

before. With this view I have so dealt with Shere Ali that he has gone home convinced of our power and goodwill, but also understands that he gets nothing more from us except he behaves well. . . .

“I am sick of the nonsense talked about Russia. They are on the Oxus, and they will stay there, and very likely they will try and come further. . . . The press at home is doing much harm in showing such an abject fear of Russian progress. Give me strong and friendly States where I think I could put them, and the more Russia pours civilization and commerce into Central Asia the better for us. With God’s help you and I will never live to see a shot fired beyond the Indus; but if Russia were so demented as to attack us, with the assistance of Affghanistan and the wild tribes of the trans-Himalayan districts we could drive her across the Jaxartes in one summer campaign, and she knows this perfectly well, and she is not going to try it.”

And on the same question of frontier policy he writes to Frere :—

“November 7, 1869.

“I am very sorry that portions of the Indian Bills fell through, particularly that which proposed to give the Governor-General power to make special regulations for certain districts. This was very much wanted, particularly on the north-west frontier, and would have enabled me to have carried out my policy of endeavouring to stop those expeditions of reprisals, which, I think you will agree with me, have never been successful, and reflect little credit either upon our administration or our arms. I took a very decided step in this direction in refusing to sanction, at the very earnest request of the Punjab Government, a second Huzara Expedition this year. The result has already gone far to prove that I was right and the Punjab Government was wrong. There has been no recurrence of those raids in the Agoor valley which they prophesied. The burning of the village of Shaloot, which was within our territory, will be quite sufficient punishment for the raids of last August, and I believe that a policy of observation and defence, with a sufficient force summarily to chastise on the spot, if circumstances permit, will be quite

sufficient to protect our subjects in the Huzara from insult and aggression. All the officials were very much discontented at first, but they are now beginning to see that we are determined to continue the policy which has been begun, and that they have no chance of winning distinction by burning unnecessarily crops and villages. . . . I am endeavouring to carry out the same policy on the south-east frontier with regard to the Looshais. . . .”

As for railways, the discovery of a deficit of two millions, owing to a blunder for which he was in no way responsible, added to Lord Mayo's difficulties. He writes to Frere :—

“September 8, 1869.

“I quite agree with all you say as to the extension of railways, but the deplorable position at which our finance in India has now arrived renders the difficulties in the way of speedy and large extension almost insuperable. I have no doubt that by courage and determination our finance can be restored to something like a healthy state. You will by the mail after next receive a despatch that will awaken those who are in a dream of Indian financial security, but you had better say nothing about this further at present as it will be all out in a fortnight. Probably you may hear it by telegraph before you receive this letter. It is rather hard upon me, within six months of my arrival in India and in the middle of the financial year to be obliged to take the initiatory steps for retrieving the blindness and blunders of the last four years. . . .

“The indiscriminate way in which charges have been thrown upon imperial funds has paralyzed to a great extent local exertion and interest. . . .”

The number and bulk of Frere's official minutes and memoranda during this time on leading Indian questions testify to his untiring energy and his ready pen. And his official duties formed but a part of the work he got through. He published a memoir of his uncle, John Hookham Frere. He wrote two important articles and

part of a third in the *Quarterly Review*, and several articles in *Good Words* and *Macmillan* on Zanzibar, Livingstone, the East Coast of Africa, and the Persian Gulf. He gave a lecture at King's College on "India as a Career for Men of all Classes and Professions;" at the Society of Arts on "The Means of ascertaining Public Opinion in India;" at the Society of Architects on "Modern Architecture in Western India;" and for the Christian Evidence Society on "Christianity suited to all Forms of Civilization;" and he read many papers in different years at the Church Congress and British Association.

He was twice president of the Asiatic Society. In 1867 he was elected a Fellow of the Geographical Society, and his lecture on the "Runn of Cutch" was the first of many papers which he read there. The president, Sir Roderick Murchison, was getting into years, and allowed it to become known that he hoped Frere would be his successor. And though he twice declined to be put forward, Frere was elected president in his absence at Zanzibar in 1873, and in that capacity took a leading part in promoting a Search Expedition for Livingstone in 1874, and also in furthering an Arctic Expedition, which sailed in the following year.

Mr. Clements Markham, the present president of the Geographical Society, writes as follows of Frere's work in connection with the Society:—

"Sir Bartle Frere was on the Council of the Royal Geographical Society from 1868 until 1876—as vice-president from 1870 to 1872, and president in 1873-74. His uncle, Mr. Bartholomew Frere, was one of the seven founders of the Society. During the period of Sir Bartle's service he took a very active interest in geographical work. . . . He strongly urged that greater efficiency and activity should be infused into the naval surveying service, and he was always anxious to promote every enterprise

which had for its object the advancement of geographical science.

“Sir Bartle had been an accomplished geographer long before he was officially connected with the Society. In his many-sided way he had been accustomed to look at administrative questions in India from a geographical point of view, and he used to say that geography and statistics were the two bases of departmental work. His mind was well stored with the thoughts arising from this way of considering the innumerable points he had had to decide in his long official career. Hence he always had some original and often very valuable suggestion to make when geographical questions were discussed in his presence. He saw at once, with wonderful quickness and precision, in what way the broad principles, established in his mind through long consideration of the general subject, bore on any new point that came before him. His power of exposition was admirable, so that his own thoughts, never vague nor confused, were quickly conveyed in the clearest way to those with whom he acted. As a friend in council he had few equals, both from his thorough grasp of subjects under discussion, and from the extent and accuracy of his previous knowledge. Proposals and schemes which had long been in abeyance were quickly disposed of, and those which contained the germs of usefulness were put into practicable and working shape under his guidance. The indescribable charm of his manner had much to do with the smoothness and facility with which the official machinery worked under his presidency; but when it was necessary, he displayed unbending firmness.

“His great pleasure was to show kindness and consideration for young men whose work came before him, and to inspire them with confidence. He was quick in distinguishing real merit from charlatantry, however cleverly veiled; and the former always secured the gentlest and most patient attention at his hands. There was nothing which struck those with whom he acted so much as the total absence of any personal motive, however slight, in all he did or said.

“As to his own individual share in any measure or undertaking he was absolutely indifferent. In this he always seemed to be the purest type of a public servant. To him the general good was everything, his own share in

producing it absolutely nothing. Thus it was that there was many a suggestion made by him, many even matured plans which bore valuable fruit owing to his initiative, with which his name will never be connected in the remotest way. As a geographer, his knowledge was not only sound but, in many branches of the subject, and these far from being all connected with India, it was minute and detailed. He often displayed such detailed knowledge quite unexpectedly and on most unexpected points, so that where we only anticipated in him a general adviser we often found an expert.

“The present writer is merely stating his own thoughts and impressions, and his remarks only have reference to intercourse with Sir Bartle Frere as President of the Geographical Society and of the Club. That intercourse increased though it did not originate the deep feeling of regard, indeed of affection, which Sir Bartle caused among his geographical colleagues. They have the pleasure of knowing from the following letter how warmly that feeling was returned.

“May 13, 1884.

“I have given up all hope of ever again joining one of the most charming meetings of the kind I know—the Geographical Club. Will you take an early opportunity of expressing to the members the deep regret with which I sever my connection with the Club, and the sincere interest I shall always take in the institution, which, as far as I know, is unequalled in its object, as it is in the pleasure it always affords its members.”*

Frere had never attached himself definitely to any political party. He called himself a Pittite and a follower of Canning; and he belonged to a Conservative family and always recorded his vote on that side. He was once asked to stand for Bath as a Conservative; and on another occasion was invited to be a candidate “in the old Whig Liberal interest” for Edinburgh. Had he wished it, his being on the India Council was a bar to his being in

* This letter was one of the last he ever dictated. He was not able even to sign it with his own hand.

Parliament. The Liberal party's attitude of "masterly inactivity" applied to Indian and Colonial affairs, so changed since Lord Palmerston's death, was repugnant to Frere's highly pitched estimate of the duties and obligations of British rule, and he was gradually repelled from any sympathy he may have had with the Liberal, and drawn into an increasingly close connection with the Conservative leaders. When the Conservative Government came into power in 1874, he gladly welcomed Lord Salisbury as head of the India Office, and for the three years that followed there was a frequent interchange of letters between them, the correspondence becoming increasingly voluminous and confidential as it went on.

If anything more had been wanting to confirm his allegiance to the Conservative Government, and to repel him from the opposite side, it would probably have been supplied by the publication, in September, 1876, of Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet on "Bulgarian Horrors." Frere was the last man in the Empire to wish to prolong or to palliate Turkish misrule. He had earnestly contended for the liberation of Egypt from Turkish control. He had in the course of his Zanzibar mission (as will appear later on) denounced to Mr. Gladstone's Government, though with little effect, Turkish aggression in the South of Arabia. He had complained of the encouragement given to Slavery and the Slave-trade on the Arabian coast by the Turks, and had urged, to little purpose, pressure being put on the Porte by the British Ambassador to stop it. He had at that very time (September, 1876) in the Press an article for the *Quarterly Review*, on "The Turkish Empire," in which he describes it as a "corpse" supported in an upright position by the "pressure of opposing forces." But, as he pointed out in another article in the same number of the *Quarterly Review*, written partly by him and partly by

the editor—the problem of the hour was to let the corpse fall, without an outbreak of European war between the great Powers whose interests were involved. The danger of war was so imminent, and fanatical passions on both sides were so heated, that it became the plain duty of every public man to calm, not to excite the public mind, in order that reason, not passion, might prevail; and nothing could have been more harmful, than for an influential statesman to lessen the chances of peace by an appeal, like Mr. Gladstone's, to ill-informed and unreasoning passion.

In the list of Minutes and Papers on Indian subjects, which he wrote during the time of his being on the India Council, his lecture at the Society of Arts in the autumn of 1873, on the threatened Bengal famine, and his letter to Sir John Kaye, in 1874, on Frontier Policy,* are amongst the most important and characteristic. The dreadful Orissa famine in 1868 had attracted public attention in England to the subject of famines. In the summer of 1873 there had been a partial failure of rain and of crops in Bengal. The magnitude of the apprehended peril and of the measures necessary to avert it may be judged by the fact that, according to one estimate, three-eighths only of an ordinary crop could be relied on; about 125 millions of tons of food for Bengal must come from somewhere; the surplus of a good year was never more than half a million tons, so that there could be no considerable local stocks to rely on, and probably so much food might be required that its tonnage would exceed the whole of the usual annual tonnage of Bengal trade.†

Could this impending famine, and other famines, be prevented? Was it anybody's fault when they happened? Why do they take place in India and not in Western Europe? ..

* Cited in chap. xiii., vol. i. p. 491.

† Sir B. Frere to the Duke of Argyll, December 20, 1873.

Frere's answer was, in brief, that famines occurred, and always had occurred, in countries which were undeveloped, uncivilized, and ill-administered. India was no doubt naturally more liable to a failure of crops than a European country, because agriculture was more dependent upon a rainfall which was uncertain. But this by itself was a very insufficient explanation.

There were many causes. Amongst them were the backwardness and restricted knowledge of agriculture; the dependence of the populations of large districts on a single crop; the absence of railways, and also of roads—for the country roads on the Indian plains generally became impassable after a few showers of rain,—so that there might be scarcity and abundance within a comparatively short distance; the want of irrigation; the separation and isolation of classes and castes, and their prejudices against any kind of food but that to which they were accustomed. Another cause was the imperfect administration and, in Bengal especially, the want of grasp and acquaintance of the district officers with the condition of the population, and consequent difficulty of obtaining reliable information, which arose mainly from the fact that that province was under special disadvantage from not having had, till within the preceding twenty years, a Lieutenant-Governor to manage it, and had been nominally managed by the Governor-General, who had too much else to do to be able to attend to the details of its administration.

As to prevention. When a famine was actually impending, it was essential, he pointed out, to do nothing to check the ordinary course of trade. The measure formerly resorted to of forbidding the export of corn, instead of increasing the stock of food, had a bad effect in many ways. It was an inducement to neighbouring native States to do the same in self-defence, and so make matters

worse ; and it paralyzed trade and thus interfered with the imports which would have come in in the ordinary course. In an emergency Government must purchase and import grain in large quantities ; but this, if it is done openly, does not interfere with trade, but rather stimulates it by encouraging the importation of grain from distant places to the ports where the Government purchases are made. Nor does the establishment of temporary relief-works, such as the making of roads or canals ; for money is thereby brought into the country with which food may be purchased, and by which at the same time communications are improved.

There was no natural or inherent incapacity in India, Frere maintained, to be protected from famine as completely as England. But there was a great deal to be done. He protested against the doctrine, lately come into fashion in the British Parliament, that India, being a poor country, could not afford to pay for more than the bare necessities of administration, or bear the burden of a charge for public works which did not yield a remunerative rate of interest. He maintained, on the contrary, that the Government should act in the spirit of a good landlord, not of a moneylender, looking for a return, not so much in interest on capital, as in the increased prosperity of the people, who would be benefited by works of irrigation, railways, roads, etc., out of all proportion to the slight increase of taxation.

“I have heard it said, ‘India is not as England ; even with the best means of communication the people will starve when their own crops fail.’ I could give many instances to prove the fallacy of this statement. I will only give one, which I select merely because I know the country well and can speak from personal knowledge of the facts. The instance I refer to relates to the district between the Godavery and the Toombudra rivers, in the Deccan, east of Poona. The tract may be roughly taken

at three hundred miles in length from north to south, and two hundred miles wide from east to west. . . .

“Tradition tells us of more than one great famine which caused the depopulation of the whole country, and its return to a state of uninhabited jungle. History bears out tradition, and sites of deserted villages are still shown which have never been inhabited ‘since the great famine.’

“The people still reckon traditional events by years of scarcity. ‘It was in the year of Holkar’s, or Scindia’s, or the Mogul’s famine,’ that is, when famine followed the marauding hordes of those great freebooting chieftains, or ‘The year of the horse’s nosebag,’ or ‘of the five handful,’ meaning years when only a nosebagful, or five handful of grain could be bought for the rupee, which in ordinary years would have purchased a hundredweight.

“These are expressions I have often heard used by old people in talking of bygone days.

“There had been a severe visitation in 1832 and 1833; traces of its cost to Government in uncollected revenues and in advances to buy food were in every public account-book. One of my first experiences in Indian district life* was an inquiry into cases where an attempt had been made to wring arrears from the half-starved survivors by actual torture; and famine waifs, in the shape of unclaimed scraps of property which had belonged to unknown fugitives from famine, who had died in their aimless flight from starvation, and children who had been sold by their parents to buy food, or who had been left by dead or starving parents, were to be found at most stations, in the public offices, or in mission-houses, or in places of temporary relief which had been provided for the famine-stricken. . . .

“But the most curious testimony of all is borne by the Duke of Wellington, who, as Major-General Wellesley, saw the district during the worst of the famine in 1803, when, in the campaign preceding the battle of Assaye, he marched his army through it from Mysore in an expedition which, for boldness and true precision in conception and energy in execution, may rank among his greatest exploits. He prepared exactly as he would have done for an expedition into the centre of Arabia, and describes how, in the last hundred and fifty miles, including the famous forced march of sixty miles by which he saved Poona, excepting

* As assstant to Mr. Goldson id, in 1834. See chap II p 27.

in one village, he did not see a human creature—so completely was the country desolated by war and famine. . . .

“Such was the state of the country close to the Peishwa’s capital seventy years ago. I have said that such things were possible forty years ago, but I believe they are now as impossible there as here, and why?”

The chief reasons are, he says, first, the method of administration of the land revenue, combined with the maintenance of the ancient Hindoo village system, which was a distinctive feature of that part of Western India. By its means was secured a continuous chain of administrative agency, from the poorest cultivator to the ruler, through which detailed information as to the cultivation, crops, trades, ownership, and the names of the village authorities great and small could be immediately obtained. Secondly, the great irrigation works executed by Colonel Fife and other engineers. Thirdly, the two branches of the Great Indian Peninsular Railway, which ran through the Deccan ; the improved roads, the telegraph, etc.

“Scarcity there may be, and often the able-bodied are obliged to go elsewhere in search of work, and to live on imported food ; but the population may be pronounced fairly safe against any but occasional isolated deaths from starvation. As a proof that this is not mere theory, I may mention that the seasons preceding 1867 were as nearly rainless, and caused as entire a loss of all crops and even of the usual supply of grass, as any season which the oldest person in the country could remember, and at one time prices began to rise to a pitch which threatened extreme scarcity and possible famine. But the local rise of prices had its natural effect in attracting grain from without. Considerable supplies were immediately sent to Poona from other neighbouring provinces, and advices sent by telegraph to Kurrachee, Busheir, and Bagdad caused immediate shipment of Punjab, Persian, and Mesopotamian millet and wheat from those ports, the news of which had an instantaneous effect in reducing prices at Poona and the neighbourhood, and the result was that, though the

people were straitened, they were fed with imported grain, bought at prices which were above the famine prices of forty years previously, but paid for by wages earned in Bombay, by the savings of former years, and by money lent on credit to men who were no longer hopelessly in their bankers' debt. None of these things would have been possible without a good revenue settlement fixing and moderating the demands of Government, still less would they have been possible without the railway and the telegraph and water-carriage from far distant ports to Bombay.*

After Frere left India, the band of Wardens of the Sind Frontier, with their splendid record of service, had met with little support or encouragement. They grew disheartened, and one by one came home.

Sir Henry Green writes to Frere :—

“ July 27, 1875.

“ Harrison has just arrived from the Sind Frontier. He is the only one of the old school left, and will tell you the whole truth and nothing but the truth. He is a good man, as the following anecdote will prove. Soon after he was sent to Kelat the usual rebellion broke out, but the chiefs and their followers having lost all respect and fear for the British Government actually advanced to Kelat with the intention of attacking it. The Khan sent out his lot to meet them, and both parties faced each other at the village of Shalkoo, close to Kelat. Harrison having only moral power at his command, seated himself on a chair between the two armies and lit a pipe. More than one matchlock was levelled at him, but was knocked up by some chief; a parley ensued and the matter was settled. Another time the Khan was to have been shot on his road from Mustoong to Kelat. Harrison rode next him the whole distance and beyond a doubt saved his life. From his knowledge of the country and people, the respect that they have for him, and his long experience as well as his upright and plucky character, point to him as a man whose services will be invaluable at no very distant date; but unfortunately he is *disgusted* with the state of affairs and wants to leave the frontier. He has

* The Bengal Famine, p. 51.

had to serve two masters at the same time—Merewether and Phayre—and to satisfy both. You know what that means. A few kind words from you might change his resolution. I write for the good of the service, as I know how much the very existence of India depends upon the individual character of the agents employed by Government.”

And Sir W. Merewether writes to the same effect :—

“ June 7, 1876.

“ The break up of Jacob’s system naturally caused great disappointment to and discontent among those officers who had been educated by him, had striven zealously to qualify themselves in the line of policy he had initiated and made successful, and who looked to rise in their turn to the higher positions. Macauley and others resigned, having lost all interest in the work, and, to complete the disheartening to the remainder, strange officers, quite inexperienced in the country and people, were put into the vacant high places above them.”

As regarded the Khan of Kelat, Merewether went on to complain, Frere’s and Jacob’s policy of strengthening him, keeping him straight by sound advice, and enabling him to control his wild and unruly vassals, had fallen into abeyance. His authority had been weakened, and divided counsels, an uncertain policy, and a want of confidence in British consistency and sincerity had been the consequence.

The Shah of Persia, in the spring of 1875, expressed a wish to renew the friendly relations which had formerly existed with Great Britain, and asked for the assistance of British officers to train and discipline his army. The question arose whether this request should be complied with.

Lord Napier of Magdala, at that time Commander-in-Chief in India, wrote a memorandum in favour of compliance. It was true, he said, that the Persians were fickle

and unreliable ; it was possible they might have some agreement with Russia, and that diplomatic complications with Russia might arise ; but he thought there was much greater danger, ultimately, in inaction, in the "shrinking policy" of nothing but fruitless protest, until the Russian bases of action should have been formed on salient points on the frontier of India, and perhaps the northern part of Persia occupied by them. He would send to the Persian Embassy military officers, carefully selected, acquainted with the Persian language, of genial manners and disposition calculated to disarm enemies and make friends. To counteract any jealousy which such action might excite in Shere Ali's mind, he proposed to send a native envoy to Cabul, whose business it would be to gain his confidence, and to intimate to him that it was necessary for our mutual interests that we should have agents to ascertain what was going on in Central Asia, and give us warning of anything likely to affect us injuriously.

A copy of this memorandum Napier sent to Frere, who replied—

" May 28, 1875.

"Your admirable memorandum on Persia will be every way valuable, and may lead to our Government taking some decided step to put a limit to the advance of Russia on Persia, of which I had begun to despair.

"Many influential people, notably the Duke of Cambridge, and, I think, Lord Salisbury, entirely agree with you, but there is a strong party the other way—Lawrence, and the Duke of Argyll, and the large body of Liberal doctrinaires who are for 'peace at any price for the present, and let war or anything else come, if it will, on our successors.'

"Mr. Disraeli sees no popular call for more active measures, and things which would have caught his eye and fired his fancy twenty years ago fail to move him now.

"I think Lord Derby very much agrees with you. But

his great caution is an obstacle to striking while the iron is hot.

“I think Lord Salisbury will probably make an effort to press on the Viceroy the need for more active measures to enable us to know what goes on in the west and north-west of India; but I need not tell you that if the Viceroy is determined to recognize no need for action, and persists in waiting till the need for action is clear to all mankind, he will act, if he acts at all, too late; and if he is determined not to act, it is not easy to force him to act to any good purpose.”

CHAPTER XVI.

THE ZANZIBAR MISSION.

East African Slave-trade—Frere goes to Paris—Rome—Naples—Cairo—Interview with the Khedive—Zanzibar—Burghash obdurate—*Enchantress* sails to the South—Majunga—The Hovas—Johanna—Incident at Kilwa—Return to Zanzibar—Departure—Frere's parting shot—Muscat—Return to England—Burghash signs the Treaty—He comes to England—Death of Livingstone—Essay on Indian Missions.

THE last chapter of the history of the negro slave-trade was, at the time, generally thought to be completed by the result of the American Civil War and the collapse of slavery in the United States. The European Powers had long been united, with greater or less sincerity and zeal, in seeking to effect its abolition; and the adhesion of the United States, whose attitude had hitherto been doubtful, gave a unanimity of support to its prohibition, which the Powers were now strong enough, if they had the will, to impose upon the whole world.

The occasion was not long wanting. It became known that slaves, who had been kidnapped under circumstances of horrible atrocity in the interior, were being exported in large and yearly increasing numbers from Zanzibar, Kilwa, and other places on the east coast, to the ports of the Red Sea and Persian Gulf. The dhows in which they were shipped, running with their lateen sails spread before

the south-west monsoon, could distance any steamer then on the coast. The English squadron, inadequate in numbers and equipment for the special service, and without the means of obtaining timely information, zealously as its men and officers performed their arduous duties, could do little to check the traffic. The captures which they made scarcely compensated for the increase of suffering caused to the slaves by the increased crowding and the precautions taken by their masters against capture.

England, when Lord Palmerston was in power, had been wont to take the lead in the contest with the slave-trade; and it belonged especially to England to do so in the present case, because the Zanzibar territory, whence nearly all the slaves were shipped, was, or might be at will, almost as much under British influence as a Native State of India; and the East African merchants who profited by the traffic were most of them Banians—British subjects from India. But Palmerston was gone, and in place of his spirit of vigorous initiative, which did not wait for orders from the public or the press, “masterly inactivity” was in the ascendant.

In his evidence before the Slave-trade Committee (July 17, 1871) Frere said (answer 448)—

“It appears to me that the cardinal evil which you have to deal with is the oscillation of our own opinions in the matter. Up to about the time when Lord Palmerston died for many years the general opinion of all parties in England had been in favour of a determination to put a stop to the slave-trade . . . and the whole weight of the Government influence had been put on the side of suppressing it. . . . Our Government, representing public opinion, appears to me of late years to have been very half-hearted in the matter. The first thing seems to me to be to make up our own minds with regard to what is to be done, and whether we really are in earnest, as we were twenty-five or thirty years ago.”

And he writes to Mr. Gifford Palgrave :—

“August 31, 1868.

“I am sure you would find little difficulty in making a settlement of the slave-trade questions connected with Zanzibar. The only real difficulty is to get the Government and influential classes in England to make up their minds as to what they want. At present they want all sorts of incompatible things. Some want to respect our Zanzibar treaties, some to override them; some to stop the slave-trade, some to develop sugar and coffee and all sorts of produce which are difficult to manage with free labour; some to economize our naval expenditure, others to keep up our East African squadron. And both the Indian and English Governments think that, by shutting their eyes and doing nothing, they can avoid the diplomatic entanglements and the outlay of money which they so much dread. . . .”

But at last the truth in all its dreadful details was forced on the attention of the public by Dr. Livingstone's published letters, and sympathy was aroused by his devoted efforts to bring light to bear on the condition of the countries he was exploring. He described the country for several hundred miles inland from the coast as absolutely depopulated by the Arab slave merchants. They now had to penetrate into the interior to make their captures, and, during their march to the coast, the most horrible sufferings were undergone by the slaves. The supply in the interior being practically inexhaustible, their captors were careless how many perished by the way. Gangs of several hundreds were yoked together in groups with forked sticks and driven to the coast. Those who were too weak, or too starved, to proceed, or who tried to escape—men, women, and children—were stabbed or clubbed to death, or unyoked and left to die. The track of a slave-gang was marked all the way by decaying bodies. During the five years ending September, 1867, it was estimated

that about a hundred and fifteen thousand slaves reached the coast, and were exported to Zanzibar, Arabia, and other places.*

Dr. Livingstone, in "Zambesi 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 recognized, 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 or 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 ports, 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 Shire valley as an average, we should say not even one-tenth arrive at their destination."

A Committee on the East African Slave-trade, appointed by Lord Clarendon, had reported in January, 1870, and a Committee of the House of Commons in 1871; and early in the following year, Lord Granville, who had

* Mr. Churchill, British Consul at Zanzibar, quoted in Hutchinson's "Slave-Trade of East Africa," p. 31.

succeeded Lord Clarendon at the Foreign Office, had addressed communications on the subject to the French Government. In the summer of 1872 a public meeting, convened by the Anti-Slavery Society, was held at the Mansion House; in August, the Queen's speech, proroguing Parliament, announced an intention to take action, and, on September 27, Lord Granville wrote to Frere, asking him to undertake a temporary mission to Zanzibar for the purpose of negotiating a new treaty with the Sultan, and of organizing a more efficient mode of dealing with the slave-trade.

Frere had taken a leading part in the matter, speaking at public meetings and acting in conjunction with the Anti-Slavery Society in pressing the question on the Government; but so little had he any idea of being himself sent as envoy, that he had already suggested and recommended Colonel Pelly as an officer in every way competent to undertake such a duty, if entrusted with the means necessary to carry it out.

In the expectation that Pelly, who was then British Resident in the Persian Gulf, would be appointed, Frere, to save the mail, had written at once to prepare him.

“September 27, 1872.

“I have some reason for hoping that the execution of a fresh treaty with Muscat and Zanzibar may be entrusted to you. I have stated very strongly that I believe you to be better fitted than any man I know to carry out such a mission, and in the hope that my advice, as to the selection of an envoy at least, may be taken, I will try shortly to describe the present position of affairs here. Should Her Majesty's Government make any other selection, I am quite sure that what I now tell you is perfectly safe with you, and that you will treat it as strictly confidential.

“We have all, and no one more than yourself, preached in vain for years past that slavery and the slave-trade were on the increase on the East African coast, and in

your seas. No one in power here heeded. But the tales told by Livingstone have startled and shocked the public conscience (for the public here has a conscience, though not a very observant or sensitive one), and Her Majesty's Government begin to think that the subject must be taken up.

"You know the whole subject so well that I need not give you the reasons why I and many others have urged that no measures of repression will be of any use unless—

"1. We secure the hearty acquiescence and co-operation of Muscat and Zanzibar, making all transport of slaves by sea penal, without limitation of coast line.

"2. Unless we enable them to observe their engagements with us, which requires that Muscat should receive, and Zanzibar cease to have to pay, the subsidy settled by Lord Canning and Coghlan—£8000.

"3. That therefore our best plan to secure the two first objects is to relieve Zanzibar from the payment and pay it ourselves. . . .

"You ought to have full powers both from Her Majesty's Foreign Office and the Viceroy, and have large discretion in every way. . . ."

The appointment was, however, pressed upon Frere ; and he accepted it, following his rule of asking for nothing, but taking the work that came. Leave was granted him from the India Office. He stipulated for full powers and support from all the departments of the State, and at Lord Granville's request he drew up a memorandum of instructions to himself which was approved and adopted.

It was an important element in the success of the mission that it should not only represent the Queen's Government, but should also be the medium of conveying a strong and unanimous expression of opinion on the Slave-trade Question from all the European Powers known on the East Coast of Africa. Accordingly, assurances were asked for and given by the French, German, Italian, and Portuguese Governments that they approved of the objects

of the mission, and would instruct their consuls to support it. The French Government, perhaps too sore under recent troubles at home to attend to matters at a distance, were understood to be somewhat lukewarm,* and it was arranged that Frere should take Paris and Rome on his way, and obtain, if possible, additional assurances of support.

He left England on November 21, taking with him Mr. (now Sir) Clement Hill of the Foreign Office, Mr. Charles Grey of the India Office, Captain Fairfax, R.N., representing the Admiralty, Major (now Sir Charles) Euan Smith as his private secretary, Dr. Badger, the great Arabic scholar, as interpreter. His son Bartle, who had just left Eton, also accompanied him. Subsequently he was joined by Colonel Pelly, who at Frere's request had been attached to the mission, and by Kazi Shahabudin, a Minister of the Rao of Cutch, a native state on the north-west coast of India, adjoining Sind, whom he took as a representative of the Banians—the name given to the trading-class of Hindoos, most of whom come from Cutch, and by whom almost all the trade on the East Coast of Africa is carried on.

At Paris he called on M. Thiers and on M. de Rémusat, the Foreign Minister, who informed him that the French Consul at Zanzibar was now on leave, and that no instructions had been sent to him. He however promised that he should be instructed to support the objects of the mission.

At Rome he had an interview with the king, Victor Emmanuel.

* M. Schoelcher, a member of the French Government, had in a speech in the House of Representatives distorted the annual payment by the Sultan of Zanzibar to the Sultan of Muscat into a payment to the English Government for a licence to carry on the slave-trade! The statement was, on the remonstrance of Lord Lyons, afterwards withdrawn.

He writes to Miss Frere :—

“ December 4, 1872.

“ We picked up Sir A. Paget at the Legation and drove to the Quirinal—the palace with the horses grouped round the obelisk in front—and entered it by the gate in front of which poor Cardinal Rossi was shot in 1848. An aide-de-camp, in a cavalry uniform very like the Bombay Lancers, received us, and the private secretary soon came in, a sharp little man, who told us the king had ordered a gold medal to be prepared, which he would ask me to take for Livingstone. Soon after His Majesty called from the inner room, and the aide-de-camp ushered in Sir A. Paget and me. (The suite to be presented had been limited to three, and Hill, Badger, and Smith were with me as the three chief.) He received us standing, shook hands, and began to talk in very bad French, very sensibly, and, as if he was well informed on the subject of the mission, said he had ordered a medal to be prepared, and asked me to convey it to Dr. Livingstone. I told him of a copy of Badger’s translation of Ludovico di Varthema, the Bolognese traveller in the sixteenth century, which I had had bound for him, and which he graciously promised to accept, asking many pertinent questions about it and East Africa. After about a quarter of an hour he told me I might introduce my suite, and he said a few words to each very graciously, and shook hands on our taking our leave.”

Frere had conversations with Venosta, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, with Sella, the Finance Minister, and with other leading men, who all took an interest in his mission, and to whom he pointed out the commercial advantages which might result to Italy from the opening up of the African coast. He also obtained, through Mr. Clarke Jervoise, a copy of a circular letter which had been addressed by the Secretary of the Propaganda to the heads of all the Roman Catholic Missions on the East Coast of Africa, who had under their care many African children, and whose concurrence and co-operation would be likely to be of value in considering the question of the disposal of liberated slaves. Monsignore Howard, formerly an English

guardsman, and then just made an Archbishop, who he found had a grateful recollection of his reception a few years before at Government House, Bombay, begged to be allowed to arrange for his seeing the Pope. Frere and his suite accordingly went one morning to the Vatican—in evening dress, not in uniform, as it was an informal visit—and met with a kind and sympathetic reception from the Pope, who stood all alone in a large room in his white dress to receive them, and conversed with Frere about his plans, ending by giving his blessing, with an expression of regret that he had now nothing more substantial to give.

From Rome he went on to Naples, where, after some trouble, he succeeded in discovering an institution he had heard much of at Rome—the Collegio dei Mori, on the Capo di Monte,—an establishment for the industrial education of Africans, managed by a Franciscan Friar, Lodovico da Casaria. The Monastery had escaped suppression as being an educational establishment, and moreover without endowment. Fra Lodovico “must be a man” (Frere writes) “of immense zeal, energy, resource, and powers of organization, for he maintains the Collegio, etc., as well as the Girls’ School here, and two similar institutions in Egypt, entirely by the alms he collects.” There were thirty brethren, and thirty or forty boys. The most obvious defect of the place, to Frere’s English notions, was the want of cleanliness. He says—

“December 7, 1872.

“As to the spirit in which the work is done no outsider can be a very competent judge, but my impressions were those of apathetic resignation in the dozen or so of brethren we saw, rather than of any active spirit of devotion, and of a life which, though one of privation to an educated gentleman brought up in the luxuries of modern social life, is by no means so hard as the ordinary life of

the class whence the Franciscan brethren are chiefly recruited. With the boys it is different; to poor orphans from the city the change to the pure air and sufficient wholesome food of the Collegio may be a physical benefit, despite the dreary cold and dirty passages and cells in which they live, and which are probably better than in their former homes. But after seeing their cells, I was not surprised to hear that the mortality of the 'Mori' pupils had been so great from chest complaints and other diseases attributed to the climate, that Fra Lodovico had reduced the numbers as low as possible, and retained only those who were intended for the Priesthood—keeping all others in two establishments which he had in Egypt. For all, old and young, I feel sure that a good matron and nurse would save much sickness and mortality at the Collegio; but such an addition to a Monastery would be worse than all that Garibaldi could invent to uproot them, and so a Protestant may be allowed to prefer institutions where matrons and nurses are possibilities."

From Naples they went to Brindisi, where the Admiralty yacht *Enchantress*, a paddle-steamer of eight hundred tons, was waiting for them. They sailed to Alexandria, stopping a day at Corfu, and went by railway to Cairo, where they stayed a week. Cairo was not in the programme, and Frere had no special instructions with regard to it. But Egypt was the ultimate destination of many of the slaves which came from East Africa, and the Slave Question had to be taken in hand there as well as at the other end of the chain. Colonel Stanton, the British Consul, was most efficient and helpful. They went together to see the Khedive, and Frere seems at once to have gained his confidence.

He writes to Lady Frere:—

" December, 1872.

" His Highness met us at the door of the first room, and, after I had introduced all my staff, Bartle included, led us to an inner room overlooking the courtyard, where he

seated himself in an armchair in the corner by the window, put me on a sofa on his right, Stanton on his left, and the rest round the room. After some ordinary talk, he said he wished to speak to me very fully and confidentially on the subject of my mission, and I having given a signal to the staff to retire into the ante-room, he gave me and Stanton nearly an hour's discourse, speaking very fluently in French, and expressing himself with great force and clearness. I told him briefly what were the reasons of our mission and its objects, and he showed far more knowledge of the whole subject and its difficulties, and far more intelligent interest in the matter than any statesman, not being an Englishman, I have met, and there are not many Englishmen who are at all equal to him in grasp of the subject. He said he had no doubt the Sultan of Zanzibar or 'Imaum,' as he pointedly called him, if well advised, would do all we asked him in the way of promising to stop slave-trade and to shut up the slave markets; but there were things the Imaum could, and things he could not do, and our difficulty would be to get him to do all he would promise, and to protect him against the northern Arabs and others who would try to force him to let the present state of things continue. As for the question in Egypt, he did not wish to be put on a level with Zanzibar. He claimed for Egypt the position of being a leader in the civilization of Africa, and he was very sensible of the serious obstacle which slavery and slave-trade opposed to her maintaining such a position, and to the progress of civilization; but we must not forget the distinction between the two. Slave-trade, he hoped, and undertook, if supported by England, effectually to put down. He and his predecessors had done much to check it. (I told him I could testify to this from personal observation, and recounted my personal experience since 1834, which seemed to please him much.) It was no longer permitted by law, though no doubt carried on secretly. He did not think more than four hundred were now imported annually. (Colonel Stanton suggested a thousand. 'Well,' his Highness said, 'say a thousand, *par exagération.*') This was much less than formerly, and he hoped to extinguish it, and would promise to do so if he had the moral support of England. He had gone to great expense with Baker's expedition, and though much disappointed at the result, he felt

sure it had greatly checked slave-trade on the White Nile. . . .

“With regard to slavery the case was different. He held it equally in abhorrence, and hoped to do much to abolish it. But you could not get rid of it by a *coup de sabre*. It had existed in Egypt long before Mahomedanism, and could only be extinguished gradually, as people got more enlightened and as a class of free servants to do the same work grew up. There was at present a great want of such free labour. He had done what he could by establishing an industrial school for training servants, and little by little he hoped to civilize his people in this as in other things ; but he wanted the moral support of England and other civilized nations, and that they should supply him with a motive which should account to his people for his fresh action in the matter. In reply to my question how His Highness thought this could be done, he said, ‘Well, as an example, you have a society which charges itself with this particular duty of repressing slavery—the Anti-Slavery Society. If your Government send me a memorial from them, asking that I should take more active measures for the suppression of slave-trade, it will account to my people for my taking fresh action in the matter, and will involve no diplomatic difficulty with Turkey. But, without the moral support of European nations, and especially of Great Britain, my progress must be very slow.’ *

“After taking leave of him we called on the Prime Minister and *ad interim* Foreign Minister, Sherriff Pacha, and, not finding him at his house or office, were driving home, when we met him going to call on me at the hotel, and went there together. He is a most intelligent, agreeable Turkish gentleman, speaks excellent French, and is more in manner and appearance like an Anglicised Frenchman or German than an Arab. . . . He sat for an hour, talking and smoking, very much as any English gentleman

* About two months afterwards, in accordance with this suggestion, a meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society was held at the Mansion House to arrange for a petition to the Khedive. Unfortunately it was foolishly *published* at the meeting that the Khedive wished for pressure to be put on him. Naturally, when this became known in Egypt, it defeated the object of the meeting.—Mr. Wyld to Sir B. Frere, March 14, 1873.

might have done, and as intelligently and agreeably. Colonel Stanton seems a great favourite with them all, as you can easily believe."

At the Khedive's request Frere went a second time to see him.

"His Highness gave me nearly an hour of what Stanton said was one of the most remarkable conversations he had ever heard from him. It was a very clear and well-stated account, not only of his views regarding Abyssinia, but of his whole position as the head of the most liberal and progressive Government in Africa, sorely tried by French meddling and anxiety to make Egypt a French province and His Highness himself a French Prefect, and not effectually backed by England when his views and interests were identical with ours. He was very sore about our playing into the hands of the French by opposing his judicial reforms. At present every European nation protects its own subjects, and interferes with the local legal tribunals in all matters in which European subjects are concerned. Of course this is galling even when, as in the case of the English, there is no wish on the consul's part to screen the wrongdoer; but it is intolerable when Greeks and French shamelessly uphold the scum of their own people in their crimes and frauds committed in Egypt, and do not allow justice to be done. The Khedive says, 'I will have good tribunals; let all men appear before them.' And this, which we should support in India, we refuse to him, mistrusting his tribunals, for which I should say, speaking as an old Indian, we have no just ground.

"He was very earnest over the Abyssinian Question, which he discussed at great length, earnestly denied all schemes of conquest in that direction, which he argued would be simply madness, not only from the difficulty of the country, but from the religious dissensions which would be sure to involve him with every European Power, and which he pictured with great humour.

"Colonel Stanton had told him of a case of slave-dealing, reported by the French, in which His Highness's own mother, a lady of great influence with him, was said to have been concerned, trying to get fifty slaves for her grandchildren's *trousseaux*. His Highness said he had made a great stir directly Colonel Stanton told him,

was assured the whole was an invention of the French Vice-Consul, a noted rogue. However, he would send off a man-of-war at once to inquire at Massowa and let him know the result. (This we heard at Suez His Highness had done. He evidently believed that we should look in and inquire, and told his captain to take a corvette and steamer despatch-boat and to get down before us and make inquiry. The captain came on board the *Enchantress* at Suez and made most particular inquiry as to when we should start, where we should touch, and how many days we could steam, and how fast.)

"I told him I should, as in duty bound, report all he had told me to Lord Granville, and he earnestly begged me to do so. When we left, he came downstairs further, Stanton said, than he usually did, except to royalty, and he evidently meant to be very gracious—and certainly he is the ablest and most agreeable man that, in my very limited acquaintance with sovereigns, I have ever met. . . ."

A day or two later the Khedive invited all the party to breakfast with him, in the course of which he told Frere that, "if I saw no objection, he would write to the Imaum, as a friend, as one Moslem would write to another, to advise him earnestly to carry out all we asked him to do."

In Egypt, as at Naples, Frere sought out schools where slave children would be taken. Amongst other people he saw Miss Whately, who had devoted herself to schoolwork there.

"Her testimony was, like that of all unofficial persons that slavery, and, in consequence, slave-trade, is increasing as luxury increases; and that, unless the Government abolish slavery, as it has been abolished in India and elsewhere, it will increase as riches increase."

He went with Lady Eyre to see some schools of negro girls kept by Franciscan nuns.

"There are about sixty or seventy in all, of European or Syrian and Egyptian parentage, and about thirty or forty negro girls, bought as slaves, mostly very ill or

dying, 'as a healthy child costs more than the poor sisters can afford.' There are about forty sisters, mostly French, Italians, and Germans, and one Maltese who spoke a little English. They have no property but the alms they collect; when a man has a slave-child likely to die, or to be long ill, he brings it to them as his last hope of turning a penny by it, and they give him five, fifteen, sometimes as much as twenty Napoleons, if they can afford it, and, if the seller is a Turk who will abate nothing *pour amour du bon Dieu*, baptize it, and, if it is likely to live, get a consular certificate of sale and freedom. Most of the poor little creatures die, but many live and grow up, and they have generally more than thirty—an untoward generation, as the poor sisters described, mentally, morally, and physically, most of them hopeless little savages, often sickly from long ill-treatment and want, with no notion of truth or honesty, and a curious insensibility to gratitude. It made my heart ache to hear them in their poor, barely furnished room tell of all their trials and privations and disappointments, so humbly and cheerfully borne; few, very few, of the negro girls were ever fit to be admitted to vows, but some were. . . .

"Smith and Hill, in an expedition to old Cairo, managed with much difficulty to find Monsignor Daniel Cambone, Pro-Vicar-Apostolic of Central Africa. He was not at home, but having heard from Rome of our mission, and of the wish of the authorities there that he should do all he could for us, he came while we were at dinner, and we had a long and very interesting talk. He is a stout, good-humoured, resolute-looking man of about forty, speaks English intelligibly, and French and German fluently, and Arabic, and any number of negro dialects. He has been many years in Central Africa, and is now acting as Vicar-Apostolic from the Arabian Sea to Senegambia, over a population of eighty millions, of whom one million yearly, he calculates, are sacrificed as slaves. Their head-quarters were originally at Khartoum, on the White Nile, where they lost, in fourteen years, thirty-five out of thirty-nine brethren; but he proposes moving away from the river to Kordofan, a fine province, very populous and healthy. He is to start in a few weeks with forty persons—brethren, Sisters of Charity, etc., to establish their Kordofan Mission. He does not advocate educating the negroes as missionaries, either in Central Africa, where they cannot be properly

trained, nor in Europe, where they die, or get spoiled by becoming too Europeanized. He would have his university half way, at Cairo, and this, I think, is wise. . . .

"I cannot tell you how I was struck by the great progress of every kind—good and evil—even since we were here last. The Frank is greatly on the increase, and in the ascendant—not the Frank of any one country, for French influence has notably declined, and we seem to be in favour, mainly because we are supposed to be least inclined to territorial aggression. But His Highness seems to feel that his only chance is by adhering to Western civilization and getting free from the dead body of Turkish domination. He seems to have little sympathy with his father Ibrahim's or Abbas Pacha's plans for making Egypt a Syrian or Arabian power. A far easier and more safe and extended empire is before him, carrying out Mehmet Ali's idea as leader of African civilization. . . . His dangers are going too fast for the Turks or too slow for the Franks, besides the financial risks which beset all but very steady-going and old-fashioned Governments. . . .

"Slavery and the slave-trade are to him real and not sentimental dangers. He sees enough of race and class hatreds and prejudices not to wish to see a serf or slave caste grow up in Egypt. The fellah has been the backbone of the State from Joseph's time to this, and Pharaoh would not gain by converting the fellah into a landed proprietor or tenant farmer with negro slaves for labourers. Unless he goes with us in this matter, he will lose all title in the eyes of all the labouring men in the world to pretend to be a leader of African or any other civilization. . . ."*

Frere and his party rejoined the *Enchantress* at Suez, and arrived at Aden on the last day of the year, finding there Colonel Pelly, who had come from India to join the party, and who went on in the *Punjab* to meet them at Zanzibar. At Aden Frere found matters in so unsatisfactory a condition that he wrote immediately to Sir Henry Elliot, the Ambassador at Constantinople, and a few days later to Lord Granville to the same effect.

* Sir B. Frere to Lord Granville, January 10, 1873.

“January 2, 1873.

“I had heard something of Turkish aggression on these coasts, but I was to-day astounded to learn from the Resident here, Brigadier-General Schneider, that a Turkish Mushir, now fully established with a considerable force at Sanaa, some miles from this, has ventured in writing to summon the chief of Lahej, a stipendiary of ours, to attend his camp and submit himself formally to the Turkish Government; and I was, if possible, more astonished to find that this had been fully and ably reported by the Resident here on October 26, and that he has not yet received instructions how to act. . . .”

The Chief of Lahej, it will be remembered, was Mere-wether's ally, in conjunction with whom he had pacified the disturbed country round Aden, and enabled the inhabitants to bring in supplies without molestation. He was now threatened with a descent upon his country by the Turkish Mushir, if he did not obey his summons.

“As regards Aden, the garrison and port drew their nearest and best supplies of grain, vegetables, fruit, forage, firewood, meat, and, above all, fresh water from the belt of low country which intervenes between the sea and the mountains on the road to Senaa, which was plainly visible in the distance. There the cattle imported from the African coast are pastured till required for sale to the garrison or shipping, and thousands of the Arab inhabitants of the plain country furnish day labour in Aden, which a few years ago was imported at great expense from India or Africa. Any interruption of these supplies, or any disturbance of the peace in the country from whence they are drawn, would affect Aden like a hostile investment. . . . To produce all this inconvenience it is not necessary that the Turks should act in any way hostilely towards us. A military demonstration, such as the Resident reports, is now threatened, or the employment of a few thousand Arab levies to occupy Lahej would ‘eat up’ the country as effectually as a hostile army; and the blundering or oppression, which are not unknown in distant Turkish Pashaliks, might paralyze agriculture for months or years before the cry for redress was heard at

Constantinople. . . . The Chief is naturally in a state of the utmost alarm, and came into Aden while I was staying at the Residency to ask General Schneider's advice, which, in the absence of instructions from England or India, it was not easy to give."

In this matter was involved also the larger question of the claim which the Turks were putting forth to the sovereignty of Nejd Yemen and Oman, a great part of Arabia, a claim which had been expressly repudiated by the British, as void of foundation, when Aden was first occupied, and which, if now acquiesced in, was likely not only to give an impulse to the slave-trade and enable it to be carried on under cover of the Turkish flag, but in the future would be likely to have the most disquieting effect on the Mahomedan population of India.

Eight days' steaming from Aden brought the *Enchantress* to Zanzibar after sundown on January 12. In the harbour were the British men-of-war *Glasgow*, *Briton*, and *Daphne*, and the American *Yantic*. Next morning Mr. Hill went on shore and called upon the German and American Consuls and on the acting Consul for France, to ascertain if they were fully informed as to the objects of the mission. It was at once evident that no assistance or sympathy was to be expected from them, though subsequently the German Consul, in conformity with instructions from Berlin, did loyally give his support.

In the afternoon, the whole party, forty-eight in number, including the officers off duty from the three men-of-war, and, by invitation, Captain Wilson and the officers of the *Yantic*, went ashore in full uniform for a formal reception by the Sultan. They passed in procession up a narrow street, lined by the Sultan's Persian and Arab Guards, beyond whom was a throng of respectful and orderly Arabs and negroes. The Sultan, Seyid Burghash, who

was previously known to Frere when at Bombay, met them about thirty yards from his door—it was an unusual compliment for him to advance so far—and shook hands with Frere and all his staff. All then entered the house and sate down. After the usual compliments Frere presented the Royal letter. On receiving it, His Highness rose, all present following his example, and, according to Eastern custom, raised it to his head as a mark of respect. The other letters were then handed to him, and after more introductions and conversation the Durbar ended.

Next day the Sultan returned the visit, being towed to the *Enchantress* in his barge.

The three main provisions of the treaty proffered for the Sultan's acceptance were : that all transport of slaves by sea should cease absolutely ; that the public slave-markets should be closed ; and that the subsidy due to Muscat, and which was in arrear, should be paid.

By the former treaty of 1845, to avoid interfering with the cultivation of the country, the transport of slaves by sea had been permitted to continue under certain limitations between the mainland and the island of Zanzibar. But this concession had been grossly abused. It was notorious that of the slaves brought to Zanzibar the immense majority were sold to dealers, who exported them to the ports of the Red Sea, Arabia, and the Persian Gulf, which was expressly forbidden by the treaty. As to the payment of the Muscat subsidy, it was known that, owing to a dreadful hurricane in the previous year, which had destroyed most of his ships and made havoc of the crops and trees, the Sultan was much impoverished, and therefore discretion was left to Frere, if compliance was shown on the other points, to undertake on the part of the British Government to discharge this liability for him.

The Sultan was sore perplexed. He was very anxious to

please Frere and the British Government, but he feared that the consequences of yielding to their demands would be to endanger his authority over his subjects. His Council of Arab relatives and headmen were against any concessions, and they told him plainly that if he gave way they would look elsewhere for a Sultan.

The post of English Consul had been for some time vacant, and the duties were being discharged by the Surgeon and Political Agent, Dr. (afterwards Sir John) Kirk. Frere lost no time in writing to Sir Philip Wodehouse, then Governor of Bombay, to say that "he is one of the best men we have ever had here," and expressing a strong opinion that he should at once be appointed Consul—which was done, with good results, as will be seen.

The attitudes of the other consuls Frere describes as follows, in a letter to Lord Granville :—

" February 1, 1873.

" The German Consul, Mr. Schultz, had not, I believe received any instructions till we arrived, and personally was not inclined to any change in the present state of affairs, under which his own house has prospered greatly. But directly he got his instructions from Berlin he supported us manfully, asked Colonel Pelly, who is an old friend and colleague, to go with him to the Sultan, and urged on His Highness, both officially and personally, the necessity of putting an end to the Slave-trade by consenting to what all civilized Europe required of him. I shall be glad if you will mention to Count Bernstorff that I have every reason to be satisfied with what the German Consul has done since I arrived.

" I wish I could say as much for the American, Mr. Webb ; but he has declined all co-operation, and thwarted the well-meant efforts of Captain Wilson, of the United States man-of-war *Yantic*, to anticipate the objects of our mission. Captain Wilson was not a very efficient ally, for, though a shrewd man, his habits and manners did not give weight to his advice. He had, as a sort of secretary, a special correspondent of the *New York Herald*, besides other

correspondents of other papers, in the ship's company, and with this gentleman's aid, some days before we arrived, drew up and presented to His Highness a long and strong despatch, urging him to bring himself into accord with all civilized nations by abolishing the Slave-trade. I am told that the captain was so confident of the effect of his rhetoric, that he hoped to have greeted us with the news that he had already accomplished the objects of our mission, and thus, as his secretary explained it, have acted Stanley and Livingstone over again. But unfortunately the letter was in English, which the Sultan did not understand. His Highness asked for a version in Arabic, which the American Consul's interpreter gave in a brief travesty, which simply assured him of the goodwill of the United States, and asked him to do what his father had already done twenty-seven years ago. The captain then proposed to make an anti-slave-trade treaty similar to any the British might have, but he was dissuaded from broaching the subject to His Highness, and went off with the conviction that he could do no good by staying.

"The French are represented by M. Bertrand, a young Levantine—more Syrian, I am told, than French. His position is merely that of a secretary in charge. He declared he had received no instructions to support us, and declined to co-operate in any way. Indeed, whatever French influence there may be is actively exerted against us, and the Arabs, who are supposed to belong to the French party, are loud in declaiming against the selfish policy of England, and urging the Sultan to no surrender. Thus, except from the German Consul, His Highness has had little confirmation of my assurance that the other civilized nations who have interests on this coast are with us, and he pointedly told an English merchant whom he consulted on the subject that he knew that the French did not concur in our views and would not approve of his giving in.

"His other means of learning what England will say and do if he refuses all co-operation are very imperfect and likely to mislead him. He picks up something for himself with much natural sagacity from people—European and Americans—here; but they are none of them sound, and some are very dishonest advisers. Of his own people none know more than he learnt himself during his residence at

Bombay. He has newspapers, especially Indian ones, of which the substance is translated for him by an old Arab ship captain, who was for some time in England and understands nautical English, but his intemperate habits led to his exclusion from the English Consulate, and at best he can never have been a better guide than Commodore Truncheon would have been to European politics in his day."

For a whole month, during which Frere, as well as Kirk and Badger, had long and repeated interviews with him, the Sultan hesitated, and deferred his answer. During this time Frere took the opportunity of making himself acquainted with the town and neighbouring country, and of visiting the consuls, plantations, mission stations, etc. Amongst other places he went over the Kokotoni estate, a large sugar-growing and palm-growing farm belonging to Captain Frazer, in the north of the island, which was especially interesting as a successful instance of cultivation being carried on by free labour, in the heart of a slave country, and the labourers having been nearly all of them formerly slaves. What had been a jungle and a swamp had been thoroughly drained, and roads made over it; and it had been planted with sugar and cocoa-nuts, and had all the appearance of a valuable property.

He also went to see the slave-market,* which he describes in a letter to Lady Frere.

"January 20, 1873.

"The slave-market is a hideous sight—a dirty, uneven space surrounded with filthy huts. The commoner slaves—generally children, seated in lines or batches—were miserably thin and ill; hardly any had more than a few rags to cover them; two or three runaways in chains—and all but a few having that look of stolid indifference which a sheep or cow would have. Some of the younger and better-fed women were well clad and had silver ornaments on. As

* The cathedral of Zanzibar now stands on the site of the old slave-market.

we came away we met batches being taken to market, and in some cases I observed that the guards, when they saw Europeans coming, pushed their charges into the nearest door and stood there till we were past. The market-place seemed the favourite lounge of all the idlers in the place. I wished to see it to feel sure the descriptions were not overdrawn, but it was a far more brutal and degrading sight than I ever saw in Egypt or Arabia, and no description could well do justice to its degradation. . . .”

M. de Vienne, the French Consul, returned to Zanzibar on February 9. A few days previously, Dr. Kirk had thought that the Sultan was on the point of giving way; but when he heard that the French Consul was coming back, he again deferred giving his answer. De Vienne, on his arrival, studiously and in a marked manner avoided Frere, as far as he could do so without any breach of official etiquette, and refused either to co-operate with him or to state what his instructions from the French Government were.* From

* M. de Rémusat, the French Foreign Minister, subsequently made an apology for M. de Vienne's attitude and conduct, at the same time suggesting, as a compromise, that ten instead of twenty thousand slaves should be permitted to be brought to Zanzibar annually! How great was the hostility of the French representatives at Zanzibar to the English at this time appears from the following incident:—

“Dr. Kirk informs me that, so lately as the end of 1871, the then senior naval officer on this coast, M. Lagongine, lost no opportunity of impressing on all around him, both here and elsewhere, the hatred which was felt by France and by himself personally against England and the English. He publicly told Dr. Kirk that he should devote the whole of his energies, while on this station, to the lessening of England's influence and commerce and the endeavour to pick a quarrel with our ships. He asserted that our missionaries in Madagascar were political merchants, who used their tracts and bibles only as a cover to the smuggled goods which filled the boxes beneath them. He even carried his animus so far as to say to Dr. Kirk, with reference to the recent birth of one of Dr. Kirk's children, ‘Ah, there is another enemy of France come into the world.’

“Though M. Lagongine has now left this station, yet I need not further point out to your Lordship what is likely to have been the effect on the mind of the Sultan of such language as the above, openly and very recently used on every occasion by the representative of the

this time the Sultan's attitude completely altered, and from being amenable and inclined to compliance with the demands made, he became bold and defiant. At length, on February 11, his answer came, civilly but flatly refusing to sign the treaty.

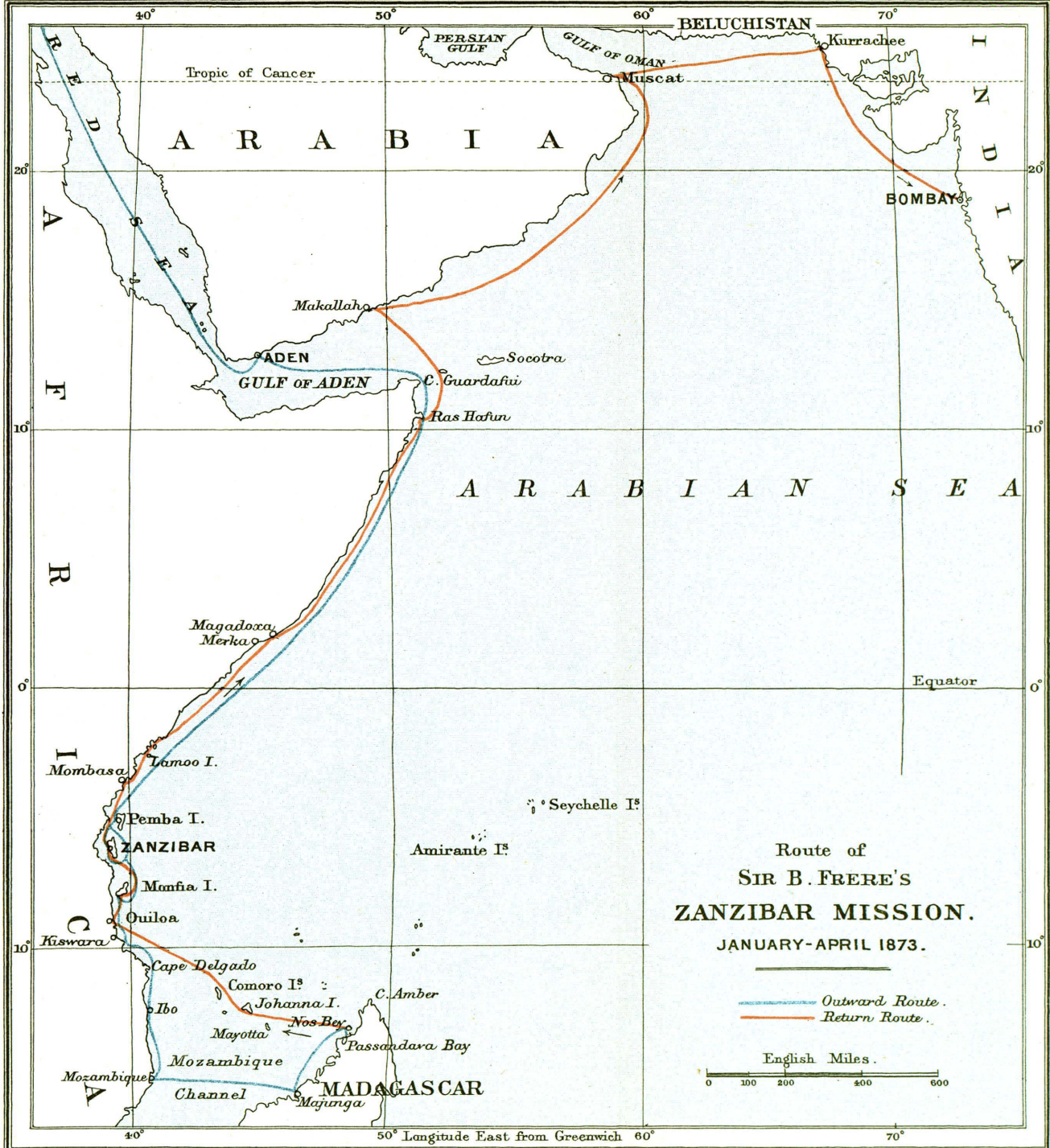
Frere was quite prepared for this event. Feeling confident of ultimate success, he was so far from being disheartened that he looked for a better permanent effect on the slave-trade by an exhibition of firmness and energy on the part of England, such as was now imperative, than would have been produced by a too easy and ready compliance with the first demands. So four days later, leaving the Sultan to reflect, he sailed away to the southward, with the *Briton* man-of-war in company, to return in a month in case the Sultan should by that time have changed his mind.

It was part of his plan to visit all the places of importance or special interest on the coast, where the slave-trade was being more or less actively carried on, to obtain accurate information, and to make it evident to the Arabs and others concerned in it, by his presence in company with an English ship-of-war, that his mission, of which most of them had heard a rumour, was something more than a rumour, and had the power of England behind it. "I do not think I could have thoroughly understood the whole question without seeing what I have thus seen," he writes to Lady Frere at the end of the trip, "and I hope naval power of France in these seas."—Sir B. Frere to Lord Granville, February 11, 1873.

As to the use of the French flag to cover slave-trading, Frere writes to Lord Granville :—

" February 12, 1873.

" At present at this port, where there is merely a trace of French trade, and few, if any, French ship-owners, the French flag flies from a large proportion of the Zanzibar shipping, simply because under it the vessel is free from visitation, and may carry slaves unchallenged."



it will enable Government to do what is needed effectually to put down the Slave-trade. It has been *very* hard work in every way, from heat as well as sheer physical labour, and a very anxious time in many ways, but, thank God, we are none of us a bit the worse." It was a very interesting, and, especially to his companions, who had more leisure and less responsibility, in spite of some discomforts, a very enjoyable time. Dr. Badger had been compelled by illness to return to England, and the Kazi had gone back to Cutch from Zanzibar. The *Enchantress* was a fine yacht, but she had only one little cabin on deck in which Frere used to write, and she was as lively as a cork and deep in the water, so that the ports could rarely be opened; the heat below was intolerable, the thermometer often standing at 107° in the ward-room officers' cabins; and in a heavy sea she rolled so much that few on board, even of the ship's officers, escaped being ill at times. Frere's daily task of despatches and letters could often be written only by holding on to the table with one hand and both feet. The party were all on the most cordial terms. Frere, in his letters home, frequently speaks in praise of each and all of them,* and he was glad to let them have frequent opportunities for seeing the country, and for shooting hippopotamuses † and other game at the mouths of rivers and wherever they from time to time landed.

Several creatures joined the ship's company at various

* "Fairfax, a great comfort, as throughout; but all do admirably, Hill especially. Tell Vivian and Wylde I have found Vivian right in everything," he writes to Lady Frere.

And again: "Pelly has been of great use to me throughout, and a great comfort in many ways."

† Several hippopotamuses were shot at different times, but their carcasses were rarely recovered. In one of his letters Frere says, "M—— will, I know, share my regret that such huge creatures should be exterminated; but they eat up *whole fields of cultivation in a night*, and must disappear as the population increases."

places—a crane, a water-snake, a parrot, a lemur, a deer, a ratel, a monkey, etc. But their conduct was not exemplary. The ratel bit a sailor on the tendon Achillis, and was promptly executed. The monkey made himself so troublesome that he would have been condemned had not Frere interfered on his behalf. One breezy morning he was seen skipping about the deck with a sheaf of despatches in his hands, out of which he took a bite at intervals, deftly keeping just out of reach of a tall, pursuing figure which issued from the chief cabin, clad in a dressing-gown with skirts flying in the wind. Only the deer and the lemur lived to reach England ; the official report being that the others had all got loose during a storm, and met their deaths by various melancholy accidents.

The *Enchantress* touched at Monfia, Kiswara, Lindy, Ibo, and Mozambique. Mozambique was her farthest point south on the coast, and thence she crossed the channel to Majunga, in Madagascar. The government of Madagascar was carried on by the Hovas, as the dominant tribe, the Sakalavas comprising the rest of the aboriginal population. The Hovas showed the greatest desire to imitate the English in everything. Frere, in a letter to Lady Frere, thus describes his reception :—

“ The town is a long line of neatly built huts—even at this distance evidently neater than the African huts—and a few stone buildings. . . . We landed in undress, as it was only a private visit ; nevertheless we found a guard of honour drawn up to receive us. No description can give you any idea of their comical appearance. The men were dressed in French Kepis, dark blue caps with red piping, white shirts, sometimes tucked into the trousers, oftener outside ; no shoes or stockings, and armed with old flint muskets and spears ; officers in every description of uniform of every nation and age and colour, but many had only a Panama hat and sword. The commander of our party had a *very* old black hat, a black frock coat, also very old

blue trousers, with yellow worsted lace on the seams, and in a large lozenge in front of each leg. The Hovas have much better heads than the negroes, but comically ugly faces. . . The hair is rarely woolly, still more rarely quite straight. The men wear it short, but the women dress it in every kind of fantastic shape ; the common people often frizzed straight out ; but most of the better class have some kind of curls, very possibly derived from the good ladies who accompanied the first missionaries forty or fifty years ago, but combined with queer traces of African hair-dressing — sometimes little bobs of sausage, or tight circular knobs or long corkscrews, and mixed with a deal of good shaving in patterns ; generally the effect is hideous.”

After passing through a stockade and undergoing a salute from a gun on the top of an old stone gateway, which it threatened to shake down, they—

“found the Governor and staff assembled in front of a small house, with a single line of soldiers on either hand of the same kind as our escort. His Excellency was dressed in an ancient French Political uniform, blue and gold, with a cocked hat to match, and black trousers ; the staff, in every variety of ancient and modern field-officer’s uniform —scarlet, blue, green, and crimson. He was a very tall, benevolent, and sensible-looking man, and his officers, many of them very old, grave-looking, *very* plain men. Having shaken hands, his Excellency took a sword from an attendant and gave the word, ‘Rear rank, take open order!’ As there was but one rank, the rear-rank was non-existent ; but it seemed to mean that they should stick their spears in the ground and retire a step. Then they had ‘Right face!’ which was done, and the old interpreter explained they were going to salute the Queen of Madagascar. Then ‘Present arms!’ and a long sentence in Malagash ending with Madagascar, and all presented arms, and we all took off our hats and bowed in the direction of the capital. Then all were faced in the opposite direction, and all presented arms to Queen Victoria in what was believed to be the direction of *her* capital. . . . After a little talk, explaining the objects of the mission, and why we had come to Madagascar when our business was at

Zanzibar, the Governor said that Slave-trade had been abolished by King Radama, and the present Queen would not permit it because the English disliked it, and she had severely punished all slave-traders ; and he had two Arabs then in irons in his fort for 'making fuss,' as the interpreter said, when his Excellency seized their dhows, Arabs here as elsewhere being the great slave-traders. His Excellency then made a speech, which the interpreter said meant that her Majesty Queen Ramaralomanjaka and her Majesty Queen Victoria 'were all one piece,' and so his Excellency wished us to drink their united healths, which we did with much enthusiasm. Then his Excellency proposed my health, and I his Excellency's. I asked if there were any rules as to where strangers might not go, or what they might not do ; to which his Excellency made a long answer, interpreted as 'Governor say, Queen of Madagascar and Queen Victoria all one piece, and your people like our people ; so if you like walk about in this way or that way, go shoot, go in boat, do all you please, Governor quite happy.'"

A dinner and other festivities followed, and the next day there was a ball, at which all the rank and fashion attended.

"Bartie's sketches will give you some idea of the costume, but nothing but the wildest dream could give you the reality. Next to a smart officer in uniform would come an old dame with sausage curls and a white jacket and coloured petticoat ; then a girl with a gentleman's white wideawake, a pork-pie hat, or a hat of green velvet and gold lace, with the tickets of Manchester calico pasted at the top, and her jacket cut so that the words 'superfine shirt cloth, eighty yards' in blue letters adorned her back—and all done in the most serious air. All was extremely modest and decorous. It seemed to be regarded as a matter of business, not pleasure. . . ."

The Hovas, notwithstanding their comical exterior, made a favourable impression on Frere. One scene, in which he took part, impressed him greatly. He writes to the Duke of Argyll :—

“ March 10, 1873.

“ Nothing has struck me so much as a Hova church, which we stumbled on quite accidentally at Majunga. There were two in the town, and the smaller one, to which I went, was quite as orderly and well-conducted, and quite as free from anything like excitement or extravagance, as any congregation I ever saw. Every one who could read had his Testament and Hymn-book, and hymns were sung to the same tunes, with some native additions, in better tunes and time and nearly as harmoniously as in most European churches. The Governor's son preached from notes an extempore sermon, which, to judge from the faces of his hearers, was quite as effective as most sermons of the same length—about half an hour. And the Holy Sacrament was administered with a decorum and earnestness which were really impressive. It was the most real thing of its kind I have ever seen, and seems greatly to impress all around them : Mahomedans, and English and French sceptics, and Roman Catholics, all seem equally struck. . . .”

To Lady Frere he writes in detail of the same scene :—

“ When the service was about half over, the interpreter came to me and said this was the first Sunday in the month, and the day on which they always had the Holy Communion, and the Governor wished to say that if we liked to remain and join them in partaking, he and his people would be very glad. But if we preferred going away he and his people had no objection. They wished us to do exactly as we pleased. Mr. Holloway and I were both very thankful to have an opportunity of joining them. . . . Some persons left and some came in. The communicants, forty-three in number, came forward and sat round the table, so as to face the rest of the congregation, who remained seated. A man who seemed to act as deacon then came in, bringing the Elements wrapped in white napkins, which he placed on the table. Portions of scripture were then read and commented on or explained. A hymn was sung between the readings. A prayer. Some verses from Corinthians were then read, the napkin opened, and the bread, cut in small squares, handed round on a plate. Each communicant took one, and having received it remained in an attitude of devotion till all had

received. A prayer was then offered. Some more verses from Corinthians were then read. The wine, a sweet red sherbet, apparently not fermented, was poured from a bottle into a glass, and the deacon handed it round. All was done with the greatest reverence, and you might have heard a pin drop. After all had received, another prayer and hymn concluded the service. During the singing of the hymn there was an offertory, a plate being carried round by the deacon to the communicants only. The Governor then walked with us to the door of the stockade and we took our leave. I do not know when I have been so much pleased or surprised as by the simple, earnest devotion of these poor people, and the evidently deep root which the truths taught them seem to have taken. Everything was perfectly natural and in ordinary course—nothing got up for the strangers.”

As to the prevalence of slave-trade within the Portuguese possessions on the African coast and the export of slaves to Madagascar, Frere writes to Lord Granville :—

“March 12, 1873.

“There is undoubtedly a considerable slave-trade still carried on within the Portuguese possessions. General Amaral, the Governor of Mozambique, himself admitted this. . . . He informed me that he believed the chief part of this contraband trade was carried on in Arab dhows with Madagascar. . . .

“The power of the Hova Government of the Queen of Madagascar is not, I fear, equal to their will to carry out their slave-trade engagements with England. Though I saw no signs of slave-trade myself at Majunga, I was informed on very good authority that between five thousand and eight thousand slaves were annually landed on the northern and western shores of the island, whence they are re-exported as labourers to the French Colonies or to Johanna, or else find masters in Madagascar itself. The boats of Her Majesty’s ships cruising more often than is now the case in this direction, would probably soon put a stop to this traffic, and the more easily, since the Sultan of Johanna has engaged, in the document of which I enclose a copy, to grant freedom to all future immigrants to his island,

and to protect all slaves whom our cruizers may liberate there."

From Majunga they went to Nos Beh and Mayotte, two beautiful islands occupied by the French, where they were civilly received by the authorities. Mayotte is "a beautifully mountainous island surrounded with a circular belt of coral reefs, with numerous openings through them and a wide channel of perfectly smooth water all round the island inside the reef."

They next landed at Johanna, the principal of the Comoro islands, which Frere describes as of "extraordinary richness of verdure, much finer than Ceylon, with infinite variety of valley and peak;" and of which his son Bartle writes: "This is much the most beautiful place we have seen yet—the most beautiful that I have *ever* seen." It used to be the port of call for Indiamen taking the Mozambique Channel route, every one of the elders having a sheaf of testimonials from passengers and captains dignified and undignified! There was a flourishing estate, chiefly for sugar cultivation, belonging to Mr. Sunley, an Englishman, carried on by free labour. The Sultan was anxious for the suppression of the slave-trade.

· The last place they called at on the coast before getting back to Zanzibar was Kilwa (Kivinja or Quiloa), which they had failed to find on their way south, owing to the imperfection of the chart, and to the desire of the inhabitants to conceal the channel to it and to prevent Europeans visiting it; for it was by far the largest and most important slave port of the whole coast, and the great entrepot for all the southern slave-trade. At many places they had been viewed with suspicion, and they afterwards heard that orders had been sent from Zanzibar that slaves should be sent up the country out of sight, and that nothing should be told them. But at Kilwa they were for

the first and only time received with marked rudeness and insult. The Banian who kept the custom-house refused to answer any questions. Frere demanded to see the headman or Wali, who made various excuses, and when he at last appeared he was insolent, and made no attempt to restrain an armed crowd which had collected and had assumed a threatening attitude. The party was quite unarmed, and the ship at some distance from shore. As they walked back to the boat, where they had to wait till two of the party, who had gone to a little distance, returned, the crowd followed them, abusing them and brandishing their weapons, and becoming so excited that the slightest accident or indiscretion might have led to an attack. Frere was, as usual, perfectly unmoved, insisted on being the last man to enter the boat, and they got away unharmed. On his return to Zanzibar he made a formal complaint to the Sultan of the Wali's misconduct, and nothing of the kind occurred again.

He had written to Lord Granville during the trip :—

“February 27, 1873.

“We have been coasting southward, seeing as much as we could of the places where trade is or might be carried on. Nothing could be finer than the coast—full of good ports and anchorages, and with a fine country inland and plenty of tractable, industrious people to trade and cultivate, if the slave-traders would only let them alone.

“For the moment the want most present to my mind is a good survey. I hope we shall bring back to Mr. Goschen his beautiful yacht uninjured, but we have had an anxious time of it, feeling our way into half-surveyed anchorages, and missing much we should have wished to see, but could not, without a good chart, venture to attempt in the *Enchantress*. The only survey we have was a wonderful work fifty years ago, but it only professes to be a mere running sketch of the coast, which ought to be surveyed more minutely than the Red Sea. It would pay for surveying better than almost any coast I know.* . . . Two surveying

* “The *Enchantress*,” he says in another letter, “is the only ship

vessels whilst on the coast will be a most valuable addition to the squadron employed to check slave-trade. . . .

“Next to the urgent need of a good survey, what has struck me most on this coast, is the enormous increase of Indian commercial interests during the past thirty years. . . . It is hardly an exaggeration to say that all trade passes through Indian hands. African, Arab, and European all use an Indian agent or Banian to manage the details of buying and selling ; and without the intervention of an Indian, either as capitalist or petty trader, very little business is done. They occupy every place where there is any trade. At Zanzibar they have the command of the custom-houses along nearly a thousand miles of coast ; and I saw the details of one Indian house's liabilities and assets, which came judicially before the consul, and showed a capital of £430,000 invested in the country. There are other houses equally substantial ; and wherever we went we found them monopolizing whatever trade there might be, speaking and keeping their accounts in Guzeratti, whether in small shops or in large mercantile houses. Their silent occupation of this coast from Socotra to the Cape Colony is one of the most curious things of the kind I know.

“Two inferences may be drawn from these facts—first, that everything connected with African trade is at least as much an Indian as an English question. The German, American, and French trade is altogether larger than the English. But Germans, Americans, and Frenchmen, as well as Englishmen, trade through Banians—natives of India—with Indian capital and Indian houses, whither they carry the greater part of their African profits. India, therefore, must share with England the responsibility for what they do, and the obligation to protect them in their lawful callings.

Secondly, England, through India, has an immense practical hold on East Africa. The Sultan and his Arabs can do nothing for good or evil without the Indian capitalist. The present difficulty is how to use this hold for the purpose of putting down the slave-trade, which has

that was ever employed on this coast which has not been ashore, and it has often been a near thing during our stay.” The survey recommended was afterwards carried out by Captain Wharton, R.N.

grown with the growth of the Indian interests on this coast.

“The question would be simple if we had to deal with the Sultan alone; but he knows we have joined France in guaranteeing his independence by the treaty of 1866; and the influence of France is actively exerted to prevent his concurring in our views regarding the slave-trade.

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

“I have been much struck with the extremely superficial character of the Sultan’s hold over the coast. I knew his authority did not extend far inland, but I was not prepared to find it so entirely confined to a few ports on the coast; and that even at some of the more important of these ports, his garrisons are hemmed in by the petty chiefs of neighbouring tribes. At one place, Lindy—which is his principal garrison to the south—we found the town in nightly expectation of a plundering attack from some negro tribes who have never acknowledged the Sultan’s authority. . . . The hurricane has destroyed his ships, and with an empty treasury he cannot replace them. His financial difficulties seem to me very serious, and I do not see how he can get on, unless we aid him very effectually to stop the slave-trade, which is eating out the vitals of his country.

“The Portuguese dominion north of Mozambique is nearly as superficial as that of the Sultan in his dominions. It hardly extends, in fact, beyond the islands and a very

* In a lecture, which Frere afterwards gave at the London Institution, on “Vicissitudes of Commerce between Asia and East Africa,” he mentions the remarkable fact that Battias and Banians, extremely strict Hindoos though they are in every respect, may leave India and live in Africa without incurring the penalty of loss of caste, which is enforced on Hindoos leaving India to live anywhere else. This indicates that the habit of trading to Africa from India is older in origin than the laws of caste, at any rate in their present severity, and has held its ground against them.

few ports on the coast ; but as far as I could judge from the few days we were with them, the Portuguese have turned the corner. They have begun to relax their absurdly high duties and exclusive policy—seem really anxious to attract foreigners, especially Englishmen, and they are well satisfied with the results, as far as they can be seen, of lowered duties.”

Frere was the more anxious for a survey of the coast, as he attached great importance to the establishment of a line of steamers calling regularly at the principal ports. Many of them were rarely visited by European vessels ; some of the consuls had been as much as seven months without news from Europe. The more the coast was put into communication with the rest of the world, the less could the slave-trade continue to be carried on, and the sooner would legitimate trade supplant it. The British India Company undertook to run steamers for a subsidy once a month as far as Zanzibar, and during the mission they were, at Sir William Mackinnon's instigation, sending an extra one once a fortnight to take the mails, which was a great assistance to Frere, and highly appreciated by him.

On his return to Zanzibar, Frere found everything in suspense, and the merchants anxious. As long as the question of the continuance of the slave-trade remained unsettled, trade of all kind was, and would be, at a standstill. The Sultan affected an air of indifference to the whole matter. He had pleased the Arabs, was secretly, if not openly, supported by the French Consul, and was confident that at the worst nothing harsh or unjust would be done to him by the English. He had cast the die, and was awaiting the next move.

Frere had been very conciliatory and very patient. He had done all in his power to make it easy for Burghash to yield, and he had refused. But while others were