to select for collecting liberated slaves with a view to their permanent residence. There is an excellent orphanage attached to the Roman Catholic Chapel, and superintended by a Prioress and two other Irish ladies, Sisters of the Order of the "Good Shepherd," whose parent house is at Angers. They have taken great care of about a dozen girls, mostly assigned to them from slave-dhows condemned in the Aden Vice-Admiralty Court, and are willing and anxious to take many more. In the event of any slaves being hereafter liberated at Aden, as many children might be assigned to this institution as it is able and willing to receive; a few will always be well disposed of in private service at Aden. With these exceptions, slaves liberated at Aden should always, I think, be forwarded to Zanzibar by the first good opportunity, which will offer at least once a month, by the contract mail-steamers, should no man-of-war be going. This will, probably, considerably reduce the charges incurred at Aden, which of late years have averaged more than 3,000*l.* per annum.

The Political Agent at Aden would of course, as at present, defray any temporary expenses of housing, clothing, or feeding the liberated slaves, or of maintaining the sick and infirm.*

Zanzibar.

Zanzibar itself, either on the islands or the coast opposite, would seem in all respects the most natural and appropriate destination for the great bulk of the re-captured slaves; but various objections have been started to it, some on very high authority.† I have carefully inquired into these, and will now briefly state the results.

Objections answered.

(1.) It has been said‡ that it would be impracticable to uphold an institution containing liberated negroes, in the midst of a population of slaves of the same race, brought in most instances from the same localities.

But no difficulty of the kind is found to exist in practice in Zanzibar by either of the two missionary institutions, or Captain Frazer, who has had, for years, several hundreds of liberated slaves working in a free community, and in perfect harmony with all around them, as described in my separate report on his estate.§

Nor do I think this objection would ever have been started* by any one who had much personal experience of Zanzibar, or knew how considerable a proportion of the negro population consists of free men who have themselves been slaves, or how infinite are the local gradations between absolute freedom and absolute slavery.

I have met no one in Zanzibar who considered that there was any validity in this objection or in the second objection stated in the same paper, that (2) "difficulty would be raised in the way of all efforts to evangelize those whose rescue by a Christian nation involves the obligation to endeavour to impart to them the knowledge of Christianity."

The missionaries now at Zanzibar find no such difficulty. No thoughtful Mohammedan can have any desire for the spread of Christianity, and the Christian religion is regarded by many zealous Mohammedans at Zanzibar or elsewhere with dislike—sometimes, but more rarely in the educated, not unmingled with contempt. But I know few Moslem countries where these feelings are so little active, or so seldom manifested by any outward sign, as in Zanzibar; and the obstacle thus presented to the evangelization of the liberated slaves, would, I am convinced, be of the slightest description.

(3.) It has been feared that the establishment of a depôt of free labour at Zanzibar would lead to a Slave Trade in the interior, similar to that created by the system of *libres engagés*, and that the liberated slaves would be worked beyond the reach of British protection.

As far as I understand this objection, I do not think it valid. We permitted the system of *libres engagés* to be made a monstrous sham, and to develop into a vast Slave Trade in disguise; but this was by no means an inherent vice in the original conception. It was due to want of care and want of arrangement in the first attempt to carry it out, want of honesty in the agents employed, want of supervision and control on

* Appendix A.

† *Vide* Report of Select Committee of House of Commons, 1871, pp. 106 to 111.

‡ Page 111.

§ No. 18 of the 12th February.

all hands. But there could have been no difficulty in supplying all these defects, and in making the system at least as free from objection as the system of supplying coolie labour from India. The latter system we know is by no means perfect or free from possibility of abuse; but by careful supervision it has been now worked for many years without giving rise to any serious abuse or degenerating into a Slave Trade; and I am convinced that some such system of regulating the migration of labour will, in a few years, be found to be not inapplicable to East Africa.

Nothing, however, of the kind can now grow out of the establishment of a depôt of free labour at or in the neighbourhood of Zanzibar, by the settlement there of any number of liberated slaves. The more free labour there is, the less will be the demand for slaves; and nothing can do more to check the Slave Trade in the interior than the growth of a large supply of free labour at Zanzibar and on the coasts adjacent.

But it is said the liberated slaves will be beyond the reach of our protection. I cannot see how this can be, if anything like proper care is taken to make our protection a reality; nor do I find that any one on the spot shares the apprehension. Accurate registration and constant vigilance are matters which can be ensured by a very moderate establishment. Such an establishment has never yet been provided, but, with it, Dr. Kirk, and those best qualified to judge, entertain no sort of doubt that our protection can be made very real and effectual.

It is a mistake to suppose that there is more difficulty in tracing persons in Zanzibar than elsewhere. Indeed, in the case of negroes, there seem to be peculiar facilities owing to the innumerable and varied skin-markings by tattooing, in which all indulge as ornaments, and the minute attention which all the slave-dealers and brokers pay to all the marks and peculiarities of every slave who passes through their hands. I am assured that any one of these brokers will recollect and describe accurately the marks of any slave he has sold years before. It is a memory of the same kind, but employed on fewer and more marked subjects than the memory of a cattle jobber or driver; and though now employed to such evil purpose, may be applied to purposes of police and useful identification.

A very serious objection to Zanzibar has been stated on such high authority, and so often repeated, in so many forms, that I made it the subject of special inquiry. It has been asserted that "at Zanzibar the African races do not reproduce themselves at all," and various ingenious theories have been propounded to account for the supposed infertility of the negro race on that island. I am happy to be able to assure your Lordship that, after careful inquiry from a variety of sources, I found the basis of fact utterly wanting to support the objection. The negro and all other races, when left in their natural state, seem quite as fertile in Zanzibar and the adjacent islands as anywhere else; and the natural increase of population, when unchecked by epidemics or artificial means, is consequently much in excess of the rates to which we are accustomed in Europe.

Every fact I tested led to the same inference. But nothing seemed to me more conclusive than the experience of Captain Fraser at Kokotoni, as related by him and Dr. Christie. When he received the large body of several hundred slaves from the late Sultan, he was struck by the small number of children they brought with them. In very few cases was there even a pretence of any marriage-tie; concubinage almost *ad libitum* was the rule; and, in the absence of any interest in, or certainty of being able to retain, children, they were seldom born, and yet less frequently reared; disease, too, of every kind fatal to the growth of a healthy population, was frightfully frequent. Such a body of slaves, it was evident, could only be kept up by fresh importations of freshly-captured slaves from the interior.

But as the savage horde was reduced to order and discipline; as they found themselves under the authority of a higher and kindlier intelligence than the slave-dealer; as they became assured of their freedom, and of their right to form and enjoy family ties, and to rear their offspring without fear of separation—such old simple forms of incipient civilization as they had known before they were enslaved, revived; they married with their old rejoicing and ceremonies, and took a pride in their families, revived old tribal associations and allegiances, and gradually formed a community, not civilized according to our ideas, but far more highly organized than the bestial crowd as at first turned over from the slave-market; they were happier, and had no longer any wish to run away, and they were naturally prolific, so that when we saw them eight or nine years after the process began, there were swarms of children of all ages under that period, and it was clear that the community might not only keep up its numbers, but would increase and multiply without the agency of the slave-hunter in the interior, importing fresh victims to supply the places of those who died or were worked out.

A great variety of independent testimony of various kinds confirmed this evidence as to the Island of Zanzibar itself; and other evidence, such as that of Mr. Sunley, at Johanna, went to confirm it, by proving that it is the *status* of slavery, and not the locality, which impairs the natural fertility of the negro race.

I know of no objections to Zanzibar, as a centre for the settlement of liberated slaves, other than those I have noticed, and there are many reasons which render it or its neighbourhood peculiarly eligible, *e. g.*, its proximity to the Court of Adjudication, the ease of supervision by the Consul, and the certainty of always finding employment for any kind of labour, and ready transit to all parts of the coast.

At Zanzibar itself there already exist several establishments which could absorb a considerable number of liberated slaves. I have described at length Captain Fraser's estate at Kokotoni, where, probably, many hundreds of adults could find employment at short notice. There are also two Missions—the Universities Mission, and that of the Roman Catholics—which would gladly take charge of any numbers of children, and of which I shall have more to say hereafter.

I have also informed Dr. Kirk, in the letter already referred to, that I see no reason why some freed slaves should not be tentatively assigned, under conditions therein described, to respectable persons in Zanzibar. I think we are bound to test what may be the effect of trusting, in this matter, to natural influences as we find them, with the addition of the freedom which we secure to the quondam slave; for it is only by the light of such experience that we can expect to see our way to a healthy natural migration of free labour. But I would carefully watch the experiment, and carry it no further than may be necessary to see how far we can dispense with artificial safeguards to secure the well-being of a liberated slave.

But, with the exception of persons assigned to missions, none of the liberated slaves thus disposed of at Zanzibar will be in a position to do much towards the attainment of any but the two first of the six objects specified as those to be aimed at.

For the attainment of the other four objects, something more is required, and it seems to me that all Government can desire in this respect is ready at hand, with the aid of a very small supplement such as Government can easily furnish.

What is desirable is—

1st. As to locality.

(a.) Positions for the liberated Slave Colonies on or near the coast, so situated as effectually to aid in checking the transit of slaves in any numbers, either to the coast or parallel to the coast, on the way to a convenient port for embarkation.

Probably, for the present, the following places would be selected, if perfect freedom of choice were possible:—

(1.) Near Port Durnford, or some point as far north as possible in the Zanzibar dominions.

(2.) Near Mombassa.

(3.) Near the Pangani River (say at Magila).

(4.) Near Kingani (say at Bagamoyo).

(5.) Near the Lufji delta (say at Dar-es-Salaam).

(6.) Near Kilwa.

(7.) Near Lindy or the Rovuma.

(8.) As near as possible to the Portuguese frontier.

(b.) Some positions inland, such as were originally contemplated by Dr. Livingstone and Bishop Mackenzie, with a view to act on the Slave Trade, at a point as near as possible to the slave-hunting grounds.

Leaving, for the present, the consideration of any such Colony in the interior, it will be found that, of the eight positions on the coast specified as eminently desirable for such Colonies, Nos. 2, 3, 4, and 5, are now occupied by mission stations, or the occupation of them is seriously contemplated, as will be seen when we come to consider what each mission separately promises to undertake.

There should be, 2ndly, European protection and superintendence.

3rdly. Industrial training for all, and education varying according to the capacity of the pupils.

4thly. Such freedom of action for individuals, and for the whole body of adults, as may ensure its becoming the germ of a free, self-sustaining community.

All these last three requisites are provided by some of the missions, and might be provided by all.

Regarding these institutions, I would beg to refer for details to the inclosures, and will merely now note briefly the chief characteristics of each, and the points in which I think their present arrangement might be usefully adopted as a model, added to, or altered and improved.

(1.) The Universities Mission was originally organized by Bishop Mackenzie in 1860 as a mission to the tribes of Shire and Lake Nyassa. Its head-quarters were established by his successor Bishop Tozer, in 1864 at Zanzibar, where they have now commodious mission-houses, schools, two small plots of ground for cultivation, and a printing press. Universities Mission.

On the main-land they have, at Magila, a small house and plot of land, in charge of a native catechist, a long day's journey inland from Morongo, a small port north of the Pangani River. The station is in the district called Mtangata in the Usambara country, in the territory of a native chief who considers himself independent of Zanzibar. It is capable of indefinite extension, and is extremely well placed for communication with the interior.

The missionaries have laboured at Zanzibar to train selected lads for school teaching and for pastoral work, giving, for this purpose, a good deal of attention to both English and the native languages.

In both respects they have been successful; a fair proportion of the pupils have a useful knowledge of English, and all have learned to read and write their own language, or at least Swahili, the general language of the coast, in English character, in a manner which has hardly been attempted by other missions, and which leaves little to be desired.

This is mainly due to the labours of Dr. Steere, which are more fully described in the inclosed memorandum.* He has furnished any one who can read English with the means of thoroughly mastering Swahili, the most generally useful of East African languages, and greatly facilitated the acquisition of three others commonly spoken by slaves.

Very excellent work, in these languages and in English, is turned out at the Mission-press, the whole being composed, set up, and printed off by negro lads and young men.

It is difficult to over-estimate the value of Dr. Steere's labours in these two branches of mission work; and nothing more seems wanting in either, than to continue and extend what has been so well begun.

In the benefits of both, as most important auxiliaries in the suppression of the Slave Trade, and in the general civilization of East Africa, the Government partly participates. It is to this Mission also that we must, for the present, mainly look for a supply of well-educated interpreters, able to read and write both English and Swahili.

Judged as a whole, for the secular purposes we are now more immediately considering, the main defect of the Mission seems to me to be the want of more industrial teaching in mechanical arts or agriculture; many even of the best-selected lads have absolutely no capacity for intellectual acquirement by means of reading or writing, and I have heard of what were called "lamentable failures," so called simply because a boy, who was quite willing to work in the fields for his living, but had no capacity for any but bodily exercises, ran away from his lessons.

If I might presume to advise the Bishop and the missionaries, I would introduce a far larger industrial element into their schools. Every one should learn a trade or mechanical art of some kind, or sufficient of agriculture to support himself. The teaching might be such as a good native artizan, or mechanic or cultivator, could impart—to which might be added tentatively, and with caution, instruction in European methods and the use of European tools, which are not invariably adapted to African habits and necessities. Every boy should, I think, be taught to make himself useful in building a hut, in cultivating, in managing a boat or fishing-canoe, washing, making, and mending his own clothes and shoes, and his nets and fishing-tackle, &c., after the native fashion, with European improvements only when clearly seen to be better than the native ways.

Elementary instruction sufficient to read and write in their own language might probably be imparted to all; but only the apter pupils should be required to learn English.

There is room for something being done in this way on the ground which Bishop Tozer has already acquired, but more space is needed and might be acquired on the island or on the mainland, if the plans for extension which the Mission has in view can be carried out.

On the island it might be found in a small shamba or plantation, such as the Consul would have to provide for the temporary reception of any batch of liberated slaves which might be brought in, pending adjudication or awaiting distribution. The Consul, instead of himself undertaking the maintenance of such a plantation, might make it over to be managed by the Mission, if the latter were able to undertake it, and the arrangement might be made an economical one for both parties.

* See p. 129.

Nothing could be better placed, for all the purposes which Government has in view, than the missionary outpost at Magila, on the borders of the Usambara country. But unless Mr. Allington, the missionary who selected the station, should return, the mission must be strengthened, and some time must elapse before it would be safe to send thither liberated slaves.

The same may be said of Dar-es-Salaam, about midway between the delta of the Lufiji and the delta of the Kingani, near Bagamoyo—to the occupation of which, as a station on the mainland, the attention of the Universities Mission has been for some time directed.

In its present state, this Mission could take charge of a considerable number of children at Zanzibar, if they were gradually added to the present charge; and I understand from Dr. Steere that almost any number which is likely to offer could be taken in charge, if some notice were given to prepare for their reception.

French Mission.

(2.) The French Mission has been established for several years at Zanzibar, where they have extensive mission premises in the town, and a small plantation two or three miles off. In the town, besides the accommodation required for the Brethren and their pupils, the chapel, &c., they have a forge and smith's workshop, where a great deal of engine work is turned out by the pupils. Besides attending school, where they get a good elementary education in French, they have learned to form a military band, and some of them prove very apt musical scholars.

The Brethren used to have a hospital, where they gave gratuitous attendance and medicine. The institution was a great blessing to the town and to the shipping in harbour; but since the French Government have been compelled to withdraw the services of the surgeon who was formerly allowed to the institution, the Brethren have been obliged to close their hospital to all but special cases of Europeans, who are still received and tended by the Brethren as far as their means and skill allow.

But their principal station is at the establishment of Notre Dame de Bagamoyo, near the mouth of the Kingani, on the mainland opposite Zanzibar, to the detailed account of which, as given in inclosures, I would request special attention.*

Here have been established, for about four and a half years, four Sisters of Charity from a convent at Réunion, and five Brethren under two Fathers of the order of St. Esprit et du St. Cœur de Marie, the head-quarters of which are at No. 30, Rue Lhomond, in Paris. They train about 15 adult liberated Africans, and about 150 boys and 100 girls, for the most part liberated slaves captured by British cruisers. They have about eighty acres of land reclaimed from the African forest, and in cultivation, and had built wholesome and sufficient buildings, including a chapel and a library, separate huts for sick and visitors, &c., when the hurricane of last year destroyed the whole, with the exception of one hut; and though, providentially, no life was lost, the whole place was for the time utterly ruined. The Brethren are now, as far as their means will permit, rebuilding everything in a more permanent style.

I can suggest no change in the general arrangements of the institution, with any view to increase its efficiency as an industrial and civilizing agency, and in that point of view I would recommend it as a model to be followed in any attempt to civilize or evangelize Africa. All that can be desired in its secular arrangements—and of them alone I am now speaking—is an extension of the means which have been so well applied by Père Horner and his reverend colleagues. There is little room for expansion where they now are, but a branch establishment may be formed at a little distance in the interior, which would materially aid all the objects of the parent institution.

Possibly the Fathers may be able to obtain for themselves all they require for the formation of such a branch establishment, or for any additions they may require to the land they now hold near Bagamoyo. But should they require and wish for assistance, I think it should be afforded to them by the British Consul in the same way as I have proposed for the Universities Mission, without reference to the nationality of an institution so judiciously promoting the objects which the British Government has in view for the freedom and civilization of East Africa.

I gathered from the reverend Fathers that there was practically no limit to the number of children they could accommodate, if they were added gradually so as to admit of their labour aiding in the expense of their maintenance, or if payments were made for such as could earn nothing for their own support.

Church Missionary Society's Mission.

(3.) The Church Missionary Society has, for many years past, had a mission at Mombassa, with a branch establishment at Kissoludini close to Rabbai, about six miles from the head of a branch of the great estuary, the mouth of which forms the port of Mombassa.

* Appendix C.

When we visited these places Mr. Rebmann was the only European missionary present. He probably ranks among the oldest and most learned missionaries now in Africa, and has laboured longer on the East Coast than any one now living there. He has specially devoted himself to the study of the native languages, and, besides some translations of the Scriptures, has completed three dictionaries of the Nyassa, the Kanika, and the Swahili tongues, two of which are absolutely ready for the printer, whilst the third only requires transcription. His health has of late years quite failed him, and I much fear that, unless relieved, he may die at his post, and many of the invaluable collections, the results of so many years of literary toil, may be lost, as he is unwilling to part with them. He has been unable of late years to take much active part in more direct missionary work, and we found but eight converts at Kissoludini, and five of them belonged to two families which had joined from the African Orphanage at Nassick, near Bombay. Mr. Rebmann has insuperable scruples regarding the admission of anything like an industrial or worldly element into the teaching or action of the Mission, and his influence has consequently been limited to the example of a holy life of ascetic self-denial, and indifference to all worldly enjoyments and employments, which have had the usual effect of exciting the admiration, without securing the imitation, of the people around him.

I gathered, however, from the conversations I had with Mr. George David, a very intelligent catechist whom we found in charge at Kissoludini, that he had no doubt of the success of any extension of the Mission which should give to it more of an industrial element, similar to that in which he was himself trained at Nassick. The people around are willing enough to come and listen, and approve of the truths they hear. But if, when they ask what they shall do, the missionary declines to follow St. Paul's or St. John the Baptist's example, and simply exhorts them to believe, they are too often inclined to defer compliance to some more convenient season, and to conclude that Christianity is compatible with no worldly status but that of the ascetic, or the salaried teacher of a foreign dogma.

Mr. George David had no doubt that, if set to agriculture or other industrial occupations, numbers of the people round would flock to the Mission. It would be difficult to find a better situation for it, in every point of view; and I feel assured that, if placed under a Superintendent, who, like Mr. Price at Nassick, added to judicious missionary zeal great powers of organization, results might be secured far surpassing what I have witnessed at Nassick, for there is a total absence of the old fossilized superstitious caste-prejudices and social difficulties which form so powerful an obstacle to the labours of the missionary in India.

The buildings erected by Mr. Rebmann at Kissoludini are well-planned and substantial as far as they are completed, and the establishment is in every way capable of indefinite expansion.

(4.) Much of what has been stated of Kissoludini is, to some extent, true of Ribe, the station of the United Methodist Free Churches, where Messrs. New and Wakefield have been labouring for the last ten or eleven years. Both gentlemen are distinguished for the great additions they have made to geographical knowledge during extended missionary tours to the snowy mountain, Kilimanjaro, and into the Galla country. We saw, at their ordinary Sunday school assemblies and services, between 40 and 50 converts and inquirers, many of them Gallas, members of broken tribes harassed by Masai and Somali inroads. They had sought refuge with the missionaries, whose acquaintance they had made during their tours, and they testified to a wide-spread impression that peace and good-will, so rare in their own country, were characteristics of the Christian settlement.

Methodist Mission.

Here, as at the neighbouring mission, the most conspicuous defect seemed to me the want of a larger admixture of the industrial element, of more direct teaching how to live in this world, as well as how to prepare for that which is to come.

I gathered that the experience of Mr. and Mrs. Wakefield, the only Europeans whom we found at Ribe, was in accordance with my own observation, and that they were quite willing to carry out any plan which might be approved by the Directors of their Society at home for organizing their converts into a civilized industrial community.

I have ventured to communicate to these gentlemen the impressions made on me during my brief visit, and the suggestions which some experience of life in the tropics enabled me to offer. Meantime, till the number of European missionaries is increased, only a very few liberated slaves can be made over to their care; but the position is quite one of the best which could be selected for a free settlement, in the neighbourhood of an important seaport, and of established lines of communication along the coasts as well as into their interior.

I would suggest that the Consul be empowered to aid in acquiring any plots of

land in the neighbourhood of either mission, which may be required to receive any liberated slaves. I do not anticipate the slightest difficulty and very little expense in doing this, but it is a work in which the Consul should, I think, take a part; and the medical officer attached to the Consulate might usefully accompany his chief, and be consulted regarding many of the arrangements.

I saw at these stations, as elsewhere in East Africa, much which leaves on my mind the impression that the insalubrity which is now ascribed to the climate, is often due to a neglect of sanitary rules, which would cause similar results on any part of the coasts of India; and I, everywhere in Eastern Africa, found Europeans living in positions and under circumstances which any medical officer of ordinary experience in Indian cantonments would pronounce to be incompatible with healthy existence.

The Consulate should not again be left, as it has been for many months past, without any medical officer of any kind professionally attached to it. Not only should the post of the European medical assistant be kept filled up, but some small hospital establishment and dispensary should be allowed on the scale usually sanctioned for a small civil station in India, with accommodation such as would be required for the poor sick Europeans, of whom a few, from ships in harbour, are always needing shelter and aid; there should also be such sheds as may be wanted when, as frequently happens, a large number of slaves are landed, suffering from small-pox or other severe disease.

Much has been said at Zanzibar and elsewhere regarding the small number of actual converts, especially at the Church Missionary station. But it seems to me that, apart from their literary labours, if judged only by the character they have established among the people around them, Mr. Rebmann and his fellow missionaries have not lived or laboured in vain. They seemed to me to be regarded as beneficent superior beings, whose presence the simple tribes round were glad to secure, and whose precepts and example they would gladly follow. Everywhere the leading men of the petty tribes welcomed us, after their fashion, and more than once asked why we did not stay, with no apparent notion beyond the belief that we belonged to the same race, and had the same objects, as the missionaries. One of them, however, a very intelligent petty chief at Rabbai near Kissoludini, gave, as his reason for wishing us to stop, that "more missionaries would be a protection against the two greatest evils they feared—the inroads of the fierce cattle-lifting Masai, and the efforts of the coast people to make slaves of the Wanika, who had hitherto maintained comparative immunity from the inroads of slave-hunters."

I may remark, once and for all, that Christian missions present to the civil administration in East Africa none of the political difficulties with which we are familiar in India. Educated Mahomedans do not sympathize with the missionary; but, except slave-dealers, they will not oppose him, and the bulk of the African Moslem, who are very illiterate, are by no means averse to listen to him. By the negro, free or slave, he is everywhere regarded as a friend. The African is surprised to be told that the Great Spirit is not in a state of epicurean indifference to mundane affairs and quite incredulous as to the non-existence of the apparatus of witchcraft, and good and evil spirits by which he believes the world to be governed. As a rule, he is a materialist and positivist of the most practical character; but he has not the slightest objection of any kind, moral or material, political or social, to the missionary, whom he regards as a very amiable and inexplicable, but in many ways most useful, enthusiast, whom he is glad to welcome as doing him good in many ways, and greatly adding to the comfort and importance of the tribes in the midst of which a mission station is established.

It will be seen that, of the eight places specified above as desirable positions for establishments of liberated slaves, four only are occupied—

- Mombassa (Church Missionary Society and Methodist Free Churches);
- Near Pangani River, Magila (Universities Mission);
- Near Kingani River, Bagamoyo (French Mission);
- Dar-es-Salaam, proposed to be occupied by the Universities Mission.

Whilst four remain to be provided for, viz. :—

- (1.) Near Port Durnford, or some other point as far north as possible between Lamoo and Warsheek.

To this part of the coast slave-dhows running north are generally obliged to resort for water. There is also a considerable local demand for southern slaves among the Somalis, where they fetch a higher price than at Muscat, and from 2,000 to 4,000 are said to be taken annually. High-priced Galla and Abyssinian slaves are also often exported. Nothing is likely so effectually to check this traffic as a free settlement, under resident European superintendence—the further north the better. Port Durnford is an excellent harbour, easily accessible, and is said to be a peculiarly healthy place; but the

best spot can only be decided on after a careful examination of the coast by the person who is to have charge of the settlement. This remark is generally applicable to the other three places named.

(2.) A settlement near Kilwa, which would act on one of the principal slave routes, and on the great port of slave export trade of Zanzibar. I have no doubt a comparatively healthy spot might be found on the sea-shore in the neighbourhood, from which a position might subsequently be taken up further inland.

The same may be said of the other two spots named, viz. :—

(3.) Near Lindy, or some other of the ports north of the Rovuma; and

(4.) South of the Rovuma, as near as possible to the Portuguese frontier.

The object of all these settlements should be to form a basis, whence it may be possible to carry out Dr. Livingstone's original idea of acting on the Slave Trade from the interior. I found that all the persons best acquainted with the coast and the Slave Trade were convinced that it is only from the interior that any extensive and permanent effect can be produced on the slave-hunting ground.

No one seemed to doubt the essential soundness and feasibility of Dr. Livingstone's plans; but all agreed that a good and permanent base on the sea-coast was an essential preliminary, and this it need not take long to establish.

The Universities Mission has never, I believe, given up the hope of resuming this part of Bishop Mackenzie's plan, and one or other of the four places I have named is very likely to be taken up by them. For the others, I would trust to the efforts of private individuals or missionary societies; for I believe a very considerable extension of missionary enterprize on this coast may be confidently looked for.

The same may be expected of commercial enterprize; and in the event of any respectable European setting up on the coast a plantation like that of Captain Fraser or Mr. Sunley, I would authorize the Consul to deal with him as with a mission, always remembering the less permanent character of his establishment. Sometimes it might be desirable to have a separate Government shamba or plantation, but I would avoid this if possible, so that the status of the liberated slave might, as nearly as possible, resemble that of an ordinary freed man, with the additional protection which he derived from being registered as under British protection.

I have suggested no separate establishments to be formed by Government, from a sense that Government could not do the work so well or so cheaply as the missionary societies or private individuals. But Government should contribute effective pecuniary aid; and I would beg attention to what is said by Père Horner, in Appendix C, as indicating what may be considered the reasonable expectations of one of the best-informed and best-organized of the existing institutions.

I would authorize the Consul to contribute whatever he may consider a reasonable amount, in every case in which the Consul may avail himself of the agency of a missionary society, or of any private establishment, to take charge of children, or of adults who are not in a condition at once to earn their own livelihood.

Under no circumstances should anything be allowed to be paid into any British Treasury for the services of a liberated African, either on the ground of paying for his outfit or on any other pretence whatever. I have no doubt that it was a misunderstanding of the reason for some repayment of expenses of clothing and keep which gave rise to the misrepresentations regarding the disposal of liberated slaves at Seychelles and elsewhere. When a liberated slave is "assigned" to a planter, who pays so many pounds for his keep and clothing before he was assigned, it is difficult for either the slave or the bystander to understand that the liberated slave's services have not been sold as really and effectually as if the money had been paid to the slave-owner before the man was freed.

I would require constant supervision, and an annual report by the Consul, in all cases where large bodies of liberated slaves are collected together, so that Government may be able to judge how far the expectations with which the freed men were disposed of have been fulfilled.

For this, among other objects connected with the suppression of the Slave Trade, every facility should be afforded to the Consul and his assistants to visit all parts of the coast.

Rules regarding registration, &c., of liberated slaves, their terms of service, certificates of freedom, &c., should be laid down and carefully observed.

I think it probable that the measures I have suggested will provide for many more liberated slaves than are ever likely to require to be disposed of; and it is, therefore, unnecessary at present to discuss at length the proposals which have been made for other more distant places as depôts for the purpose, *e.g.*, at Seychelles. The Commissioner,

Mr. Franklyn, is most anxious to receive any liberated slaves. The Governor of Mauritius, Sir Arthur Gordon, considers that from 200 to 400 adults can be annually disposed of at Seychelles. At Natal, apparently, the demand for them is unlimited; and at some of the colonies in the West India Islands Sir Philip Wodehouse has been good enough to ascertain that the planters would be glad to pay all the cost of the voyage if liberated slaves can be sent to them.

Johanna seems to me to afford an opening for disposing of any possible surplus, which is every way preferable to any more distant place. It can be visited without taking ships off the station; it is an excellent place for the refreshment of crews; and, with the exception of one defect, seems as well fitted as any place can be to fulfil all the requirements of the case.

The objections which have been stated to Johanna have been almost entirely removed by the agreement entered into by the King as reported in my despatch of the 12th March. Under that engagement all immigrants to Johanna are declared free. There is already in Johanna a considerable proportion of free labour, and it is to be hoped the island will no longer be entirely destitute of Consular supervision. The character of the Johanna men does not stand high among the people of this region in regard to scrupulous truthfulness or honesty, but there can be no doubt they are more intelligent, and in many respects more civilized, than their neighbours.

Lastly, in Mr. Sunley's presence and example we have the best security for the good treatment of any liberated slaves who may be sent to the island whilst he resides there; and the effect of the excellent example he has set, and which the King and his people are now following, will not be limited to the duration of his personal presence on the island.

I consider, therefore, that Johanna is, on the whole, as good a place as could be selected for placing those liberated slaves who cannot be disposed of at Zanzibar or on the mainland.

The one desideratum I have alluded to is some provision for the education of the young; but this, I have no doubt, will in time be provided by some missionary societies, as the island would in many respects prove an excellent centre for missionary operations.

Most of those who have discussed the provision to be made for liberated slaves, especially when writing from a distance, have expressed anxiety regarding their protection, unless they are placed on British territory. I would, for many reasons, myself be glad to see the establishment of a British Settlement, under the British flag, as by far the best and most perfect arrangement which could be made with a view to the effectual and permanent improvement and civilization of Eastern Africa. But I cannot say that I think it by any means absolutely necessary to the security of the liberated slave against re-enslavement. Every liberated slave duly registered will be under the protection of the British flag; and I have no reason to think that protection would be insufficient, if our officers on the spot are supported in doing their duty, as they have always done it in time past.

I may mention, as an instance in point, the case of the slaves belonging to British Indian subjects set free by General Rigby. It has been said that the registration and subsequent supervision of these men was not very perfectly carried out at the time, nor very carefully attended to subsequently. I was unable to ascertain that there was any foundation for either statement, but I am satisfied that, even if true to the fullest extent stated, there is no reason to suppose that the measure was either incomplete or ineffectual. Many years have passed since it was carried out; but it is still frequently alluded to by men of all classes at Zanzibar as a great and striking instance of the power, as well as the disinterested motives, of the British Government; and I never at Zanzibar heard a doubt expressed as to its having secured completely and permanently the effect intended.

A very intelligent member of the body of Indians affected by it, when urging on me the necessity for a complete and final settlement of the Slave Trade question, observed that no one, except the actual slave-traders, was likely to suffer, provided the measures adopted were final and decisive. "Did not we Indians," he said, "think that we were all ruined when Rigby Sahib liberated our slaves? Yet no one was the worse for it, no one lost a servant worth keeping, and no one now wishes to bring back the old state of things. None but Arab pirates from the Gulf, who will rob even the Sultan himself, dare to touch a man freed by the Consul; and since it was done we have all prospered in trade as we never did before."

(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

April 13, 1873.

APPENDIX (A).

Memorandum by Major Euan Smith on the Orphanage at Aden.

The Lady Prioress of the Convent of the Good Shepherd states that in 1868-69 the convent first began to receive released slaves from Government, and that it is "principally for them that the nuns of the 'Good Shepherd' now remain in Aden." The convent could not now give accommodation to more than fifty children, including those at present under its charge—eleven in number; should Government wish to place a larger number under their charge a school would have to be built for them. The average cost of each child per annum is stated to be 7*l.*, but the nuns would gladly receive all children for 5*l.* per head per annum, trusting to the child to earn the rest.

The instruction given to the children is in reading, writing, and religion, and also sewing and household work generally. The children remain with the nuns until married or placed in service, but "those who wish to remain are never forced to leave." Their age, when received, varies from six to eleven, and though morose and apathetic at first, they soon improve under the influence of kind treatment, and prove themselves, with few exceptions, tractable and intelligent.

The Préfet Apostolique of the Roman Catholic Mission at Aden also expresses his desire to "form an establishment at Aden, composed entirely of liberated slaves, who would be brought up to different trades, such as masons, carpenters, shoemakers, tailors, bookbinders," &c. For the moment he says that "accommodation could only be afforded for thirty, but after a short time a much larger number might be taken, as a school is already built, and will be vacant after some months." The Reverend Father adds that the terms on which the boys would be received are similar to those which the nuns consider necessary for the girls, *i.e.*, 5*l.* per annum.

These two establishments afford an excellent asylum for liberated slave children at a very moderate rate; and they might very conveniently be made use of for slaves taken by our cruisers within the neighbourhood of Aden. The rate demanded for the children seems small, and they are certain to receive kind and liberal treatment at the hands of the Brethren and Sisters.

In the case of slaves remaining at either establishment until grown up and able to earn their own livelihood, the Government rate should be reduced in proportion as the slave was able to work for himself.

It may be added that, on the inspection of the slave children by Sir Bartle Frere on his way to Zanzibar in January 1873, all appeared healthy, happy, and contented; the advantages offered by the care of the Sisters and Brethren, the salubrity of Aden itself, and the absolute security assured to the liberated slave, together with the facility of supervision which might be exercised, if necessary, by the Government authorities, are strong arguments for the establishment of a small settlement of liberated slaves at Aden.

(Signed) C. B. EUAN SMITH, *Major,*
Private Secretary.

APPENDIX (B).

Zanzibar Universities' Mission.

While at Zanzibar I put some queries to Dr. Steere, and he was kind enough, in reply, to give me the following information.—H. B. E. F.

Questions submitted to Dr. Steere.

1. Numbers of negroes attached to Mission?
2. Adults? Children? Male? Female?
3. Numbers received from the British Government?
4. Ordinary employment of all classes?

Answers to Queries.

1. The Universities Mission has had under its care, since its arrival in Zanzibar, 78 boys and 32 girls, in all 110 children; of these, all, except five boys, were released slaves. Fourteen of the boys were taken out of slave-dhows by Seyyid Majid, and put by him under the care of the Mission; two boys and one girl were procured by Europeans (not

British subjects) residing in Zanzibar, and given over by them to the Mission; the rest were all taken by English men-of-war. Nineteen children have died; three of the girls are married; two of the boys are sub-deacons—one is at the Magila mission station, the other is preparing to go there; one old scholar is chief assistant in the printing office, another is employed about the mission premises, one is engaged as servant to Bishop Tozer, four are in service in the town of Zanzibar, three are engaged as pupil teachers in the school, four have in various ways turned out badly. Forty-two boys and twenty-two girls are now in the schools.

2. The cost of maintenance has been calculated at 6*l.* a year, which has hitherto been amply sufficient; prices are, however, continually rising, and living is perceptibly more expensive than it was a few years ago.

3. The slaves under the charge of the Mission have been taught the ordinary subjects of primary education, including the English language. They are lodged in the mission-houses, and their conduct has generally been very good. The boys are now printing some elementary school-books in Swahili, as it is desirable that all should learn and be able to teach in that language, while only those who show some special aptitude need be taught English or any other language.

4. One piece of ground was till lately occupied by the two sub-deacons, who made some profit out of it—I cannot say to what extent. Various attempts have been made on a small scale, but the land near the school-house is exceedingly infertile, and that at Mbweni, which is very good, is not conveniently situated in regard to the boys' school. Bishop Tozer purchased it with a view to planting out upon it adult released slaves, but none were ever actually received. It must be observed that the object of our schools was to train missionaries, and only indirectly for the benefit of released slaves.

5. Land can only be purchased in Zanzibar from time to time as opportunity offers. There is no great stretch of fertile land which is not already occupied, and many of the native owners are exceedingly unwilling to sell to European purchasers. I do not think that any colony of released slaves could be planted in the Island of Zanzibar itself with a reasonable prospect of success.

6. The mission boys do the work of the house, keep the land in order, so far as their other occupations allow, and work the printing press. They have several times been employed in carpentering work under a European teacher, but never with much success, owing partly to failures in health and other defects in the teachers, and partly to the fact that European tools and methods are not very well adapted to native habits and wants. The fact is that, except for supplying the wants of European residents, European or Europeanizing mechanics are not wanted at all. Our Mission has always aimed at keeping natives still in native dress and habits.

7. The Universities Mission is at present represented by myself, and I have more to do than I can properly attend to. To speak frankly, I think our proper work is among the heathen in their own homes, and not among released slaves. If our friends at home wish it, and will send out two or three competent men, I think a settlement of released slaves might be formed somewhere on the mainland under authority, and on land granted by Seyyid Burgash; and I should suggest Dar-es-Salaam as a good situation. It would be necessary to maintain all persons landed there until their first crop was ready for use. At present I should be glad to take in ten or twenty girls more, but I had rather not have any increase in the number of our boys.

8. Our station at Magila is intended as a point of departure for preaching amongst the Shambala. It is a long day's journey inland, nearly opposite the middle of the Island of Pemba. Permission to settle there was given by the then King of the Shambala to the Rev. C. A. Allington. The Mission has no definite property, except the houses actually occupied by its members. There is land capable of use for pasturage and for growing corn, but nearly all of it is already occupied. The soil is, I believe, fertile, the natives friendly, and the climate at least as good as that of Zanzibar. The Government is very unsettled; a war of disputed succession has been going on for ten or twelve years among the Shambala, and is not yet ended, though just now there is a sort of truce arising from the exhaustion of the country generally. The access from the coast is as easy as on most usual roads, but not at all specially so; and any large settlement of released slaves would, I feel sure, be regarded by all parties with great suspicion. I ought to mention that I have never seen Magila, and therefore only speak from what I have heard from those who have visited it. I think that Dar-es-Salaam is the only spot near Zanzibar which offers any special advantages for a new Settlement, but I believe that there are many eligible places to the south of Kilwa. From the little I have seen of that coast, I should expect it to prove healthy, but rather barren. I have seen very little really fertile land in Eastern Africa, and I think its general fertility has been very much

exaggerated by Dr. Livingstone, and by others who have echoed his statements. I think any convenient harbour under British Government would very soon draw away the trade from Zanzibar, and become the emporium of Eastern Africa. I think that in most places released slaves would be able to get food for themselves after a season or two. I think that they would soon increase and improve under any regular Government; but I do not think that European methods could be rapidly introduced, unless under some system of modified slavery. I think negroes are most out of the reach of the slave-dealer when residing on the coast. It would be impossible to hold any district of the country as free soil at a distance in the interior without a strong European force. It must be remembered that there is a Slave Trade into the interior as well as to the coast.

(Signed) EDWARD STEERE.

Zanzibar, January 15, 1873.

Dr. Steere subsequently forwarded to me copies of some of his Reports to the Committee of the Mission in England.

The following extracts will be found to contain much useful information relative to the best mode of dealing with liberated slaves. One omission regarding the Mission work I wish to supply, by pointing out the benefit that has accrued not only to the Mission, but also to Government, by Dr. Steere's labours in the native languages of Africa. The results are, in my opinion, so important that I consider they would alone amply repay the trouble and expense incurred by the Mission. Dr. Steere has established an excellent printing-press at Kangani, having already published in London the following books:—

“Steere's Swahili Tales.” Bell and Daldy, 1870.

“Handbook of the Swahili Language.” Ditto.

“Katekismo.” (Swahili.) Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.

“Scriptural Reading Lessons.” (Swahili.) Ditto.

“Psalms of David.” (Swahili.) Ditto.

“Collections for the Yao Language.” Ditto.

“Collections for the Shambala Language.” Ditto.

“Collections for the Nyamwesi Language.” Ditto.

In addition to these works, Dr. Steere has in preparation and in printing at Kingani elementary books for instruction in arithmetic, reading, &c., chiefly in Swahili. These works cannot fail to be of great use to his fellow missionaries, and to all foreigners on the coast.

2. The only other point, in connection with the following extracts, on which I think it necessary to remark, is with regard to the salubrity of Zanzibar. I cannot but think that Dr. Steere takes too unfavourable a view of the effects of the climate: Zanzibar and the East Coast of Africa appear to me to be unhealthy from the same causes, and apparently not in much greater degree, than the West Coast of India; and the precautions taken in the latter place for the preservation of health would probably be equally efficacious if strictly observed in Zanzibar and East Africa. Caution against unnecessary exposure either to the sun or malaria, care with regard to drinking-water and food, and other obvious sanitary precautions, would probably go as far to lower the rate of mortality in Africa as they have done during the memory of living men in India.

(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE

Extracts from a Memorandum on the Present State and Prospects of the Central African Mission.—By Dr. Steere, D.C.L., &c., &c.

As the Universities Mission seems to have arrived at a crisis in its history, it is desirable that a clear account of its present position should be laid before those interested in its work; such an account I have, therefore, endeavoured to draw up. We are actually at work in three distinct places:—

1. At Magila, among the heathen.

2. In Zanzibar itself we have a girls' school, a vernacular service with an exposition of the Gospel every Sunday afternoon, daily prayers in Swahili and in English, and a weekly evening service with sermon, and Holy Communion twice in the month for the European residents.

3. At Kingani, close to Zanzibar, we have our boys' school, and college for mission students. There are, of course, regular services in the chapel in English and in the vernacular. We have a printing-press at work, from which we have just issued, as the first of our school series, a Swahili spelling-book. An elementary arithmetic and a first reading-book are now in the press; we have also just begun to print Mr. Pennell's version

of St. Luke's Gospel. Some hymns, a first catechism, and the Litany in Swahili have been printed since my arrival in Zanzibar in March 1872. Some of the boys work a saw-pit, and help in carpentering; the rest are engaged in bringing the land into order and cultivation.

The special subjects on which our friends will look to us for information are, probably, the nature and prospect of our directly Mission work, the results and present state of our school work, the share we can take in the crusade against slavery, and the propriety of remaining at Zanzibar in spite of our many losses.

I have tried to deal with these several matters as briefly and clearly as possible, and have subjoined an account of the property belonging to the Mission, with a list of its working members. Upon the data thus furnished, our friends at home will, I hope, be able to form a tolerably good judgment as to the results of past work, and the best form in which to proceed for the future.

Mission-work on the Mainland.—A station has been established at a place called Magila, one long day's journey from the coast. It is now occupied by Samuel Speare, missionary student and sub-deacon, and Francis Mabruki, native sub-deacon.

This site was selected chiefly with a view to health and convenience. There is much talk in England about "healthy highlands," but, so far as we can learn, there are none such. The truth seems to be that the fresh cool air of any elevated region has for a time a very invigorating effect, and therefore every one, who stays only for a few days or weeks, feels that the situation must be a healthy one. Such an opinion, however, is not confirmed by longer experience. It will be found that the spots described as unhealthy are chiefly those where some European has made a prolonged stay, and those described as healthy are those which have been visited for a short time only. There are, however, manifest advantages in an elevated location in such a climate as this; and as our experience on the Morumbala showed that a mountain swept by winds, that had passed over a large swampy district, was not exempt from the usual marsh fevers, we looked out for high land as near the coast as possible, in order to avoid the miasma. The most promising in every way seemed to be the mountain district known as Usambara. The mountains there come nearer to the coast than in any other place within the scope of our mission, and they are so near as to be, in very clear weather, visible from the town of Zanzibar. Besides this, Dr. Krapf had always pointed to the Shambala country (Usambara) as peculiarly eligible as a mission field; and we had the good fortune to make the acquaintance of a singularly sensible and intelligent man, named Munyi Hatibu, who lives at Mworongo, the landing-place where the route into the Shambala country leaves the coast. All these considerations determined Bishop Tozer to attempt a first main-land station among these mountains. A vocabulary of the Shambala language was collected, and as soon as circumstances permitted, the Rev. C. A. Allington was sent up with two native boys as interpreters and attendants, to choose a site.

After long delays and much unsatisfactory negotiation, the King of the country sent him to Magila, as the best or only place within his dominions where he would at that time allow him to build or to make any settlement.

Mr. Allington was shortly after called back to England by a summons that could not be resisted, and then the charge of the Shambala mission was given to the Rev. L. Fraser. Mr. Fraser preached in the villages within his reach, and instructed the children who were willing to be taught. His holy life and conversation had a great effect upon the natives with whom he came in contact, and his lessons are well remembered. He was hoping soon to have had some natives prepared for baptism, when he was called away during the frightful prevalence of cholera in this part of Eastern Africa. He was to have been succeeded by the Rev. O. Handcock, after whose sudden and premature death Magila remained unoccupied (except that it was visited twice by Bishop Tozer) until October 1872, when the two sub-deacons were sent up with instructions to occupy the post, and carry on such work as they could, until a clergyman could be found to superintend it. Their last letters spoke of themselves as settling down, and making arrangements for commencing a school, and some kind of public catechising or preaching.

The mission has an iron house and two large thatched native huts; the sub-deacons proposed to set up another as a school and temporary church.

The prospects of this mission cannot be well understood without a short account of the country and its government.

The coast is occupied by the Swahili—a mixed race of Arabs and negroes. They hold only the villages or small towns on the sea, and the gardens and plantations adjoining. The Swahili are all Mahomedans, chiefly of the Shafi sect. Behind their plantations lies a strip of country covered with long grass, and very scantily supplied

with water. It is partly occupied by a negro tribe, the Wadigo, who have their chief settlements to the northward. Where the hills begin to show themselves distinctly lie the villages of the half Swahili people, called by the coast men Washenzi, *i.e.*, wild folk, and by the people of the mountains Waboonde, *i.e.*, valley people. They talk a dialect of Swahili much mixed with Shambala words and phrases. The mountains themselves are occupied by the Shambala; but there is at least one large valley running up among them, which is occupied by the Zegulas, who are their next neighbours to the southward.

Mr. Allington was very much disappointed at being sent back from Vuga, the chief town of the Shambala, to a place so near the coast as Magila. The reasons which swayed the native counsels seem to have been partly superstitious and partly political. The Shambala are a very shy and separate race. No foreigner was allowed to enter their chief town, and every means was ordinarily used to keep them at a distance; it happened besides, at this particular time, that no place in their own country would have been really a safe one.

In Dr. Krapf's time they were ruled by an old king, named Kimweri, who had a very extensive influence. On his death great confusion followed. The mountain people chose a grandson of his, who took the name Kimweri, and was in possession of Vuga at the time of Mr. Allington's visit. The lower country behind the mountains, that is, to the westward, was held by a son of old Kimweri's, named Semboja, and there was constant war between the two claimants. Before Mr. Allington left the country, young Kimweri died of small-pox, and was succeeded by a brother named Chenyegera. The war became more and more embittered, and Semboja, finding that the Shambalas would not receive him, encouraged all the neighbouring tribes to prey upon them. Chenyegera and his great men, finding themselves without money or arms, began selling their own people to the coast Arabs as slaves. Vuga was taken by Semboja and burnt, and a great part of the mountain country was depopulated and relapsed into forest land. At last the people rose upon their chiefs, and killed most of them, and so a peace of exhaustion has come at last. Semboja is in possession of most of the country, and is rebuilding Vuga. He is a Mahomedan, and has been supposed throughout to have had the silent support of the Zanzibar Arabs. Chenyegera is among the mountains, not very far from Magila. This last place itself has not been touched by the war, being geographically and politically in the Shambala country, but in language belonging to the valley people. These last have lately been at war with the Dagos, so that just now the coast Swahili are carrying on all the trade with Magila, the valley people being afraid to venture through the country of their enemies. There is now no actual fighting, and probably there will be no more for some time to come, as all parties are thoroughly worn out. The Shambala wars are said to have increased the population near Magila, many of the mountain people having come coastwards for safety.

The station at Magila may be viewed as the first station among the Shambala, or as a starting-point for missions among them, and an actual occupation of the Boonde or low country; any station nearer the coast would be surrounded by Mahomedans. Through the Shambala country lies the road to the Wateila, Wassara, Wachaga, and other tribes about Kilimanjaro, the great snowy mountain.

It may be worth consideration whether anything could be attempted among the Dagos. The next tribe to the northward are the Nyikas, where the Church Missionary Society has long been at work, and the United Free Methodists have also a station. In my own judgment, we should do better to attempt the tribes to the southward.

South of the Shambala lie the Zegulas, a very warlike and very barbarous tribe; next to them the Zaramos, through whose country lies the direct road to Ujiji and the great lakes. The chief tribe in this direction are the Myamwezi, though many smaller ones lie on the road to them. A Myamwezi vocabulary has been collected, in case it should be determined to make a bold plunge towards the central tribes. At present, however, a war of very uncertain result is going on between the native Myamwezi and the Arab and Swahili settlers in their country, and nothing could be reasonably attempted until that war has been concluded. Indeed the road to Ujiji is practically closed to any but special expeditions.

South of the Zaramos lie the Gindos or Gendwas, and below them the Portuguese coast begins. Among the Gindos, not far from Lindy, between Kilwa and the Rovuma, a body of Yaos have settled, and are giving the coast people much trouble by receiving runaway slaves, and occasionally plundering the coast traders. Behind the Gindos, between them and the Lake Nyassa, lie the Yaos, and beyond it the Nyassas and the Bisas. I mention only the most important tribes, and that by their usual names. The Yaos are the Achawa of our earliest reports, and the Mang'aiya were Nyassas.

It is in this direction that our work ought most naturally to develop itself, and

Bishop Tozer has always contemplated a journey to the Lake Nyassa. The great hindrance has been the devastation of the country by the Maviti, probably the Mazitu of Dr. Livingstone's earlier books. They have swept the country up to Kilwa, plundering and murdering everywhere. Their chief seats are said now to be on the Rovuma, they having suffered severe losses in their attacks upon some of the most powerful Yao chieftains. A great stretch of country on the road to the Nyassa is now a wilderness.

As a starting-point on the road to the lakes, the caravans usually cross to Bagamoyo for Ujiji, and go down to Kilwa for the Nyassa. Bagamoyo is occupied by an extensive settlement under the care of a French Roman Catholic mission, which has also houses in Zanzibar itself. At a short distance to the south lies Dar-es-Salam, which the Sultan of Zanzibar's predecessor intended to make the starting-point for all caravans going into or coming from any part of the interior. From Dar-es-Salam to Kilwa the coast is little known, and is reputed to be very unhealthy. South of Kilwa there are many good harbours; the coast is often hilly, and there are many convenient landing-places. I have always myself thought of Lindy as one that might well be chosen. The further south one goes, the shorter the land journey to the Lake Nyassa becomes. In contemplation of mission work in this direction, we have collected a vocabulary of the Yao language, and hope some day to be allowed to use the very complete dictionary of the Nyassa language compiled by the Rev. John Rebmann of Kissoludini, near Mombassa, which now only exists in a jealously-guarded MS.

I do not see any reason why stations should not at once be planted among the Zegulas, the Zaramos, and the Gindos near the coast, or among the Yaos and Nyassas near Lake Nyassa, or among some of the tribes on the road to Ujiji. I feel sure that missionaries would be safe anywhere, and all the more so if they were known to carry no arms whatever: negroes are very seldom violent unless they are frightened, and, besides, there is nothing so tempting to a native thief as European fire-arms. It was a well-grounded boast of Dr. Krapf that he went with only an umbrella where others dare not venture fully armed. I believe myself that arms are a cause of insecurity, and can never be of any use to a missionary. The idea of founding a settlement by force ought not to be entertained for a moment. One may fight one's way through a country, but one can never hold it by violence; besides that, the secular business of a fighting chief would soon swallow up his missionary character. A king must tolerate many things which a bishop is bound to denounce.

The Slave Trade and Released Slaves.—The complete suppression of the Slave Trade and slavery can only come about by the Christianization of the Africans themselves. The coast Slave Trade is by no means the only one existing; slavery is found everywhere; and its mild character in the interior arises only from the same cause which makes Arab slavery lighter than slavery to Europeans, and that is, the smaller difference, morally and socially, between the slave and his master.

Slavery may be attacked politically or religiously—politically we may attack it by Treaties with native Powers, enforced by armed intervention; religiously it can only be attacked by self-sacrifice, and by acting upon the minds of those who uphold it. The two methods require very different men to carry them forward, and cannot both be attempted by the same persons with any reasonable chance of success.

The way in which slavery was actually destroyed in Christendom was by elevating the slave while still a slave. Christian slaves were such extraordinary good slaves that the masters and mistresses began to see a divine power working in them. It is to such a result that St. Paul points continually, and such results did actually follow; meanwhile, Christian masters became ashamed to use the powers which they by law possessed. A suppression of slavery brought about in this way must be final.

Leaving, therefore, to our political leaders the task of external repression, it belongs to us missionaries to aim at the internal work. As things actually are in Eastern Africa, our first thought will naturally be given to the released slaves, set free by English cruizers. It seems politicians consider that their work is done when the gift of political freedom is complete; we know that very much more is needed.

It is sometimes assumed that to put released slaves under the superintendence of Englishmen or Scotchmen is all that is needed. I wish it were so; but a little experience shows that, just as a European can be much better than a negro, so he can be much worse, and that when possessed of absolute power, and free from the control of home opinion, he probably will use the negro only to serve his own selfish ends, and cast him off as soon as he has served them. Neither by example, nor in any other way, are such Europeans as ordinarily settle in remote places likely to do any great amount of good to the negro.

Politically, the protection of the English name may save a released man in Eastern

Africa from being forcibly reinslaved; but, in order to do him much good, he must have a means of livelihood opened to him, and must be brought at least within hearing of Christian teaching.

So much has been said already on this subject, that one need only point out as the duty of this Mission to be ready to give all such help as the men and money at its command may allow to any and every scheme for the benefit of the slaves and released slaves within the district in which it works. It must not be forgotten, however, that missions in the interior are, after all, the chief means by which the regeneration of the negro must be accomplished.

We have taken in as many boys and girls as our funds allowed, and Bishop Tozer bought some land, with a view to planting out on it grown-up persons; whether more is to be done in this direction must depend upon our subscribers at home. I think myself that in our poverty the feeding and lodging of any except very promising children, who are likely to become missionaries or teachers, are not proper charges on the Mission funds.

Mission Schools and College.—The schools at Zanzibar were formed by Bishop Tozer for the purpose of educating missionaries and teachers, and their future wives, for work among the inland tribes. The scholars are now beginning to attain an age at which they may be actively employed. Three of the boys have been set apart as sub-deacons; of these, one was lost by the cholera, the other two are both married—one, John Swedi, is at present acting as a sort of assistant-chaplain at the school at Kingani; the other, Francis Mabruki, is working at the Shambala Mission station at Magila.

It was always hoped and intended that these schools should be filled by the children of converts, or by promising young people from the Mission stations among the inland tribes. The only scholars we have yet had answering this description were three Nyika lads from the Rev. John Robinson's station near Mombassa. They stayed with us about two years, and then returned to their friends. For the rest we have been obliged to depend upon the captures made by English cruizers and seizures made by the Sultan of Zanzibar. There is, of course, always a question how far children so chosen may turn out to have any fitness for missionary work.

(For details of the present strength of the schools, see a separate Note at the end of these extracts, furnished by Dr. Steere at my request.—H. B. E. F.)

The future of the schools must depend upon the sources from which they are to be supplied with scholars. If we have the choice of promising boys and girls from our Mission stations, we may hope to be able to lead them on to a much higher style of training than has been as yet possible. If, on the other hand, they are to be filled from the slave-dhows, it will be necessary to introduce a much larger industrial element. In any case, we hope to give all alike, first, a plain education in Swahili, for which the necessary books are in course of preparation, and then to give the best scholars a thorough grounding in English. We are anxious to increase the number of girls, as otherwise our lads, especially the duller ones, who will have to get their living by daily work, will be sorely tempted to turn Mahomedan as the only means of obtaining wives.

After the work, which one regards as merely school work, is completed, there will remain something of college work, intended exclusively for our future missionaries. It was with a view to this that the house at Kingani was begun, and the proceeds of the Wells, Tozer Fund, and the grant made by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, were applied towards the cost of its buildings. It was intended here to join with the native students others from England, who might thus be enabled to make themselves acquainted with the language and manners of the East Africans while still pursuing their general studies. Two students have already joined us, and, under Mr. Pennell's care, were making good progress. It has become necessary for a time to employ them elsewhere, but their studies are not wholly interrupted, while the great object of becoming familiar with the details of mission work in East Africa is only being the more completely carried out. This college work is one of very great importance, and it ought not to be difficult to secure efficient help in it, as any clergyman who could leave England for a few years could undertake it, all the scholars being either English or English-speaking natives. We have had an earnest hope that some of the young incumbents of small rural parishes, who feel that they are in danger of getting rusty for want of real work, might be willing to leave their charges for a time in the hands of well-chosen curates and come to our assistance, and that the heads of the Church would encourage them in so laudable an undertaking. The Bishops have power to grant licences for absence on such works as these, and it is surely better that an active young man should be so employed than that he should be held strictly to such pastoral work only as a cure of two or one hundred, or even fewer, souls may supply him, under the penalty of giving up all hope of a home for his more advanced age.

To be obliged to give up all prospects elsewhere in order to help in such a Mission as ours is a greater sacrifice than it is quite reasonable to expect any great number of English clergymen to make, although as Christ's soldiers they ought not to be unwilling to adventure it. Even those trained in missionary colleges are likely to prefer healthier and better known spheres. It becomes, therefore, a very necessary thing to give men an opportunity of testing their health and their fitness for the work without robbing them of valuable time. This our mission pupil scheme specially provides for, by occupying, in mingled study and work at Zanzibar, the years between sixteen and twenty, which a young man with a mission vocation finds it so difficult in England to employ to any advantage. While the missionaries of the future are thus growing up, we must have temporary help from special English sources. There are hundreds who could give it us without any real danger to themselves.

Zanzibar and its unhealthiness.—There is no act to which the credit of Bishop Tozer and his advisers is more distinctly pledged than to the choice of Zanzibar as the point of departure of the Central African Mission. He was severely censured for this choice, in words, by Dr. Livingstone, but was absolved by that great traveller, in deeds, when he himself chose Zanzibar as his starting-point whence to re-visit the River Shire and the Lake Nyassa. The matter is not one on which missionaries have any real choice. The centre of any considerable missionary operations must be the centre fixed beforehand by the many circumstances which together have determined the position of the chief city; missionaries must travel along the usual road, and their lines of communication can only be those created by commercial intercourse.

The great objections made to Zanzibar is the unhealthiness, shown by so many deaths among the members of the Mission. This is a very startling consideration, and one naturally asks oneself, How can so unhealthy a place be so great a centre of commerce, and how can it be that European merchants consent to live there as they undoubtedly do? The answer is a remarkable one; it is that the great mortality is confined to the members of the Mission. There have been a much larger number of other Europeans residing in the town, and the Mission has lost five members, while they have lost only two or three. Ill health is common, but death is very rare. One Frenchman, who had been settled here more than twenty years, died lately; but, except this, the deaths have all been among British subjects. In fact, no German, American, or French merchant has died within memory, and yet the merchants are more exposed to the sun than we are, and are less temperate livers. The only obvious difference between the Mission and the mercantile houses is, that the merchants seldom remain more than three years in Zanzibar without a change; only one of those missionaries, however, who have died, had lived in Zanzibar nearly as much as three years. It seems to follow that there must have been special causes at work, and it remains to discover and to prevent them.

(Dr. Steere then enters into details, showing that, of the missionaries who had died, one was suffering from a fatal disease of long standing; one died from cholera, which was everywhere fatal; two from over-fatigue and exposure during a journey into the interior of the mainland; and two from dysentery: other ailments always having given way to change of climate.—H. B. E. F.)

It seems then to follow, not that Zanzibar should be abandoned as hopelessly unhealthy, but that very special care should be taken to avoid any known danger to health, and that frequent leave of absence should be given. It is possible that the proposed line of mail-steamers between Natal and Zanzibar may furnish the means of securing a change of climate without entirely quitting the missionary field; and Bishop Wilkinson, before leaving England, actually discussed with me the possibility of an occasional exchange of labourers between the two Missions. It must, however, be remembered that the permanence of any regular communication between Zanzibar and the Cape is very uncertain.

The existence of any really healthy site on the mainland of Africa is exceedingly doubtful. Healthy highlands in the interior are often spoken of, as though their position were well known; but this is only because the geography of this part of Africa is very little understood. The centre of the continent is, as we now know, nothing but a large swamp. From the coast the land rises very gently to the watershed, and then drops very gradually to the great swampy central basin. Groups and ridges of mountains are scattered about, without any distinct connection with the general rise of the land. There is nothing analogous to the terraces described as existing in Natal, nor is there any particular district of which it can be said that it is high and healthy. These facts were the ground upon which Bishop Tozer based his great plan for training native missionaries.

There is no use in dissembling the fact that Eastern Africa is exceedingly unhealthy, and that not on the coast only, but in every part. It is only now and then that a man

can be found with a constitution so well adapted to the climate that he can live safely in it for more than a few years at a time. Even in the case of those who are not attacked by any distinct disease, languor and incapacity for mental exertion are sure after a while to show themselves. It follows clearly that a white missionary's proper work must be to train and to superintend native preachers. They must be the permanent missionaries and the regular pastors of the negro church. So long as it is expected of our missionaries that they will stay, say ten years at least, in some particular district, so long it is very possible that the terrible mortality we all deplore may continue. We must arrange for frequent changes, and that place will be best fitted for our centre of operations in which good medical advice, good lodgings, and the comforts that are needed in sickness are most easily obtained, and, above all, from which it will be possible for the head of the Mission to send away in time those who will surely die if they stay in Africa, and will surely live if they can get to a more temperate region. These advantages are nowhere to be found so certainly as at Zanzibar. There is nothing we should be more glad to find than a healthy location, and even a comparatively healthy spot would be at once occupied.

In any case, however, so long as Zanzibar remains what it is, the Mission must have a home there of some kind. It is very probable that if (as has been often proposed) the British Government should establish a Colony of freed men near some convenient port, the town, which would soon grow up, might supplant Zanzibar as a commercial centre, in which case the Mission would, as of course, remove thither its head-quarters.

Mission Property.—The Mission property consists of land and houses for the use of its members. We have—

1. In Zanzibar itself, a large house in the part of the town called Shangani, used as a girls' school, and a portion capable of separate occupation as lodgings for the Bishop. The house is close to the sea, and a very fine one, the rooms being large and very lofty. It was procured cheaply, owing to its having been abandoned by the natives from fear of a spirit which was supposed to haunt it. Not having been occupied for some time, it was in need of much repair, and many alterations were necessary to adapt what might be described as an Arab palace to our purposes. Although so very large, we found only six rooms available for use. It was at one time proposed to purchase this house for the English Political Residency; it may be worth consideration whether, if a good price is offered, it might not be well to accept it, and to find or build a more convenient school-house for girls elsewhere. The question as to where the Bishop will for the future fix his general residence is, of course, most important in this respect. Extensive repairs were rendered necessary by the cyclone, and are still in progress.

2. A very small house, a short distance behind the larger one. It has been used as a lodging for guests and others for whom there was no room elsewhere, and, when necessary, as a small-pox hospital.

3. A piece of land (perhaps about eight acres) about two miles out of the town known as Kingani, or among the natives as Kinma Mgnu, on which stand the buildings occupied as a boys' school, and sometimes called St. Andrew's College. It is admirably situated for health, but the soil is very barren. Extensive repairs are going on here also.

4. A small piece of land (perhaps about two acres) containing the mud-and-thatch house occupied by the Sub-Deacon, John Swedi, who cultivates a portion of it. It is near, but not adjoining, to the larger Kingani premises.

5. A piece of fertile land (about thirteen acres) nearly five miles from the town, with a small stone house upon it, known as Mbweni. The house is in very bad repair, and the value of the property was almost entirely destroyed by the cyclone; out of 600 cocoa-nut trees only 19 were left standing.

6. At Magila, an iron house and some native buildings. The land was occupied under a special authority from the then King, which is almost the only right in land capable of being acquired among the Shambalas.

7. At Mworongo, the landing-place for Magila, we have helped Munji Hatibu to build an upper room to his house, on condition that we have the use of it on our journey to and fro.

Mission Staff in Zanzibar, December 1872.—1, Rev. E. Steere; 2, Mr. Moreton, General Superintendent at Kingani; 3, Samuel Speare and Benjamin Hartley, missionary pupils; 4, John Swedi and Francis Mabruki, native sub-deacons.

NOTE.

1. The total number of negroes who have come under the care of the Universities Mission since its settlement at Zanzibar is 110, all of whom were received as children.

There are now 48 males and 24 females under the immediate care of the Mission. Of these, 2 males and 2 females are now adults. There are besides 2 of the former scholars employed as sub-deacons by the Mission, and 4 males who have lately left the mission-house to go into service in the town.

2. Of the negroes now actually under the care of the Mission, 44 males and 23 females were received from Her Majesty's Government.

3. The children under the care of the Mission are instructed in English and Swahili, with a view to their employment in connection with the mainland stations of the mission. The elder children act as pupil teachers: some of the boys (at present six of them) are engaged in the printing office, others have been taught carpentering; the girls are taught needlework—and all, both boys and girls, take their share in cooking, cleaning the house, and waiting at table, besides keeping the grounds in order, and assisting in any special work that may occur.

(Signed) EDWARD STEERE,
Priest in charge to the Mission.

APPENDIX (C).

French Mission.

(Translation.)

M. le Ministre,

Notre Dame de Bagamoyo, February 3, 1873.

I have the honour to inclose herewith detailed replies to the questions which your Excellency was pleased to address to me, on behalf of your Government, on the subject of our mission and its labours.

To avoid misunderstanding I wish to give a short explanation. Our establishment is not at present in its usual state. In consequence of the cruel hardships and many difficulties we had to undergo after the destruction of our dwellings by the hurricane of the 15th April last, several members of the Mission died or were invalided home to Europe.

In all probability five "religieuses" are now on their way to reinforce the establishment of sisters; priests and brethren are expected shortly. I shall, therefore, count our numbers in their usual force, and as we soon shall be.

Accept, &c.
(Signed) HORNER.

(Translation.)

Answers to Questions put to the Rev. Père Horner, Superior of the Zanzibar French Mission, by Sir H. B. E. Frere.

1st. The Society to which the Catholic Mission of Zanzibar belongs is called the "Société du Saint Esprit et du Saint Cœur de Marie;" its head-quarters are at Paris, Rue Lhomond (ancienne rue des Postes). This Society supplies Fathers and Brothers to the said Mission.

The "Superior-General" of this Society is "Préfet Apostolique" of Zanzibar, but he has delegated all his powers to Père Horner, whom he has named "Vice-Préfet Apostolique."

The Rev. Père Horner is also Vice-Provincial "Supérieur" of the ecclesiastics employed on the Mission.

He thus combines a double authority, viz., ecclesiastic and religious.

The Sisters, to whom the education of the girls at the Mission is intrusted, belong to the Society of the "Filles de Marie," whose head-quarters are at St. Denis in Réunion.

All the Sisters are subordinate to Père Horner, and are superintended by a "Supérieure Provinciale."

2nd. The governing body at the Mission is composed as follows:—

(1.) The community of St. Joseph of Zanzibar, possessing two priests and four brothers, with one lay professor of music.

(2.) The community of Notre Dame de Bagamoyo, comprising four priests, eight Brothers, and twelve Sisters, with two lay brothers employed in agriculture.

3rd. There are at present under the Zanzibar Mission 324 negroes. Of these 324 persons, 73 are adults and 251 are children.

4th. We have received 172 freed slaves from the British Government.

5th. The occupation, of the various classes are divided as follows :—

(1.) Children. Primary schools.

Including religious instruction. Children pass five and a-half hours a day in the primary school, and the same length of time at manual labour.

(2.) Arts and trades.

Children who are employed in the workshops, and are learning different trades, only spend one hour in the primary school, and receive half an hour's religious instruction daily.

(3.) Agricultural section.

This is composed of children who show no aptitude for study. With the exception of half an hour devoted to religious instruction and an hour of the most elementary lessons, all their time, viz., nine hours daily, is spent in agricultural pursuits.

Girls.—1st. Primary school.

Very young girls follow the same course as the corresponding class of boys, except that some of their time is spent in sewing.

2nd. Working section.

Girls who have no aptitude for study only spend one hour a day in elementary lessons, and half an hour in receiving religious instruction. Five hours during the day are devoted to working in the fields, and the rest in learning sewing and other household duties.

6th. There is a small seminary of nineteen pupils under the Mission at Zanzibar for the education of a native clergy.

Amongst this number there are hopes of finding future Brothers and Catechists to regenerate the country.

There is also at Bagamoyo a noviciate of five girls who wish to become native Sisters.

These two bodies are drawn from our primary schools.

(Signed)

HORNER.

Notre Dame de Bagamoyo, February 3, 1873.

(Translation.)

M. le Ministre,

In accordance with the wishes of your Excellency, I have the honour to forward you a brief memorandum relative to the disposition of slaves liberated by the English Government.

Your Excellency can well understand that merely to liberate the negroes, without according them the succour of Christian civilization, would be quite insufficient to insure their happiness, or to make them useful members of society. You are come to give the blessings of liberty to the wretched slaves, and we shall be happy to give you our utmost help in so praiseworthy a mission.

Nobody can ignore the fact that the natural apathy and indolence peculiar to the negro character form the greatest obstacles to his "moralisation;" and it is only by degrees that we can conquer their vices, by inspiring them with a regard and love of work according to the principles of Christianity.

But it must be acknowledged that this system of education requires material, no less than personal, sacrifices.

Permit me then to explain to you in detail the conditions of the various classes of liberated negroes who might, at any time, be confided to our care.

These liberated slaves can be divided into three distinct categories from this point of view :—

1st. Healthy men, able to work.

2nd. Old men and women, and infirm people.

3rd. Infants of tender age, who are not able to earn their own living by work.

First.—Healthy men, able to work.

I have no hesitation in saying that a negro in good health, and of a working age, can earn his own living. But it is easy to understand that the newly-arrived liberated slaves are but little accustomed to work.

Consequently it is necessary at the commencement to "coax" them ("les menager") to prevent their running away, and to allow them a great latitude until such time as they may be accustomed to work.

During this time these men consume much but produce nothing. Moreover, as on their arrival they possess nothing at all, it is necessary to furnish them with a lodging, with clothing, with the most indispensable household utensils, and also with tools for work.

Still more, it is necessary to procure for them a happiness greater than that of the past, to render their life more agreeable, to attach them to their work, and to prevent them from returning to their primitive state of barbarism.

To obtain these results, I consider indispensable a sum of 125 fr. per man, to liquidate the cost of his first equipment and subsequent entertainment. This sum would only be required once, on the first arrival of the negro.

Second.—Old and infirm people.

It occasionally happens, though rarely, that there are found, among the liberated slaves, some aged people so “overwhelmed” (“accablés”) with infirmities that they are quite incapable of work.

This class of slaves demands the largest pecuniary sacrifices, for the following reasons:—

Firstly, in addition to the necessity of providing them with the equipment mentioned in the preceding paragraph, it will also be needful to support these men until their death, without their being able to gain anything for their livelihood. Besides, as they are deprived of all support from their families, and have no one to administer the attentions so necessary in sickness and infirmity, they will require particular personal attendance to wait upon them. Again, these infirm people will require, in addition to medicines, a better description of food. Considering all these expenses, I think that this class of slaves should be estimated to cost at least 60 centimes per day per man.

Third.—Children.

In this class there are two descriptions of children:—

(1.) Children of the age of twelve years and under, who are incapable of earning their living by work.

(2.) Children from twelve to fifteen years, who can contribute something by work to the cost of their subsistence.

The first class would be entirely supported by the establishment.

Taking into consideration the cost of construction, of the material for schools, and for the support of the institutors, I do not think a sum of 50 centimes per child per day would be too much. With regard to those children who could already contribute something to their subsistence, I think 25 centimes per child per day to be reasonable.

Such are the cases in which I shall be happy to co-operate with your Excellency in aiding your general plans.

Yet, as the increase of the negroes would naturally necessitate that of the superintendents, I could come to no definite arrangement till I had consulted with the Very Reverend Father Superior, head of the “Congrégation du Saint Esprit et du Saint Cœur de Marie,” under whom I am, and who provides the missionaries for the work of civilization (“moralisation”) which I direct.

Receive, &c.
(Signed) HORNER.

(Translation.)
M. le Ministre,

Zanzibar, January 27, 1873.

I have the honour to inform your Excellency that, during the last two years, Dr. Kirk has made over to this Mission about 200 freed slaves, who will thus enjoy the advantages of civilization.

Up till now we have done our utmost to meet his benevolent and enlightened views, and have been always grateful to him for his lively sympathy with our work.

Till quite recently, by increased labour and sacrifices, we have been able to carry on our work without asking any support from the Government which he so well represents. Most gladly and willingly would I continue to do so; but, M. le Ministre, the hurricane of the 15th April, 1872, carried away almost all our buildings at Bagamoyo, and financially ruined the Mission. Some of the children sent us by Dr. Kirk are temporarily most wretchedly lodged, and suffer thereby both in health and morals. This makes me trust that your Excellency will look favourably on the confidence I place in you, in frankly explaining to you the great and urgent need of our Mission. I am fully convinced that the Government of Great Britain will come to our aid, and better the lot of the poor negroes whom they have confided to our care. The state of our finances will cause the rebuilding of our establishment at Bagamoyo to be a slow and tedious operation. Consequently we shall, now and for some time to come, find great difficulty in providing shelter for any liberated slaves who may be sent to us.

Your Excellency will, I feel sure, understand that real necessity dictates this appeal

—an appeal which rests on the confidence I place in your Excellency, and on the generosity of that Government of which you are the noble and worthy representative.

Accept, &c.
(Signed) HORNER.

Remarks by Mr. Hill, Secretary to the Mission, on Memorandum by Père Horner, Superior of the Roman Catholic Mission at Zanzibar and Bagamoyo.

The organization of the French Roman Catholic Mission at Bagamoyo is so fully described in the preceding papers that very little remains to be said on that head, but some of Père Horner's opinions seem to call for a few remarks.

The manner in which the Fathers carry out their theory, that the negro should learn to be a useful member of society whilst he is being taught the doctrines of Christianity is so admirably practical as to leave nothing to desire to ensure the success which attends their efforts. But when Père Horner insists on the inborn indolence and apathy of the negro, does he not, perhaps, forget that most of those who come under his observation are unfortunate beings, in whom the sufferings they have undergone since they were carried off from their homes into slavery may have deadened all energy? And is this lack of energy to be wondered at, when we think that the idea ever present in their minds must be that the work they do brings them no gain, but only profit to a master who shares none of it with them, and who would sell them at once if it suited his pocket to do so? A very short time under the kind care of this Mission must, I am sure, suffice to disabuse them of this idea, and make them willing workers. We saw so many symptoms of a willingness to work when once they were sure that work meant prosperity to themselves, and not the labour of a slave for the good of his master, that I am convinced the liberated negro is indolent through ignorance more than through any idleness inborn in the East African race. For this reason I think that Père Horner has undervalued the labour of the adult negroes on his Mission ground; and, in future, now that that ground is considerably developed and cultivated, the force of example will be stronger on new-comers than it has hitherto been.

His theory of attracting them at first by comforts superior to those to which they have been accustomed, is indisputably correct in a place where there is no power of physical restraint.

Père Horner says that, within the last two years, he has received from Dr. Kirk, in round numbers, 200 slaves set free by our ships, *i.e.*, at the rate of 100 a year; that of these, the adults are soon able to support themselves; boys and girls of over twelve years of age can contribute something to their own maintenance, while children and the aged or invalid are alone a direct burthen to the establishment. This burthen, he says, is especially trying at present, when the funds of the Mission are impoverished by the hurricane of 1872, which destroyed many of its buildings, as well as by the poverty caused in Alsace by the late war. He remarks on the increased sacrifices thus entailed on the Mission, and estimates the sum which, under the present conditions, he thinks necessary to support our liberated slaves, as follows:—

For adults, a bonus of 5*l.*

For aged and invalid, 6*d.* per day.

For children under twelve, 5*d.* per day.

For children over twelve, 2½*d.* per day.

This seems rather a high estimate, for it is partly based on a presumed necessity for continual construction of buildings, and there can be no reason why this should be, if once a sum of money were found to erect houses sufficiently large to meet the probable requirements.

If a subscription were set on foot amongst English Roman Catholics, this want would doubtless be soon met.

It is difficult at present to judge what effect the enforcement of more rigorous anti-Slave Trade measures may have in increasing the number of slaves to be cared for; but with the numerous other means of disposal at our command, it is not likely that there will be many more than 100 per annum sent to the care of the Bagamoyo Mission, and, with the cessation of the Slave Trade, of course this number would correspondingly diminish. Moreover, in considering the sacrifices which, as Père Horner justly points out, the missionaries are called upon to make on behalf of these liberated slaves, we must not forget the *raison d'être* of the Mission is the welfare of the African race, and in no way can a large number of Africans be better or more immediately aided than by the care which is bestowed on these sufferers.

It is clear, however, that Great Britain, who has taken on herself the duty of liberating slaves, is bound, even at a large cost, to see that they are not the sufferers by her acts.

There is at this moment no place in every way so suited to receive and properly educate them as the Bagamoyo Mission. Instead, however, of accepting Père Horner's plan of paying a daily sum for their subsistence, I would suggest that it would be more economical for us, and more advantageous to the Mission, now in immediate want of funds, that we should pay a bonus of 5*l.* for every freed slave, young or old, handed over to their care. This would find funds for providing the negro with proper clothing and tools, and, in the case of those over twelve years of age, would maintain them till they were able to earn their own subsistence.

Objections may very likely be raised to thus encouraging a Roman Catholic institution; but, till our missionary societies will follow their example and train up their pupils to be useful citizens as well as pious Christians, what is to be done? It is surely better that these pagan Africans should learn Christianity, even in a form with which we do not agree, than that they should be left in their present benighted state. What these Roman Catholic Fathers have done, our English missionaries could do as well; and an opportunity is now afforded at the Church Missionary Society's station at Kissoludini, near Mombasah, which, if properly taken advantage of, and supported by Her Majesty's Government, would at once form a Protestant home for very many liberated slaves, and a starting-point of the greatest value to civilization and to commerce.

(Signed) CLEMENT LI. HILL.

April 12, 1873.

No. 54.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received June 1.)

My Lord,

Bombay, May 12, 1873.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 16th April, I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of a letter addressed to me by Colonel Pelly, inclosing an assurance from the Sheikh of Aboothabee, that he would continue to respect his Anti-Slave Trade engagements.

I have, &c.

(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Inclosure 1 in No. 54.

Colonel Pelly to Sir B. Frere.

Sir,

Bombay, May 9, 1873.

REFERRING to my letter of the 31st March, I have now the honour to inclose an authenticated translated purport of a letter from the Chief of Aboothabee, acknowledging his engagement against the importation of slaves. This completes the series for the Persian Gulf.

It will be satisfactory to your Excellency to learn that I have received a demi-official letter from the Acting Political Agent at Muscat, in which he states that the Sultan "Seyyid Toorkee has issued a Proclamation abolishing all Traffic in Slaves in his dominions, and I think fully intends to keep up to his engagements."

I have, &c.

(Signed) LEWIS PELLY.

Inclosure 2 in No. 54.

Translated Purport of a Letter from Sheik Zuyed-bin-Khuleefah, Chief of Aboothabee, to the Acting Resident, Persian Gulf.

(After compliments.)

Dated 5th Mohurram, 1290 (March 5, 1873).

BE it known to you that I received a letter from Colonel Pelly, Resident in the Persian Gulf, in regard to the Treaty about the importation of slaves.

The Treaty exists intact, and I am always careful to see that it is not infringed.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received June 1.)

My Lord,

“*Indus,*” May 16, 1873.

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch of the 12th March, requesting me to thank his Highness the Rao of Cutch for the ready assistance which he had afforded in furtherance of the objects of my Mission, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that I had already done so on the 10th of January in anticipation of your Lordship's wishes.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received June)

(Extract.)

May 29, 1873.

MY previous letters will have informed your Lordship in more or less detail of the proceedings of the Mission from November 21, when we left England, to our return to Aden.

2. All the more important particulars of our intercourse with the Sultans of Zanzibar and Muscat, and other native Chiefs, have been specially reported, and it only remains for me now to summarize briefly the results of our observations and proceedings as connected with the abolition of the Slave Trade on the East Coast of Africa.

3. We met with ample evidence of the general correctness of the account given in the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons as to the extent and character of the East African Slave Trade, as far as the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar are concerned. We saw reason to believe that where the details given in that Report require correction, such correction would generally add to rather than diminish the gravity of the facts stated, and the Committee had little evidence before them regarding other branches of the East African Slave Trade, which appear to be extensive, increasing, and quite as fatal to human life as the Slave Trade through Zanzibar.

The extent and character of the East African Slave Trade.

4. There is a general concurrence in the testimony of all well-informed and unbiassed witnesses that there is still an active and extensive, and some competent witnesses think a growing, trade in slaves by various land routes from the Lake regions, and the north-west frontiers of Abyssinia northwards to Egypt and the coasts of the Mediterranean and Red Sea. The trade is well organized, well supplied with capital, and well managed by intelligent men, who vary the route adopted by their slave caravans according to information collected in Egypt, where, by securing the support of the inferior officials, they are able to dispose of their slaves with impunity. The greater number of these slaves are required for domestic service in Egypt itself, where the demand has largely increased with the increase and general diffusion of wealth; but many are exported in small numbers at a time to Turkey, Syria, and Arabia, and the North African Coast.

Egyptian Slave Trade.

5. A similar trade appears always to have existed, and to be still carried on by various desert tribes, between the interior and the northern parts of Tunis, Tripoli, &c.; but I have not the means of adding much to the official information already before your Lordship on the subject.

6. The Egyptian demand is supplied by slave-hunting on the upper waters of the Nile and its tributaries, in districts which are changed from time to time to suit the convenience of route, or as the abundance of available and defenceless population may invite aggression, or its extermination have exhausted the supply.

7. The process of collecting a *caffila* of slaves, and conveying them northward, has been often described with all its horrible and disgusting details, and I could find in the testimony of credible, disinterested, and competent witnesses, no reason to doubt the general fidelity of the published accounts of its characteristics. A few slaves are occasionally recruited by purchase from parents, guardians, or petty local rulers; a still smaller proportion are taken in satisfaction of debts: but the greater number are got in *razzias* specially instigated and organized with a view to slave-hunting. Sometimes the trader avails himself of intertribal quarrels, and by supplying one side with arms and ammunition enables it to defeat its rivals and enslave the survivors, and receive payment in the slaves so acquired. Occasionally the trader in quarters not much visited by

Slave hunts.

travellers or troublesome officials makes razzias on his own account, but the comparative ease and security of the other process makes it generally preferred.

8. The immediate agents are men of various nationalities, and often of broken or desperate fortunes who are ill able to live in any law-abiding or civilized community; but these men get the means of carrying on the trade from merchants with high claims to respectability. Indeed I have been assured that all the trading between the foreign merchant who imports or exports goods at Alexandria, and the local retail dealers in Central Africa, are more or less directly implicated in slave-dealing, and take slaves in payment for a large proportion of the merchandize they send up-country.

9. Besides the slaves thus brought to Egypt there is a large and increasing trade through the Red Sea ports. Some are brought to Massowah occasionally from the upper affluents of the Nile, and sometimes by sea from the south. From Massowah and its neighbourhood they are sent, as opportunity offers, northwards to Lower Egypt, Turkey, &c., or across the Red Sea to the Hedjaz and Yemen.

10. The southern ports, including those just outside the Straits of Babel-Mandeb, the Somali ports of Zeila, Tajura, &c., which were formerly comparatively free from the Slave Trade, and with the rulers of which we have agreements binding them not to engage in the trade, have of late years become regular and considerable slave-marts, to a degree which renders them impatient of the presence of travellers whom they believe to be likely to denounce the Slave Trade to the British authorities at Aden.

11. It is said that the facilities afforded to slave-trading by the Ottoman flag were among the inducements held out to the Sheiks of those places when the Turkish flag was lately hoisted there. However that may be, the name of Abu Bekr, Chief of Zeila, has of late become infamous throughout the regions in the neighbourhood of the Red Sea, for having reduced the Slave Trade from Zeila and Tajura to a systematic monopoly.

12. No one, it is said, can move along any of the routes leading to Shoa and Southern Abyssinia without the leave of Abu Bekr. All the trade is kept entirely in the hands of himself or his connections, and the slaves, which form the most valuable portion of the exports, are monopolized by him.

13. The slaves are many of them Gallas and Abyssinians, of mixed Christian and Moslem race, and generally far superior intellectually, as well as physically, to the ordinary Negro slave. They are sold as Christians to Moslem purchasers, and as Moslem to Christians. From this coast also come, it is said, most of the eunuchs employed in the harems of the higher classes, and the loss of life caused in supplying the market is much enhanced by the necessary operations.

14. Formerly Zeila and Tajura were regularly visited by the cruizers of the Indian navy, and the agreements of the Chiefs to abstain from Slave Trade were fairly enforced. But since the abolition of the Indian navy this duty has been imperfectly performed, and the use of the Ottoman flag has afforded Abu Bekr and his people great facilities for evading examination. He is said to use the great wealth he has acquired very freely in bribing the inferior Egyptian and Turkish officials, and the most scandalous stories are current of batches of slaves sent by him as presents to persons of the highest consideration.

15. The Hedjaz seems to be the great emporium for all these Red Sea slaves, and also for Circassians and Georgians. Few pilgrims of wealth or high rank return from the Haj without adding at Mecca to their stock of domestic slaves, and so strong is the slave-trading interest in Mecca and the other towns of the Hedjaz that no Sheriff or Turkish Pasha has yet ventured to publish in the Hedjaz, still less to act on, any of the Sultan's rescripts denouncing the Slave Trade. On all these lines, with the exception perhaps of that from Massowah to Suez, and at all the places named, the Slave Trade is said by most local witnesses to be increasing, and the abatement of the evil is not easy owing to the increased demand for slaves of all descriptions, the high official position and great wealth of many who patronize the slave-trader, the general prevalence of a strong public opinion in its favour, but above all to the recent abuse of the Turkish flag.

16. Egypt is, however, favourably distinguished among the Moslem powers, who now are the only upholders of the traffic, by the enlightened views held by her present Ruler, and by the sincerity His Highness the Khedive has always personally shown in giving practical effect to his promises and professions. Hitherto the general feeling of his people in favour of slavery, and the laxity and corruption of many of the officials, has too frequently frustrated his good intentions; but I believe I am safe in saying that none of our Consular officers ever brought a case connected with slavery, or the Slave Trade, to His Highness's notice without securing his hearty co-operation, and that in no country is redress so readily and effectually afforded as in Lower Egypt when any case of oppression of a slave by his owner is brought by our Consular officials before the functionaries of the Egyptian Government.

Red Sea Slave Trade.

Hedjaz slave-market.

Power of Egypt to check this branch of the Slave Trade.

17. Hence I am not without hope that His Highness may see fit before long to take those decisive steps which alone can effectually check the Slave Trade in his dominions. A Ruler of his sagacity cannot but see that the destruction of ten or even five human beings of the Upper Nile country, who are, or who might be his subjects, producing, trading, and consuming, and adding whilst they live in a hundred different ways to his power and importance, is a heavy price to pay for a domestic servant, however useful, and that a traffic which corrupts the springs of social and family life, debauches traders, and desolates provinces, is an institution as little to be desired and protected by a Ruler as cholera or the small pox. He must see that it is useless to hope to be recognized as the real leader of African civilization while his people are the great modern upholders of a traffic which has been regarded in all ages as the curse of Africa, and it seems not too much to hope that His Highness may see his way to doing at least as much as the French have done to abolish the trade in Algeria. He may declare all immigrants after a certain period free to choose their own masters, all children born of slaves in Egypt after a certain date as free as any other natives of Egypt; and he may enforce as much practical attention by his Government officials to his prohibitions against Slave Trade as is habitually paid by them to the other orders of his Government. If this were done, and if two active English officers were employed, the one under the Consul-General in Egypt to watch the valley of the Nile, the other under the Resident or Governor of Aden, if our men-of-war more frequently visited Massowah, Suakim, Zeila, Tajura, and the other ports on that coast, I have no doubt that an appreciable effect might soon be produced in checking the Slave Trade in the Red Sea and its neighbourhood.

18. The abuse of the Turkish flag to cover Slave Trade would soon be checked if vessels under that flag found with slaves on board were taken by our men-of-war to Hodeida, and there made over to the Turkish authorities, the slaves being taken and carried to Aden, under powers to be enforced by Treaty or Agreement.

19. The cause of civilization and the suppression of the Slave Trade has undoubtedly greatly suffered in North-Eastern Africa by our neglect of Abyssinia. We have had it in our power to advise and assist, if not to direct, both Egypt and the various Kingdoms of Abyssinia in their intercourse with each other, to the great mutual benefit of all parties, because, whilst we have considerable substantive interest in the prosperity of both countries, we are free from suspicion of desiring territorial aggrandisement. The fate of Abyssinia can never be a matter of indifference to us as long as we desire an uninterrupted passage to India by the Red Sea. We may shut our eyes to its importance whilst it is torn by intestine divisions, parcelled out amongst barbarous petty Chiefs, and destitute of a seaport. But the case will be far otherwise if it should ever be united under one Ruler, or pass under the influence of a maritime and Mediterranean Power, already commanding such ports as Massowah, Zeila, and Tajura; and this is an event which might any day happen without the Khedive being involved in attempts to subdue the highland Chiefs, a task which he would find as unnecessary as it is difficult.

20. Besides the weighty political considerations connected with its possible bearing on our Indian highway, Abyssinia is sure, sooner or later, to attract European sympathy, owing to the nominal Christianity of the people; and it is more than probable that an influence which Egypt might have exerted for good in many ways, may be checked by an unreasoning dread lest the most ancient of Christian kingdoms should be absorbed into Islam.

21. Yet with all these motives for a constant and intelligent interest in Abyssinia, for the last twenty years we have systematically neglected the country and all its resources. Spasmodically nerved by some ecclesiastical dispute, or by the energy of some outlying Englishman, we have interfered, but never in a manner to render our designs or wishes intelligible up to the time of war. The war was mainly due, not, as is often asserted, to our meddling and interference, but to our neglect and inattention. After our influence had been at great cost replaced on the footing it ought never to have lost, we left the country a prey to anarchy and confusion. Egypt and Turkey have since then been the only Powers who affected the slightest practical interest in the country, and they are not in a position to be recognized as impartial arbiters of the fate of Ethiopia.

22. The position of Abyssinia bears in many ways on the East African Slave Trade. At present a great portion of her border is slave-hunting ground, or ground for Egyptian, Galla, and other neighbours; and the well-favoured Abyssinian Christian slave is to be bought in Cairo, Constantinople, Mecca, Zanzibar, or any other slave-mart in the East. Abyssinia retaliates, and in spite of the professed Christianity of the rulers and people, slavery is everywhere the lot of a large proportion of the population; and the slaves are obtained by Abyssinian razzias on Galla and other Moslem tribes, even more cruel than those of the Arab slave-hunter.

23. All this might be greatly mitigated, if not prevented, by exerting the legitimate, the inevitable influence of the English and Indian Governments. No costly expeditions or establishments are required, but simply the occasional visits of a well-chosen and competent Consular officer, who upon the Slave Trade and other questions affecting the country could speak with authority and weight, and offer the good offices of a powerful and not unconcerned, but disinterested ally both of Abyssinia and its neighbours.

Somali Land Slave Trade.

Equally distinct in many of its features from both the Red Sea and Zanzibar Slave Trades, but connected with both, is the Slave Trade in Somali Land and the coast which extends from Zeila to the northern limit of the Zanzibar dominions. The greater part of this coast is occupied by various tribes of Somalis—a handsome, active, intelligent race, with more of the Arab than the negro in their appearance and character. They appear to have been little known and much mistrusted in the last generation by our own naval officers, who frequented this coast till our occupation of Aden, when Somalis came over in great numbers, and engaged themselves as fishermen, labourers, horsekeepers, and in other menial occupations, and earned for themselves a very good repute for industry, intelligence, activity, and fidelity. In their own country they are divided into three classes: the true Somalis, who form a species of aristocracy; a class of inferior, and one of Helot race. Their occupations are generally pastoral; and though they seem to have been in the habit of keeping in their country any stranger who once entered it, and not allowing him to go away, and of retaining as slaves all captives in war, they do not seem till lately to have imported many slaves from other countries. They now import and retain, according to the estimate of well-informed persons, at least 4,000 southern negro slaves per annum. I have heard several conjectures as to the causes which have led to their having of late entered the Zanzibar market as purchasers of slaves. The money they have earned at Aden, and the habits they have contracted at Zanzibar, their recent adoption of agriculture for the production of oil-seeds, which they now cultivate and export in great quantity, have all been assigned to me as causes of their taking to import slaves; probably the fact is that they have in many ways made money and learnt to imitate their neighbours. They are said to be harsher masters than the Arabs; and I am told that as facilities for communication along the coast have increased, the Somalis have found it convenient to sell the Gallas and Abyssinians they capture in war, and replace them by purchased southern slaves, who, being further from home, are less tempted to run away. One thing is certain, that the demand for southern negro slaves is increasing, and their price has this year been higher on the Somali Coast than at Muscat.

There can be little doubt, looking to the social and political position and circumstances of the Somalis, that their tendency to become a negro-slave-buying and slave-holding people will rapidly increase, and, if not effectually checked, become confirmed, till a serfage of negroes is created under a race of Somali masters, who will so far forget their old pastoral occupations as to regard as servile and degrading all labour, pastoral as well as agricultural.

As tending to prevent such a result, and in every other point of view, political as well as commercial, I believe that much good would result, directly and indirectly, from cultivating a better acquaintance with these tribes. They show considerable aptitude for commerce as well as for pastoral pursuits. Besides many fixed entrepôts from Zeila to Brava, they have at Berbera, nearly opposite Aden, an annual commercial fair lasting throughout the winter months, frequented by traders who come both by sea and also by various overland routes from the Zanzibar coast, and even from the far interior lake regions.

No one who has seen the Somalis at Aden at intervals during the last twenty years can doubt their capacity for improvement. They are a vivacious, impressible, self-reliant, and independent race, who have the "makings," as the phrase is, of a powerful people, peculiarly accessible to civilising influences. They have respect and liking for the English, who are known to them as punctual and liberal paymasters, lovers of peace, and rather officious peacemakers, but hard-hitters when they take to fighting; fairly just according to their lights in exercising the great power which Somalis, like the rest of mankind, much revere, whilst in the particular case of the English they do not fear its being exercised to their prejudice. Their country is evidently one of great natural resources. Whilst the ostrich feathers and eggs, and other spoils of wild animals, gums, money, incense, and other foreign produce, testify to its generally wild and uncultivated condition, the excellent and cheap sheep and cattle, camels and horses, mules and donkeys, speak of abundant and excellent pasture. It might even now do much to feed the opposite coast, not only of Arabia, but of India. Cheap and certain water-carriage might convey the cattle whose hides are now exported to India, and the

strong, active, hardy horses and mules. Steady demand for grain might ensure its cultivation, as it has caused the growth of sesamum and other oil-seeds, unknown till eighteen years ago, and the people might gradually settle down, adding agriculture to the pastoral pursuits which now so exclusively occupy them.

I know of nothing more likely to promote this object and to check, at the same time, the growing tendency of the Somalis to become a slave-importing and slave-holding nation than that the Resident at Aden and Consul at Zanzibar should both be instructed to cultivate friendly relations with the tribes on the coast. For many years after our first occupation of Aden, a jealously-guarded system of non-intercourse was insisted on by the Indian authorities, and though it was impossible effectually to carry out such a system with neighbours so near and so useful, various unfortunate accidents occurred from time to time to perpetuate the effort and to maintain the barrier.

Of late years the strict rules of non-intercourse have been less rigidly observed, and both the Resident at Aden and the Consul at Zanzibar have been constantly brought into communication with the coast Somalis. Though the visits paid to them by British officers have heretofore been more frequently for some purpose of warning or punishment than of friendly intercourse, they have, on the whole, had a useful effect, by making both parties better known to each other.

I would direct both officers to take every opportunity of visiting the ports and learning more of the Somalis and their country, and of establishing friendly relations with them, encouraging everything which promoted amicable intercourse or tended to develop trade. If any Chief invited the presence of an English officer, I would appoint a Consular Agent, Indian or European, as soon as due provision could be made for his personal security, and I would undertake to secure from Arab or Turkish oppression any Chief who gave satisfactory assurances that he would not permit the Slave Trade to take root or to be carried on within his territory or influence.

Above all, I would insist on a strict observance of their engagements by any Chiefs who, like those of Zeila and Tajura, have bound themselves to abstain from slave-dealing; they are so much dependent on their sea-borne trade for the large incomes they now possess that very moderate degree of diligence on our part would suffice to secure fidelity to their agreements.

To the extent indicated in the foregoing paragraphs, and in what will be found further on regarding Madagascar, I would qualify the opening sentence of the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons of 1871,* since it will be seen that a large and growing Slave Trade exists north and south of the limits specified by the Committee, and to a great extent beyond the influence, as it is entirely outside the dominions, of the Sultan of Zanzibar.

The Sultan of Muscat has given in his unqualified adhesion to the policy of Her Majesty's Government, and has put his assent in the best possible practical form, by declaring that all slaves landed in his territory shall be free; all the Chiefs in the Persian Gulf, under the Political Agent at Bushire, renewed and confirmed their several Anti-Slave Trade Agreements, at Colonel Pelly's instancē, before the Mission arrived in those waters. For these results I feel greatly indebted to Colonel Pelly. But due effect can be given to these engagements only by constant vigilance on the part of our local officers (naval and political), occasional visits by a man-of-war, and immediate notice by the Political Agent of any reported infraction of the Anti-Slave Trade engagements.

Muscat and
Arabian Coast

This is still more necessary on the Southern Coast of Arabia, where there can be no doubt that a considerable impulse will be given to the Slave Trade if the agreements given by the Sultan of Muscat and Chiefs further northward are faithfully observed. The action of the Nukeeb of Maculla was, in this respect, perfectly satisfactory (I regret to say that he has died since our visit to Maculla; he is succeeded by his son), but the language of the Jemadar of Sheher is rather evasive, and all these ports and the coast towards Ras-el-Hadd should be carefully watched, as suggested by Captain Colomb, R.N., in his evidence before the Select Committee.† The same course should be followed at the mouth of the Persian Gulf.

Maculla, Sheher
&c.

An occasional unexpected visit to a port suspected of slave-trading is of much more use than might at first be supposed. If slaves are imported for local service, the new importations are easily recognized, and, when questioned, are generally very communicative. If an export trade has been going on, some clue to it is generally given to any vigilant and discreet officer, which will materially aid him to trace the agents and

* "That the Slave Trade in negroes on the East Coast of Africa is now almost entirely confined to a trade between the dominions of Zanzibar, on the one hand, and the coast of Arabia and Persia and the Island of Madagascar, on the other."

† See Report, p. 81.

effectually check it. The main obstacle is the want of recorded information in the hands of our naval officers. It is often not till an officer is leaving the station that he learns all the ports which are notorious for addiction to or freedom from Slave Trade practices, and discovers which parts of the coast are best worth visiting.

The engagements entered into by the King of Johanna and the Sultan of Muscat will be of great advantage if care be taken to enforce them, but their value will entirely depend on their not being allowed to become a dead letter.

The same causes which render it difficult to ascertain the total number of slaves exported from the African coast render it next to impossible to estimate, except by a loose guess, the numbers destined for any particular market. In the generally received estimates I believe that the numbers taken to the Persian Gulf and Eastern Arabia have been generally over-estimated, whilst those who enter the Somali country, and go directly or indirectly to the Red Sea, and also the export to the Portuguese territory and Madagascar, have been under-estimated. But it is probable that the proportions vary greatly in different years, the slave-trader changing the market to which he sends his slaves according to what he hears of prices and the vigilance or supineness of the Government authorities in any particular direction.

Zanzibar. The character and extent of the Slave Traffic carried on in the Sultan of Zanzibar's dominions, and the possible means of stopping it, have been very fully investigated by the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1871, and I would once more beg to bear my testimony to the general accuracy of the facts the Committee accepted, and the soundness of all the more important of their suggestions for abating the evil.

As regards the history or character of the Sultan's Government, and His Highness views and power regarding the stoppage of the Slave Trade, I have little to add to the information collected by the Committee beyond what will be found in my despatches and especially in the memorandum on the authority and power of the Sultan submitted by me under date the 1st of May.

All the information we collected went to prove the perfect accuracy of the summary of the history of the Slave Trade given in the Committee's Report.

I observe in some recent publications a tendency to impute exaggeration to the informants on whose statements the Committee relied, and especially to Dr. Livingstone and his companions, in reference more particularly to the mode in which slaves are obtained, the mortality attending their capture, and their sufferings on the journey down to the coast. I may mention, therefore, that I have made these points the subject of particular inquiry, and the result was to produce a strong conviction of the entire general accuracy of the statements referred to, and of those of Dr. Livingstone and his companions in particular.

We met with many persons, indeed, who, from length of residence on the East African coast, ought to have been well informed. They had no personal knowledge of the interior, but they assured us that they believed such cases as Dr. Livingstone mentioned to be exceptional, and that the bulk of slaves were obtained by less horrible means than intertribal warfare and the massacre of parents and elders.

But this view was not borne out by the evidence of slaves themselves, when not subjected to any influence which might induce them to invent or to conceal the truth. Occasional cases we met of slaves who had been sold for debt, or of children sold by parents and guardians from poverty, and to buy food, especially in times of general scarcity; and one case of a slave sold by himself is recorded by Livingstone, but, as a rule, there was a dreary uniformity in the circumstances attending the original loss of liberty, and the details fully confirmed the statements made by Livingstone. This was more particularly the case with children recently enslaved; some could or would remember little—a slave child, who has been for some time well treated, having often apparently a rooted aversion to recall the scenes of earlier life: but whenever the child could be got to recount the history of its capture, the tale was almost invariably one of surprise, kidnapping, and generally of murder, always of indescribable suffering on the way down to the coast and on the dhow voyage; horrible as might be the similarity of the details they were generally told with a simplicity which was a guarantee for their truth.

As regards the sufferings of the slaves at sea there could be less question, British officers having been so frequently eye-witnesses of the tortures caused by over-crowding, starvation, thirst, and disease, and invariably describing the sufferings of the slave as not admitting of exaggeration.

But palliators or apologists for slavery frequently insinuate that the sufferings of the slave during the voyage are enhanced by the means we take to effect his liberation, and that but for the dread of the British cruisers the slave would be conveyed with less

Accuracy of the Committee's account of the Zanzibar Slave Trade.

Sufferings of the slaves *in transitu*.

risk to his life and health. Facts, however, by no means support this theory; over-crowding, starvation, and want of water are found to cause quite as much suffering during the open season and on the short voyage from Kilwa to Zanzibar, when the slaver has had nothing to fear from the cruiser, as they do during the close season and on the long voyage; as in the case of emigrant and coolie ships, the temptation of making a profit by over-crowding and under-feeding is irresistible, and when the cargo consists principally of children and women, all slaves, there is actually no check to the cupidity of the shipper; the profits of the trade, whether contraband or not, are so considerable that one lucky venture successfully run will cover the loss of three unsuccessful ones. Where this is the case it is vain to argue that a little more outlay in giving more room, food, or water might give in the long run more sure returns, if they were sometimes less on the single voyage. It is the gambling element, the high prize on the single venture, which is the charm of the speculation, and calculations of prudence are as much thrown away on the shipper as considerations of humanity.

I doubt whether the fear of meeting our cruisers at all affects the slave on his passage injuriously, except in the rare case when he is killed to avoid capture, or in efforts to escape. Generally, I believe, when our cruisers are numerous and active, the effect of their presence on the coast is to cause slaves to be run in smaller batches, and in a mode which will admit of their being passed as domestics, passengers, or mariners. I never have met with a single fact to support the assertion that the slaves might suffer less in transit if there were less chance of their meeting with our men-of-war engaged in suppressing the traffic.

As regards the statistics of the Zanzibar Slave Trade, I found greater difficulty in verifying the figures given in the Select Committee's Report, for the simple reason that there was no test to apply which had any pretensions to accuracy, except comparison with the same returns whence the Committee's figures are generally derived, *i.e.*, the returns of the Sultan's Custom-house, abstracts of which are given in Dr. Kirk's reports. Statistics of the
Zanzibar Slave
Trade.

But there is every reason to believe that the Custom-house Returns considerably understate the number of slaves actually passing to and fro. Even assuming that the returns are accurate and complete, as far as the knowledge of the Custom-house officials can make them (a point by no means free from doubt), there is known to be a great amount of smuggling and contraband trade in slaves, as in everything else; and I was assured by residents at Zanzibar that since the late discussion about the Slave Trade, the Custom-house farmer had been by no means so anxious as before to secure the passage of the whole trade through his Custom-houses. He is at all times more dependent than would be believed in Europe on the good faith of traders for getting his dues. He has along the whole coast, 360 miles in direct distance, and studded with hundreds of islands, but six Custom-houses where full returns are kept; each of these has numerous small outports, some watched by a local trader or by a single Arab soldier, neither of them incorruptible, nor always on the watch, nor careful recorders; so that between carelessness, incompetence, and corruption, there is ample room for contraband trade. The Customs farmer's real security for his dues is in the mutual good faith of the greater traders of Zanzibar, in whose hands, or within whose cognizance, all trade ultimately centres, and on the marvellous system of private intelligence which is the keystone of native Indian commerce, and by which every great Indian trader seems to hear of everything which concerns him wherever it may happen. All Customs accounts are settled at Zanzibar, on documents received from the outports. Few Indian traders in large business, whatever may be their commercial morality in other respects, can deceive one another at the daily settlements of their current accounts; fewer still at the great annual settlement at the Dewalli, or at the caste meetings, which are the tribunals appealed to whenever disputes arise, and from whom no book or documents are ever withheld.

But in the case of slaves, not only is clandestine shipping and loading peculiarly easy, but the Customs farmer has many reasons for not pushing his legal rights to their utmost. Even in the Island of Zanzibar itself it is doubtful whether he knows or can tax the slaves which are run in dribblets to the creeks and landing-places which abound on the island. Once on the island, the raw arrivals are easily concealed, exchanged, or moved by roads which avoid European observation to the northern end, where are safe and concealed harbours and anchorages peculiarly favourable to clandestine export, and where the owner can watch opportunities for shipping them on board vessels bound northwards. It is impossible that the Customs farmer can watch proceedings which are avowedly clandestine; and, if the venture is successful, few but those immediately concerned can know much about it.

This is still more the case with the Islands of Pemba and Monfia, the former of which is so far north, and has so many concealed harbours, with more than one entrance, that it is a very favourite point of departure for slavers when cruisers are about.

The Zanzibar Custom-house returns summarized by the Select Committee show an average of about 20,000 slaves annually exported through the Kilwa Custom-house alone to the Zanzibar Custom-house: 5,000 more would be a moderate estimate for the exports through the Custom-house from other points. The extent of the clandestine export must be entirely matter of conjecture: some rate it at more than double the registered export, but I should doubt whether it could be half that number.

At Zanzibar the slaves generally change hands. There is a considerable exchange of refractory or idle island slaves for more docile importations, and much money is earned by residents who make it a business, as it were, to break in fresh arrivals, or to feed up cheap slaves and make them more marketable.

Slave-market.

The slave-market at Zanzibar has been often described, and never, as far as I have read, with any substantial exaggeration. As almost every book on Zanzibar contains an account of it I will enter into no details beyond referring your Lordship to the Memorandum by Mr. Hill, contained in my despatch No. 11 of the 18th of January, which describes its state during the least active season, when we were at Zanzibar.

It is the only pretence at any facility for commerce which is to be found at the capital, where there is neither dock nor crane, nor, with the exception of a rude terrace in front of the Custom-house, any pier, wharf, or other convenience for landing or shipping goods. The abolition of the slave-market should be insisted on, as proposed by the Select Committee; for nothing can tend more to keep up a depraved feeling on the subject of the Slave Trade generally than the existence of an open slave-market, as one of the principal sights and almost the only lounge of the place.

This perverted feeling is not confined to the slave-dealing classes, but more or less pervades the whole population from the Sultan downwards.

Classes who trade in slaves. (*Vide* Report, p. iv.)

The Select Committee were imperfectly informed as to "the whole Slave Trade by sea" being carried on by "Arabs from Muscat and other ports on the Arabian coast"—"not subjects of Zanzibar, but chiefly" belonging "to tribes of roving and predatory habits."

Every year the north-easterly trade-wind brings to Zanzibar a great fleet of native boats of a great variety of build, but all of simple latteen rig, from India and from the Persian, Arabian, and Northern African coasts.

The Indian vessels, when chartered to return to India, rarely take slaves for indiscriminate sale. All connected with them know full well the penalties prescribed by the English law, and if they take any slaves, they are few in number and carefully disguised, so as to baffle the vigilance not only of cruisers but of the police on landing in India.

But the large roomy Indian vessel is sometimes sold to dealers making up a full cargo of slaves; cheap and old vessels are preferred; they have an almost equal chance of making the voyage before a regular trade wind, and, if captured, are a smaller loss.

The vessels from the Persian Gulf and Arabian coast generally bring down a number of well-armed Arab adventurers seeking their fortune; many of them belong to the tribes on the coast, which, up to the last generation, subsisted mainly on piracy; some come to see their friends and relations; some to seek service or to try their fortune in continental slave-hunting or ivory-trading. All are born soldiers as well as sailors, and all are ready to join in any capacity in a slave-trading venture.

These are probably the classes specially referred to by the Select Committee.

But for capital, organization, local knowledge, and for information as to what the British squadron may be about, these amateur traders depend on the native of Zanzibar or the coast; sometimes an Arab half-caste or Swahili, sometimes a negro, and occasionally a slave, himself the owner of and trader in slaves. These negotiate with the Indian trader for capital or goods, and arrange all details of the venture; either for a full cargo to be specially run, or for a few slaves to be added to the crew of the small fast-sailing northern Arab boat, to take their chance of turning a few dollars wherever they may find a market.

I believe there are few classes at Zanzibar, except the upper classes of Europeans and Americans, who are entirely exempt from occasional connection with the Trade. The names of the Sultan himself and his nearest relations are as freely taken in connection with slave-dealing as in some other countries they might be with share-dealing, and occasional revelations in the Consular Court give more than colour to the imputation. For Zanzibar Arabs, even of the highest class, the speculation in slaves seems to have the same sort of attraction which horse-dealing has for an ordinary Yorkshireman.

They examine and discuss the points, bargain and bid, and, if they purchase an animal they like they keep it till tired of it, and then exchange or sell it.

The fashion is taken up by the Northern Arabs when they visit Zanzibar, but I was assured that in Arabia, though respectable Arabs will purchase slaves when they want them, it is considered disreputable to purchase them for re-sale, or to sell them except as a punishment or upon dire necessity.

It may be asked what, beyond the blunted moral sense caused by the atmosphere of a barracoon, is the cause of the special popularity of slaving ventures in Zanzibar? It is probably, in the higher classes, mainly due to the gambling element of risk—the uncertainty whether the result will be a great success or a total loss. In some cases there would be an additional attraction similar to that of smuggling or poaching for many classes in Europe, in that the venture was attended with danger, and was secret and contraband, at least, as far as the Feringis were concerned, and the knowledge that some of the straightest-laced Kaffirs condemned it; that it was attended with danger, and might lead to a trial of speed or a brush with the boats of the squadron, would give the enterprise great attractions in the eyes of the hardier and more adventurous northern visitors.

The share taken in the local Slave Trade by the Indian traders known as “Banians” seemed to me sufficiently important to be separately reported to your Lordship. As the principal capitalists who directly or indirectly furnish the means for carrying on the trade they must be regarded as gravely implicated, however much individual members of the community may deplore the connection. They are so universally regarded by the Arabs, whose language is very frequently something to this effect:—“It is very unjust of you, the British Government, to persecute the poor Arab for turning an honest dollar by a trade which is not, according to his ideas, illicit, when all the real profit goes to the Banián, your own subject, who grows fat, and builds houses in Cutch and Bombay from the profits of a trade which he pretends to abjure, but of which, whilst he avoids all the risk and obloquy, he pockets all the profits.”

The light in which the Banián connection with the trade is viewed by honest Arabs, and even European foreigners, is, to my mind, a strong reason for avoiding half-measures and palliatives in dealing with this question.

To the lower classes in Zanzibar a slave is a safe, easy, and profitable investment, and they will talk, even when slaves themselves, of investing a windfall of money in a slave or two, just as a native of India would of investing it in a pair of bullocks, or in bangles for his wife, or an English servant, or putting it in the savings'-bank. If they cannot afford to keep the slave at home, they make him or her go out to work and earn wages which are shared by the master.

Some idea may be formed from what has been said of the tendency to support and encourage the Slave Trade, which pervades every class of native society in Zanzibar, and which has a tendency to affect even Europeans who have been long resident. There can be no doubt that, of late years, the Indian traders have been awakened to something more than a sense of the legal dangers of the traffic, and that most of the intelligent men among them would gladly see it effectually stopped; but, whilst the traffic finds apologists and defenders, if not partners, in the Sultan and his nearest relations, there is little immediate chance of the native community declaring against it.

I met at Johanna a curious instance of the wide divergence between Oriental and Western ideas on this subject. One of the ruling family, a man of excellent character and respectability, went to travel in Europe, where he was extremely well received, and had his biography published in a popular English periodical. On his return he visited Constantinople and Teheran, where he was decorated with the Orders of the Medjedie and of the Lion and Sun, and returned home with three white female slaves, presents, according to his own account, from personages of the highest rank at the capitals of Turkey and Persia. Two of them he himself married, and gave the third to the King, who must have been greatly puzzled, when told of the exemplary rescripts and firmans which have from time to time been sent by Turkish and Persian Foreign Offices as evidence of the concurrence of their Governments with the views of the British Government on the general subject of the Slave Trade.

The treatment of the slave who is to remain in Zanzibar is generally not harsh; the Arab is, on the whole, a kindly master to all about him, and the condition of his slave in Zanzibar, as far as physical comfort, security, and chance of rising in the world goes, is better than anything to which he could have aspired in his own country.

But the slaves who are destined to remain in Zanzibar form but a very small proportion of the whole importations. The number required for internal consumption has been variously estimated at from 1,700 to 4,000 per annum; but, from all I could learn, the smaller number is far in excess of the real requirements of the island at the present time, and the remainder are doomed to re-exportation and all its attendant horrors and priva-

tions, which are necessarily greatly in excess of what has been already described when speaking of the short transit from the mainland to Zanzibar.

We found abundant confirmation of the opinion at which the Committee arrived after hearing some conflicting evidence, "that any attempt to supply slaves for domestic use in Zanzibar will always be a pretext and cloak for a foreign trade, while the loss of life and injury caused to maintain even the limited supply of slaves required for this purpose must of necessity be so great as to forbid the country continuing to recognize any such traffic in slaves." I saw nothing to lead me to suppose that, if the Slave Trade were stopped at once, there would not be an ample supply of labour in Zanzibar itself. After careful examination of every fact brought forward by the advocates of a temporary limited Slave Trade I could find nothing to justify a belief that the existing labouring population was insufficient, or that if any additional demand for labour arose it would not be immediately supplied in a natural way, provided no Slave Trade existed, and the free immigrant were assured of freedom during his stay on the island.

Nor did there appear any reason to suppose that, if the Slave Trade were relinquished, any serious disturbance, social, political, or industrial, need be apprehended in Zanzibar, or that the industrial position of the island would be adversely affected. On the contrary I feel fully convinced of the soundness of the opinion recorded by the Select Committee that the Sultan of Zanzibar will ultimately be no loser by the abolition of the Slave Trade. It is, consequently, not necessary to discuss any question of compensation to the Sultan or his people. The most sudden and peremptory stoppage of the Slave Trade would, I feel convinced, inflict on no one, except slave-traders, any loss for which compensation could be demanded.

The above remarks apply more especially to the trade in slaves northwards from Kilwa through Zanzibar and Pemba to the north coast and countries beyond, carried on in vessels which come down before the north-east monsoon and return home with the south-west. But there is another, and I fear not a decreasing, stream of Slave Trade in the opposite direction which is incidentally noticed by the Select Committee and regarding which we obtained some additional information.

This trade is from the mainland south of Zanzibar, and flows southward and eastward to the shores and islands of the Mozambique Channel and Madagascar. The slaves are kidnapped in the interior, including tracts from the same slave-hunting grounds which supply the Zanzibar slave-market, down to the frontier of the Kaffir and Zulu tribes. The old machinery that existed when this was a great source of supply for the Brazilian, Cuban and North American slave-market still exists though on rather a reduced scale. Slaves swarm at Mozambique and Ibo, in numbers obviously far greater than the local demand for labour can require. The Governor-General assured me of his hope that the traffic had been of late reduced to very small dimensions, but inquiry from any of the groups of slaves who might be found lounging about at all times in the streets and environs of the town would have shown his Excellency that a large proportion were very recent importations, and would have left but one inference to be drawn, that there must be a very large and steady export in some direction.

There seems in fact every reason to believe that the Portuguese dominions are still a great entrepôt for slaves, where they are transported, not often as formerly in large numbers and fully laden square-rigged slavers across the Atlantic, but in smaller numbers across the Mozambique Channel by native craft. These running south before the north-east trade winds find, when it begins to fail or get variable, that it still enables them to cross the Mozambique Channel and to run their cargo of slaves to shelter in some of the numerous islands and bays of the north-west coast of Madagascar. Here they find a ready market by being smuggled into Hova or Sakalava service, or as "libres engagés" into the French colonies of Nossi Beh and Mayotte. The most moderate estimates I have heard of the numbers thus transported from Africa to the opposite coast north of Cape St. Andrew set them down at 4,000 slaves per annum.

There has always been a considerable trade from the north with north-west Madagascar, hides, ebony, and grain being exchanged for European and Indian manufactures. This is carried on chiefly by native vessels which come down with the north-east and return with south-west monsoon. Formerly they used to lie ashore in the interval, but of late years, I was told, they are kept running backwards and forwards across the Mozambique Channel carrying slaves in small numbers at a time. I fear the Indian merchant, generally Bhorahs, through whose hands most of the trade passes on both sides of the Channel, are not guiltless of complicity in the process by which these slaves, purchasd from the Arabs and half-caste Portuguese, are converted into "libres engagés" and passed as such before the French authorities for employment in the French sugar plantations.

No partial or temporary permission of Slave Trade required. (Report, p. viii.)

No compensation needed for stoppage of slave import. (Report, p. ix.)

Mozambique Slave Trade.

I trust that the engagement entered into by the King of Johanna will do something to check this process, but it will be requisite that he should be occasionally visited by our cruisers and Consular officers, not only to see that he acts up to his engagement but to give him countenance and protection in so doing.

I see no reason to doubt that the appointment of a Consul at Mozambique and occasional visits from a Consular officer from Zanzibar to the Comoro Islands and the north-west coast of Madagascar, coupled with more regular visits from the men-of-war on the station, will do much to check this Mozambique Slave Trade.

In considering these three main divisions of the East African Slave Trade—

1. The Northern—that in Egypt, the Red Sea, and Somali Lands ;
2. The Central—that of Zanzibar ;
3. The Southern—that of Mozambique Channel ;

It is noteworthy that in their present dimensions they date from very different ages and are of very different degrees of inveteracy.

The first, or Northern, was still quite lately of very insignificant dimensions. As a maritime traffic it had nearly ceased a few years ago, whilst it was effectually matched by the vessels of the late Indian Navy, and it is only of late years that the Somalis have had the means of importing foreign slaves.

The Central or Zanzibar Trade has grown up chiefly during the past forty years. Before that period the prevalence of piracy and the absence of communication with the interior checked the development of Slave Trade. When Sultan Sayid first occupied Zanzibar and the Slave Trade first attracted notice, it appears not to have exceeded 10,000 per annum to all parts of the world, and the bulk of these went westward to America.

The third or Southern Trade may be regarded as the dregs of a trade which has existed for 200 years, and in that time has so effectually corrupted the surrounding population that it has become very difficult to revert to healthier modes of existence.

It does not require a long residence in the Portuguese Settlements to see that the task of civilization and humanity is there beset with much more formidable difficulties than further north, where the evils to be corrected are of more recent growth.

My despatches from Zanzibar will have informed your Lordship of measures taken to give effect to your instructions in laying before the Sultan the arguments relied on by Her Majesty's Government to secure his co-operation in putting down the Slave Trade. They will further have informed you that after much wavering His Highness finally resolved on taking up an attitude of decided opposition to anything like an abolition of the Slave Trade, or an effectual mitigation of its horrors.

Comparative age of the three great branches of Slave Trade.

Opposition of the Sultan of Zanzibar to any effectual mitigation of the Slave Trade.

It is not necessary here to discuss or to recapitulate the reasons which may have actuated His Highness ; but it will, I think, be clear from what is above stated, that in deciding, I believe against his first and better judgment, to oppose us, His Highness took up a line which was notably in accordance with the feeling of the most influential classes about him, but which had the tacit approval of many from he would form his estimate of European opinion.

It is also clear that, useful as would have been His Highness' moral support and authority, had he agreed with us, the harder part of the task must in any case have fallen on us, if we wished our denunciation of the trade, or His Highness' assent to our wishes, to have been anything better than waste paper. This conclusion will, I think, be more clearly evident from a consideration of the facts noted in my Memorandum* on the political position and power of the Sultan, showing how little real authority he possesses, except when swimming with the stream of Arab and African opinion.

Lastly, it is evident that, as His Highness the Khedive expressed it, the question is not one which can be settled by a "coup de sabre;" the task is one which must require many years, and the steady application of high and powerful agencies for its complete accomplishment.

The Slave Trade is, in fact, but one symptom of those peculiarities in the constitution and condition of Africa which for ages past have left her so far below the rest of the Old World in all that pertains to civilization and the enjoyment of any but animal existence.

Elsewhere migrations, wars, and commercial intercourse have favoured a fusion of races, and the domination of people stronger and more vigorous, physically or intellectually, than their neighbours ; but the negro race seems for ages past to have been shut up in the interior of Africa, under conditions which nearly excluded external civilizing influences. Peculiarly suited by physical constitution to the rich tropical country they inhabited, the negroes thrived and multiplied, till they came to be looked on

* Inclosure in No. 59 of the 7th of May.

by surrounding nations as a vast storehouse of brute force, which, if it had been more accessible, could have supplied the whole world with unskilled labour.

But, till within the last 400 years, this storehouse was hardly accessible to other nations, save by long and tedious land routes, of which the only route fairly practicable was by the Nile, through a people who, in those days, were peculiarly jealous of strangers, and able as well as willing to exclude them.

All this was changed when, in sailing round Africa, the Portuguese and other European nations found the negroes on the seaboard and on the East Coast in a fair way of being gradually civilized by contact with Indians and Arabs, who were then among the most civilized nations of the earth.

The first blow to the incipient civilization of Africa was given when the Portuguese drove out the Arabs and Indians from the East Coast, and, excluding strangers, condemned it, as far as their power went, to sterile isolation from that day to this.

But the evil work was completed when it was found that the labour of Africa was wanted in the West Indies and America, and when the Slave Trade was in consequence established.

Ever since that trade was reduced to a system, civilization in Negro Africa has stood still or has receded; the demand was for muscle only, and to procure it everything relating to civilization or humanity was necessarily sacrificed.

No imagination could depict a life so hopelessly brutalizing and retrograde as that forced on a people who pass their time in habitual fear of the slave-hunter. I do not now refer to what passes after capture, the murders and atrocities attending the kidnapping and journey down the coast or during the sea voyage, but to what is always present during the every-day life of the tribes from which the slaves are drawn. A very few narratives of what they experienced before capture, as told by a recently-caught adult slave, would satisfy the most sceptical that the description of Livingstone and others give but a faint image of the degrading influences always at work among the tribes within reach of the slave-hunting grounds. The midnight sowings and reapings, the unceremonious marriages and births which bring nothing but care and fear to the parents, the constant flittings and hidings, the concealment of anything worth taking, the life of constant terror and anxiety, are enough to sink the highest race to the level of brutes. Hearing such things, and knowing that they have continued, not for a thirty years' war, but for generations and ages, one wonders, not that the people are no better, but that they are still higher than brutes, or that they have not, at best, long since sunk to the level of Australian savages.

Yet more degrading is the reflex action of slave-hunting on the races, contact with whom under any other circumstances would help to civilize the negro. The degradation is sufficiently marked in the coast Arab, but is yet more noticeable in the Portuguese, in whom a few years of slaving leaves but little trace by which one could recognize a descendant of the "hero nation" of Prince Henry and King John.

Let it be remembered then, that negro Africa is now little if at all advanced beyond the point she had reached four centuries ago; that her people are, in fact, as uncivilized as the rude tribes of Europe before letters were invented; that the stoppage of the Slave Trade must be the first step towards raising her from her present state of degradation; but that it cannot be effected, much less rendered permanent, unless other civilizing influences be brought to bear, not only on the negro, but on other races in contact with him.

What, then, is to be done to stop the Slave Trade by sea, his Highness having refused all co-operation?

The Select Committee note the employment of cruisers to watch the coast as the principal means heretofore used to check the Trade, and indicate an increase in the number of vessels employed, an additional proportion of steam launches and other boats for inshore service, a better supply of recorded information, and a less frequent change of experienced commanders, as among the measures most likely to increase the efficiency of the squadron.

With regard to interpreters, an effective and permanent staff is of the highest importance. I am convinced that the strong representations laid before the Select Committee on this subject, and to which they specially advert,* very imperfectly represent the difficulties, injustice, and mischief of every kind consequent on the defects of many of the interpreters in times past.

Regarding the disposal of the slaves liberated by our cruisers, I have separately submitted the information collected, and the measures suggested. Finding the interest

Measures to be taken to stop the Slave Trade.

Increase to naval squadron. (Report, p. vii.)

Interpreters.

Disposal of liberated slaves.

* Report, p. vii.

of the British Indian Government far more extensive, and better recognized, watched and protected than I had expected; I have ventured to recommend a trial of a system of liberating slaves under British protection, without attempting to confine it to British territory. I would by no means be considered as condemning or even negating the proposal to obtain, by purchase or cession, territory sufficient for establishing a free African Settlement under the direct government of the British Crown; but I think the less costly and natural system should be tried first, and that any Settlement should be allowed to grow up, in a place and under conditions selected by intending settlers, and not arbitrarily imposed under advice purely official.

Of the places which seemed to me specially well-adapted for the purpose of such a Settlement, Port Durnford is beyond the limits to which the Sultan's actual authority extends, though south of the nominal northern limits of his dominions. It is recommended by its reputation as one of the healthiest spots on the coast, with a good port and considerable facilities for trade, but we have little acquaintance with the people of the country, and caution will be at first necessary in dealing with them.

Mombas presents, perhaps, the greatest advantages of all as a place for European settlement, but it may be doubted whether the Sultan would willingly part with it, or with any of the ports between it and the Pangani River, where, though his own authority is not well established, he would probably not like to see a European factory.

South of Kilwa are several excellent harbours, and a large tract of healthy, fertile coast about Kiswara, Lindy, Mekingany Bay, &c., which to the Sultan are only a source of expense, and every way well adapted for European settlement; the same is doubtless the case with much of the mainland now under the nominal dominion of Portugal, and of which very little is known except to the Portuguese and the slave-traders who frequent it.

I would recommend, as far as possible, taking advantage of non-official, and especially of missionary enterprise, giving every aid and encouragement, in the latter case, to render the establishment effective for the industrial training of the liberated Africans.

We may, I believe, by an exertion of power very speedily and effectually stop the Slave Trade, but the work will only be begun unless it is followed up by a multitude of other measures having all, more or less, for their result, if not their immediate object, the civilization of the Continent.

Throughout the greater part of Equatorial Africa the work has to be done almost as completely *ab initio* as when mankind were first dispersed after the confusion of tongues: bonds of union have to be sought, and communities knitted together; life and property have yet to be made secure; letters and all but the most rudimentary arts have still to be learnt.

Alfreds and Charlemagnes are not to be got by official indent, but they are sure to appear when, as in the present case, men trained as members of great civilized communities are brought in contact with the masses of uncivilized men, tractable, teachable, and strong to labour, under any other conditions than those of the slave and his driver.

More especially, I believe, the men required will be found when they are attracted, not by mere worldly motives, by love of gain or adventure, but by the religious zeal which civilized the forests of the north, and which now supplies more or less of motive to all but the outcasts of society in every community of the civilized world in which the constructive faculty is still active.

No. 57.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received June 29.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, June 6, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith the new Slave Treaty signed and ratified on the part of the Sultan yesterday.

I have, for safety, placed it in the hands of Lieutenant Hamilton, R.N., who will deliver it on arrival to your Lordship, and I trust that the course followed will meet with your Lordship's approval.

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

Inclosure in No. 57.

Treaty between Her Majesty and the Sultan of Zanzibar for the Suppression of the Slave Trade.

In the Name of the Most High God.

HER Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and His Highness the Seyyid Barghash-bin-Said, Sultan of Zanzibar, being desirous to give more complete effect to the engagements entered into by the Sultan and his predecessors for the perpetual abolition of the Slave Trade, they have appointed as their Representatives to conclude a new Treaty for this purpose, which shall be binding upon themselves, their heirs and successors, that is to say, Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland has appointed to that end John Kirk, the Agent of the English Government at Zanzibar; and His Highness the Seyyid Barghash, the Sultan of Zanzibar, has appointed to that end Nasir-bin-Said, and the two aforementioned, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, have agreed upon and concluded the following Articles:—

ARTICLE I.

The provisions of the existing Treaties having proved ineffectual for preventing the export of slaves from the territories of the Sultan of Zanzibar in Africa, Her Majesty the Queen and His Highness the Sultan above named agree that from this date the export of slaves from the coast of the mainland of Africa, whether destined for transport from one part of the Sultan's dominions to another or for conveyance to foreign parts, shall entirely cease. And His Highness the Sultan binds himself, to the best of his ability, to make an effectual arrangement throughout his dominions to prevent and abolish the same. And any vessel engaged in the transport or conveyance of slaves after this date shall be liable to seizure and condemnation by all such Naval or other Officers or Agents and such Courts as may be authorized for that purpose on the part of Her Majesty.

ARTICLE II.

His Highness the Sultan engages that all public markets in his dominions for the buying and selling of imported slaves shall be entirely closed.

ARTICLE III.

His Highness the Sultan above named engages to protect, to the utmost of his ability, all liberated slaves, and to punish severely any attempt to molest them or to reduce them again to slavery.

ARTICLE IV.

Her Britannic Majesty engages that natives of Indian States under British protection shall be prohibited from possessing slaves, and from acquiring any fresh slaves in the meantime,* from this date.

ARTICLE V.

The present Treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged, at Zanzibar, as soon as possible, but in any case in the course of the 9th of Rabia-el-Akhir [5th of June, 1873] of the months of the date hereof. In witness whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed their seals to this Treaty, made the 5th of June, 1873, corresponding to the 9th of the month Rabia-el-Akhir, 1290.

(Signed) JOHN KIRK,
Political Agent, Zanzibar.
(L.S.)

The mean in God's sight.
(Signed) NASIR-BIN-SAID-BIN-ABDALLAH.†
With his own hand.

* The words "in the meantime" are redundant here. They were connected in the original English draft and in my translation, from which they are copied, with the sentence "from and after a date to be hereafter fixed."—G. P. B.

† No seal is appended to this signature. The defect is made good by the signature and seal of the Sultan to the ratifications following.—G. P. B.

[The following is evidently intended as the Sultan's ratification of the Treaty.]

WE have looked into and considered this Treaty, and we agree to it and accept it; and we confirm everything which it sets forth in all its provisions and Articles. And we confirm the same on behalf of our heirs and those who may succeed us, giving our firm bond and covenant, and our faithful word, to carry out all that is set forth in the body of this written document, and to avoid as much as possible everything that contravenes it, and, to the best of our ability, not to transgress its provisions and conditions. In confirmation of which we hereto affix our seal and our signature with our own hand this 9th day of Rabia-el-Akhir, 1290 [5th June, 1873].

Approved by
The poor, the unworthy,
(Signed) BARGHASH-BIN-SAID-BIN-SULTAN.
Written by his own hand.
(L.S.)

Translated by
(Signed) GEORGE PERCY BADGER.
June 30, 1873.

No. 58.

Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.—(Received June 30,)

My Lord,

London, June 30, 1873.

WITH reference to my letter of the 13th instant, reporting my arrival in England, I have the honour to bring to your Lordship's notice, my obligations to the gentlemen associated with me by Her Majesty's Government in the duties connected with the special Mission to Zanzibar and Muscat.

I have already expressed my sense of the great loss which the Mission sustained in the departure of Mr. Badger, whose unrivalled acquirements as an Arabic scholar, and intimate acquaintance with the former relations of Muscat and Zanzibar, rendered it impossible to fill his place.

Colonel Pelly was summoned to Simla by the Viceroy of India, on matters unconnected with my Mission, and left me at Bombay.

I forwarded by his hands, for the Viceroy's information, complete copies of all my public correspondence, as far as they could be of interest to the Government of India; and I requested Colonel Pelly to furnish to the Viceroy any further information or explanation which the documents so sent might be found to require, and which I had hoped myself to have afforded, had time permitted me to go on to Simla.

I take this opportunity of bringing to your Lordship's special notice the great utility of the services which Colonel Pelly rendered to the Mission, not only as regarded the scene of his former official labours whilst Consul at Zanzibar, but on the Arabian Coast. I found the way well prepared by the attention he had, for a long time past, devoted to the subject, and he had anticipated your Lordship's instructions to me regarding the Chiefs in the Persian Gulf, from all of whom he had required and obtained agreements, recognizing and reiterating in more emphatic terms, their obligations under former agreements to exert themselves for the suppression of Slave Trade.

It is due to Colonel Pelly to state my conviction that the speedy and complete success which attended our negotiations with the King of Johanna, the Nakeeb of Maculla, and the Sultan of Muscat, were, in my opinion, to a great extent due to the judgment of Colonel Pelly and to the high character he has established, wherever he has been employed, for firmness and straightforward dealing. It will afford me great satisfaction to know that Colonel Pelly's services to my Mission have met with the marked approval of your Excellency and Her Majesty's Government.

The other members of my staff returned with me to England, and I shall be glad, if your Lordship should see fit, to acknowledge to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty my obligations to Captain Fairfax, R.N., for the very important assistance I received from him. His long experience, both local and professional, was of the greatest value to me, and contributed not only to lighten my labours, but to secure results which, without the aid of a most efficient naval associate, would have been unattainable. It was mainly through his sound advice that I was able to visit as many as twenty-four of the principal points on the African coast and Islands, and to extend my voyage to the Mozambique Channel and coast of Madagascar.

To Major Euan Smith, C.S.I., of the Indian Staff Corps, and to Mr. Charles Grey, of the India Office, my best thanks are due for the valuable assistance I received from them on every occasion; nothing could have exceeded the readiness and ability with which their aid was most efficiently rendered on all occasions. Major Euan Smith more than supported the high character he had earned for himself as Secretary to Sir Frederick Goldsmid in his arduous mission to define the boundary between Persia and Affghanistan.

To Mr. Hill, of the Foreign Office, who acted throughout as Secretary to the Mission, my thanks are due for his cordial and able assistance; and I would beg to acknowledge, through your Lordship, my obligations to him for very valuable services most efficiently and zealously rendered, and characterized in every way by that high tone which insures the respect alike of our countrymen and foreigners with whom he has been brought into official relations.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. B. E. FRERE.



MAP OF COASTS VISITED BY SIR B. FRERE
 and
 PLACES MENTIONED IN HIS REPORTS
 on the
 SPECIAL MISSION TO ZANZIBAR AND MASCAT
 for the
 SUPPRESSION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

— Outward Route.
 — Return Route.