THE SLAVE TRADE
OF
EAST AFRICA.
PRESENTED TO THE UNIVERSITY
BY THE RHODES TRUSTEES
THE SLAVE TRADE
OF
EAST AFRICA.

BY EDWARD HUTCHINSON, F.R.G.S., F.S.A.
(Lay Secretary, Church Missionary Society.)

LONDON:
SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON, LOW, AND SEARLE,
CROWN BUILDINGS, 188, FLEET STREET, E.C.

1874.
TO

His Serene Highness the Duke of Teck,

IN ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF

HIS GENEROUS ADVOCACY OF THE CAUSE OF

THE NEGRO SLAVE,

THESE PAGES ARE, BY HIS KIND PERMISSION,

Inscribed.
INDEX.

CHAPTER I.
History of the Slave Trade 7

CHAPTER II.
The People and their Land 20

CHAPTER III.
Measures for Checking the Slave Trade 33

CHAPTER IV.
Present Position of Matters 56

CHAPTER V.
Results on the West Coast 62

CHAPTER VI.
Disposal of the Liberated Slaves 78
PREFACE.

The scope of this little work is confined to the Trade in Negro Slaves between the Dominion of Zanzibar, on the East Coast of Africa, and the Arabian and Persian shores.

There are branches of the Slave Trade passing into Egypt, and from the interior of Africa to the borders of the Mediterranean. Until Egypt, Turkey, Arabia, and Persia abandon domestic slavery, or, in other words, abandon Mohammedanism, this trade will continue.

Over these countries England can exercise none but a moral influence, and to attempt or suggest any stronger, in connection with the effort to put down the Zanzibar trade, will only add embarrassment to the difficulty of the task which lies before us. That task is the suppression of the Slave Trade described in these pages.

This is no quixotic undertaking, it lies in our path of duty, and is within our grasp.

The determination of the English Government to suppress the trade has been nobly stated by Lord Palmerston, and again by Lord Granville, in his dispatch to the Sultan of Zanzibar. Public opinion has only to be informed as to the facts, in order to secure a hearty support to the Government in carrying out their determination.

I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Murray, for permission to quote from "The Zambesi," and the "Quarterly Review;" and to Mr. J. Cooper, for the quotation from his translation of Prof. Berlioux's work, "La Traite Orientale."

I would take this opportunity of acknowledging the encouragement and kindness which I have received in the preparation of this little work from the Baroness Burdett-Coutts, who has added to her many labours in behalf of suffering creation, efforts for the suppression of the East African Slave Trade.

Profits of the work to go to the Church Missionary Society's Special Fund for East Africa.
THE

SLAVE TRADE OF EAST AFRICA.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

In the month of May, 1769, Granville Sharpe published the result of his enquiries into the law of England on the toleration of slavery in this kingdom. The basis of this investigation was, it may be remembered, the opinion given in 1729, by the then Attorney and Solicitor-Generals, Yorke and Talbot, that a slave, by coming to England, did not become free, and might be legally compelled to return with his master to the plantations. Granville Sharpe, after a careful examination of the subject, concluded “that the sentiment of Lord Chief Justice Holt, that as soon as a negro comes into England he becomes free, might safely be preferred to all contrary opinions.”

Soon afterwards, the action brought on behalf of the negro Somerset afforded an opportunity of testing the correctness of this opinion, and establishing, as a rule of law, Lord Chief Justice Holt’s now well-known sentiment.

Least prominent in the contest which led to this result, though its real mainspring, stands the figure of Granville Sharpe, the prosecutor, who, though poor and immersed in the duties of a toilsome daily occupation, supplied the money, the leisure, the perseverance, and the learning required for this great controversy, and yet had carefully concealed his own connection with it, fearful lest so humble a name should weaken a cause so momentous.

With no special education, and but little leisure, the Ordnance
clerk had, by unflinching industry and toil, proved himself on a par, if not superior, in one main branch of English law, to some of our most eminent judges of that period; such at least is the dictum of the late Sir James Stephen. One hundred years have passed away, a century whose chief characteristics tell of war and bloodshed, ambition and its punishment; in bright contrast stands out the monument which records the history of the abolition of the Slave Trade. To Granville Sharpe belongs the honour of having first aroused in the English mind a sense of the enjoyment of a freedom so perfect, so ennobling, so gracious, as to cover and enfranchise all who share with Englishmen the privilege of treading English soil.

When, in the mercy of God to Africa, a few earnest men were found whose hearts bled for her wrongs, and whose hands were strong to redress those wrongs, foremost as leaders stood Granville Sharpe, Clarkson, and William Wilberforce. To the first was committed the presidency of the Society formed for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, and to Wilberforce was assigned the general superintendence and Parliamentary management of the cause. The century whose commencement we have marked has passed away, and we witness the result of these men's labours; truly they have laboured, and we have entered into their labours. They contemplated but the overthrow of a gigantic evil, the curse of Africa's sons; we see that curse removed, and in place of the slaver and the slave barracoon, looking from the very spot where John Newton lamented his captivity in the service of Satan, we see a Freetown, many of whose inhabitants, once slaves, or the children of slaves, are now free men in Christ Jesus. Nay more, we see the Gospel carried into the old haunts of the slavers; and as the sailor makes for the bar of Lagos, that last hold of the slave trade, his landmark for the harbour is the tower of an English church, one of three erected there by the Church Missionary Society. Still further on we find a native Christian church in Abeokuta, and at various places on the Niger, native churches, their spiritual father himself once a slave, now a bishop of our own Church. The close of the century is fairly marked by the comment of the Pall Mall Gazette on the
official report of the Slave Trade. Writing in May, 1869, it pronounces the African slave trade to be a thing of the past, adding that the British cruiser is not the only obstacle to the trade, but the want of purchasers has rendered the trade useless and unprofitable, and never to be resuscitated.

It may be well, in directing the attention of our readers to the slave trade at present carried on with all the horrors of the old trade, upon the East Coast of Africa, to call to remembrance the circumstances under which the battle of the West Coast slave trade was fought and won. The disappointments and failures in that conflict may not be familiar to all, and many of our readers may be surprised to learn that twenty long years of labour and sorrow were consumed ere Mr. Wilberforce's efforts for the abolition of the slave trade were crowned with success. In 1789 he first proposed the abolition of the slave trade in the House of Commons, and it was not until April 1791 that the question was brought directly to an issue. The two years that had elapsed since his successful speech in 1789 had sufficed to change the current of popular feeling; and some indication of the temper of the time, and of the estimate formed by thinking men of the difficulties in Wilberforce's path, may be gathered from the following letter, penned by John Wesley on his dying bed. They are, according to Sir James Stephen, probably the last written words of that great servant of God:

"My Dear Sir—Unless Divine power has raised you up to be as Athanasius contra mundum, I see not how you can go through your glorious enterprise in opposing that execrable villany which is the scandal of religion, of England, and of human nature. Unless God has raised you up for this very thing, you will be worn out by the opposition of men and devils. But if God be for you, who can be against you? Are all of them together stronger than God? Oh, be not weary in well-doing! Go on in the name of God, in the name of His might, till even American slavery, the vilest that ever saw the sun, shall vanish away before it. That He who has guided you from your youth up may continue to strengthen you in this and in all things, is the prayer of, dear Sir, your affectionate Servant.

"John Wesley."

The event justified these forebodings. Mr. Wilberforce's motion was lost by a large majority; even Mr. Pitt, with
whom he had concerted his first measure, avowing his opinion that it was wiser to await more tranquil times before the trade could be abolished. Again and again did Mr. Wilberforce return to the attack. His perseverance was at length rewarded, and the House of Commons for the first time passed a Bill, in 1794, for the immediate abolition of the trade. This Bill was lost in the House of Lords; and in succeeding sessions Mr. Wilberforce laboured zealously, though ineffectually, to induce the House of Commons to resume the ground they had already occupied. Defeat followed defeat, and the contest, which had lasted for twelve years, seemed for a while to leave the advocates of slavery the masters of the field. In 1802, however, Mr. Wilberforce resumed his attempt, though under most discouraging circumstances. A second time did the Bill pass the Commons, only to be hung up in the Lords, and the question was adjourned to the following Session. The next effort was foiled; the House of Commons, in 1805, rejecting the Bill, inflicting upon Mr. Wilberforce distress and pain beyond that suffered on any previous defeat. But the impending change in the position of parties gave promise of hope. The Ministry of Mr. Fox had scarcely succeeded Mr. Pitt's Cabinet, when Bills were introduced into the Lords, and a Resolution carried in the Commons, condemnatory of the trade; and finally, in 1807, was passed the Slave Trade Abolition Bill. Twenty-six years afterwards, the abolition of slavery in all British Dominions took place, and the example and influence of England soon secured from all European powers treaty-engagements by which trade in African slaves was declared to be piracy, and punishable as such. Under these treaties the African squadron was maintained, and mixed courts instituted at various ports around the African coast, for adjudging all cases of capture or seizure of vessels engaged in the trade, and England guaranteed the freedom of the slaves who should fall into her hands by capture. The watch maintained by the cruisers of the African squadron, and the other energetic efforts maintained by this country, have been crowned with success. So far as the West Coast of Africa is concerned, the African Slave Trade is a thing of the past.
But while this happy result is chronicled concerning the old Atlantic Slave Trade, the conviction has been gradually forced upon the public mind that a very different state of things prevails on the East Coast. The annual reports of our Consul at Zanzibar, and the despatches of the naval officers in command of the few vessels which form the East African Squadron have for some time told a very different story. These reports and despatches, which are annually presented to Parliament, furnished particulars of the trade in negro slaves, carried on between the East African Coast and ports on the Persian Gulf, the Southern shores of Arabia and Persia, and the Red Sea.

It is proposed, in the following pages, to examine into the circumstances of this slave trade, to recapitulate the measures hitherto adopted for its suppression, and to show, from the results arrived at on the West Coast, that the method adopted by England in dealing with the old West African Slave Trade has been abundantly successful in every respect, and may be followed with like results in dealing with the East African trade.

It was in the year 1822 that the attention of the British Government was first called to the traffic in negro slaves carried on nominally between the African and Persian dominions of the then Imam of Muscat, but in reality between his African dominions and the very ports on the Red Sea and Persian Gulf to which the slaves are now carried. The dominions of the Imam at that time comprised the petty state of Muscat, on the Southern shore of the Persian Gulf, and a large portion of the African coast, extending from Cape Delgado, at about 11° South Latitude, to a port called Jubb, about 1° South of the Equator, including the large and important islands of Zanzibar, Pemba, and Monfia. The British Government, while declaring its intention of suppressing foreign slave trading, refused to meddle with slavery as a domestic institution, and accordingly, in the case of the Imam of Muscat, determined to permit the slave trade between port and port in his own dominions; and a treaty to this effect was arranged between our Government and the Imam. This treaty, dated 10th September, 1822,
stipulates that the Imam will abolish the trade in slaves between his dominions and every Christian country. By the treaty and a subsequent convention, authority to search and detain Muscat vessels was given to Her Majesty's ships, and the ships of war belonging to the East Indian Company. By a further agreement, concluded between the Sultan Syud Saeed of Muscat and Her Majesty the Queen, on the 2nd October, 1845, the Sultan agreed to prohibit, under the severest penalties, not only the export of slaves from his African dominions, but also the importation of slaves from any part of Africa into his dominions in Asia. By that treaty permission was granted to our cruisers to seize and confiscate any vessels carrying on slave trade, except only such as were engaged in the transport of slaves from one port to another of the Sultan's African dominions, between the port of Lamoo and its dependencies, and the port of Kilwa and its dependencies, including the islands of Zanzibar, Pemba, and Monfia, thus limiting the traffic to the coastwise trade in the Sultan's African dominions; the effect of this limitation being nevertheless to continue a protection from our cruisers to the slavers, over about half their journey North.

Upon the death of Sultan Syud Saeed, his dominions were divided between his two sons, one retaining the Persian, and the other succeeding to the African territories, with the title of Sultan of Zanzibar. This division was not effected without strife, which at one time went the length of a threatened invasion of the Zanzibar territory by the sovereign of Muscat, who had chartered for the occasion a fleet of "dhow.s." But the movement was summarily crushed by the appearance of a British squadron, which intimated in unmistakable terms that England would permit no infringement of what she regarded as her sole prerogative in those waters. A truce was thereupon agreed to, and to a British officer was intrusted the task of preparing a treaty between the brothers, and settling the terms on which the division of territory should be made. The main article of the treaty was, that, in consideration of the superior wealth and extent of the African dominions claimed by the Sultan of Zanzibar, he should pay to his poorer
brother of Muscat, an annual subsidy of 40,000 crowns, equal to about £8,000 sterling.

Subsequent events have shown that the particular source whence this subsidy was to be drawn was the royalty derived by the Sultan from the slave-trade, of which he has the keys. We have been thus particular in detailing the connection between the saintly house of Muscat and the slave-trade, because, although there are branches of the East Coast slave-trade wholly unconnected with either Zanzibar or Muscat, there can be no question that, since the decline of the Portuguese power, and the extinction of the American trade, the principal abettors of the trade have been the rulers of Muscat and Zanzibar.

In former days, about twenty to twenty-five years ago, our cruisers used to seize slavers in the Mozambique Channel, bound for Cuba or South America, and the writer well remembers the arrival at the Cape of Good Hope of ship-loads of these poor creatures, who were liberated there, and apprenticed by the Government to such of the inhabitants as would undertake for five years the support and training of the boy or girl committed to their care. In place of this trade, now defunct, there is a small trade in slaves carried on with Madagascar and the French islands of Mayotta, Nos Bé and Réunion; the latter used to go under the name of the free engagés system—a name pronounced by Colonel Playfair, the late Consul at Zanzibar, to be but a synonym for the slave-trade.

We now come to the main division—the Northern Slave-trade—which is carried on entirely by Arabs; the capital, however, being largely furnished by Banians British subjects, and the chief points between which it is pursued are from the mainland opposite and to the south of Zanzibar, to the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, and thence to the Red Sea and Persian Gulf.

Before proceeding further with our subject, let us examine into the reasons assignable for the existence of this Slave Trade.

Monsieur Ménon, of the island of Réunion, who was formerly engaged in promoting what he calls African emigration to the French colonies, ascribes the existence of the Slave Trade to the fact that the tribes of the interior are in a state of perpetual
warfare, and that the slaves sold are merely the prisoners taken in war; and he endeavours to show that, this being so, and there being no prospect of those wars discontinuing, it is better that the system of free engagés should be permitted as a legitimate outlet for the results of those wars. But the travels of Dr. Livingstone dispel this theory, and show that war and kidnapping are pursued for the ultimate purpose of trade.

Colonel Playfair, the Resident at Zanzibar, writing to Lord Russell in 1865, says:—

"The whole fabric of Arab society is so interwoven with slavery that it is hopeless to expect that it will ever permanently abandon their pursuit of slaves. Their fathers have possessed them ever since Arabia was peopled, and they have no idea of a state of things in which slaves do not occupy a prominent place. The institution is one sanctioned by their religion. Such a thing as civil law, or any other not contained in the Koran, is unknown to them; and I fear that no efforts of ours can induce them to regard slavery with the horror which its name excites in a Christian mind.

"There is one thing to be said in palliation of slavery amongst Arabs, and that is, that no class of the community is so happy, so free from care, and so well treated, as the Mohammedan slave; nine out of ten of them would hardly regard freedom as a boon; and but for our intervention, which compels slavers to resort to all kinds of expedients to procure cargoes, the sufferings of the slaves 'after' their arrival on the coast would be hardly appreciable.

"But it is that word 'after' which says so much. We shall never know the amount of suffering, the severance of family ties, and the misery resulting from the depopulation of large tracks of country, which is caused by the pursuit of slaves in the interior of Africa."

Dr. Livingstone also says:—

"We have been careful to mention in the text the different ways in which the Slave Trade is carried on, because we believe, that though this odious traffic baffled many of our efforts to ameliorate the condition of the natives, our expedition is the first that ever saw slavery at its fountain-head, and in all its phases. The assertion has been risked, because no one was in a condition to deny it, that the Slave Trade was, like any other branch of commerce, subject to the law of supply and demand, and therefore it ought to be free. From what we have seen, it involves so much of murder in it as an essential element, that it can scarcely be allowed to remain in the catalogue of commerce, any more than garotting, thuggee, or piracy."
There can be no doubt that the usual laws of supply and demand do, to a certain extent, regulate and influence this, as they do all trade; and that while the markets of Arabia and Persia are open and ready for the purchase of the negro, so long will the supply continue; and as long as slavery is regarded as a domestic institution in Mohammedan countries, so long are those markets likely to absorb a regular supply. But, as is observed by Dr. Livingstone, there is so much murder and crime inseparably connected with the present system of supply, that the trade cannot receive the moral protection of the usual laws of supply and demand. But even admitting, as we must, that the progeny of Mohammedan countries creates the demand, it is manifest that that demand will be not only in proportion to the facility with which the supply is obtained. Let difficulties arise which shall raise the price of the slave, or better still, let the value of the labourer on his own soil be enhanced by arrangements which will turn him into a producer for the general markets of the world, and the consumer must either alter his domestic arrangements, or substitute some other agency for the negro slave. The introduction, therefore, of lawful commerce into East Africa might be expected to prove a powerful antidote to the evil of the slave trade. But, unfortunately, there are two great obstacles in our way; the first, the existence of the Slave Trade—the barrier to all trade and civilisation; the other, the claim set up by the Portuguese to the sovereignty of a large portion of this coast. Over this coast-line extends the withering blight of a feeble and obsolete system of protection which seizes all vessels attempting to trade on that coast without licences from the Portuguese Government, and so driving the inhabitants into the Slave Trade, which the Portuguese have not the power to repress. Her Majesty’s Commissioners at Cape Town, writing on this subject in May 1863, say:—

"Whether shipped in the Mozambique or further onward, however, it must be borne in mind that the unhappy slaves are almost all supplied by the country lying beyond the Portuguese territory, and the continuance of the traffic may fairly be attributed, in a great degree, to the restrictions with which the Portuguese authorities have fettered commerce along the coast over which she claims sovereignty."
In the opinion of Captain Gardner, after an experience of three years upon this station, Portugal has, by these restrictions, stopped legal trade on the whole coast, and left her own subjects and the native chiefs nothing but the Slave Trade to depend upon."

In further support of the above statement, we quote from the Postscript to the Preface of Dr. Livingstone's last work. He says, in reference to the answer put forward by the Portuguese Government to the statement made by him at the meeting of the British Association at Bath, in September, 1864, that—

"The main object of the Portuguese Government is not geographical. It is to bolster up that pretence to power which has been the only obstacle to the establishment of lawful commerce and friendly relations with the native inhabitants of Eastern Africa. I may add, that it is the unwarranted assumption of power over 1360 miles of coast—from English River to Cape Delgado, where the Portuguese have, in fact, little real authority—which perpetuates the barbarism of the inhabitants. The Portuguese interdict all foreign commerce except at a very few points where they have established custom-houses, and even at these, by an exaggerated and obstructive tariff and differential duties, they completely shut out the natives from any trade, except that in slaves.

"Looking from South to North, let us glance at the enormous sea-board which the Portuguese in Europe endeavour to make us believe belongs to them. Delgoa Bay has a small fort called Lorenzo Marques, but nothing beyond the walls. At Inhambane they hold a small strip of land by sufferance of the natives. Sofala is in ruins; and from Quilimane northwards, for 690 miles, they have only one small stockade, protected by an armed launch in the mouth of the river Angoxa, to prevent foreign vessels from trading there. Then, at Mozambique they have the little island on which the fort stands, and a strip about three miles long on the mainland, on which they have a few farms, which are protected from hostility only by paying the natives an annual tribute, which they call 'having the blacks in their pay.' The settlement has long been declining in trade and importance. It is garrisoned by a few hundred sickly soldiers shut up in the fort, and, even with a small coral island near, can hardly be called secure. On the Island of Oibo, or Iboe, an immense number of slaves are collected, but there is little trade of any kind. At Pomba Bay a small fort was made, but it is very doubtful whether it still exists, the attempt to form a settlement there having entirely failed. They pay tribute to the Zulus for the land they cultivate on the right bank of the Zambesi; and the general effect of the pretence of power and obstruction to commerce is to drive the independent native chiefs to the Arab dhow Slave Trade as the only one open to them."
The quotations above made, with those that follow, show that the despatches and journals of Dr. Livingstone are a mine of trustworthy information and sound views as to the trade.

Indeed, in all the later wanderings of the great traveller, he was ever confronted with this scourge and curse of East Africa, and it is no wonder that in almost all his official reports he speaks of it in terms of horror and disgust. It was the demon that haunted the last twenty years of his life; it met him at every turn, and baffled him more than once in his researches.

It is therefore not to be wondered at that in returning to Africa in 1865 he set before himself, as a part of his task, the suppression of this slave trade. The following letter from Lord Russell communicates his appointment as Consul:

"Earl Russell to Lieutenant-Colonel Playfair.

"Foreign Office, May 5, 1865.

"Sir,—I have to acquaint you that the Queen has been graciously pleased to appoint Dr. Livingstone to be Her Majesty's Consul in the territories of the African Kings and Chiefs in the interior of Africa not subject to the authority of the King of Portugal, or of the King of Abyssinia, or of the Viceroy of Egypt.

"The Queen's Commission has been given to Dr. Livingstone with a view to assist him in the important journey he is about to undertake, and which has for its objects the exploration of that part of the African continent lying between the 5th degrees of north and south latitude, the encouragement of lawful trade, and the suppression of the export traffic in slaves.

"Dr. Livingstone will proceed to Zanzibar, where he will make arrangements for starting on his journey into the interior; and I have to desire that you will yourself afford him the benefit of your advice and assistance, and that you will bespeak for him the good offices of the Sultan of Zanzibar in the prosecution of the important expedition he is about to undertake, and in the success of which, you will inform His Highness, Her Majesty's Government take a lively interest.

"I am, &c.,

(Signed) "Russell."

The great traveller's despatches show how constantly the slave trade was in his thoughts, and the accompanying report bears witness to the care he bestowed on the matter.
The opening words of this report are very valuable, as showing the opinion entertained by Livingstone of the benefits derived by Western Africa from the policy of England in the suppression of the slave trade there.


"I devoted part of the time of my detention at the Island of Zanzibar to a careful and earnest study of our political relations with the Sultan, and to a minute investigation of the causes which have prevented those parts of Eastern Africa, subject to Arab influences, from reaping the same advantages, by the policy of Her Majesty's Government against the Slave Trade, which have been realized in large portions of Western Africa, inhabited by less promising races of people.

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

"Among the political considerations are specified that these Northern Arab slave traders are lawless pirates, whom the Sultan, however willing, cannot coerce. His power in the Island of Zanzibar is very limited, and on the coast line of the adjacent continent he possesses but a mere shadow of power. In fact, to the Arabs he represents that leader only who first guided them down the East coast for conquest. They acknowledge him as their Chief (Syed), but not their Sultan; and since the present occupant of the Chief-tainship has been separated from those possessions in Asia, whence his father, the old Imaum of Muscat, drew all his military power, Syed Majid, the son, can muster no force to control either the Zanzibar or the Northern Arab slave traders. His utter powerlessness to withstand the slaving propensities of the pirates and kidnappers who annually infest his island and seas, has been thus forcibly, though hypothetically expressed. Should the Sultan attempt the abolition of the Slave trade in his dominions, so intimately linked is that traffic with the whole system of slavery in which he is placed, the proclamation would ensure a revolution, his own expulsion, or even death.

"In judging of the weight due to these and similar assertions, it must never be left out of view for a moment that Syed Majid is the creature of English power alone. . . . He resembles one of the Indian protected princes, but destitute of any organized
force by land or sea which his political Resident might wield for his
or his subjects' benefit.

"Our treaty with the Sultan's father furnishes a more important
consideration than anything else. This treaty allows the Slave
Trade to be carried on within certain specified limits, and for the
avowed object of permitting supplies of labour to be carried to the
more southerly territories of the late Imaum. This concession of
a limited use of the Slave Trade was no doubt made in the hope
that, at some no very distant date, the way would be paved for
the complete cessation of the trade in slaves. It certainly never
was contemplated by either of the contracting parties that a special
stipulation for a small and well-defined remission of the traffic should
be made, as now it is made, the means of erecting the Island of
Zanzibar into a great slave emporium, and extending the ocean Slave
Trade to the Red Sea and Persian Gulf. Still, though our object in
the Treaty has been perverted, and we have been practically over-
reached, treaty obligations ought to be respected till that alteration is
made in the stipulations which the present aspect of the ocean
Slave Trade throughout the world demands."

Again, writing from Lake Nyassa in the following month of
August, he returns to the subject, and says:—

"I would earnestly recommend that His Highness the Sultan
be pressed so to alter the Treaty with his late father as to cancel
our permission of a limited Slave Trade.

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

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

And, again, in a letter dated 1st February, 1867, written from
Bembo, about 500 miles from the spot where he penned his
first report, he devotes the greater part of his space to the slave
trade, and concludes with a regret that the geographical notes
must be so scanty.
It will be seen from the preceding pages that it is an alien race of Arab invaders who have carried on and profited by this traffic, and we shall see that in almost all cases the raids are actual invasions by Arabs into peaceful lands.

CHAPTER II.

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR LAND.

Let us now turn our attention to the people who are made the victims of this trade. The district from which the principal supplies for this trade have been drawn lies between the fifth and fifteenth parallels of south latitude. Dr. Livingstone describes it on the south about the Shire and Zambesi rivers, and on the north in the Manyuema country, to the west and south of Lake Tanganika.

Professor Berlioux, in "La Traite Orientale," gives the following description of the country whence the slave gangs are now drawn, and it should be remembered that not many years ago the hunter found his prey among the coast tribes, who now have been almost entirely destroyed:—

"Let us now more particularly direct our attention to the table-land, whose waters run into the Zambesi, and there study this devastation. The Nyassa, which is in the middle of this table-land, is a beautiful lake, whose waters so abound with fish, that the satiated crocodiles almost cease to be dangerous. All round the lake rise mountains covered with forests, cultivated fields, and villages, intersected with a multitude of smiling valleys, with meadows where vast flocks feed, and where numerous brooks flow into the Nyassa, spreading freshness and fertility. In certain places the population is compact, and the villages form an almost continuous chain; the soil is fertile, and the produce varied.

"When Livingstone visited these countries for the first time in 1851, he saw the population, men, women, and children, scattered over the plain engaged in agriculture; and as he passed through the villages he heard the sound of mills grinding corn, or workmen weaving cotton."

The following most interesting picture of the simple pastoral life of the tribes whom the slave hunter makes his prey is
furnished by one of Livingstone's last letters to the Foreign Secretary. He says:

"The stockade was situated by a rivulet, and had a dense grove of high, damp-loving trees round a spring on one side, and open country, pretty well cultivated, on the other. It was cold, and over 4,700 feet above the sea, with a good deal of forest land and ranges of hills in the distance. The Arabs were on the west side of the stockade, and one of Chitimbwa's wives at once vacated her house on the east side for my convenience. Chitimbwa was an elderly man with grey hair and beard, and of quiet, self-possessed manners. He had five wives, and my hut being one of the circle which their houses formed, I often sat reading or writing outside, and had a good opportunity of seeing the domestic life in this Central African harem, without appearing to be prying. The chief wife—the mother of Chitimbwa's son and heir—was somewhat aged, but was the matron in authority over the establishment. The rest were young, with fine shapes, pleasant countenances, and nothing of the West Coast African about them. Three of them had each a child, making, with the eldest son, a family of four children to Chitimbwa. The matron seemed to reverence her husband, for when she saw him approaching she invariably went out of the way, and knelt down till he had passed. It was the time of year for planting and weeding the plantations, and the regular routine work of all the families in the town was nearly as follows:—Between three and four o'clock in the morning, when the howling of the hyenas and growling of the lions or leopards told that they had spent the night fasting, the first human sounds heard were those of the good wives knocking off the red coals from the ends of the sticks in the fire, and raising up a blaze to which young and old crowded for warmth from the cold, which at this time is the most intense of the twenty-four hours. Some Psangé smoker lights his pipe, and makes the place ring with his nasty screaming stridulous coughing. Then the cocks begin to crow (about four a.m.), and the women call to each other to make ready to march. They go off to their gardens in companies, and keep up a brisk, loud conversation, with a view to frighten away any lion or buffalo that may not yet have retired, and for this the human voice is believed to be efficacious. The gardens, or plantations, are usually a couple of miles from the village. This is often for the purpose of securing safety for the crops from their own goats or cattle, but more frequently for the sake of the black loamy soil near the banks of rivulets. This they prefer for maize and dura, while for a small species of millet, called mileza, they select a patch in the forest, which they manure by burning the branches of trees. The distance which the good wives willingly go to get the soil best adapted for different plants makes their arrival just before dawn. Fire has been brought from home, and a little pot is set on with beans or pulse—something
that requires long simmering—and the whole family begins to work at what seems to give them real pleasure. The husband, who had marched in front of each little squad with a spear and little axe over his shoulder, at once begins to cut off all the sprouts on the stumps left in clearing the ground. All bushes also fall to his share, and all the branches of tall trees too hard to be cut down are filed round the root, to be fired when dry. He must also cut branches to make a low fence round the plantation, for few wild beasts like to cross over anything having the appearance of human workmanship. The wart-hog having a great weakness for ground-nuts, otherwise called pig-nuts, must be circumvented by a series of pitfalls, or a deep ditch, and earthen dyke all round the nut plot. If any other animal has made free with the food of the family, papa carefully examines the trail of the intruder—makes a deep pitfall in it, covers it carefully over—and every day it is a most interesting matter to see whether the thief has been taken for the pot. The mother works away vigourously with her hoe, often adding new batches of virgin land to that already under cultivation. The children help by removing the weeds and grass which she has uprooted into heaps to be dried and burned. They seem to know and watch every plant in the field. It is all their own; no one is stinted as to the land he may cultivate; the more they plant the more they have to eat and to spare. In some parts of Africa the labour falls almost exclusively on the women, and the males are represented as atrociously cruel to them. It was not so here; nor is it so in Central Africa generally. Indeed, the women have often decidedly the upper hand. The clearances by law and custom were the work of the men; the weeding was the work of the whole family, and so was the reaping. The little girls were nursing baby under the shade of a watch-house perched on the tops of a number of stakes about twelve feet or fourteen feet high, and to this the family adjourn when the dura is in ear, to scare away birds by day and antelopes by night. About eleven a.m. the sun becomes too hot for comfortable work, and all come under the shade of the lofty watch-tower, or a tree left for the purpose. Mamma serves out the pottage, now thoroughly cooked, by placing a portion in each pair of hands. It is bad manners here to receive any gift with but one hand. They eat it with keen appetites, and with so much relish that for ever afterwards they think to eat with the hand is far nicer than with a spoon. Mamma takes and nurses baby while she eats her own share. Baby seems a general favourite, and is not exhibited till he is quite a little ball of fat. Every one then takes off beads to ornament him. He is not born with a silver spoon in his mouth, and one may see poor mothers who have no milk mix a little flour and water in the palm of the hand, and his sisters look on with intense interest to see the little stranger making a milk-bottle of the side of the mother's hand, the crease therein
just allowing enough to pass down. They are wide awake little creatures, and I thought that my own little ones imbibed a good deal of this quality from I don't know what. I never saw such unwearied energy as they displayed the livelong day, and that, too, in the hot season. The meal over, the wife, and, perhaps, daughter, goes a little way into the forest, and collects a bundle of dry wood, and with the baby slung on her back, in a way that suggests the flattening of the noses of many Africans, the wood on her head, and the boy carrying the hoe, the party wends home. Each wife has her own granary, in which the produce of the garden is stowed. It is of the bee-hive shape of the huts, only the walls are about twelve feet high, and it is built on a stage about eighteen inches from the ground. It is about five feet in diameter, and roofed with wood and grass. The door is near the roof, and a ladder, made by notches being cut in a tree, is used to enable the owner to climb into it. The first thing the good wife does on coming home is to get the ladder, climb up, and bring down millet or durn grain sufficient for her family. She spreads it in the sun, and while this is drying or made crisp occurs the only idle time I have seen in the day's employment. Some rested, others dressed their husband's or neighbour's hair, others strung beads. I should have liked to see them take life more easily, for it is as pleasant to see the negro reclining under his palm as it is to look at the white lolling on his ottoman. But the great matter is, they enjoy their labour, and the children enjoy life as human beings ought, and have not the sap of life squeezed out of them by their own parents, as is the case with nailers, glass blowers, stockingers, fustian cutters, brick-makers, &c., in England. At other periods of the year, when harvest is home, they enjoy more leisure, and jollification with their native beer called 'pombe.' But in no case of free people, living in their own free land, under their own free laws, are they like what slaves become."

It is upon such simple, pastoral people that the raid of the slave hunter is made; the happy, peaceful homes are destroyed; all who resist, and many more, are ruthlessly slaughtered; the captives are led away to a lingering death, and the cultivated enclosures are soon overrun by the wild undergrowth of rank grass or shrub.

Let us now accompany the slaving expedition of some successful hunter, probably an Arab sheikh, whose sacred writings inform him that all the African tribes south of the Somalis are proper subjects for his sword and his bow. Before starting on his expedition, he obtains from some
agent at Zanzibar the needful articles either for barter or murder and kidnapping—beads, common cotton cloth, muskets, and ammunition; and the party starts for the interior, on what is now a long and toilsome march across a country once well cultivated and populous, but now desolated by the ravages of these marauders. The beads and cloth are used for paying their way during the early parts of the journey, and for the purchase of ivory. According to Dr. Livingstone these slaving parties seem to preserve their mercantile character for a large portion of the trip. They usually settle down with some chieftain and cultivate the soil, assisting him from time to time in raids against neighbouring tribes for the sake of the captives which their invariable success in these expeditions throws into their power.

Again the despatches of Livingstone furnish particulars of deep and painful interest. He was present, and saw the actual slaughter perpetrated by one of these marauding bands, and without the power of raising a hand to protect the wretched victims. In a despatch dated 14th November, 1871, he says:

"Two days afterwards, or on the 13th of June, a massacre was perpetrated which filled me with such intolerable loathing that I resolved to yield to the Banian slaves, return to Ujiji, get men from the coast, and try to finish the rest of my work by going outside the area of Ujjian bloodshed, instead of vainly trying from its interior onwards.

"Dugumbe's people built their huts on the right bank of Lualaba, at a market place called Nyangwe. On hearing that the head slave of a trader at Ujiji had, in order to get canoes cheap, mixed blood with the head men of the Bagenya on the left bank, they were disgusted with his assurance, and resolved to punish him, and make an impression in the country in favour of their own greatness, by an assault on the market people, and on all the Bagenya who had dared to make friendship with any but themselves. Tagamoio, the principal under-trader of Dugumbe's party, was the perpetrator. The market was attended every fourth day by between 2,000 and 3,000 people. It was held on a long slope of land which, down at the river, ended in a creek capable of containing between fifty and sixty large canoes. The majority of the market people were women, many of them very pretty. The people west of the river brought fish, salt, pepper, oil, grass-cloth, iron, fowls, goats, sheep, pigs, in great numbers to exchange with those east of the river for cassava grain, potatoes, and other farinaceous products. They have a strong sense of natural justice, and all unite in forcing each other to fair dealing. At first my presence
made them all afraid, but wishing to gain their confidence, which
my enemies tried to undermine or prevent, I went among them
frequently, and when they saw no harm in me became very gracious.
The bargaining was the finest acting I ever saw. I understood but
few of the words that flew off the glib tongues of the women, but their
gestures spoke plainly. I took sketches of the fifteen varieties of fish
brought in, to compare them with those of the Nile further down, and
all were eager to tell their names. But, on the date referred to, I had
left the market only a minute or two when three men (whom I had
seen with guns, and felt inclined to reprove them for bringing them
into the market-place, but had refrained by attributing it to ignorance
in new-comers) began to fire into the dense crowd around them;
another party, down at the canoes, rained their balls on the panic-
struck multitude that rushed into these vessels. All threw
away their goods, the men forgot the paddles, the canoes were
jammed in the creek and could not be got out quick enough, so
many men and women sprang into the water. The women of the left
bank are expert divers for oysters, and a long line of heads showed
a crowd striking out for an island a mile off. To gain it they had
to turn the left shoulder against a current of between a mile and
a-half to two miles an hour. Had they gone diagonally with
the current, though that would have been three miles, many
would have gained the shore. It was horrible to see one head
after another disappear, some calmly, others throwing their arms
high up towards the Great Father of all, and going down. Some of
the men who got canoes out of the crowd paddled quick, with hands
and arms, to help their friends; three took people in till they all
sank together. One man had clearly lost his head, for he
paddled a canoe, which would have held fifty people, straight
up stream, nowhere. The Arabs estimated the loss at between
400 and 500 souls. Dugumbe sent out some of his men in
one of thirty canoes, which the owners in their fright could
not extricate, to save the sinking. One lady refused to be taken on
board because she thought that she was to be made a slave; but he
rescued twenty-one, and of his own accord sent them, next day,
home; many escaped and came to me, and were restored to their
friends. When the firing began on the terror-stricken crowd at the
canoes, Tagamoio's band began their assault on the people on the west
of the river and continued the fire all day. I counted seventeen
villages in flames, and next day six. Dugumbe's power over the
underlings is limited, but he ordered them to cease shooting; those in
in the market were so reckless they shot two of their own number.
Tagamoio's crew came back next day, in canoes, shouting and firing
off their guns as if believing that they were worthy of renown.

"Next day about twenty headmen fled from the west bank and came
to my house. There was no occasion now to tell them that the English
had no desire for human blood. They begged hard that I should go
over with them and settle with them, and arrange where the new
dwellings of each should be. I was so ashamed of the bloody Moslem company in which I found myself, that I was unable to look at the Manyema. I confessed my grief and shame, and was entertained, if I must go, not to leave them now. Dugumbe spoke kindly to them, and would protect them as well as he could against his own people; but when I went to Tagamoio to ask back the wives and daughters of some of the head men, he always ran off and hid himself.

"This massacre was the most terrible scene I ever saw. I cannot describe my feelings, and am thankful that I did not give way to them, but by Dugumbe's advice avoided a blood feud with men who, for the time, seemed turned into demons. The whole transaction was the more deplorable, inasmuch as we have always heard from the Manyema that though the men of the districts may be engaged in actual hostilities, the women pass from one market-place to another with their wares and were never known to be molested. The change has come only with these alien bloodhounds, and all the bloodshed has taken place in order that captives might be seized where it could be done without danger, and in order that the slaving privileges of a petty sultan should produce abundant fruit."

Either by this means, or by barter and purchase, the slave gang gradually accumulates; and we may form some conception of the value set on life by these traffickers in human flesh, by the price paid for the slave at his home, which we learn to be a few yards of cotton cloth, or, as the case may be, theft and murder. When the gang is sufficiently large to cover the terrible percentage of deaths due to the march down, and all preparations are completed, then commences the awful march to death or captivity. We have before us two records whence we can draw details of the atrocities perpetrated, during the march down, on these hapless "miserables." Both accounts are given by eye-witnesses. The first is Dr. Livingstone. In the work already mentioned, "The Zambesi and its Tributaries," is the following account of a slave party he met with in the valley of the Shiré:

"The slave party, a long line of manacled men, women, and children, came wending their way round the hill and into the valley, on the side of which the village stood. The black drivers, armed with muskets, and bedecked with various articles of finery, marched jauntily in the front, middle, and rear of the line, some of them blowing exulting notes out of long tin horns. They seemed to feel
that they were doing a very noble thing, and might proudly march with an air of triumph. But the instant the fellows caught a glimpse of the English, they darted off like mad into the forest; so fast, indeed, that we caught but a glimpse of their red caps and the soles of their feet. The chief of the party alone remained, and he, from being in front, had his hand tightly grasped by a Makololo. He proved to be a well known slave of the late commandant at Tette, and for some time our own attendant while there. On asking him how he obtained these captives, he replied he had bought them; but on our inquiring of the people themselves, all save four said they had been captured in war. While this enquiry was going on, he bolted too.

"The captives knelt down, and, in their way of expressing thanks, clapped their hands with great energy. They were thus left entirely on our hands, and knives were soon busy at work cutting the women and children loose. It was more difficult to cut the men adrift, as each had his neck in the fork of a stout stick, six or seven feet long, and kept in by an iron rod which was riveted at both ends across the throat. With a saw, luckily in the Bishop's baggage, one by one the men were sawn out into freedom. The women, on being told to take the meal they were carrying, and cook breakfast for themselves and the children, seemed to consider the news too good to be true; but, after a little coaxing, went at it with alacrity, and made a capital fire by which to boil their pots, with the slave sticks and bonds, their old acquaintances through many a sad night and weary day. Many were mere children, about five years of age and under. One little boy, with the simplicity of childhood, said to our men, 'The others tied and starved us; you cut the ropes and tell us to eat. What sort of people are you? Where did you come from?' Two of the women had been shot the day before, for attempting to untie the thongs. This, the rest were told, was to prevent them attempting to escape. One woman had her infant's brains knocked out because she could not carry her load and it; and a man was despatched with an axe, because he had broken down with fatigue."

Our next witness is Keuten, one of the party of eight Sepoys sent from Bombay with Dr. Livingstone, who, overcome with terror, deserted the traveller in the interior, and brought down the report of his death. They joined themselves to the slave gang of one Suleiman, an Arab chief, and, after accompanying them to the coast, the Sepoys found their way to Zanzibar, and the following is the deposition of the chief Sepoy, made to Mr. Seward, the British Consul there. He says:

"We left Mataka with the slave caravan of one Suleiman, an Arab. His band numbered 300 slaves, besides porters and servants,"
but there were many other smaller bands varying in number; altogether there started about 900. It seemed one great regiment.

"The slaves were yoked together in line, with forked sticks, their hands bound; women and children were simply bound.

"We set out at daylight, and pitched camp at about 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

"The slaves were compelled to sleep either in rows, head to head, under a central bar, to which the ends of their forked sticks were lashed; or they were arranged in groups of from five to ten, in such a manner that their sticks could all be brought together in the middle of the group and lashed.

"They had to sleep upon their backs, their wrists bound before them, helpless and unable to move.

"They were fed once a day with boiled jowarre and water.

"They were cheap: an adult cost two yards of common cotton cloth, a child one yard.

"They were urged forward on the march like cattle, beaten about the face and head. We witnessed many murders—many deaths; and the path was strewn with the bodies of those who had been killed.

"When we passed up with Dr. Livingstone, the road stunk with the way-side corpses; it was so again when we passed down.

"Every day we came upon the dead, and certainly we witnessed not less than a hundred deaths.

"Men were either killed by the club, or the dagger, or strangled.

"I with my own eyes (Reuten says) saw six men (at different times) choked to death: the victims were forced to sit leaning against a tree; a strip of bark or a thong was looped around the stem of the tree, pulled taut from behind, and the slave strangled.

"I saw not less than fifteen slaves clubbed to death by heavy blows between the eyes (which bespattered their faces with blood) or upon the head.

"Children were felled in this way, and put out of life by repeated blows on the head.

"I have seen a porter in mercy carry a sick slave, but some who were so thin and worn that they could not walk, and whose death was certain, were tossed aside into the bush.

"Others who had been so mercilessly beaten that but little life remained in them, were unyoked, and, with a kick and an oath, thrown aside to take their chances in the wilderness.

"An infant, not long born, was torn from its mother's breast, and pitched screaming into the bush. She was dragged relentlessly along.

"These things were done by the servants of the Arab owners, but always by the Arab's order. One Arab was very cruel. We saw his cruel nature in his face.

"The large and valuable tusks were not carried by the slaves, they were borne along by porters or servants of the Arabs; the small tusks,
so light that they could easily be carried in one hand, were carried by a few, not all, of the slaves."

"The Naigue of the Sepoys gave much the same account as Reuten, but he declares to more numerous murders. In addition to the club and the noose, he saw the dagger used to despatch victims who either could not or would not move along with the caravan."

"These atrocities," says Mr. Seward, "occurred after the gang began their march; but what of the crimes that waited upon their original capture?"

We have now accompanied the "merchandize" to the coast. We may think the worst is over. Many gangs, no doubt, are taken at once to Kilwa, and there sold; but many also have to await a favourable chance for shipment, so as to elude the Zanzibar market, and be smuggled off at once to their destination; and for these poor wretches are reserved the horrors of the slave barracoon. Again we have an eye-witness to relate to us details of the sickening scene. Monsieur Ménon describes the following scene on the river Lindie, on the Eastern Coast:

"An Arab chief told us he had, in the forest at some leagues' distance, a depot of 800 men, whom he would bring to us the next day. I asked the chief to conduct us to his depot, and at first he stubbornly refused. But when I promised him a rifle musket, which he eagerly desired to get, he consented and led us thither. After three hours' march we arrived, but could see nothing. 'Where are they lodged?' we asked; and he pointed to a palisade of bamboo, open to the sky, where they were exposed, at the worst season of the year, to a fiery sun, alternating with torrents of rain and sometimes of hail, without any roof to cover them.

"A man of tall stature, with his spear in his hand, and a poignard in his belt, pulled up three posts which served for a gate to this enclosure, and we entered. There they were, naked as on the day of their birth; some of them with a long fork attached to their neck—that is, a heavy branch of a tree (une grossière branche d'arbre), of fork-like shape—so arranged that it was impossible for them to step forward, the heavy handle of the fork, which they could not lift, effectually preventing them from advancing, because of the pressure on the throat; others were chained together in parcels (paquets) of twenty. The word which I underline is a trivial one, but it exactly expresses the idea. The keeper of this den utters a hoarse cry (pousse un rugissement); it is the order for the merchandize to stand up; but many of them do not obey. What is the matter? Our
interpreter, who has gone among the groups, will tell us: listen to him. 'The chains are too short; the dead and the dying prevent the living from rising. The dead can say nothing; but what do the dying say? They say that they are dying—of hunger.'

"But let us leave the consideration of this trader's picture as a whole; and let us look at some of the details. Who is this creature who holds tightly in her arms a shapeless object covered with filthy leaves? On looking close, you see that it is a woman lying in the mud, and holding to her dried up breast the child of which she has just been delivered. And those little girls who totter as they strive to rise, and who seem to ask for pity, on what are they leaning? On a dead body! And this man who is working with his hands a piece of mud, which he is continually placing on his eye, what is the matter with him? Our guide tells us, 'He is a troublesome fellow, who set a bad example by throwing himself at my feet this morning, and saying with a loud voice, I am dying of hunger; and I gave him a blow which burst his eye; he is henceforth good for nothing;' and he added, with a sinister look, 'He won't be hungry long.'"

To the question addressed to the Arab chief, why he dealt thus with the men, his reply was, "I do as my father did before me."

We pass on from the consideration of such revolting scenes, to watch the future destiny of the unhappy slaves when brought down to the coast.

The port of Quiloa, or Kilwa, which we have mentioned, lies about 150 miles south of the island of Zanzibar, and is the great mainland mart or emporium where thousands are exposed for sale, and whence they are shipped for Zanzibar. The cost of the slave purchased at Kilwa is about five dollars. Some attempt is there made to register the number exported for Zanzibar, by means of port clearances furnished by the authorities to the slavers; and it is from these registers that we are enabled to calculate the yearly consumption of slaves. To this part of our subject we shall presently return.

On arrival at Zanzibar, the majority of the slaves used to pass into the slave market. Many are at once consigned to their Arab purchasers, who have come down from Arabia with the northerly monsoon, and have hired houses for the reception of their purchases. For every slave thus brought to Zanzibar the Sultan receives a royalty of two dollars.
Dr. Livingstone (in the report dated 11th June, 1866, received on the 18th April, 1868) gives the following description of the slave mart:—"This is now almost the only spot in the world where 100 to 300 slaves are daily exposed for sale in open market. This disgraceful scene I several times personally witnessed, and the purchasers were Arabs or Persians, whose dhows lay anchored in the harbour, and these men were daily at their occupation examining the teeth, gait, and limbs of the slaves, as openly as horse dealers engage in their business in England."

The thought may here occur to many of our readers, possibly unfamiliar with the subject, "This may all be true, but is it not a small insignificant trade you are describing—an annual caravan of perhaps 300 or 400 slaves?" A few words on the present extent and results of the trade will, we regret to say, reveal a very different state of things. We have stated that Quiloa, or Kilwa, is the principal mainland export harbour, and that here proper clearances are furnished to the slavers. In a letter dated Zanzibar, 4th March, 1868, Consul Churchill states that for the five years terminating September, 1867, there had been exported from Quiloa 97,253 registered slaves. He states also, that from 3,000 to 4,000 annually are smuggled from various parts of the mainland; so that we may swell the above total to about 115,000 slaves, in five years, who have reached the coast, and have been shipped for Zanzibar, Arabia, and other places. Nor is this enormous total the measure of the misery and sin which accompanies the trade. Let us again recur to the statement of the Indian Sepoy. He says, "When we passed up with Dr. Livingstone, the way side stunk with corpses; it was so when we passed down again;" and out of the 300 slaves who started on that fearful march, 100 were left murdered on the bloody track. Dr. Livingstone, in Chap. xix. of the "Zambezi and its Tributaries," says:

"Would that we could give a comprehensive account of the horrors of the Slave-trade, with an approximation to the number of lives it yearly destroys; for we feel sure that, were even half the truth told and recognised, the feelings of men would be so thoroughly roused,
that this devilish traffic in human flesh would be put down at all risks; but neither we, nor any one else, have the statistics necessary for a work of this kind. Let us state what we know of one portion of Africa, and then every reader who believes our tale can apply the ratio of the known misery to find out the unknown. Let it not be supposed for an instant that those taken out of the country represent all the victims; they are but a very small section of the sufferers. Besides those actually captured, thousands are killed and die of their wounds and famine, driven from their villages by the slave raid; thousands in internecine war waged for slaves with their own clansmen and neighbours, slain by the lust of gain, which is stimulated by the slave purchasers. The many skeletons we have seen amongst rocks and woods, by the little pools, and along the paths of the wilderness, attest the awful sacrifice of human life which must be attributed, directly or indirectly, to this trade of hell. We would ask our countrymen to believe us when we say, as we conscientiously can, that it is our deliberate opinion, from what we know and have seen, that not one-fifth of the victims of the slave-trade ever become slaves. Taking the Shiré valley as an average, we should say, not even one-tenth arrive at their destination.”

Again, in his report to Lord Clarendon, dated the 20th August, 1866, he speaks of “a tract of very fine, well-watered, but depopulated country which took us eight days’ hard marching to cross”:

“It was about 100 miles broad, and so long, there was no possibility of going round either end. It bore all the marks of having been densely peopled at some former period. The ridges in which the natives plant grain and beans were everywhere visible; and from the number of calcined clay pipes used in furnaces, it is evident that they worked extensively in iron. The country was very beautiful, mountainous, well-wooded, and watered. I counted in one day’s march fifteen running burns, though it was the dry season, and some were from four to ten yards broad. The sound of gushing water, though not associated in our minds with Africa, became quite familiar. It was too cold to bathe in with pleasure, the elevation above the sea being between 3,000 and 4,000 feet.

“The process of depopulation to which I have adverted goes on annually. The coast Arabs from Kilwa come up with plenty of ammunition and calico to the tribe called Waigau or Ajawa, and say that they want slaves. Marauding parties immediately start off to the Manganja or Wanyassa villages, and, having plenty of powder and guns, overpower and bring back the chief portion of the inhabitants. Those who escape usually die of starvation. This process is identical with that of which we formerly saw so much in the lands of the Portuguese in the Shiré valley. I cannot write about it
without a painful apprehension that to persons at a distance I must appear guilty of exaggeration. But I beg your Lordship to remember, whenever my statements have been tested on the spot, they have been found within, not beyond, the truth."

We have been told by General Rigby, formerly Consul at Zanzibar, that the old slaves still living there state that their homes were in the country bordering on the sea; while now the slave hunter has to penetrate for 400 or 500 miles into the interior, through a country once populous and fertile, but now a waste, ere he can secure the victims for his traffic. We leave our readers to form their own conclusions as to the awful sacrifice of human life caused by the Slave-trade on the East Coast of Africa, and proceed to answer the question which must naturally occur to every one,—"Has nothing been done by our Government to put a stop to this miserable traffic?"

CHAPTER III.

Measures for Checking the Slave Trade.

Within the last ten years, more attention has been given by our authorities to the subject; and, in addition to the watch maintained by our small squadron, various measures were urged upon the Sultan, the adoption of which, it was thought, would materially aid the efforts of our cruisers. The reason assigned by Dr. Livingstone for this failure was the treaty protection afforded by us over the first and most difficult half of the sea voyage, under the policy to which expression was given by Lord Russell, in a despatch dated 14th March, 1864. In that despatch he says, that Her Majesty's Government do not claim the right to interfere in the status of domestic slavery in Zanzibar, nor with the bonâ fide transport of slaves from one portion of the Sultan's territory to another, so long as this latter traffic shall not be made a cloak to cover the foreign Slave-trade. It is hardly necessary now to give at length the arguments adduced by Dr. Living-
stone and Mr. Churchill for a reconsideration of the policy of our Government in this matter. It will be sufficient for our purpose to say, that they point out the absurdity of supposing that an export trade of 20,000 slaves annually is needed to maintain the status of domestic slavery in Zanzibar and the Sultan's African dominions; and concur in suggesting either that the Sultan be urged to surrender the protected trade entirely, or to consent to a gradual reduction of the number of slaves to be brought into Zanzibar to a minimum of 4,000; at the same time granting our cruisers such a right of search as would practically blockade the whole of these waters, save a small limit over which the vessels of Zanzibar, furnished with proper clearances from Kilwa, might carry the slaves required for the island of Zanzibar.

While our representatives at Zanzibar, horror stricken at all they witnessed, were doing their best to urge our Government to action, and the Foreign Office at home was responding to the call, other agencies were at work; the Anti-Slavery Society performed its duty, and the Church Missionary Society again took up the cause of the negro slave.

It was in the year 1867 that Bishop Ryan, then just returned from the Mauritius, addressed a letter to the noble President of the Society, calling attention to the horrors of the trade, and at a meeting specially convened to consider the subject, it was resolved that a paper be prepared containing all the information that could be procured. From various sources, mainly official despatches, the travels of Dr. Livingstone, Mr. Palgrave, and others, such a paper was prepared in the form of a pamphlet, which was widely circulated. This was followed by more decided action; for, while not ceasing to urge upon the Government, with such influence as it possessed, measures for the entire abolition of this nefarious traffic, the Committee of the Church Missionary Society determined, as far as they could, to mitigate the evils of the trade. They accordingly, having considered the question in all its bearings, resolved in 1868 to open a Mission at the Seychelles Islands (which had been frequently used as a dépôt) for the benefit of the liberated slaves; but this fell to
the ground, in consequence of the Government having determined to liberate no more slaves there. In the meantime, the Committee continued its labours at home to procure the suppression of the trade. The presence of envoys sent by the Sultan of Zanzibar in 1868 to negotiate with our Government on the much vexed question of the Muscat subsidy was taken advantage of, and as the matter was within the purview of the India Office, a memorial was presented to His Grace the Duke of Argyll setting forth shortly some of the main facts connected with the trade, and urging that the presence of the envoys afforded an opportunity, that should not be lost, of obtaining from the Sultan a virtual abandonment of the protected slave trade. The deputation was kindly received by his Grace, who, from his answer, seemed to think that the condition attached by the Sultan to the concession—viz., the release from the subsidy—so complicated the question as to render it impossible to answer the memorial of the Society until the Indian Government had been consulted. He expressed a hope that, in the meantime, the arrangements which were pending between the Admiralty and the India Office would place the East African squadron on a more efficient footing.

In various ways the Committee continued their efforts to enlist fresh sympathy and arouse public attention, until at last, in conjunction with the Anti-Slavery Society, a motion for enquiry was made in the House of Commons in the Session of 1871. We well remember the anxiety with which we watched the debate (it could hardly be called one); three attempts were made to count the House, all of which failed, not through any interest in the subject, but simply because an honourable member, who had charge of an important Bill to enable municipal corporations to deal in certain ways with their corporate funds, had secured a House for the second reading of his Bill that night. So the motion was saved, and when the Recorder of London rose to speak in support of the motion, the Government offered a Committee of inquiry, which was at once gladly accepted.

The Committee sat for nine days, with an average attendance of eleven members, and examined fourteen witnesses, and
made a report, the following extracts from which will, we think, interest our readers:

"The Select Committee appointed to inquire into the whole question of the Slave-Trade on the East Coast of Africa, into the increased and increasing amount of that traffic, the particulars of existing Treaties and agreements with the Sultan of Zanzibar upon the subject, and the possibility of putting an end entirely to the traffic in slaves by sea—have considered the matters to them referred, and have agreed to the following report:

"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 hand, the principal and by far the largest portion of the traffic being in the former direction. The dominions of Zanzibar extend along the Eastern Coast of Africa for about 350 miles, and lie between the equator and 10 degrees south latitude, and include the islands of Zanzibar, Pemba, and Momfia, the head-quarter of government being the island of Zanzibar, which lies opposite the centre of the coast line, and about 25 miles from the mainland. The town of Zanzibar is rapidly growing in importance, as is evidenced by the progressive increase of imports at the custom-house there, from £45,981l. in 1861-62, to £433,693l. in 1867-68, of which trade about one-half is in the hands of British Indian subjects. It was reported in 1867 by General Rigby to be the chief market of the world for the supply of ivory, gum, and copal, and to have a rapidly increasing trade in hides, oils, seeds, and dyes, while sugar and cotton promise to figure largely amongst its future exports. The country in the interior of that part of Africa, and of which Zanzibar is the outlet, is said, according to the recent accounts of Livingstone and others, to be equal in resources to any part of India, and to be, as a rule, more healthy. Iron abounds in all directions, coal is to be found, and cotton can be grown to any extent.

"The negro slave in general passes through three stages ere he reaches his final destination.

"These are,—(1.) the land journey from his home to the coast; (2.) a short sea voyage to the island of Zanzibar, where is the open slave market; and (3.) the final sea passage from Zanzibar, to Arabia, Persia, or Madagascar.

"From the evidence laid before the Committee, it appears that the large majority of the slaves are now brought from the western side of the Lake Nyassa (a distance of nearly 500 miles from the coast) to Kilwa, which is the principal port of shipment for Zanzibar, and is near the southern limit of the Zanzibar dominions.

"Your Committee had before them extracts from despatches of Dr. Livingstone, addressed to the Earl of Clarendon when Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and his testimony as to the methods resorted to by the slave hunters, and the cruelties and
horrors of the trade, is fully supported by the evidence of witnesses who had travelled in the interior. This evidence is well summed up in the report of the Committee* on the East African Slave Trade addressed to the Earl of Clarendon, a quotation from which is as follows:

'The persons by whom this traffic is carried on are for the most part Arabs, subjects of the Sultan of Zanzibar. These slave dealers start for the interior, well armed, and provided with articles for the barter of slaves, such as beads and cotton cloth. On arriving at the scene of their operations they incite and sometimes help the natives of one tribe to make war upon another. Their assistance almost invariably secures victory to the side which they support, and the captives become their property, either by right or by purchase, the price in the latter case being only a few yards of cotton cloth. In the course of these operations thousands are killed, or die subsequently of their wounds or of starvation, villages are burnt, and the women and children carried away as slaves. The complete depopulation of the country between the coast and the present field of the slave dealers' operations attest the fearful character of these raids.

'Having by these and other means obtained a sufficient number of slaves to allow for the heavy losses on the road, the slave dealers start with them for the coast. The horrors attending this long journey have been fully described by Dr. Livingstone and others. The slaves are marched in gangs, the males with their necks yoked in heavy forked sticks, which at night are fastened to the ground, or lashed together so as to make escape impossible. The women and children are bound with thongs. Any attempt at escape or to untie their bonds, or any wavering or lagging on their journey, has but one punishment—immediate death. The sick are left behind, and the route of a slave caravan can be tracked by the dying and the dead. The Arabs only value these poor creatures at the price which they will fetch in the market, and if they are not likely to pay the cost of their conveyance they are got rid of. The result is, that a large number of the slaves die or are murdered on the journey, and the survivors arrive at their destination in a state of the greatest misery and emaciation.'

'From Kilwa the main body of the slaves are shipped to Zanzibar, but some are carried direct from Kilwa to the northern ports.

'At Zanzibar the slaves are sold either in open market or direct to the dealer, and they are then shipped in Arab dhows for Arabia and Persia; the numbers of each cargo vary from one or two slaves to between three and four hundred.

'The whole slave-trade by sea, whether for the supply of the Sultan's African dominions or the markets in Arabia and Persia, is carried on by Arabs from Muscat and other ports on the Arabian

* An official committee of the Foreign Office appointed by Lord Clarendon in 1870.
coast. They are not subjects of Zanzibar, but chiefly belong to tribes of roving and predatory habits.

"The sea passage exposes the slave to much suffering; and, in addition to the danger from overcrowding and insufficient food and water, the loss of life connected with the attempt to escape Her Majesty's cruisers is very considerable, it being the practice to use any means to get rid of the slaves in order to escape condemnation should the dhow be captured. Between Kilwa and Zanzibar a dhow lately lost a third of the slaves: there were ninety thrown overboard, dead or dying, many of them in a terribly emaciated state.

"The ready market found for the slave in Arabia and Persia, and the large profit upon the sale, are quite sufficient inducements for the continuance of the traffic.

"It seems impossible to arrive at an exact conclusion as to the actual number of slaves who leave the African coast in one year, but from the returns laid before the Committee an estimate may be formed. At the port of Kilwa is the Custom-house of the Sultan of Zanzibar, through which pass all slaves that are not smuggled, and there a tax is levied on all that pass the Custom-house.

"The following is a return of the number of slaves exported through the Custom-house at Kilwa between 1862 and 1867, distinguishing those sent to Zanzibar from those shipped to other places:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Zanzibar</th>
<th>Elsewhere</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1862-63</td>
<td>13,000</td>
<td>5,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863-64</td>
<td>14,000</td>
<td>3,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864-65</td>
<td>13,821</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865-66</td>
<td>18,344</td>
<td>4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866-67</td>
<td>17,538</td>
<td>4,500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total exports from Kilwa in five years</th>
<th>97,203</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total exports from Kilwa in five years</td>
<td>97,203</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"From a despatch of Dr. Kirk, dated 1st February, 1870, it appears that 14,944 were exported from Kilwa in the year ending 23rd August, 1869. But besides those passed through the Custom-house at Kilwa, numbers are exported from other places on the coast.

"Such is the extent to which the exportation of slaves takes place from the Zanzibar territory on the East Coast of Africa. It has also been shown that there the slave-trade still exists from the Portuguese territory to the Island of Madagascar, and that slaves are still imported into Turkish ports in the Red Sea, General Rigby having recently seen fresh importations even in the civilized port of Suez. It must not, however, be thought that those who are taken captive, great as the numbers are, represent in any degree the total number of the
sufferers from this iniquitous traffic. Such is the fearful loss of life resulting from this traffic, such the miseries which attend it, that, according to Dr. Livingstone and others, not one in five, in some cases not one in ten, of the victims of the slave hunters ever reach the coast alive.

"The slaves, when liberated from the dhows, have been sent, of late years, to Aden and Bombay, being maintained there at a heavy cost to the imperial exchequer. In time past, some have been landed at the Seychelles, a dependency of the Mauritius. The climate in these islands is said to suit them exactly, and the inhabitants to be anxious for emancipated slave labour. Every variety of tropical product grows there in the greatest abundance.

"Measures have at various times been adopted by the Government of this country to control and check the trade, but hitherto with but partial success; to control the trade, treaties have been made with the Sultan of Muscat, with the friendly Arab chiefs on the Arabian coast, and with the Shah of Persia. The treaties with the Sultan of Muscat are acknowledged to be binding upon the Sultan of Zanzibar, who has issued orders accordingly, and they prohibit the export of slaves from Africa, as well as their import from Africa into Asia, Arabia, the Red Sea or Persian Gulf, but permit the transport of slaves to and fro between Kilwa, Zanzibar, and any coast port up to Lamoo, which is the northern limit of the Sultan of Zanzibar's dominions.

"The result of the treaties, as far as the Sultan of Zanzibar is concerned, is, that not only are the slave traders enabled to rendezvous in great numbers at Zanzibar, but the dhows, often so laden that the deck is entirely covered with slaves squatting side by side, and so closely packed that it is impossible for them to move, come up openly from Kilwa to Zanzibar, and then starting afresh, and provided with proper clearances for Lamoo, are enabled to make the first half of the journey north unmolested by British cruisers.

"The object of the British Government in assenting to these treaty provisions was to avoid interference with the status of domestic slavery in the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar, as appears by a despatch from the Right Honourable Earl Russell, dated 14th March, 1864, in which it is stated 'that Her Majesty's Government do not claim the right to interfere in the status of domestic slavery in Zanzibar, nor with the bona fide transport of slaves from one part of the Sultan's territory to another, so long as this traffic shall not be made a cloak to cover the foreign slave trade, which His Highness is bound by treaty to prevent, and which Her Majesty's Government are also determined to suppress.'

"It appears from the evidence that the transport of slaves between the island and coast dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar has afforded a cover for the foreign slave trade, as the traders procure at Zanzibar or Kilwa the requisite port clearances and passes for Lamoo, and thence run northwards, taking their chance of escaping the British cruisers.
There are no means of ascertaining the exact numbers intended for the foreign market, but different witnesses have estimated the numbers annually needed to maintain the supply of slave labour in the dominion of Zanzibar at from 1,700 to 4,000, which would leave at least 16,000 as the number destined for the foreign slave market. The treaty stipulations and agreements with the Sultans of Muscat and Zanzibar have been carried into effect by various Acts of Parliament and Orders in Council, which contain provision for the establishment of courts of adjudication for the trial of vessels captured as slavers at Zanzibar.

The Government have proposed to enter into a new treaty with the Sultan of Zanzibar to the following effect:

1. To limit the shipment of slaves from the mainland to one point only on the African coast, namely, Dar Selam, and to prohibit entirely their export from any other places.

2. To make Zanzibar the only port for the reception of slaves shipped from Dar Selam, but with liberty to transport from thence to Pemba and Mombaza only; imports of slaves to any other place, or which have not come through Zanzibar, should be declared illegal, and liable to seizure.

3. That the number of slaves exported from Dar Selam to Zanzibar, and thence to Pemba and Mombaza, shall be strictly limited to the actual requirements of the inhabitants of those places, to be annually settled by mutual consent between the Sultan and the British Agent, such number to be gradually decreased, so as to cease altogether within a certain time.

4. That every vessel engaged in the transport of slaves shall be liable to capture, unless she is provided with a proper pass from the Sultan, which shall be valid only for one voyage, and with distinctive marks on her hull and sails; a heavy penalty being attached to any piracy of these passes or marks.

5. That the public slave markets at Zanzibar shall be closed.

6. That the Sultan shall engage, from the date of the treaty, to punish severely any of his subjects who may be proved to be concerned, directly or indirectly, in the slave trade, and especially any attempt to molest or interfere with a liberated slave.

7. That the Kutchees, and other natives of Indian states under British protection, shall be forbidden, after a date to be fixed by the Government of India, to possess slaves, and that in the meantime they shall be prevented from acquiring any fresh slaves.

Lastly, 'The treaty shall contain a stipulation providing for the eventual and entire prohibition of the export of slaves from the mainland.'

'The Government have sent out instructions to press this proposed treaty upon the present Sultan; but pending the enquiry of this Committee nothing more has been done.

The principal means used to check the trade have been the employment of some vessels of Her Majesty's Navy upon the East Indian
station as cruisers to watch the East African coast during the slaving season, which, depending upon the monsoon, is from April to the end of June, and from September to the beginning of November. It was stated in evidence that during the years 1867, 1868, and 1869, there were captured by the squadron 116 dhows, containing 2,645 slaves; while, according to the returns of slaves exported from Zanzibar and Kilwa during those years, dhows carrying 37,000 slaves must have evaded capture, making the captures about 6.6 per cent. only.

"These figures are sufficient to show the insufficiency of the present squadron to check, much less to stop, the trade; and the reasons assigned are, that the existing treaties, and the instructions as to domestic slaves, render it impossible to seize a dhow south of Lamoo; and during a south-west monsoon it is very difficult to keep the cruisers sufficiently near the coast to intercept the dhows as they run northward before the wind, while there appears a general concurrence of testimony that the present number of the squadron is insufficient for the work to be performed, and that the efficiency of the squadron would be materially increased by an additional supply of steam launches for the arduous boat service on that coast. The traffic in slaves was, on the 31st of May, 1871, as reported by the Admiral Commanding in Chief on the station, to be, 'without doubt, as busy and profitable as ever.'

"Your Committee, having heard the evidence, are strongly of opinion that all legitimate means should be used to put an end altogether to the East African slave trade.

"They believe 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 the injury caused to maintain even the limited supply of slaves required for this purpose, must of necessity be so great as to forbid this country continuing to recognize any such traffic in slaves.

"It has been stated by some of the witnesses that should the Sultan consent to relinquish the slave trade, a revolution would follow, and that a sudden stoppage of the importation of slaves into Zanzibar would seriously affect the industrial position of the island; but, on the other hand, a witness of great experience has given it in evidence that the Zanzibar Arabs are fully aware that the trade will be stopped, and are beginning to understand that more profit can be made by retaining the labourers to cultivate their own country, than by selling them away as slaves, while the abolition of the trade would encourage free labourers from all parts to reside at Zanzibar, so ensuring a larger and better supply of labourers than exists at present.

"It appears from the evidence that the parties from whom serious opposition may be expected are the northern Arabs, but the presence of an English naval force at Zanzibar would afford sufficient protection.

"Your Committee therefore recommend that it be notified to the Sultan of Zanzibar, that the existing treaty provisions having been
systematically evaded, and having been found not only insufficient to protect the negro tribes in the interior of Africa from destruction, but rather to foster and encourage the foreign trade in slaves, Her Majesty's Government, unless further securities can be obtained for the entire prohibition of the foreign slave trade, will feel itself compelled to abrogate the treaty, and to take such further legitimate measures as it may find necessary to put an end to all slave trade whatever, whether foreign or coasting.

"Further, that should the Sultan be willing to enter into a new treaty, having for its object the entire abolition of the slave trade, Her Majesty's Government would agree to settle at Zanzibar a proportion of adult negroes, who might thereafter be captured by Her Majesty's cruisers, provided the Sultan agreed to such measures for their protection and freedom as might be deemed necessary.

"It has been represented to the Committee, by some of the witnesses, that as the Sultan derives a considerable part of his revenues from the slave trade, it would be necessary to make him some compensation for the loss he would sustain by the abolition of the trade.

"It appears from the evidence that the Sultan of Zanzibar levies a tax of two dollars upon all slaves shipped from Kilwa for Zanzibar, and four dollars upon those shipped for Lamoo, and a further tax of two dollars upon all slaves shipped from Zanzibar. The witnesses have estimated the proceeds of this tax at various amounts, some putting it as high as £15,000 or £20,000, others as low as £5,000; but whatever the amount may be, the prospect of compensation has been suggested in the negotiations for a new treaty with the Sultan, already alluded to in this Report.

"It has been suggested that, as an equivalent for the supposed loss to his revenue, the Sultan should be released from the payment of an annual subsidy of 40,000 crowns to the Sultan of Muscat, which was arranged upon the partition of the dominion of the Imam of Muscat, between his two sons, by the Indian Government as arbitrators; but it now appears that the circumstances under which it was supposed this release might be effected have altered.

"It has been given in evidence that from 1,700 to about 4,000 slaves is probably sufficient to supply the requirements of the island and dominions of Zanzibar, and this, therefore, is the extent of the legalized trade, and the value to the Sultan of Zanzibar, at the present rate of tax, would not exceed £4,000, annually.

"Your Committee, however, do not believe that the Sultan of Zanzibar would be ultimately a loser by the abolition of the trade; on the contrary, it was given in evidence that already the revenues of the Sultan, derived from the rapidly increasing trade of Zanzibar, and from his private estates in India, are ample to maintain the Government of his state independently of the sum received from the slave trade; while the witnesses generally concur in stating that were the slave trade abolished, and a more ready means of communication established between Bombay, Aden, and Zanzibar, the already
flourishing trade of that state would be rapidly developed. Material assistance to this development might be afforded by a line of mail steamers to Zanzibar. Should the Sultan be willing to enter into a new treaty, the Committee recommend that it contain provisions for the entire abandonment of the slave trade, the closing of the Zanzibar and Kilwa slave markets, the punishment of any of the subjects of Zanzibar in any way engaged in the slave trade, permission to the British Government to station Vice-Consuls at Kilwa, Dar Selam, and Lamoo; and on the part of the British Government an agreement to settle, under full and stringent measures for their protection, a certain number of negroes released from slavery by Her Majesty's cruisers.

"It has been stated in evidence that some time must elapse after the measures above referred to have been put in force before the slave trade could be stopped; and assuming that an efficient squadron is maintained, the Committee see that the disposal of the liberated slaves becomes a matter of large importance. They have recommended the liberation at Zanzibar of adult slaves, on the assumption that the Sultan would enter into a new treaty; should he, however, oppose the formation of a depot there, it will be necessary to seek some other locality for that purpose, and no other place combines the advantages possessed by the Seychelles Islands.

"It was given in evidence that the Church Missionary Society are willing to enter into an arrangement for the superintendence and education of the children at the Seychelles, similar to that entered into with the Government with respect to liberated children at Sierra Leone, the Mauritius, and at Nasik in Bombay.

"In view of the considerable commercial interests with Germany, France, America, and Portugal possess in commerce with Zanzibar and the surroundings, your Committee suggest that Her Majesty's Government invite the co-operation of these several Governments in the suppression of a traffic so subversive of these interests. There is reason to believe that such an overture would be responded to, especially by the Government at Berlin, in virtue of the preponderance of German trade at the port of Zanzibar."

Nearly a year passed away without any apparent result, during which continued efforts were maintained to interest the general public, and various meetings were held, at which Bishop Ryan, the Rev. H. Waller, Sir T. F. Buxton, Sir Bartle Frere, and others, spoke. A large and influential meeting was held at the Mansion House, which sent up an important deputation to Lord Granville just before the close of the session. To all these efforts a most important and powerful impetus was lent by the discovery that Dr. Living-
stone was not only alive, but deeply interested in the question of the slave trade. The feeling aroused was, "let this awful sacrifice of life be stopped at any cost." The following words, taken from the "Quarterly Review" for October, 1872, will find an echo in every heart:

"In the name of our common humanity we declare that this foulest form of piracy is an insult and injury to God and man; and we claim for civilized Christendom the sacred right of taking its victims into her protection, and declaring the curse abolished.

"But not only have we the right, we have the power also so to do, and are therefore responsible for a gross neglect if we refuse to use it. The fiat of England, France, Germany, and America has but to be uttered to be obeyed. In fact, the Arab mind has for some time been apprehending such a result. Lord Palmerston's noble despatch has long since been translated into Arabic, and read repeatedly in the Durbar to the Sultan. In it the Arab chiefs were warned 'that the traffic in slaves was doomed to destruction; that Great Britain was the main instrument in the hand of Providence for the accomplishment of this object; that it is useless to oppose what is written in the book of Fate; that the slave trade shall stop, and that we will be the instruments in stopping it.'"

And from the unanimous feeling expressed throughout the country, wherever the hideous practices of the trade are unfolded, we think we may echo the sentiments of the writer when he trusts—

"That both the Indian and the Home Government will well weigh these suggestions, and will act with vigour in the matter. It is one which, from its own character and on account of the interest which will be raised concerning it in the country when the facts of the case are well known, will not brook listlessness and half-measures.

"There are, in the evidence taken before the House of Commons and in the Report of their Committee, allusions of a painful kind to differences between different departments of the Government as embarrassing our action, and so preventing our success, and making our present expenditure on the cause useless and ridiculous. This must not continue. It is a case in which half-economy is entire loss. There must be no squabbling between the Government of India and the Administration at home as to the payment of officers needful to promote the objects of both; no frustrating by the Treasury, in one of its parsimonious fits, the more statesman like proposals of the Foreign Office; no starving down of the squadron employed, so as to disgust its gallant commanders and give the nation the cost of maintaining it, and yet, through a paltry economy, maintaining it in vain."
"On this question any Government which would act with a generous vigour would have the whole country with it. It is one as to which internal wrangling and the great waste of petty savings may heap up against the sure day of reckoning, to the injury of any Administration, a large accumulation of reproaches. It is one from which rightly handled resolution, skill, and diplomatic success may reap no little harvest of honourable estimation. Great as would be the merit of having solved by geographical discovery all the problems which yet perplex us as to the mysterious deserts and mighty rivers of Central Africa, how far grander would it be to have delivered these even unknown tribes from this deadly and aggravated curse of the slave trade! This is the great discoverer's own estimate of all his own labours. The noblest passage, as it seems to us, in his last despatches expresses, in his strong straightforward words, this as the utterance of his soul,—'Baker came further up the Nile than any other in modern times, but turned when between 600 and 700 miles short of the Caput Nili. He is now employed in a more noble work than the discovery of Nile sources; and if he succeeds in suppressing the Nile slave trade, the boon he will bestow on humanity will be of far higher value than all my sources together.'"

The stirring letters which Mr. Stanley brought to England two years ago, coming as they did to confirm the worst of all that Dr. Livingstone had written on the subject in his previously published books, had the effect of so far arousing the country, that the Government of the day was thoroughly supported by the public when it commissioned Sir Bartle Frere to put strong pressure on the Sultan of Zanzibar, in order to negotiate a treaty by which, so far as was possible, an immediate stop might be put to the slave traffic.

It is a touching thought that, deeply interested as he was in this matter, the great traveller died without knowing that his constant remonstrances had at last aroused his countrymen, and that Sir Bartle Frere had been sent to Africa commissioned to put a stop to the trade, and had returned.

The following letters, in connection with the late mission, were addressed by Lord Granville to the Sultan of Zanzibar—

"Earl Granville to the Sultan of Zanzibar.*

"Foreign Office, November 9, 1872.

"Sire,—This letter will be delivered to your Highness by Sir Henry

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

" Earl Granville to Sir Bartle Frere.

" Foreign Office, November 9, 1872.

"Sir,— The experience of the last few years having conclusively proved that the existing treatyengagements 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.

"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."

The importance of these letters cannot be over-estimated, for they not only contain the calm and deliberate declaration of H.M. Government that the trade should be suppressed, but they also point to the success of the policy pursued on the
East Coast as an inducement to the Sultan to join heartily in the movement for the suppression of the slave trade.

After a careful examination of all the facts, Sir B. Frere makes a report, of which the following are extracts, as to the Slave Trade we are now considering:

"Sir B. Frere to Earl Granville.

(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.

"7. The process of collecting a cassifa 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 receives payment in the slaves so acquired.

"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 instance, 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.

"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 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 price 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 effects 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.

"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 dribbles 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, summarised 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.

"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.

"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 threw and multiplied, till they came to be looked on 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 four hundred 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 seashore, 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 gives 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."

It will be remembered that Sir Bartle Frere returned to England, and shortly afterwards the new treaty was signed, of which the following is a copy:

"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 aforesaid, 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) "J o h n K i r k ,
"Political Agent, Zanzibar.
(L.S.)

"The mean in God's sight.

(Signed) "N a s i r - B i n - S a i d - B i n - A b d a l l a h ."
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.

CHAPTER IV.

PRESENT POSITION OF MATTERS.

Thus seems to have been accomplished the object in view, and for a time it was supposed that the Slave Trade had received a severe check; but those acquainted with the Trade remembered that the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1871, referring to a possible treaty between Her Majesty's Government and the Sultan of Zanzibar, reported as follows:—

"It has been stated in evidence that some time must elapse after the measures above referred to have been put in force.
before the Slave Trade could be stopped," and also that if the fleet were withdrawn the trade would be renewed. Among the despatches presented to Parliament was a letter from Commodore Tucker, from which it appears that the traders, in order to elude the cruisers, had established an overland route for the slave traffic from Lamo to Brava. Dr. Kirk reported that in the space of about six weeks 2,804 slaves had been despatched by this route, and explains the formation of a new settlement at Kismayo, under the Sultan's flag, as follows:—

"The new Somali settlement, under an Arab governor, at Cape Bissell, known by the natives as Kismayo, has been the means of opening the land route from Lamo to the Somali ports, advantage of which has been taken by the slave owners."

This anticipation has been fully realized. In proof of this it is only necessary to refer to the reports on the present state of the East African Slave Trade, furnished by Dr. Kirk and Captain Prideaux to Earl Granville in the early part of the present year. Those reports bring to light the most flagrant violations of the treaty of June, 1873.

In November, 1873, Dr. Kirk, the political agent at Zanzibar, commissioned Capt. Elton to proceed to the mainland, and there to complete and carry out the policy adopted towards Indian slave-holders, keeping closely in view the objects of the Treaty of 5th June, 1873, which are the suppression and discouragement of the Slave Trade, and the removal from this odious traffic of all aid or support, direct or indirect, on the part of the Indian community.

Captain Elton reports that the transport of slaves by land is now carried on to an unprecedented extent. He says:—

"Five slave caravans, with about 350 slaves, passed Dar-es-Salam from Kilwa up the coast to my certain knowledge during my stay; and I received repeated warnings from various quarters that a strong feeling was aroused at Kisiju and at Kikunia, where the slave-drivers had openly declared their intention of shooting me."

Again writing on December 26, 1873, he says:—

"Various reports reached me when at Dar-es-Salam of the existence of a third, the Upper Road, and upon this, and upon the Kisiju Road,
slave caravans were said to be moving northwards, under leaders who declared their intention of shooting us if we appeared on the scene. I doubted the truth of the story about the third road from the first, and am now quite satisfied that the only main track available to Arabs is the one we followed; the interior country being in far too disturbed a state for regular traffic, more than a very occasional visit would be opposed by the Washenzi, and no certain supply of provisions could be counted on for the sustenance of the slaves, whereas on this line there is an organized system of halting places and commissariat.

"On the 22nd we crossed the Mkote, a brawling stream, the banks of which were overhung with fine trees and luxuriant ferns, running down a lovely valley. This constitutes a serious obstruction during the heavy rains, but can be crossed, I am told, further up.

"As we scrambled out through the mud and reeds we found ourselves on the top of a slave caravan ascending the hill, down which we had originally walked. Several strings had already passed by, chained in gangs of sixteens, with the strong ones put in front and the weak behind, and three or four more now defiled within two yards of where we sat on our donkeys, with only sticks in our hands, and our men standing behind us, one with my rifle in a cover, and the other with Lieutenant Pullen's over his shoulder, both unloaded. Two of the Arabs in charge came up, looked at us uneasily, and got past us as quickly as possible, hunting on the slaves, but not showing any sign of fight. After they had gone on we were obliged to cross the river a second time, and here we were perhaps delayed ten minutes by the donkeys falling in the mud, and being unable without much difficulty to climb the opposite bank.

"When we did get across, shouting and cries led us to a scene which I can only compare to a rout after an Indian skirmish. Arabs were driving gangs of slaves before them, through the long grass into the bush, loose slaves and excited slave drivers running in all directions, the stick plying furiously the while; water jars, rice bags, grain, papers, slave irons, boxes, and all the baggage of the caravan, lay littered about, and thrown aside in the hurry of retreat. One long gang of children, whose chain was entangled amongst the thorn bushes, were wailing piteously as they were hounded away.

"This was the main body, and its discomfiture had been occasioned by the appearance of one of my servants—a boy about twelve years old—who had put a sun-helmet of mine on the top of his fez, and so arrayed broke through the high grass, heading the carriers who had taken the short cut. To the excited dread of the Arabs, this was a subtle flank movement; they saw themselves separated from their advanced gangs by our arrival, and now the sight of an European hat coming from another quarter was too much for their nerves. Cries of 'Wazungo' were set up, and immediately followed by a stampede."
“Had we wished to do so, nothing would have been easier than to have taken away two hundred slaves without any one to oppose our action. There were, I estimated, about three hundred in all, in wretched condition. One gang of lads and women, chained together with iron neck rings, was in a horrible state, their lower extremities coated with dry mud and their own excrement, and torn with thorns, their bodies mere frame-works, and their skeleton limbs tightly stretched over with wrinkled, parchment-like skin. One wretched woman had been flung against a tree for slipping her rope, and came screaming up to us for protection, with one eye half out, and the side of her face and bosom streaming with blood. We washed her wounds, and that was the only piece of interference on our part with the caravan, although the temptation was a strong one to cast all adrift, and give them, at any rate, a chance of starving to death peaceably in the woods.

“We afterwards learnt at Kisijuth that this caravan was four hundred strong, and had come from the Nyassa direct to Kilwa, and there accepted an offer of thirty-five dollars a head all round for the slaves, made by an agent from Pemba, the money to be paid on delivery at either Saadani, Pangani, Wasseen, or Mombasah, the port to be named by the purchaser, who was to smuggle them across to the island at his own risk. So that these unfortunate people were now being driven on their second march of horrors.

“Later in the day, when we crossed the Zegea creek, about one mile across, we could realize the terrible work it must have been to these wretched Miao when hunted through the tenacious mud of this extensive mangrove swamp, for we, fresh from a noon-day halt on the Zegea river, passed it with difficulty in an hour.

“We now entered the Mangatani sub-division of the Kwale district, and as we descended into the valley, leaving the copal forest of Kirigesi to the right, sighted another caravan crossing the Mkoondi. As soon as the Arabs saw us, they drove the slaves off the road into the long grass, and made them squat down, chain-gang by chain-gang in double rows, then advanced with their guns in a threatening manner on our carriers. I hurried down the hill with my rifle, which I had carrying for some time previously in my hand, and on drawing nearer to the carriers called out to the Arabs that we had no business whatever with them, and wished to pass quietly on. The leading man’s answer to this was to tuck his loose sleeves out of the way, blow up his match, and point his matchlock at me. My reply was to hold out my express and tap the breech, in order to let him see all the shooting would not be on his side. He then took his matchlock down, imitated my action, and deliberately covered me again, shaking off one of his companions who tried to stop him, and moving forward a few paces. I was now positive he would fire, but did not bring my rifle, even then, to my shoulder, which indeed would have been a useless exertion on my part, if he had hit me, and if he had missed me, I should, of course, have shot him at once.
"However, at this critical moment one of the Akhidah's soldiers ran in and stood in front of me, crying out, 'Will you shoot Burgash's men? I am one. Don't you see I am in charge of the Wazungu?' After a wordy wrangle the Arab ordered his matchlock very sulkily, and drew back with his companions to where the slaves were crouched in the grass, and we crossed our baggage over the river with some difficulty, the banks being steep and the water deep, a single tree felled, and lying across, forming a rude bridge for empty handed travellers alone.

"The leader of the caravan then came up and expressed his regret for what had happened, and offering, if I wished it, to march the remainder of the slaves, who had been driven back from the ford behind a hill at the first alarm, past us and over the river, in order that I might count them; but this offer I declined, telling him I had no business either with him, his men, or his slaves, and should disturb no one on the road if I was left alone. I added, as a warning remark, however, that if his party had fired a shot we could have killed his men one after the other, and we certainly could have done so, unless the Arabs had closed, when, with their superior numbers and swords, it might possibly have gone hard with us.

"The plain truth is, and there can be no disputing facts, that a brisker Slave Trade has seldom been known than the one carried on from Kilwa via the Kisiju Road by the scoundrels who hold it in their power, and who will continue to use it until put down by a strong hand, Burgash's orders being totally disregarded, except absolutely on the seacoast villages and towns, and even there only respected when they do not run counter to local and private interests.

"According to Abd-el-Kader, we must have passed 700 slaves on the 22nd—350 in the first caravan; 150 in the second, which turned off the road for us and we missed, but which Vissonji Nersian hour later met; and 200 in the third, the one met at Mangatani.

"On the 23rd, 200 passed through Kisiju, and a caravan of 300 turned off yesterday, 25th, hearing we were in the town, and slept in an adjoining village; making in all a total of 1,200 slaves; to which must be added the caravan missed at Kingonga on the 21st (said to be a small one of 80), and one week's traffic on the Kisiju Road represents a grand total of 1,280 slaves marched up from Kilwa for sale at the northern ports and Pemba. A 'ring' of landowners in the latter island, after the rise in cloves, sent down agents to Kilwa, who have bought largely, paying 30, 35, and 40 dollars for each slave delivered at a named port, the purchasers taking, as I before stated, the risk of the sea passage.

"As long as such prices can be procured the trade will flourish, and I can see nothing to stop the inland route (all arrangements are carefully completed and, no insurmountable difficulties in the way) but rooting out the trade root and branch.
Again, on January 8, 1874, he writes:—

"All disguise was here thrown off with regard to the slave caravans; not only was I told that the system worked successfully for six months, and that during that time almost daily gangs had been marched up, but I was shown the square under the trees set apart as a camping ground, where huts were built for the wet weather, cooking trenches constructed, and spare logs and gang-irons kept in readiness. 'There has never been such a good year,' said one owner of a long string; 'there is great demand, and no duty levied by the Sultan; the 2½ dollars which went to him before for slaves shipped by sea we save, and the land journey is worked at a profit.' They acknowledged the trouble at first had been great, adding: 'Now there is none; we have fixed halting places, and send on men a-head; everything is ready for us when we arrive.'

"On this day's journey (27th December) we passed another caravan, 100 in number, on the sea-beach. The slaves were driven down to the water's edge (it was about low tide), and the Arab guards ranged up in line before them getting ready their arms, when Baraka, my head man, went out unarmed and explained that we only wanted to pass on unmolested. The leader threatened to shoot him if he did not go back, but my man, who was not to be frightened by threats, walked up to them and insisted on having his say, after which each party kept on his own way.

"On the following day (the 28th), whilst engaged in writing papers for 36 slaves, the gangs of another caravan, 96 in number, filed along the road, not 100 yards from where I was sitting, as if in mockery of the work I was engaged upon.

"On the 29th we passed on our way another caravan of 73 slaves, which drew off into the grass, the leaders coming forward and saluting us.

"I must not omit that whilst lying ill under a shed at Kikunia, on the 30th, a caravan of 400 slaves passed through the village; and on the next day a far larger one (we counted 1,000, and then stopped) of some 1,100 filed past within sight of my bed, in long chain gangs, heavily laden with provisions for the road. The leader of the latter, one Mamji Hadji, conceived it his duty to call on me, accompanied by about eight of his men armed with muskets. He was very communicative, said 'he had been away two years, did not know exactly how many slaves he had, more than 1,000 certainly; was obliged to march slowly, as some had been a year and a-half in the gangs, had taken seven days from Kilwa; thought it a good thing the sea route was closed, as he saved duty, and the land journey was cheaper; was bound to Pangani; yes, this was a big slave year, certainly.'

"This man afterwards stated in the village that Lalji, the Customs Master at Pangani, originally advanced him all his goods for the slave hunt, and that he should sell under his orders; but I have, of course,
no means of gauging the truth of this statement, which, however, is
neither an impossible or an improbable story.

"I have, &c.,
(Signed) "F. ELTON."

Vice-Consul Elton reports on the 28th January, 1874, that the number of slaves marched up the coast from Kilwa, actually passed on the road by him during thirty days, from 21st December, 1873, to 20th January, 1874, was 3,249.

To this list is added the number seen on the road between the 2nd and 15th January, 1874, when he was absent at Chole, but this is manifestly understated, and perhaps represents half the correct amount, making a total of 4,096.

The heads of these caravans all declared their intention of shipping either for Pemba or North from Lamoo, where the demand is very great, and Mr. Elton says:— "I venture to think that the Sultan should not permit a traffic ostensibly instituted for the purpose of breaking the Treaty of June, 1873, to be carried on with impunity; for as things are at present, the Arab boasts of evading the Treaty, and jeers at our being unable to hinder the traffic, which increases daily."

CHAPTER V.

RESULTS ON THE WEST COAST.

Notwithstanding all that has been thus done, it is evident that the slave-trade is as active as ever, and it becomes, therefore, the duty of all who have the cause of humanity at heart to stir in this matter, and strengthen the hands of the Government.

But there are, nevertheless, still to be found those with whom the pleadings of humanity are stifled by the harder, louder, and apparently conflicting claims of economy, or expediency; or whose views of national responsibility would afford as forcible an illustration of who is not my neighbour as did the Priest and the Levite in the Parable.
Happily the latter class are few, and of this we are certain: that collect anywhere any number of Englishmen, and let anyone with a tongue in his head and a heart in his breast, tell them of the murder, and cruelty, and misery which the trade has wrought, and there will follow a unanimous outcry of horror, and a determination that the foul wrong shall be stopped at any cost.

Again, there are to be found some who will give no support to any undertaking of this kind unless it can be shown to be more in the way of business than benevolence. For these we think we have an ample and conclusive answer in the history and results, moral, social, and commercial, of the West Coast slave-trade.

It was always maintained by those who were the leaders of the abolition movement, that the suppression of the Slave Trade would open up the vast commercial resources of Africa to British merchants and manufacturers. Hence statesmen of authority and experience have spoken in the highest terms of the future commercial importance of Africa, whenever the slave trade should be effectually suppressed.

Sir T. F. Buxton, writing in 1840, after advocating a new settlement in the Bight of Benin, with a view to promote the civilisation of the interior, adds:

"What is the value to Great Britain of a few hundred square miles in Benin as compared with the bringing forward into the market of the world millions of customers, who may be taught to grow the raw material which we require, and who require the manufactured commodities which we produce? The one is a trivial and insignificant matter; the other is a subject worthy the most anxious solicitude of the most accomplished statesmen." ("Buxton's Slave Trade and its Remedy," p. 453.)

Lord Palmerston also, in a speech in the House of Commons, February 26, 1860, stated:

"I cannot too strongly express my concurrence in the opinion, that if the abominable crime of slave trading could once be put an end to on the coast of Africa, that continent would be a source of wealth, not only to Europe, but to the whole world, to such an extent, that the imagination itself could hardly follow it."
Have these expectations been in any degree realized, and has this country reaped any return for the million sterling which it has been estimated that the abolition of the Slave Trade cost her? A glance at the history and present condition of the West African colonies will answer these questions, and will at the same time show that our Government, in providing for the religious instruction of the liberated slaves, and in countenancing the efforts of the Missionary Societies, has, by God's blessing, secured the moral and social elevation of the West African settlements, and, through them, has influenced, and still influences, the surrounding native tribes. With regard to direct commercial returns, it must be remembered that our system of trade has placed no restraint upon the foreign trade of our colonial possessions: they are free to export their produce whither they will. Other countries, therefore, share with us the benefit of England's exertions in the cause of humanity, and in their increased trade and prosperity we reap, though indirectly, the fruits of our toils. With this prefatory remark, let us examine the results to West Africa of the abolition of the Slave Trade.

The following notices of the West African colonies are taken from a pamphlet published in 1865 by the Rev. H. Venn:

"Great Britain possesses four colonies on the West Coast of Africa. The Gambia, a small settlement at the mouth of the important river Gambia, was established by a trading Company in 1620, and was chiefly maintained for the promotion of the slave trade. In 1816 it was transferred to the Government. Its population, by the last returns, consisted of 191 Europeans, and 5,502 natives."

"The Gold Coast.—British settlements, consisting of armed forts, were established on a line of about 300 miles of the Gold Coast by a trading Company in 1661. Like the Gambia, these settlements were maintained for the sake of the slave trade. On the abolition of the slave trade in 1807, several of the forts were given up. A British protectorate gradually sprung up over the tribes contiguous to these forts. In 1821 the forts and the protectorate were vested in the Crown, and in later years transferred to the direct management of Government. The colony is composed of Cape Coast Castle, the seat of the Government, and five other forts, viz., Dix Cove, Annamaboe, Accra, Christianborg, Quittah. By the last census there were 75 Europeans on the Gold Coast, and a native population in the protected territories of 151,000."
"Sierra Leone.— A mountainous promontory, of about forty miles in length, and thirty miles in extreme breadth, was first settled in 1791 by a trading Company, chiefly promoted by a few philanthropic individuals, as an asylum for liberated slaves, and with a view to the civilization of the surrounding tribes. It was transferred to the Government in 1808. It contains the best harbour upon the West Coast. Its population almost entirely consists of liberated Africans and their descendants. The population in 1860 consisted of 131 Europeans and 41,493 natives. There has been, within the last two or three years, a considerable acquisition of territory on the North and East, in the Quiah and Sherbro countries.

"Lagos is a small island within a lagoon, which runs parallel with the sea coast for about 300 miles: it is opposite the only outlet from the lagoon. It claims a small extent of beach between the lagoon and the sea on each side, and is well situated for trade. It was ceded to the British in 1860. The population is estimated at 70 or 80 Europeans, and 3,000 or 4,000 natives.

"The history of the British possessions on the West Coast of Africa, is inseparably bound up with the history of the slave trade. The settlements in the river Gambia and upon the Gold Coast were originally established, and for more than 150 years maintained by large Parliamentary grants, for the support of the slave trade. Sierra Leone was established as a check, as far as its influence could extend, upon that trade. Lagos was acquired with the view of rooting out a notorious slave trading community, and of encouraging legitimate commerce. Since England abolished the slave trade the two older colonies have equally contributed to destroy the trade which they had so long supported. Their value as colonies is very small, since the climate of Africa will always prevent European settlers from establishing themselves on the coast, except to a very limited extent. Their real value to Great Britain consists in their being auxiliaries to the great Christian enterprise of suppressing the African slave trade, and thereby opening the vast commercial resources of Africa to British merchants and manufactures.

"An inquiry, therefore, into the management and progress of the West African colonies should embrace their aid in the suppression of the slave trade, and their success in promoting native industry and enterprise, and in establishing friendly relations with the surrounding native tribes, and with the native traders and caravans coming from the interior of the coast."

When this pamphlet was compiled, the great task remained unfinished, and therefore it was important to show the influence of the West African settlements in aiding the suppression of the old Slave Trade.

That is now accomplished; and our inquiry may be confined to the part they play in the promotion of native
industry and enterprise, and in establishing friendly relations with the surrounding native tribes.

But as we have to deal with a still existing Slave Trade, it will not be out of place to remind our readers what that coast was before the extinction of the trade.

A late senior officer of the West African Squadron thus describes the extent of the coast on which the Slave Trade formerly prevailed, and the consequent extinction of legitimate commerce—

"Until 1840 the slave trade had been carried on to its full extent along the greater part of the sea-board of Western Africa—from the river Gambia, in the north, to Little Fish Bay, in latitude 15° south—subject only to such slight checks as it received from the operations of our squadron.

"At this time the legitimate commerce of West Africa was comparatively trifling in amount; in many places entirely unknown, it was in others feebly striving for existence against the baneful influence of its barbarous rival.

"The interior of the continent was devastated by cruel and bloody wars carried on by one tribe against another, solely for the purpose of procuring captives for sale. The shores presented the melancholy spectacle of crowded barracoons, filled with unhappy wretches, who had been driven down in chains, hundreds of miles from the interior."*

As a contrast, let us turn to a letter from Bishop, then the Rev. S. Crowther, written in 1852 from Lagos.

"Sept. 22.—Our little schooner anchored off the place from which I was shipped for the Brazils in 1822, thirty years ago. I could well call to recollection many places I knew during my captivity, so I went over those spots where slave barracoons used to be. But what a difference! Some of the spots are now converted into plantations of maize and cassava; and sheds, built on others, are filled with casks of palm oil and other merchandize, instead of slaves in chains and irons, agony and despair. The resources of the country are being called forth since the abolition of the slave trade at this place.

"I can assure you from personal knowledge, and from the expressed admission of many chiefs in this part of the country, that the abolition of the slave trade at Lagos, and they hoped from Whydah also, was the greatest deliverance that ever was wrought on behalf of this country. The barriers which had been put between one tribe and

another, and which made travelling very unsafe, are now being removed, so that one tribe is open to another; and they are travelling together in the interior for mutual trade and intercourse, while the farmers in many parts begin to feel security in the pursuit of their peaceful occupations."

It would carry us beyond the limits of this article were we to pursue the inquiry suggested by Mr. Venn through each of the settlements; we will therefore select Lagos for commercial success, and Sierra Leone for moral and social condition, and for influence upon surrounding tribes. Some details of Bishop Crowther's last visits to the Niger will also supply interesting particulars under this head.

In 1851 it became necessary to seize Lagos: it was the last stronghold of the Slave Trade, and the port for the embarkation of the slave gangs brought down from the Yoruba country.

Various tribal disputes between the Egbas, whose capital is Abeokuta, and the Yorubas of Ibadan have somewhat interfered with the prosperity of Lagos; but just as formerly it was the port for the Slave Trade, so is it now the emporium for all the legitimate traffic, which consists of the export of the native products from the interior and the import of manufactured goods from Europe.

It was a liberated slave, Bishop Crowther himself, who pointed out to the chiefs of the interior that the benni seeds, palm kernels, ground nuts, palm oil, shea butter, and other products so little prized by them, would be highly prized by the English manufacturers. Efforts were also made to establish the cultivation of cotton with some success, and what are the results now?

The following returns show the value of the imports and exports, with the revenue and expenditure of Lagos, for the years 1867, 1868, and 1869:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Imports</th>
<th>Exports</th>
<th>Revenue</th>
<th>Expenditure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
<td>£</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>321,977</td>
<td>513,157</td>
<td>29,774</td>
<td>30,195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>340,815</td>
<td>517,253</td>
<td>33,896</td>
<td>33,711</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>416,869</td>
<td>669,445</td>
<td>40,622</td>
<td>39,431</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[1,079,662 10 4 \quad 1,699,856 16 9\]
Thus in three years' time, Lagos has imported European commodities to the amount of £1,079,662, and has exported African produce to the value of £1,699,856; and the revenue of the settlement has more than balanced the expenditure.

The principal articles of African produce thus exported are palm kernels, palm oil, raw cotton, and benni seed; and the following statement contained in the report of the Deputy Collector of Customs, addressed to His Excellency Captain Glover, the Administrator, will show the steady increase of the trade of Lagos.

"In 1863 the palm kernel trade, then newly introduced, furnished only 2,643 tons; in 1866, 7,196 tons; in 1867, 13,619 tons; in 1868, 15,498 tons; in 1869, 20,394 tons.

"The export in benni seed for the year 1864, in which year the trade in the article commenced, was 2 $ tons; in 1866, 11 $ tons; in 1867, 298 $ tons; in 1868, 385 $ tons; in 1869, 501 tons.

"There is almost a positive certainty in the continued increase in the cotton trade, taking into consideration the quantities already exported, and the amicable understanding still existing between this Government and that of Abeokuta and adjacent places, where cotton is cultivated to a large extent.

"In the year 1868 the export value of this staple was £51,375 13s. 7d. That of the year 1869 reached £76,956 17s. 4d. I must here state that in 1869 the price of this article of commerce had considerably fallen as compared with that of 1868. This will at once show that a very much larger quantity was exported during the year 1869.

"Palm Oil.—The increase in this staple also is worthy of notice. In the year 1868 the quantity exported was 1,460,446 gallons; in the year 1869 the quantity exported was 1,770,991 gallons, showing an increase of 310,545 gallons in favour of 1869."

Of these exports, one-half are to Great Britain, the remainder to France and Germany.

We may well close this branch of our subject with Sir John Glover's own comment upon the figures we have given.

In his official despatch to Sir A. Kennedy, the Governor-in-Chief of the West African Settlements, dated August 22, 1870, says—

"The value of its exports, as against the imports, demonstrates its importance if looked at only as a commercial speculation; and when it is considered that the influence of a civilized, and, I hope, both a
civilizing and Christianizing Government is felt and appreciated, even to the very heart of Central Africa, with whose large centres of trade we are now in constant intercourse, it must be a cause of gratification to the philanthropist, as well as to the political economist, that this great work is being carried on without causing one fraction of expense to the mother country."

Valuable testimony as to the social and moral condition of Sierra Leone has been given by the late Governor, Sir A. Kennedy.

In 1852 he bears this testimony:

"Though some of the statements shown in the annual Blue Book for 1852 might be more satisfactory, I have no hesitation in stating that the colony is progressing safely and rapidly. The direct monthly communication with England and the whole of the West Coast of Africa, by means of Her Majesty’s mail contract steamers, has already established a new era in the political, social, and commercial condition of the colony. Many of the native population and liberated Africans are doing profitable, safe business, and competing successfully with the European merchants and traders. The improved habits, the increased comforts, and investment of capital by the native population, are all highly indicative of prosperity and progress. The absence of serious crime is also very remarkable. In no part of the world have I seen the Sabbath Day observed with more decency and decorum. Crime is repressed and order maintained in Freetown (containing a population of 16,000 persons), by one police magistrate, one police superintendent, and seventy-five policemen. This latter fact speaks more for the orderly habits and dispositions of the people than any comment I could offer.

"Encouragement, and, above all, good example, are all the people require to enable them to fulfil the high intentions with which the colony was established.

"Let any one who knew the Mellacouri and other rivers in our vicinity twenty years ago visit them to-day, and then let him testify to the almost miraculous change that has taken place in the manners and habits of the people, in their intelligence, in short, in their entire physique and morale. This change dates entirely from the time the culture of the ground nut was introduced among them.

"The natives are, however, physically and mentally inferior to the tribes south of Cape Palmas; but in spite of all this, the trade has become what it is in the short space of four years. It scarce dates so far back as the present century. In 1808 the quantity imported into England was only 200 tons; in 1851 it had reached 50,000 tons; and it is only during the last five years of that period that the steam-vessel has come to the aid of African
commerce. What, then, are we entitled to expect in the next twenty years, when the distance between the oil-growing countries in Africa and England shall have, by steam-power, been reduced by at least two-thirds, and when steam shall ply, which it is about to do, on that artery of Africa, the Niger?"

In more recent despatches, Sir A. Kennedy says:—

"Sierra Leone, July 22, 1869.—The state of the revenue is satisfactory and the settlement generally prosperous. The settlement is free from debt. The local government is on the most friendly terms with the surrounding chiefs; and I hope permanent peace has been established in all the neighbouring territories. A spirit of mutual respect and goodwill has taken root founded upon the only lasting basis—the social and commercial interests of both parties. The people are loyal and orderly, and there is a remarkable absence of serious crime. . . . I have during the year visited all the settlements between Gambia and Lagos, some of them twice. The general result of my observations is, that the present and future commercial importance of the West Africa settlements and the coast generally is understood and appreciated by a few persons only, who are receiving a very handsome return for their enterprise; and I fully believe that the civilization of the people has kept, and will continue to keep, pace with commerce.

"June 7, 1870.—The revenue has increased from £59,272 in 1868, £69,624 in 1869, with every prospect of a still further increase. There is no public debt. The trade of this settlement, and produce exported from Sierra Leone River, is I believe, considerably in excess of what it has ever been, resulting mainly from the establishment of peace with the surrounding countries. European travellers can now proceed, not only unmolested, but protected by native chiefs as far inland as the source of the Niger and Sangara country. The rapid increase of trade is evidenced by the number of steamers now running between England and this settlement and the Leeward Coast. The resources of the Sherbro district are being rapidly developed. The people are loyal, orderly, and progressing in industry; there is little or no destitution as known in more civilised communities; and there is no serious crime. The public business is fairly transacted, often under great difficulties. Her Majesty's settlements on the West Coast of Africa generally (all of which I have visited during the year) were never in a more prosperous condition."

Important testimony has also been borne to the part played by the Native Pastorate in maintaining the social and moral status of the colony of Sierra Leone by Major Bravo, the police magistrate, in 1869:—
"As the police magistrate of this colony, in my own person I have reason to know the value of the Native Pastorate; I allude to the order, sobriety, and the respectability of the inhabitants of the rural districts, two of which being under my immediate management I am able to speak from a strong point of view. I do the Native Pastors but simple justice in saying, that but for them those districts could not be kept in the admirable order they are, with a solitary policeman in some of the villages; whilst in many that guardian of the public peace is only conspicuous by his absence. I also say it to the credit of those villages, that they seem to get on remarkably well without him; and why? because they have the minister to settle the 'palavers,' which he always does to their entire satisfaction, without having to send either disputants to prison, a privilege the police magistrate certain does not enjoy. So it is, I say the Native Pastors, outside their ministerial work, are in every way an advantage and saving to the Government, for without them in the rural districts there would have to be maintained resident managers, and a police force equal to, if not larger than, Freetown demands."

We promised a reference to Bishop Crowther's more recent experiences as testifying to the influence and prestige arising from England's policy on the West Coast of Africa, and illustrating the importance of so disposing of the liberated slaves as to permit of their return to their own land.

It must be remembered that the liberated slaves were so placed at Sierra Leone as to a certain extent to preserve their nationalities and to permit of their being taught agricultural and industrial occupations, while at the same time they received moral and religious teaching from those to whom they looked for guidance and protection. Thus massed together they preserved the love of their country, and when, in 1842, it was known that peace and protection were secured for their once devastated lands, the Sierra Leone refugees commenced to return in large numbers to their own homes. The tribes from which the greater portion of the slaves were taken were the Yoruba tribes. They furnished one-half of all the slaves brought to Sierra Leone, and their country lies to the north of Lagos, extending towards the Niger. These lands, towards the year 1840, were completely wasted and depopulated, and it was to these very lands that the Yorubas from Sierra Leone, traveling upwards of 1,300 miles, returned. An account of the present state of this region has been recently furnished by Bishop Crowther, who travelled overland, in 1872, from Rabbah, on the Niger, to Lagos.
By the stranding of the steamer near Lokoja the Bishop was compelled to make the land journey to Lagos through the territories of King Masaba and other chiefs, from all of whom he received much kindness. He was accompanied by five Europeans, the agents of the West African Company. They addressed the Earl of Kimberley from Ibadan on the 26th December, 1872, as follows:

“The purport of this communication is chiefly to convey to your Lordship an idea of the high esteem in which our Most Gracious Queen is held by Masaba, the present Emir of Nupe, as evinced by his unprecedented acts of kindness to us, her Majesty's subjects.

“Leaving Lokoja, en route for Bida, on the 10th of November last, we were met by Masaba's special messenger, who informed us that the king, learning that we were hopelessly aground, had sent him to advise us not to attempt the overland journey to Lagos from Lokoja, but to direct our course to Bida, and there consult with him, the king, as to the wisest measures to take in order to secure for ourselves a safe passage to the coast; in the meantime his Majesty despatched a messenger to Ilorin to glean information respecting the state of affairs in the Yoruba country, through which we should have to pass.

“From the day we arrived at Bida, November 27th, to that of our departure on the 21st of December, we received the most marked attention from the king, at times being completely overstocked with presents in the shape of provisions, &c.; but it was not until we informed him of our wish to purchase horses that he came out in his true colours. 'What,' he said, laughing, 'do you think I am going to allow you to come into my country and spend your goods in buying horses, after all the kindness your Queen has shown me? No; let me know how many horses you want, and I will present you with them.' We told him twelve: accordingly, each of our party was furnished with one; the king over and over again impressing us with the fact that this he did as a proof of his appreciation of the Queen's kindness to him during the last nine years.

“We consider it our duty to communicate these facts to your Lordship, and humbly beg you to allude to them in your next communication to the king.”

In this journey Bishop Crowther passed along the centre of the region which had been ravaged by the slavers, and revisited the very scenes through which he had, fifty years ago, passed as a newly-captured slave. He states that, travelling for twenty-five days, at an average of fifteen miles
per day, he passed every day through four or five populous villages or small towns, full of thriving and healthy inhabitants, all agriculturists, and, in some districts, engaged in producing palm-oil or growing cotton, articles that now form the bulk of the export trade of Lagos.

Again, in 1873, Bishop Crowther paid a visit to King Masaba's successor. The following account is most interesting:

"September 5th, 1873.—Left Egga in the morning in the steam-launch, with Captain J. Croft, agent for Messrs. Miller, Brother, and Co., and arrived at Wunangi Ferry the following morning. On the morning of the 7th the king sent horses, and we rode to Bida, to the quarter of the town King Umoru had occupied for years as a subordinate. The late King Masaba had bequeathed his house to his eldest son, Lupon, as his private property, so Umoru could not remove thither without the consent of Lupon. To avoid dispute, he made no change of residence. Our reception by King Umoru was most hearty and welcome, this being the first visit to him as king by the English merchants. I arrived at the palace last, and was received alone with cordial friendship, when we entered into a long and interesting conversation on various subjects. This first favourable impression gave me hopes of a better government, and facility of safe communication from one part of the river to another without molestation.

"When all the mercantile agents were present at Bida, I asked for an interview with the king, that Governor Berkeley's letter accompanying the Queen's presents to King Umoru might be delivered to him before them all, to make the occasion more imposing.

"King Umoru was delighted, and felt himself very highly honoured by these tokens of recognizance from her Majesty the Queen at his accession to the throne of Nupe. He expressed a most anxious desire to secure the friendship which has long existed between the late king and her Majesty's Government. The first thing to which his attention was immediately directed, after King Masaba's death, was to secure the papers of all his unpaid debts to the English merchants, which he was instructed by Masaba as his last request to discharge as soon as possible, that they may not be discouraged, the first instalment of which he there and then began to pay to the different firms in produce and cowries. His letter to his Excellency Governor Berkeley, Administrator-in-Chief of Sierra Leone, breathed the same ardent wishes, namely, a greater interest on the part of her Majesty's Government for the advancement of his kingdom and subjects than ever. Specimens of native manufactures accompanied the letter through his Excellency to her Majesty the Queen. King Umoru's protection of the stranded steamer, the Snowdon, in the
Niger since last October, with only three Europeans on board, is a clear proof of his good wishes to be friendly with the English Government. Among other things, I informed the king of the visit of the Shah of Persia to England, his kingly reception, and the impressions made on his mind so favourable that he could not express them in words, but by the ardent request that England would be kind enough to construct railroads in his dominions for the facility of communication and commerce; and urged that while such a mighty Mohammedan monarch did not spare himself the trouble of such a visit, nor did he think his kingdom was beyond improvement, how much more should African kings desire a foreign power to improve their countries by their wealth and skill. I then showed him a lump of coal, which Captain Croft had kindly given me on asking, as the fuel with which steam-work is done in England, and that he should show it to his subjects; perhaps they might come across such a thing as that in the country one day, and if so, to report it to him.

"The Sultan of Sokoto has encouraged King Umoru to protect English merchants and residents at Nupe, and by no means to let the cord of friendship between him and the English be broken. Commerce is being invited and protected, cultivation of produce is encouraged, collections of palm-oil and shea-butter are on the increase every year, besides ivory; all of which are given in exchange for Manchester cotton goods, hardware, and salt, and shipped direct for Liverpool. How to encourage these native kings and chieftains to persevere in continuing these laudable efforts is worth the deliberate, kind consideration of her Majesty's Government. While Egypt, Persia, and Japan, are inviting England's interest on the behalf of their own improvements, can a call be louder than this from this part of Central Africa, which some years past drew the attention of many warm-hearted and sympathizing friends in England, to elevate it from its degradation through slave wars? Now that the ruling powers are appreciating those efforts on their own behalf must they be passed by unheeded?

"The next day, according to the suggestion of the king, we all went round on a visit of sympathy to his subordinate chiefs, on account of the death of the late King Masaba; this is in accordance to the custom of the country, of condoling the bereaved of their departed friends.

"During our nine days' stay here, there was no lack of provisions, bullock, live stock of all descriptions, rice, yams, pumpkins, milk, and abundance of wood to cook with, and oil to make our lamps.

"September 16th.—This day was fixed for my leaving Bida, and the agents for the West African Company, Limited, also, for Egga. According to arrangement, should there be no other opportunity from Egga to Lokoja, I had requested the king to order a canoe to take me from Egga thither, that I might be able to spend some days there before the steamer left Egga finally for the lower parts of the
river. To make an impression on the minds of his subjects, the king took the opportunity of the party leaving Bida to show his welcome reception of the visitors by escorting us as far as the city gate to Wunangi road, as the late king had done several times before. Having mustered a large cavalry force of about 500 horse, and a large retinue of foot, about 3,000 people collected in the wide open space before the entrance of the palace. We were with the king within, receiving his repeated assurance of his good wishes towards us; but unexpected incidents were at hand to damp the enjoyment of the pleasure of the day. As we were going out with the king, one of the horsemen, recently entitled the Chief of the Cavalry, was discharging a revolver he had in his hand in the midst of the crowd, without the least idea or regard to what mischief he might do; all he wanted was to show off his skill as a great mounted warrior by discharging his firearms, pointing hither and thither as if aiming at an enemy, and then discharging. We were just going out with the king, when a shot from the revolver was discharged, which struck a bystander on the head; the consequence was instantaneous death. Alarm was soon spread through the crowd that a man was shot dead, and any more discharge of firearms was immediately prohibited.

"The dead having been removed to an opposite house, we mounted for the procession to the town gate, where the king dismounted and we with him, and squatted on mats under a shady tree to hold our last conversation and repeat the assurance of his good wishes towards us, which he sincerely hoped we received as expressed. After arrangement of business matters with the merchants, we, the party leaving, took our leave of the king, mounted, and took our departure for Wunangi Ferry; those who were not ready to go away returned with the king to the city. Here, again, another painful incident awaited the party to end the proceedings of the day. As the king and retinue were returning to the palace gate, a party of horsemen started their sudden short gallops in the narrow passages between the houses in the town. Captain Croft, not wishing to let his rather spirited horse follow their example, held him in; but the ungovernable creature struggled to have his way, took him against the wall, against which he dragged his rider's leg with such force and weight of his body that the captain's right leg got twisted with the clumsy stirrup-iron, and broke above the ankle. He called for help, when Shita immediately returned, dismounted, and came to his help, and took him down from the horse in the greatest agony possible, holding up his broken leg, which could not bear the touch of anybody else. In that position he remained for a good while, till his light travelling Madeira sofa could be brought to convey him to his lodging. Immediately the king got two of his skilful native doctors in setting fractured limbs to attend him, which they did very creditably, considering the means at their disposal. The names of the two
doctors are Sóje and Iró, who immediately prepared a short mat constructed from the hard bark of a bamboo pole for a splint; calico bandages were got ready, when the two doctors applied their force in setting the leg; after which it was bound very tight round with bandages next to the skin, then the bamboo mat splint was bound tight round over that, and then other rounds of bandages very tight over all. No regard was paid to pains or groans, but to set the leg was the main object of attention; after which he was laid straight on the sofa, suffering unimaginable pains. The king was in attendance all the time giving directions. Captain Hemmingway, being present, must have been of great service to Captain Croft, and a comfort to him to have a European near at hand, though the doctors were left to practise in their own way.

"We were not aware of this mishap till about half-an-hour after our arrival at Wunangi Ferry, which is about seven miles from the city gate. We were arranging for canoes for our packages to leave for Egga early the next morning, when I was surprised to see Tommy, who had halted at Bida on business, accompanied by three horsemen, from the king, with a hasty cardnote from Captain Hemmingway, informing me of the accident which Captain Croft had met with, and of his request that I should return to Bida with the messengers that night.

"The day seemed to be a chapter of painful accidents which followed one after another. There was no alternative, but snatching my only necessary personal luggage, I mounted, and returned to Bida at 10½ p.m., when I met Captain Croft, suffering most excruciating pains. It was very fortunate that Captain Hemmingway was present at Bida, who, with Shita and Mrs. Franklin, rendered every possible assistance to soothe his pains, and make him comfortable the best way they could.

"Having returned to Bida, my plan for going to Lokoja at an earlier hour was laid aside; it was even then questionable whether it would have been advisable for me to venture the passage in an open canoe from Egga to Lokoja at this time, because the first intelligence which reached us immediately on our arrival at Wunangi was a disturbance of the river passage between Egga and Muye. The people of Budon having attacked Muye canoes returning from Egga, killed, wounded, or caught twenty persons. Under such circumstances, it would not have been advisable for me to venture the passage, especially when I called to remembrance the unfavourable conduct of the people of Budon towards us when we passed through their town on our overland route journey from Lokoja to Egga in 1871. Thus I felt reconciled that my time was otherwise ordered to be usefully employed at Bida than my own planning.

"Captain Croft was very thankful to see me, to render assistance on this painful occasion. The king was particularly relieved in his mind, as his anxiety was very much allayed by my presence."
"Nothing could surpass the sympathy of his Majesty on this painful occasion. He supplied eatables and stock of every description, and gave a bullock to be slaughtered immediately, that the patient might have his choice; but this we declined to do till he was better, and he could participate in the king's bounty. He made several visits to the patient, on which occasion he showed his legs and arms, which were broken at different times by falls from the horse, but which were all set and perfectly restored; others showed the same to encourage the patient that his case would not be an exception; the doctors well understood their work.

"In the mosque, on Friday, the 19th, the king asked the prayers of the faithful for the recovery of Captain Croft."

We think the testimony now adduced fairly and adequately answers the inquiry with which we started, and is a full and conclusive reply to those who deprecate England's interference with the Slave Trade on the East of Africa, on the score of expense to the Imperial Exchequer, and should afford much gratification to those who have interested themselves in the welfare of Africa.

The upshot of the whole matter is, that what has proved a success on one side of Africa may reasonably be expected to succeed on the other. The testimony of Dr. Livingstone is strong as to the former fertility and richness of lands now desolate and depopulated. In the recent discoveries, too, of intercommunication by water over the Inland Lakes there seems to open up illimitable prospects of future development. Crush the Slave Trade, and there is no reason why in the course of a few years the beautiful uplands described by Livingstone might not become the granary for Arabia, Persia, and India, averting for ever the recurrence of the famines that has desolated parts of India, Persia, and now threatens Bengal. We are convinced that nothing but the most profound ignorance on the whole subject can account for the apathy of the English public; and in the hope of arousing their interest, we would invite public attention to a cause in pursuit of which the Christian may fulfil a solemn duty, while the philanthropist and the seeker of wealth may at once gratify their feelings and subserve their interests.
CHAPTER VI.

DISPOSAL OF THE LIBERATED SLAVES.

The mission of Sir Bartle Frere to Zanzibar was a substantial pledge to the nation for the fulfilment of the gracious promise contained in the Speech from the Throne which closed the Session of Parliament of 1873. The reference made in that Speech to the East African slave trade, and the promise held out as to measures for its suppression, might have conveyed to different minds different impressions. To those informed as to its atrocities and general features, but unacquainted with all the ramifications of the trade, and therefore with the character of the measures needed for its suppression, it might have seemed enough to have simply insisted on an entire abrogation of existing treaties and conventions, with an intimation that England would no longer permit the trade to be carried on. But the responsibility which rested upon our country assumed a wider field when accurately surveyed; careful searching resolved the nebula into separate questions, each self-contained and distinct, and yet involving in their adjustment and solution important political and economical considerations.

Sir Bartle Frere's career as an Indian statesman, and his high position, were guarantees that not only would a difficult question be handled with all the tact and skill of a finished diplomatist, but his recommendation would be respected and followed by the Government that had entrusted to him the mission.

While, therefore, his selection for this mission satisfied those chiefly impressed by the political difficulties which beset the question, those who were more immediately interested in seeing the curse removed, and a blessing bestowed on Eastern as on Western Africa in the abolition of the slave trade, gathered from his appointment confidence and hope, for from his acquaintance with the good work done at Nasik and Bombay, there was reason to hope that among the measures Sir Bartle Frere would recommend for the abolition of the trade, provision would be found for the future welfare of the captured
slaves; and for securing to these poor creatures the same privileges as their brethren enjoy on the West Coast of Africa.

We propose to devote this chapter to a cursory examination of the question of the disposal of the captured slaves.

It was said by Lord Lawrence at the great meeting held in the Mansion House, that the abolition of this trade must be a work of time. It will require, moreover, a persistent and careful blockade of the coast, to convince the traders that England intends to put an end to the traffic in slaves. Lord Lawrence is not the only one who has said that it will take time and energetic measures on the part of our Government to annihilate the trade: it is the general opinion of those competent to judge; for while a high price is paid for the slave in Arabia and Persia, there will always be those whose interest it will be to supply the market.

Admiral Cockburn, writing before the recent Treaty, gives the following report:—

"It is without doubt a fact that the trade is as busy and profitable as ever it was, in spite of all our exertions. Every new plan adopted by us is quickly met by a cunning device of the Arabs, encouraged by the Sultan, if not actively, certainly negatively; it is painful to any naval officer to be obliged to acknowledge this.

"Under existing treaties, and the recent instructions respecting domestic slaves (the Sultan having the power to give passports to any number of vessels laden with poor living creatures to be transported to different parts of his dominions), it is rendered almost impossible for cruisers to take a dhow anywhere south of Lamoo, and during the south-west monsoon it is very difficult to keep cruisers sufficiently near the coast to intercept them running with a fresh breeze.

"I assure their Lordships it is a matter of sneer and jeer by the Arabs—our impotent efforts to stop this horrible abomination. Yes, my Lord, even the Sultan says the English will talk and bully, but can't or won't stop the trade. It is positively evident that a new system must be adopted."

The trade is not, as has been hinted, a recent growth. Mr. Bandinel, writing in 1841, mentions that in 1820 the average of 20,000 per annum was the number exported from Africa. This, therefore, seems the regular demand of the Persian and Arabian market—a demand which has, no doubt, increased of late years. Its long continuance implies a difficulty in doing it away. When we look, too, to the character of the tribes
by whom it is carried on, and the powerlessness of the Sultan, it is apparent that the extinction of the trade is a matter of time, and requires strong measures and continuous blockade. All this may possibly have been understood and included in the views of those who have recently called public attention to the matter. They may have foreseen all that is involved in the conflict on which England is now entering, and, in their anxiety to simply arouse a public determination that the trade shall be abolished, they may have viewed the modus operandi as of minor importance. Possibly they were right; until public opinion was fairly aroused, subsidiary questions were as well kept in the background. Nevertheless, it is an old saying which cautions against undertaking a project without counting the cost. Let us, therefore, fairly face the questions involved in the abolition of the trade, and we shall, we think, find these facts:—That only by applying to the East African slave-trade the principles which governed the nation in dealing with the West Coast trade can a solution satisfactory in all its bearings be found for the present question; secondly, that if the measures to be adopted now are conceived in this spirit, there is afforded an opportunity for voluntary religious agency, to undertake new work on the Eastern shores of Africa.

Our argument rests on the assumption of a parallel between the condition of the East Coast and West Coast trades, and more particularly in the one feature of its attempted continuance despite our determination to put it down.

We have already enlarged on this subject, and would now sustain our opinion as to the probable continuance of the trade by a reference to recent despatches and to the Report of the Select Committee. It was given in evidence generally that a very considerable increase in the fleet was necessary, and even then the trade would be renewed were the fleet withdrawn, and no other measures sustained for checking the trade. It therefore becomes evident that the success of the means we adopt to annihilate the trade must for some time be in proportion to the captures we make. Most of the witnesses also concurred in maintaining the importance of the presence at some spot on
that coast of British power, in some form, as an auxiliary measure, interposing free British soil between the slaver and the slave, as was done by the formation of Sierra Leone and the capture of Lagos.

Among the despatches published for Parliament before the new Treaty was obtained, is a letter from Commander Tucker, from which it appears that the traders, in order to elude the cruisers, have established a caravan route overland from Lamoo to Brava, a port about four degrees north.

Dr. Kirk reports that during the month of May, and the first twelve days of June, 1871, 2,804 slaves had been shipped north to go by this route, and explains the establishment of a new settlement at Kismayo, under the flag of the Sultan.

"In former years, whilst feuds existed between the Somalis to the north and the Gallas to the south of the River Juba, it was a difficult matter to take slaves by land from Lamoo to Brava, Mogdeesha, and Worsheikh, Somali ports known here under the name of the Benadir, and, in consequence, many captures were made at sea.

"The investigation that followed on the case to which Admiral Cockburn called my attention showed that this difficulty has been overcome, and that now the land route is open, and one more obstacle thrown in the way of our stopping this traffic.

"The new Somali settlement, under an Arab Governor, at Cape Bissell, known by the natives as Kismayo, and the expulsion of the Gallas that followed, has been the means of opening the land route from Lamoo to the Somali ports, advantage of which has already been taken by the slavers. . . . .

"Even then (i. e., with a coast blockade) we will find an organized land traffic spring up along the coast, that without the intervention of a free settlement to break the line will almost defy our best endeavours."

He also says, writing on the 4th April, 1871—

"I should have had some hesitation in ordering the destruction of this vessel had it not been notorious how active are the preparations for the slave-trade this season, and how utterly powerless the Sultan is to prevent the system of kidnapping and secret slave dealing that is carried on by and for the northern Arabs.

"No one more readily acknowledges this than his Highness; but he knows that his officers are all open to bribes, and although he can in a measure throw difficulties in the way of their leaving the harbour, he has no power to stop the transport of slaves in small lots to other places on the coast, at which the slave dhows call."
These extracts will show that the trade will not easily be exterminated, and in connection with Captain Elton's reports given already, show that the end sought can only be accomplished by the use of a wise, prompt, and sustained policy.

We may therefore agree with the Report of the Committee "that the disposal of the slaves becomes a matter of large importance." This, then, is the result to which we would call attention, and we would venture to say, the extinction of the traffic having been resolved on, that the disposal of the slaves, even on the lowest calculation, is now the most important and pressing question.

For its happy solution, we again repeat, the principles which supported all our action with regard to the West Coast slave trade must be brought into play. To put it as shortly as possible, these principles were simply to extend to the poor negro slave all the privileges of a British freeman, and they were carried into effect in a spirit of wise liberality and Christian philanthropy on the part of our Government. We venture to think that the result has amply justified that action. The West African Settlements are appealed to by members of the Government, by Sir B. Frere, by Dr. Livingstone, and by the article in the "Quarterly Review," as affording precedents for our guidance now.

The conditions of the inland Slave Trade on the East Coast are now precisely the same as those of the old West Coast traffic once were; and although the same responsibility and condemnation may not rest on England with regard to the East as pressed so heavily on her with regard to the West, yet the call upon Christian England's sympathy and help is as urgent and pressing from the East as it was from the West Coast of that unhappy land. If the Christianity of England cannot at once put a stop, either by treaty or armed force, to the infamous traffic, it can yet use for the East Coast the same means that have been so signally blessed for the elevation of the African race at Sierra Leone and other West Coast stations. The history of Mission work at Sierra Leone is the lesson whose results must guide any similar attempt on the East Coast. As an abstract proposition, it can-
not be denied that the diffusion of light and knowledge, and instruction in agriculture, and enterprise and commerce, will put an end to the traffic in slaves anywhere; but the question to be considered is how to begin. Notwithstanding the general familiarity with the history of the colony of Sierra Leone, it may be useful to embody in this chapter a few of the salient points of that history, whose conditions find an analogy in the past and present circumstances of the East Coast. And first, we find a common point in the fact that discovery and travel were closely followed by Missionary enterprise. No sooner was the West Coast at all opened up, than Missionary enterprise was attracted to the Guinea Coast and the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, and between 1768 and 1798 fifteen Missionaries were sent out, of whom but one returned home. In 1804 the first Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society sailed for the Rio Pongas, and subsequently to the Bulloms, a tribe near Sierra Leone. Eleven years passed away, and seven of the ten Missionaries lay in their early graves, and but slight encouragements were manifested. Churches, Schools, and Mission stores were destroyed by fire, and our Missionaries were at last compelled to take refuge in Sierra Leone. If any lesson had been learned, it was this, that European Missionaries could not, save under exceptionally favourable conditions, endure the pestilential climate of that West Coast; and that, instead of wasting their energies upon comparatively few and savage tribes along the coast, it would be better and wiser to take advantage of the means almost ready to hand for meeting the negro under more favourable conditions, and from among them to raise up a native agency. The records of the East Coast teach the same lesson. There, too, have Missionaries been sent forth in the track of travel, but without results. The history of the Central Africa Mission is but a record of death succeeding death; while the work of the Church Missionary and Methodist Missionary Societies presents but little appearance of success. If we find the parallel to the condition of Missionary effort prior to 1816 on the West Coast, in the present condition and results of similar efforts on the East Coast, let us continue the parallel, with God's help, and reproduce on the East, by the use of similar means those happy results which are
manifest on the West Coast. On the West Coast, the Missionaries having failed to make any marked impression by their labours, had been driven into Sierra Leone, at that time a colony, which, from being at first a settlement for freed negroes, in 1808 became a depot for negroes released by British cruisers, and had, in 1811, a rapidly increasing population of 4500, of whom 2500 were liberated slaves.

In 1816 the Rev. E. Bickersteth visited Africa, and, having spent many months upon the coast, returned to consult with the Committee of the Church Missionary Society on the measures to be adopted. The result was, that a suggestion of Sir C. M'Carthy, Governor of Sierra Leone in 1814, was acted upon. Instead of wasting their energies upon a few inconsiderable tribes of savages along the coast, they resolved to concentrate them upon the colony itself, with its increasing population of liberated negroes, gathered from upwards of 100 different tribes in various parts of Africa, speaking widely-distinct languages. Were Sierra Leone to become a centre of light, and these representatives of so many nations to receive the Gospel, how widely would it be diffused over the vast continent when they should return to their several homes, so many Christian evangelists, speaking in a hundred different tongues the wonderful works of God.

Missionaries were accordingly located in Sierra Leone in 1816. According to a plan formed by Governor M'Carthy the whole colony was divided into parishes, and Missionaries provided for each parish in the colony. A Christian Institution on Leicester Mountain was maintained as an Industrial School for both sexes, and schoolmasters and catechists scattered over the villages. Every effort was made to rescue the poor degraded savages, transferred to their care from the holds of slave ships, from the deep bondage of ignorance and sin in which they were sunk.

Without dwelling upon further details of the history of Sierra Leone under Missionary efforts, we may point to its present condition as a proof, that not only had the anticipation of the Christian men who first resolved in applying the Gospel as the cure for all Africa's woes been realised by the event, but their wisdom in selecting the depot at Sierra Leone for the scene of
their efforts fully proved; for not only has the Slave Trade, formerly so great a curse to Africa, been overruled, to become eventually a blessing, but it has been the means of furnishing that country with a supply of native evangelists, who, but for this, might never have existed. It has supplied Africa with Christians of various nations, who could not but for this have been gathered together into one place, and received the truth at one time.

The labours of the Missionaries were providentially directed to Sierra Leone! Had they not been frustrated in their efforts, and almost driven into the colony, they might to this day have been labouring among a few obscure tribes in the extreme West Coast, without any probability of influencing the surrounding country, still less of penetrating into the heart of the continent. The failure of their Missions among the Susus and Bulloms, and their concentration of effort at Sierra Leone, was most mercifully and wisely ordered for the benefit of the whole of Africa. Had they been settled in some populous town in the very centre of the continent, their vantage ground for future operations would not have been a thousandth part so effective as in this corner of the western shore. From this outlying colony the sound of England's name and England's religion has already gone forth far into the interior of the continent. Dr. Livingstone records that amongst some even of the newly-discovered countries on the Zambesi England was favourably known as the friend of the black races.

The most interesting features of this Church's history of late years are the rise of a Native Pastorate and the development of the principle of self support in the Native Church. Since the ordination of the first African clergyman connected with the Mission—the Rev. Samuel Crowther—the number of Native Ministers has steadily increased. They are now seventeen in number, and in time will doubtless increase to the full extent of the wants of the Native Church.

As the Mission Churches increased in efficiency their thoughts turned to Missions in the regions beyond. The study of the native languages was encouraged. In 1840 a Mission was commenced among the Timnehhs to the north-east of the colony.
In 1845 a Mission was sent to the Yoruba country. A chief town—Abeokuta—was occupied, and the Gospel has since radiated from thence to many of the large towns in the surrounding district. In 1857 a Niger Mission was established, conducted wholly by native African clergymen and laymen, themselves the fruit of the missionary labours of a past generation, and it is now under the care of Bishop Crowther, the first native Bishop of the West African Church, a missionary of no ordinary ability—a living wonder to those who once so vauntingly denied the capability of elevating the native African races, and would fain have extinguished the zeal of their Christian friends in England.

The practical conclusion to which we now come is that the efforts of our own Government to suppress the East Coast Slave Trade, afford an opportunity for the evangelisation of portions of the East Coast tribes, similar to that so successfully embraced by the Church Missionary and other Missionary Societies at Sierra Leone, and with hopes of similar success, provided only that a Sierra Leone can be reproduced upon the East Coast. This is a most important point, for without some such depot, possessing the advantages of Sierra Leone, no combined Missionary effort can be made. Although the labours of a Missionary Society would be properly employed in teaching and preaching to the heathen negro wherever they may find him, yet the work should in this case, if possible, be initiated under conditions which point to the destruction of the Slave Trade as the result of their own development. Dr. Livingstone observes the moral degradation which an indulgence in the traffic produces in those tribes who collect slaves for the dealers; and on the other hand we may lay it down as a truth, that the spread among or in the vicinity of those tribes of an intelligent industry, and an acquaintance with the higher standards of civilisation, must aid in repressing their tendency to engage in this traffic.

Now to bring these things to bear, what so effectual as the presence among those tribes of a native agency, instructed not only as to the principles of civilisation, but teachers of Gospel truth. It therefore seems a condition necessary to the success of the suggested scheme, that the spot chosen for its commence-
ment should be sufficiently near the scene of the inland Slave Trade to permit an influence for good to radiate among the slave-collecting tribes, and at the same time command a sufficient extent of territory to utilise to the utmost the labour stored up in such a settlement. A settlement so placed might, in the course of a few years, become a self-supporting organised community, such as may be found at the Church Missionary station at Metlahkatlah, on the shores of the North Pacific Ocean, where the Red Indians of North-west America have been taught the advantages of union, for the purpose of self-government and the remunerativeness of combined labour; and the whole fabric, based on the teaching of the Gospel, seems now to be crowned with the best blessings of the Gospel of Peace.

But we venture to express an apprehension lest the principles to which we have alluded as the foundation and top-stone of our West African Settlement be lost sight of in dealing with this question. We think we are justified in apprehending a departure from these principles, both in the matter of providing for the support of the slaves, and of extending to them the protection and privileges of British subjects.

The extracts and references we propose to give from official correspondence, will, we think, establish our position. We have said that the principles that underlay all our national action in the matter of the Slave Trade was the placing of the slave in the position of a free British subject. Those who were concerned in this matter looked ahead and endeavoured to secure for these poor creatures that measure of Christian civilization and culture which would ensure peaceful, prosperous, and well-ordered communities. Else what meant the large sums paid by the Government to the Church Missionary and Wesleyan Missionary Societies for their work at Sierra Leone? and why the formation of that settlement on British territory under the governorship of English officers? Our limits do not permit of more extended detail of this part of the subject, or we might produce facts as to the liberality of the Government, the care to provide religious instruction and teaching, and as to the liberated slaves being regarded as British subjects. We may point to the provisions of the Act of 1824,
and the treaties thereby ratified, by which England guaranteed the freedom of all the slaves liberated by her on the African coast. England might well stand forth before the world as the champion of the negro, when she guaranteed to the slave English freedom, English government, and the benefit of Christian benevolence and Christian teaching. Well might one of the ablest of American writers, Dr. Channing, point to the example, and say—

"Great Britain, loaded with an unprecedented debt, and with a grinding taxation, contracted a new debt of a hundred millions of dollars, to give freedom, not to Englishmen, but to the degraded African. I know not that history records an act so disinterested, so sublime. In the progress of ages, England's naval triumphs will shrink into a more and more narrow space in the records of our race. This moral triumph will fill a broader, brighter page."

We do not know how far the Government are now prepared to adhere to the lines followed by their noble predecessors, and emulate their generous sentiments: we very much fear that, unless the public mind gives in its renewed adhesion to the old traditions, the Government will be hampered by economical and political considerations, combined with false views as to the value of free labour on the one hand, or the morbid dread of extending or increasing our colonial possessions on the other.

So strongly do economical views prevail, that we find seven gentlemen, officials of the Foreign and India Office, who had been formed into a Committee by Lord Clarendon, solving the difficulty of the liberation of the slaves thus:—

"Your Lordship will have perceived that, as a means of carrying out our views for the ultimate extinction of the slave traffic in Zanzibar, we rely, in some measure, upon the gradual substitution of free for slave labour, and this object would be greatly promoted by the selection of Zanzibar as the chief depot to the south for the liberated slaves. We have been induced to select this place, not only from its central position in the midst of the slave-trading districts, and the facilities which it therefore affords for the slaves being speedily landed from the cruisers; but because we understand that there is a great and increasing demand for free labour at that place, and that even children can readily obtain work at good wages, so that no charge for their maintenance is likely to be thrown upon the Imperial Government. For these reasons we think that Zanzibar should be selected, not only
as the depot for the slaves captured in the south, but that those also captured in the north should ultimately be brought there.

"In the preliminary arrangements for this purpose which will have to be made with the Sultan of Zanzibar, the probable effects of this measure upon the prosperity of the island should be pointed out to him, and the greatest care should be taken to provide efficient protection for the freed slaves, and to prevent their being ill-used by their employers, or kidnapped by the slave-dealers. They should be under the special protection of her Majesty's Consul, although amenable to the laws of Zanzibar; a register should be kept of them at the British Consulate; they should be provided with printed certificates of freedom; and, as we have already suggested, the Sultan should declare his intention to punish severely any attempt to molest them."

The italics are ours. Some expense, they virtually say, must be incurred, no doubt, but pray excuse us from the cost of maintaining these poor creatures. Again, although upon this point the Report of the Committee can hardly be regarded as satisfactory, they made several very important and obviously necessary recommendations, such as increasing the consular staff at Zanzibar, strengthening the naval force employed in the suppression of the trade, and appointing agents on the coast to control the traffic. Lord Granville, in writing to Dr. Kirk, on the 17th March, 1871, concludes as follows:—

"I have nothing to add to the instructions that I sent to you on the 10th instant. I will only add that, in consequence of a recent decision of the Treasury, no additional expense can be incurred for the present, as proposed in the Report of the Committee, in increasing the staff of the Agency at Zanzibar, or the naval force employed in the suppression of the slave-trade on the East Coast, or in appointing Consular Agents along the coast to control the traffic within the limits to be regulated by treaty."

Nay, so far did the matter go, that, as appears from the Report of the Commons' Committee, a proposal to divide between the Indian and Imperial Exchequer the cost of maintaining the Agency and Consulate at Zanzibar, in which the India Office concurred, was negatived by the Treasury, the consequence of which was, that the Secretary of State for India in Council had informed the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs that the Foreign Office would no longer be privileged to send any more instructions to the Zanzibar Agent, and the whole matter, therefore, was brought to a deadlock.
We earnestly trust our Government will accept the public feeling now aroused as equivalent to a carte blanche in the matter of expense, and that there may be not only no hesitation in preventive measures, but a generous liberality as to the maintenance of the liberated slaves.

We hope that no attempt will be made to carry out the proposal of Lord Clarendon's Committee to annihilate the slave trade between Africa and Arabia by exhibiting at Zanzibar the spectacle of free labourers, whose freedom would be testified by a parchment certificate, generously given by Great Britain, but not ensuring to its possessor either employment or teaching of any kind.

The absurdity of this proposal has been well illustrated in "Mission Life" by Dr. Steere, who writes from personal observation:

"It is very necessary, therefore, that some strong protection should be given to any one landed in Zanzibar. One can scarcely believe that it could be proposed to give each slave landed a printed certificate of freedom, including a right of appeal to the British Consul, and nothing more; no food, no lodging, no clothing, no medicine, no means of knowing what becomes of him and his slip of paper, and no means of knowing whether any one who comes with a certificate in his hand is really the person to whom it was given. And yet this is the scheme which it is said has already begun to be acted upon. It would be better to abandon all attempts to stop the slave-trade altogether, than to enact such a mockery as this.

"Let us suppose that a large slave-dhow has been taken, and the slaves are being brought on shore: there will be two or three hundred poor naked creatures, with never more than a very little piece of very dirty rag round their middles; at least half have some kind of eruption on the skin; all are very much emaciated; a few dozen will be scarcely able to walk; some are suffering severely from dysentery, some from other complaints, and very generally there will be a case or two of smallpox. What is to become of them all? The English Consul has no money; but he has plenty of certificates of freedom. He tries to make out a list, and asks their names; there are thirty Mabrukis, and five-and-twenty Songolos, and so on with the other common slave names. It is simply impossible that any human being should know them all again. Their owners often distinguish them chiefly by the way their hair had been partially shaved. As to their understanding what the certificate of freedom meant, it would be absurd to suppose them to have any idea about it, except that it was a bit of paper, and probably connected with some kind of witchcraft."
"The firm establishment of the Native Church in Sierra Leone shows us what may be done with and by freed slaves under proper management. May the day not be far distant when a similar work shall be going on among those who, having left the East Coast as heathen slaves, may return to dwell among their kindred as Christian freemen!"

Supposing this point of mere cost of maintaining the slaves gained, there seems to follow of necessity the formation of a settlement. This is recommended by Dr. Livingstone and all who have since written on the subject. Sir Bartle Frere has also expressed himself in favour of such a course. While, however, we have grounds for hope that the experience gained by Sir Bartle Frere of the benefits of Christian training to the African lad, from his personal acquaintance with the work of the Church Missionary Society at Nasik, will lead him to recommend that the same be extended to the liberated slaves at the East Coast, we fear that political considerations may interfere to diminish the boon we would desire to see bestowed on the poor creatures. If our surmises are correct, the next few years must see a large number of the slaves on our hands. At present we capture 6.6 per cent. of the whole number who pass Zanzibar. Suppose we give the trade five years to become extinct (to accomplish which our cruisers must, by frequent capture, render the trade unprofitable), we may have, at a low computation, 10,000 slaves to locate.

We would earnestly deprecate any disposal of these poor creatures that does not comply with the following conditions:

1. The security and freedom of 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 civilisation, 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.
6. That these objects should be secured at no inordinate expense to the English Treasury.
We would urge that, in their location, the precedent of Sierra Leone be followed, due regard being had to the future well-being and prosperity of the settlement.

We have said that we fear the action of the Government with regard to the liberation of the slaves is likely to be hampered by political considerations; and as in place of the simple and straightforward course of undertaking the maintenance of the liberated slaves, economy, or, rather, parsimony, proposed to substitute the plan of free labourers at Zanzibar; so we fear that political feeling will recommend a quasi free settlement under the Sultan's flag and rule, instead of a real one in British territory for the reception of the free slaves. If this is to avoid wounding the susceptibilities of the Sultan, we should fear they are likely to receive many a shock under a system which, while it recognizes his flag and rule, must intervene for the protection of the young settlement against its nominal ruler. We must say we cannot see the necessity for all this. Surely there can be no difficulty in purchasing a sufficient tract of land for a British settlement. None of the Powers who with us are interested in the abolition of the trade, and have expressed their sympathy and readiness to support the mission of Sir B. Frere "with all the moral and diplomatic means at their disposal," can raise any objection to such a purchase. The success and future well-being of such a settlement seems to turn upon not only civilized but Christian rule. Dr. Kirk, writing on the 20th March, 1871, says:

"I am certain, however, that it will be found expedient, if not necessary, so long as Zanzibar remains a free Arab Government, for us to have a free settlement somewhere on the coast, possibly not an English possession, but certainly under our administration. On such a station only could a mass of freed slaves be properly and advantageously dealt with for the first five years of their freedom, and a settlement of this nature on the coast would be a break in the land route that will at once be opened when the sea transport is prohibited and blockaded."

And again, on the 5th September, 1871, he says:

"To locate freed slaves in numbers anywhere in the island of Zanzibar, not directly under British or other European authority, would
be dangerous to their freedom, and soon involve us in serious complications both with the Government and the people.

"It seems to me that if some station could be secured on the mainland at a distance from the island, a very much healthier place might be obtained, and a free African colony founded. The Arabs, however, will at first be much opposed to such a settlement, knowing the influence it would have on the system of slavery, and the fear that it was established with ulterior views of extending our dominion. If these views were once got over—and this might easily be done with judicious management—there is abundance of unoccupied ground available. The islands and coast north of Lamoo are for this purpose the most healthy, but, again, the harbours are bad and the coast dangerous, while the social state of the Somali and Galla tribes would render some means of defence necessary. To the south of Quiloa there are fine commodious harbours and rich lands, bordered by weak negro tribes, and a climate healthier than Zanzibar, yet much inferior in this respect to that of the north. In forming any such station I should not propose in any way to interfere with the Sultan’s sovereign rights, claim the power of raising taxes, or otherwise infringe the provisions made in his Treaties, with other countries. All I should aim at would be to become possessed as proprietors of a moderate tract of land, the fact of proprietorship alone giving us, under treaty, jurisdiction within the same as far as we should require.

"In any case, however, I think the coast offers certain advantages worthy of attention, but whatever we do we must carefully avoid giving to our work the aspect of a propaganda or an attack on the present Government.

"On the coast Christian Missions might be safely made more use of than in the island; but whatever is done, the negro must be made self-supporting if we hope for success, and kept during his apprenticeship under British jurisdiction."

Thus, while admitting the importance of free settlements, there is the strange condition annexed of maintaining the Sultan’s suzerainty over the settlement, and, in respect of it not to infringe his treaty provisions with other countries—a truly uncertain reservation. If this is to be done, the laws of humanity call upon us to guarantee the protection of the slave against his own rulers; moreover, to carry into effect this protection, those rulers must be taught to model their notions of justice and freedom upon English principles, and we must see that they do this. It may be instructive to know something of the men that are to be taught to do justice and love mercy. The following extract from a letter furnished us by
Bishop Ryan may serve to give some idea of their tender mercies:

"One morning a Mlangulopresented himself before the house in which we were living, and called lustily for the Masungu, or white men. He was much excited. He told us that the soldiers had strung a man up by his hands to the flagstaff in the market place, and were beating him to death. "Do go and see, Oh white man," exclaimed the old man earnestly; "the man is gasping for breath; they will kill him, they will kill him. Oh, go and save him!" We went to the market place forthwith. What a sight. There was the victim as described, hanging by his hands to the flagstaff, and only a single cord of coir round his waist to afford him additional support. His veins were bursting, and his flesh was deeply lacerated: he was gasping for breath. Seeing us, he turned his eyes upon us, and groaned as well as he was able, "Oh Waunguana! Waunguana! help me! help me!" (Oh gentlemen, gentlemen). The whole scene went to my heart. We inquired for the Governor. "He is in the Gereza" (public palaver house), was the answer. To the Gereza we went, but the Governor, hearing of our approach, had disappeared and hid himself. He had left the town early in the morning, we were informed, and would not return till the afternoon. Was there any one to act for the Governor in his absence? No. But after a while an old man, the Gunedar of the place, said he could act. We implored that the man's punishment might be relaxed. We were told that it should be suspended till the Governor returned, when we were to prefer our petition to him. Accordingly, we saw the Governor in the afternoon. We explained that we did not wish to interfere with his province as a magistrate; if the man were a criminal he ought to be punished; but what we had witnessed was too shocking for us to endure without availing ourselves of the privilege allowed to guests (and we were the Governor's guests), that of pleading in behalf of such individuals, that we entreated the Governor to mitigate the punishment. He, in the end, gave a reluctant consent. The man was taken down and pardoned, so we were assured. We left the town, and returned to it some time after; and we then learned that though the poor man was at liberty while we remained in the place, as soon as we had taken our departure he was bound again and whipped to death."

Again, let us consider for a moment the circumstances of such a settlement in its early days. Let us turn to the life of Johnson of Regent, and then let us ask ourselves: Will anything but Christian rule, and Christian example and teaching, bring order and prosperity out of such a chaos as a free settlement must in its early life present?

And even thereafter it is most important, to use the words
of Lieut. Challice (in a pamphlet in which he advocates a system of Registration of Dhow as the best means for suppressing the trade), "that a future be provided for the negro." We may form some conception of the character of the material to be dealt with from the pages of Mr. Palgrave's work on Arabia. Mr. Palgrave asserts that considerably over a thousand are imported annually into 'Oman alone, and their numbers are now immense, reaching a good fourth of the entire population, but conferring little or nothing in the cause of social culture and advance. In two points alone they maintain a decided superiority, but of evil—the one superstition, the other immorality. Fetichists on their own soil, negroes remain so in Arabia, and with Fetichism they bring all the accompaniments of jugglery, magic spells, poisoning, and the like. In a word, the great prevalence of local and degrading superstitions is ascribed to the influx and contagion of the negro population.

Although there may be a nominal Christianity prevalent, it is most necessary to secure a form of government adapted to the requirements of the race. The colony of Liberia has lately been passing through scenes of anarchy and confusion for want of good government, contrasted with which the peace and prosperity of Sierra Leone stand out as a testimony to the wisdom and forethought of its protectors, and pleads for a similar boon for the Eastern negro.

If it is to be British rule de facto, why not de jure? Then will there be no uncertain element to deal with, but rather everything to encourage; for in dealing with the question we shall not have departed from the noble principle embodied in Lord Mansfield's great judgment, that slavery cannot exist on British ground.

It used to be an old notion that the British flag carried with it the privileges of British soil, and to plant his foot on the deck of an English man-of-war was for the slave equivalent to treading English ground. We have maintained this right for the exile, why not for the slave? And if it is so, what right have we to hand them over to captivity again? In the eyes of the world we have guaranteed their freedom. Let us see to it that we have fulfilled, and do fulfil, our pledge.
We may well recall Cowper's lines:—

"Slaves cannot breathe in England; if their lungs
Receive our air, that moment they are free;
They touch our country, and their shackles fall!
That's noble, and bespeaks a nation proud
And jealous of the blessing. Spread it then,
And let it circulate through every vein
Of all your empire; that, where Britain's power
Is felt, mankind may feel her mercy too."

India has been called the brightest jewel in the British
crown, but we question whether, in the sight of God, the little
colony of Sierra Leone does not emit a ray purer and more
serene. A humble gem, "black, but comely," it testifies to
England's humanity, generosity, and humility, and records the
brave self-devotion of her sons, who have gone down into the
"White man's Grave," to carry England's freedom and
England's Bible to the children of her adoption. In face of
these grand facts, let political and economical theories stand
aside, let England show that the spirit which won for her the
proud place of the champion of the slave, still animates her
people on behalf of the down-trodden and oppressed.