

The African Times.

"FOR GOD, AND GOOD TO AFRICA AND HER PEOPLE."

"Talk to me anywhere of Power, and I'll tell you of Protection. Mention a Magistrate, and the idea follows of Property. Show me any Government, and you are to see the proposed interest of those governed. Power constituted otherwise is a monster that is impossible in every system where there is any notion of the justice of God or the good of mankind."—EDMUND BUBKE.

"If any Colonist suffers from injustice, whatever may be his class, his condition, or his colour, he has a right to redress at the hands of the Colonial Minister in this country."—EARL OF CARNARVON, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES, AUGUST 2, 1866.

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AFRICAN AGENCY

For Transacting Business in England for Native and other Traders on the West Coast of Africa.

IN consequence of wishes expressed from all parts of the West Coast, MR. FITZGERALD has made arrangements for selling produce consigned to him by ships to London or Liverpool; and purchasing, and shipping goods ordered against the proceeds of consignments or other effective remittances only, from either of the above ports, on a system by which the greatest possible advantage of the markets will be secured to the AFRICAN TRADER; and, as time is very important to small capitalists, return goods will be sent off in all cases without any delay beyond such as may sometimes be caused by manufacturers.

All letters and bills of lading, whether the shipments be to or from London or Liverpool, to be addressed

F. FITZGERALD, Esq.,

121, Fleet-street, London, E.C.

N.B.—Open Policies on Insurance for Produce from the Coast by the Mail Steamers; but intended Shipments should be advised if possible.

SEPTEMBER, 1872.

BRITISH AND AFRICAN STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY.

The splendid Steamship BONNY is intended to be despatched from GLASGOW on AUGUST 31, and from LIVERPOOL on the 6th SEPT., at 10 A.M., for Madeira, Grand Canary, Sierra Leone, Monrovia, Cape Palmas, Cape Coast Castle, Accra, Jellah Coffee, Lagos, Benin, Bonny, Fernando Po, and Old Calabar; this Steamer will also take Cargo for New Calabar, Brass, Benin, and Opobo (delivering inside the bars), the same to be transhipped at Bonny, and forwarded by branch Steamer, at Shipper's risk. GOODS will be received in GLASGOW up to 3 P.M. on the 30th AUG, and at the Loading Berth in LIVERPOOL (North Side Coburg Dock) up to 6 P.M. on the 5th SEPT. Passengers will embark by Steam Tender from Prince's Landing Stage at 9.30 A.M. on the day of sailing. Steamer sails 10 A.M.

The following departure is intended to be the Steamship ROQUELLE, which will leave LIVERPOOL DIRECT on the 18th SEPT., at 10 A.M., for Madeira, Teneriffe, Sierra Leone, Monrovia, Cape Palmas, Half Jack, Cape Coast Castle, Accra, Jellah Coffee, Lagos, Benin, Bonny, Fernando Po, Old Calabar, and taking cargo for delivery by branch steamer inside the bars of New Calabar, Brass, Benin, and Opobo. Goods will be received up to 6 P.M. on the 17th. Passengers will embark at 9.30 A.M. on the day of sailing.

Goods for Sierra Leone will be landed there at Ship's expense, but Shipper's risk. All Goods while on board the Company's hulk at Bonny, to be at Shipper's or Consignee's risk.

Bills of Lading of the Company's Form can be obtained from THOMAS MURRAY and SON, 91, Buchanan-street, Glasgow; and D. MARPLES, 50B, Lord-street, Liverpool. All letters must pass through the Post-office.

For further information apply in London to Messrs. MALCOLM, HUDSON, and Co., 5, Crosby-square; in Glasgow to TAYLOR, LAIDLAND, and Co., 24, Oswald-street; and in Liverpool, to ELDER, DEMPSIE, and Co., 48, Castle-street.

Shippers are respectfully informed that Cargo can now be taken by the Steamers of the 6th and 18th for delivery inside the Bars of NEW CALABAR, BRASS, BENIN, and OPOBO. The Goods will be transhipped at Bonny, and forwarded by Branch Steamer.

WEST COAST MAILS.

ARRIVALS.

British and African S. N. Company's Volta, July 28.
African S.S. Co.'s Calabar, with monthly mails, August 5.
British and African S. N. Company's Loanda, August 14.
African S.S. Co.'s Africa, August 15.

DEPARTURES.

African S.S. Company's Nigretia, July 30.
British and African S. N. Company's Volta, August 6.
African S.S. Company's Rboe, August 13.
British and African S. N. Company's Loanda, August 18.
African S.S. Co.'s Yoruba will take out the mail of August 23.

CORRESPONDENCE AS TO WHEAT FOR CULTIVATION IN WEST AFRICA.

Lord Enfield to Mr. Fitzgerald.

Foreign-office, June 7, 1872.

Sir,—With reference to your letter of the 31st ultimo, I am directed by Earl Granville to state to you that the Acting British Consul at Alexandria has been directed to procure and send home two gallons of Egyptian cluster wheat—i.e., Egyptian wheat. When received the wheat will be forwarded to you.—I am, Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

F. Fitzgerald, Esq.,
African Times Office, 121, Fleet-street, E.C.

Mr. J. B. Freeman to Mr. F. Fitzgerald.

Jamestown, July 24, 1872.

My dear Mr. Fitzgerald,—Through the unfortunate mishap of a servant putting your letter in a wrong place, I had been here in town three days without knowing you had written me, but by mere chance I put my hand on it this morning, just as I was starting for the plantation, and I therefore delay my journey a moment to acknowledge the receipt. I can do little more than that this morning, as I am hardly pressed for time, but will write you again next week.

You may fully rely on me that I will give the deeply interesting question of the wheat culture every possible attention, and will not fail to get the Basle missionaries and other friends in the interior to make a careful trial of it.

I shall look out anxiously for the seeds, as our latter rains of October and November would, I think, be a proper season for the trial. Please, therefore, lose no time in sending them off to me when you get them. They should be put up in an airtight tin case.

Hoping to write you again in a few days, and that this will find you well, I am, dear Sir, ever yours sincerely,

T. B. FREEMAN.

Mr. Hammond to Mr. Fitzgerald.

Foreign-office, August 13, 1872.

Sir,—With reference to the letter addressed to you from this office on the 7th of June last, I am directed by Earl Granville to state to you that the Acting British Consul at Alexandria has reported, under date of the 3rd instant, that he had endeavoured to procure some Egyptian cluster wheat, but had hitherto been unsuccessful, as that grain was not cultivated near Alexandria. Neither had he been able to obtain any from Cairo, but he had given orders in other directions, and hoped soon to be able to announce the shipment of the grain required.—I am, Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

G. HAMMOND.

IN RE PETITION AGAINST MR. CHALMERS, CHIEF MAGISTRATE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AFRICAN TIMES.

Cape Coast, July 22, 1872.

Dear Sir,—The annexed is a copy of the letter I wrote to the Governor-General in support of the petition against Mr. Chalmers, and although I undertook to prove all that I state, and am prepared to do so now, no inquiry appears to have been made into the truth or otherwise of my allegations. The other annex is the Governor-General's reply to our petition. The public are not satisfied with it, as they do not think that the charges they brought against the Judge were properly investigated. You may publish such parts of my letter as you think fit; and you are at liberty to furnish or forward to the Secretary of State a copy of it. Trusting soon to be able to furnish you with all the news here of the last two or three months, I remain, dear Sir, yours faithfully,

J. H. BREW.

Letter of Mr. J. H. Brew to the Governor-General, Mr. Pope Hennessy, in support of the Public Petition against Mr. Chalmers, Chief Magistrate.

Cape Coast, June 4, 1872.

Sir,—Reference having been made, in the petition for the removal of his Honour the Chief Magistrate, to certain acts of his Honour in the matters of the proceedings against certain of the members of the Fanti Confederation, and my name having been made to appear therein in consequence of certain measures which his Honour took against me, I think it incumbent on me to place before your Excellency such facts as I am in possession of on these and other points, so as to enable you the easier to arrive at a just conclusion as regards the prayer of that petition. I must apologise at the outset if I am overstepping the proper limits in these matters; but the turn of events at this juncture will, I hope, justify me in this step.

In the petition herein referred to his Honour is charged with having, among other things, advised Mr. Salmon, the then Acting Administrator, in certain measures, and with having

advised the immediate search of our papers for treasonable documents.

That his Honour did so advise Mr. Salmon there can be no doubt, as Mr. Salmon himself on more than one occasion let fall at Government-house observations to the effect that he acted under his Honour's advice, and on more than one occasion referred letters addressed by us (the gentlemen who were concerned in the alleged conspiracy to subvert the Government of the Protectorate) to him, to his Honour for advice before replying to them; and of this I have positive evidence, which I can produce before your Excellency whenever called for. As to whether his Honour did or did not advise the searching of our papers, if your Excellency will call on Mr. Salmon to produce all the letters received by him from his Honour during that period, you will obtain evidence on the point in Mr. Chalmers' own handwriting. That Mr. Chalmers did so advise Mr. Salmon, and that in writing, I can prove by parties who have either seen the original or a duly certified copy thereof.

I am in position to prove, also, that Mr. Chalmers assisted personally in the inspection and perusal of our private documents, &c., after they had been seized and carried away to Government-house. With reference to the proceedings his Honour instituted against me, ostensibly at the instance of Mrs. Smith, I must refer you to Mrs. Smith, who will inform you that she had no hand in them; but whilst doing so I must, in justice to myself, state the facts concerned therewith.

The late Mr. Joseph Smith retained Mr. Edmund Bannerman and myself as his attorneys in certain proceedings against his assignees, &c., the late Mr. McIntyre.

At this time no costs were allowed attorneys as between attorney and client. Nor were costs, as a rule, granted between party and party; this was in the latter part of 1869. Under these circumstances, of course, we entered into such an arrangement with Mr. Smith as we thought would make it worth our while to conduct his case, as he was not in a position to pay us even a retaining fee. He had been declared bankrupt some ten years previously; he had not obtained his certificate; his assignees had been guilty of misappropriation of moneys belonging to his estate, and certain claims he and his family had on it had not been satisfied. Mr. Smith therefore undertook to pay us one-third of whatever we recovered, as his hopes of being successful in his suit were very slight.

I will not descend into particulars, or a great deal of time will be wasted. To be brief, I carried the cases on to a successful issue alone, and, in accordance with our agreement I drew the amount I was entitled to under it.

A few months after this, I received an order from the Court to show cause why I should not be ordered to refund what I had thus drawn or retained. On receiving this order, I inquired of Mrs. Smith whether the order had been issued at her instance. She told me and others distinctly that it had not been so. This was some time in September last. I showed cause, as called upon to do—stated the circumstances connected with the affair, produced the authority under which I had drawn the money, and the agreement with Mr. Smith. In spite of all this, his Honour ordered me to refund the sum so drawn. Mrs. Smith said she did not want the money, as she knew I was entitled to it, and that, for form's sake, since his Honour instructed me to enter into arrangements with her for the payment of the amount that she was prepared to give me any time, and in fact said I could have a year to pay it. When his Honour was informed of this he told Mrs. Smith in court that she was not to enter into any communication with me or anyone in my behalf, as he would take care of her interests, and he would not grant any such time, and that she must direct all parties to him. After this, I took no further notice of the affair, being determined to permit his Honour to pursue any course he liked.

A few weeks after this, his Honour recanted the strictures he had let fall on a former occasion as to my conduct herein. This was done by his Honour in the open court, as he said I might have suffered by the remarks he had previously given expression to, and he wished it to be known that on making inquiries he had found my conduct in the affair blameless. Nothing more was said or heard of the affair till after the trial of Mr. J. A. Fynn and others, in January last. I defended the prisoners, and in the course of the defence I was compelled, in the cause of justice and in the interests of my much-injured clients, to advert rather strongly on certain illegal measures that had been adopted, and to which his Honour was privy, and to refuse to obey an order that his Honour made on me in court to produce Mr. Fynn's child, who had been kicked by Colonel Foster-Foster, for examination, as the order or writ of habeas corpus, or whatever his Honour may choose to term it, had not the seal of the Court attached to it, nor a seal of any kind or description whatsoever. His Honour threatened to commit me to prison for refusing to obey his order, and drew out the war-

rant for my commitment, but he subsequently thought better of it. His Honour stopped the case until I would produce the child, but as he found that I was determined not to permit an injustice to be done to my clients, he eventually allowed the case to proceed, and the prisoners were acquitted. A few days after this, I fell ill, and was so for a few weeks. Whilst on the bed of sickness I had repeated orders from court and a summons about other moneys that I was alleged to have received from Mr. Smith's estate. On the 11th February I was able to leave my bed for the first time to attend court. On the next day I was arrested under three separate warrants—one warrant, which was for amount alleged to be fees due to court, but which I had and have not received, I satisfied at once; the other two warrants were alleged to have been issued at the instance of Mrs. Smith—all these were in connection with the same estate. I was detained in prison the whole of that day, although I tendered security which Mrs. Smith was willing to accept, but which his Honour stated to be insufficient. The next day, the 13th, I obtained the additional security required by his Honour, and arrangements were entered into with Mrs. Smith for the payment of the amounts, and my discharge drawn out by the Clerk of the Court, Mr. Hughes, for his Honour's signature, so that I might be released; but his Honour declined to sign it, as, he said, it was too late, and he was off to Accra. This was about 1 p.m., and the mail was on the road till 9 p.m. before leaving for Accra. Mrs. Smith then proceeded to Dr. Mossi (he being inspector of prisons), told him that I had satisfied her, and that she had come to get my discharge signed. Dr. Mossi said he could only release me on a magistrate's signing the discharge. Mrs. Smith then called on the Assistant Magistrate, Colonel Foster-Foster, but he refused to have anything to do with it. So I was detained in gaol all that day and the next, during which Mrs. Smith and my friends made fruitless endeavours everywhere to obtain my release. Mrs. Smith stated over and over again, not only to Dr. Mossi, but to a host of other gentlemen I could name, that she never moved to have me imprisoned, never paid for the warrants issued against me, never paid any subsistence money for me; and yet all this had been done by some kind friend, and no other, I believe, than his Honour. Finding that verbal statements that I had satisfied her would not obtain my release on the 15th, Mrs. Smith sent the gaoler an order for my discharge. This also failed, and then it came out from an undeniable source that Mr. Chalmers had left instructions behind him, when leaving for Accra, that on no account was I to be released till the money was paid. On the next day (16th), therefore, my friends paid the amount into court, and on his Honour's return from Accra, as soon as he paid over the amount to Mrs. Smith, she handed it back to them. I will refer your Excellency to Mrs. Smith, Dr. Mossi, Messrs. Davidson, Ferguson, and Davis, who will more than corroborate what I have here stated.

I must solicit of your Excellency to apply for the production of the warrants; they are of date the 11th of February, 1872, and state that I was to be detained till I satisfied Mrs. Smith, and not his Honour. What had it to do with his Honour if Mrs. Smith chose to give me my discharge, whilst she had not received a penny? What mattered it to him if she were willing to release me without payment? I was imprisoned to satisfy her—not the court, not his Honour. His province, as Chief Magistrate, &c., is to sit and administer justice when parties are brought before him; not to stir up suits, not to instigate or direct actions. At the time I entered into the agreement with Mrs. Smith, and until a few months ago, I was not an attorney (in the real sense of the word) of his court. I received none of the emoluments or privileges of an attorney, and, therefore, could not be amenable to the laws that would apply to them. He could not exercise any kind of summary or other jurisdiction over me, other than that which he could exercise over any other person who might be sued in his court, or against whom a complaint might have been lodged. Mrs. Smith made no complaint to him, brought no charge, took no proceedings of any kind whatsoever against me, and whatever may be said to the contrary, is at once refuted by the fact of her returning the money. For what purpose, then, I ask, did his Honour order me to be detained in prison till I had paid the amount? Was it to satisfy Mrs. Smith? She was satisfied without the payment of the money. Was it to satisfy his Honour, to pay off a grudge? Was it out of spite? Was it from vindictiveness?

Look at his Honour's conduct from first to last, and I ask whether he is fit to fill the bench which he ought to adorn? Was it right of him, who was to be our judge, to advise the Crown, which was to prosecute us? Was it just of him to inspect and peruse our private documents, &c., for the purpose of obtaining evidence to convict us? Did he perform the duties of his office in thus acting? Was he not bringing into disrepute and contempt the administration of justice, and by that hurrying the country into open rebellion? And is this the man to fill the

judicial bench—to have placed in his hands the power of life and death—the property and liberty of a million inhabitants? These are questions of great moment to us, to all, to the country at large.

His practice of reversing the judgments of his predecessors in the same office strikes at the foundations of justice, of law, of order; tends to weaken confidence in Her Majesty's Court; creates distrust in the minds of all, and that very want of confidence in his judgments which it is his desire to obtain by his decisions, inasmuch as his successors may in like manner reverse his decisions. It may be said that the evidence adduced before Mr. Chalmers is not the same as that which was produced before his predecessors, and that the evidence now brought before him was not then obtainable or available; I ask, then, what guarantee is there that his judgments may not be reversed by himself or any other judge for the selfsame reasons; and I ask again whether there is never to be an end to law-suits once decided by the highest authorities—whether they are to be commenced and recommenced as often as a litigious suitor may choose to appeal to the law. All these are questions for your Excellency to decide.—I have the honour, &c.,

Certified true copy—J. H. BREW.

J. H. BREW.

Reply of the Governor-in-Chief, Mr. Pope Hennessy, to the Petition praying the suspension and dismissal of Mr. Chalmers, Chief Magistrate, &c.

Government-house, Cape Coast, June 7, 1872.

Gentlemen,—I have carefully considered your petition of the 29th ultimo, in which you express your opinion as to the incompetency and unfitness of the Chief Magistrate and Judicial Assessor, and ask for an investigation into his judicial conduct in certain recent proceedings, and pray for his removal.

2. The proceedings of which you complain, with one exception (that of Mr. Brew's detention as a debtor, for which I cannot see that the Judge was the person to blame), had already been made the subject of investigation by me on the 2nd of April last, owing to the fact that my attention was drawn to them by certain letters which appeared in the *African Times*.

3. I am transmitting the results of that investigation to Her Majesty's Government; but, in the meantime, as I am desirous that you and I should always communicate in the most unreserved and friendly manner, I have no hesitation in telling you frankly that my opinion of Judge Chalmers is the reverse of that expressed in your present petition.

4. It has been my duty to call for the Judge's notes, and to peruse the records of the Courts over which he presides, and whatever may be my views as to certain collateral questions relating to some recent cases, I have no hesitation in telling you the general opinion I arrived at—viz., that Mr. Chalmers is a painstaking, conscientious, learned, and able judge.

5. In one of the letters published in the *African Times*, complaining of those recent cases, the writer, dating from Cape Coast, February 5, 1872, nevertheless, says: "To say that Mr. Chalmers had not won the golden opinions of the peoples of the Protectorate would be to misrepresent facts. He had won them, and that right fairly, by his stern love of truth and strict and impartial administration of justice, whatever the class, colour, or condition of the suitor before him."

6. In a letter addressed to me by the chiefs of Cape Coast, dated June 6, 1872, they express similar opinion, saying: "We have always found him worthy of his position, and discharging his duty towards all classes of the inhabitants of the Gold Coast (who brought their cases before him for adjudication) without favour or partiality."

7. In the face of these opinions, in which I concur, you will see that I could not comply with the prayer of your petition.

Believe me, gentlemen, your faithful servant,

J. POPE HENNESSY.

LATEST ADVICES FROM LAGOS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AFRICAN TIMES.

Lagos, August 17, 1872.

Dear Sir,—I send you the two Proclamations of the Governor-in-Chief, mentioned in my last as having been issued for bringing about the desired change here. But although, as you will see the Proclamation annulling the "prohibition of the export of arms ordinance" bears date June 15, so slow has been the action of the deeply offended Egbas and Ijebus, that neither roads nor markets have been re-opened up to this date, and our merchants and traders are still subject to losses and inconvenience which we hope never to know of again in this place. The late Governor, Captain Glover, who was at one time a great favourite, is now execrated by everybody, except by those Yorubas who lived by flattering and misleading him. Mr. Fowler has been made Acting Administrator. We hope the Government will send in a wise as well as active man, who will do his best to keep at peace and in friendship with the natives

who supply Lagos with food for its people, and produce for its merchants.—Yours, &c.

PROCLAMATION DATED JUNE 15, 1872.

Whereas on the First day of November, One thousand, eight hundred and seventy-one, a proclamation was issued in pursuance of Ordinance No. 9, of the Eleventh day of September, One thousand, eight hundred and seventy-one, to prohibit the export from the Settlement of Lagos of all arms and other munitions of war to any place or places beyond the jurisdiction of this settlement;

And whereas it has been represented to me by the merchants of Lagos, as well as by the Alake, Ogbonis, Parakoyis, and Baloguns of Abbeokuta, that the maintenance of such a prohibition is inexpedient, and that its removal would be regarded by all parties as an act of friendship and good will;

I, John Pope Hennessy, hereby publish and proclaim, that the aforesaid Proclamation is hereby annulled; and that from and after this date, the export from this settlement of arms and munitions of war, is no longer prohibited, &c., &c., &c.

PROCLAMATION DATED JUNE 15, 1872.

Whereas on the Eighteenth day of June, One thousand, eight hundred and sixty-nine, a Government notice was issued, in pursuance of Ordinance No. 6, of the Eighteenth day of March, One thousand, eight hundred and sixty-nine, to levy a certain tax or toll which had been, and is still, levied on all persons fishing for oysters, or using fixed instruments for taking fish;

And whereas King Docemo has come to me and represented that this tax falls heavily on a poor and industrious class of people, and that its removal would be a great boon to them; and would cause a larger quantity of fish to be brought to the market in Lagos, and sold cheaper than at present;

I, John Pope Hennessy, do hereby publish and proclaim, that the Government notice of the Eighteenth day of June, One thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine, is annulled.

PARLIAMENTARY.

HOUSE OF LORDS, JULY 23, 1872.

Lord STRATHEDEN (the consistent enemy of the abominable slave trade in East Africa) moved an address to Her Majesty, praying that such measures as were necessary to assist the cruisers employed in the repression of the slave trade on the eastern coast of Africa might be adopted.

The Bishop of WINCHESTER seconded the motion, remarking that he believed that Great Britain was thoroughly determined to do whatever was right and within her power to put this cursed traffic down. There was much ignorance in this country as to the amount of the slave trade on the eastern coast of Africa. So far as they were able to gather, about 90,000 slaves were annually exported from the eastern coast, and each one of these cost the lives of from five to ten others, so that from 350,000 to 500,000 might be said to be yearly carried off by the man-hunters in order to supply the materials of this system of slavery. He thought, if the country were to realise the amount of this grievous evil, it would not rest without taking more active measures to remedy the evil. It was not merely the misery of those who were thus sentenced to slavery or death, but it was far more—the desolation which the system carried into Africa itself—to which he referred. Dr. Livingstone, a thoroughly trustworthy witness, said that when in 1851 he first went to the shores of Lake Nyanza he found cultivation carried on to a high degree. He heard cotton mills at work on every side, and saw the flourishing products of a man's labour everywhere. But ten years after, when the slave trade had been driven, by the necessity of finding fresh victims, to the lake, all that remained was a handful of people who fled at the sight of any stranger, fearing the man-hunters. If we neglected to check this slave trade on the eastern coast, we should abandon the work which our fathers had done, and to a great extent make useless the sacrifices they made. He was convinced that the people of England were by no means ready to do that. The reports of the committees already mentioned encouraged the belief that we might do much to sweep away this great evil. Much injury has resulted from the compromise made in order to obtain concession from the Sultan of Zanzibar, and we required now a treaty which should make absolutely illegal all the export trade from the Zanzibar territory, and a further treaty to fix a time when the system of domestic slavery in Zanzibar itself should cease. It might be argued that the Sultan of Zanzibar would not agree to such arrangements, as the great part of his income was derived from the miserable wages he received for allowing this traffic. But it could be clearly shown that he would derive more from lawful trade, because Zanzibar was well fitted to be an export trade for the best products of Africa, and between 1861 and 1867 the customs at Zanzibar from legitimate traffic rose from 245,981*l.* to 483,693*l.* With respect to the payment of 8,000*l.*, which was suggested, it was proposed that half of it should be paid out of the

home revenue and half out of the Indian revenue. Thus we might obtain the assent of the Sultan of Zanzibar to a treaty which would enable us to do away with this grave abomination. No economy was so bad as spending a large sum of money, yet a sum which was just short of effecting its object. There had been recently published in Paris a pamphlet which charged the English people with want of honesty and truthfulness in their alleged desire to put down slavery. A more ridiculous idea could hardly have been put forward, but it should make us more than ever anxious to prove our sincerity and earnestness in the work of extirpating this abominable trade. He thought that the aid of France, of America, and of other great civilized Powers, should be invoked for the destruction of this traffic. They should prove to other countries that they were not holding back, but that they were ready to stimulate the inertness of other countries, and spur them on to a sense of their duty. He trusted that England would never flag in her noble zeal for the extinction of the horrors of the slave trade.

Earl GRANVILLE hoped the noble lord would assent to the withdrawal of the motion, as he did not wish to have to move the previous question. He believed the horrors of this traffic had not been exaggerated. We could not put down the slave trade without the co-operation of foreign Powers, to which allusion had been made. The Government had been in communication with the Governments of France, America, Portugal, and Germany on this question. They had received the most cordial assurances from the Government of the United States. There was a somewhat similar answer from France. Portugal in the first instance desired further information, but was now ready to co-operate with us. Germany, also, though she had given no decision, seemed favourably inclined. He hoped, too, that steam navigation would soon be extended along the eastern coast. As to the expense to which the right rev. prelate had referred, Her Majesty's Government had come to the conclusion that it would be desirable to divide the expenses between the British and Indian Governments.

The Bishop of WINCHESTER concurred in expressing a hope that the motion would be withdrawn. He tendered his thanks to his noble friend (Earl Granville) for his valuable services in relation to this question. To persevere in the motion would indicate the necessity of a spur to a lingering and unwilling horse, but nothing of the sort was necessary there; and it would further indicate the existence of a difference of opinion for which there was no warrant.

Lord STRATHEDEN declined to act upon the advice given him; upon which the motion was made "That this question be not now put," and it was immediately carried.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, JULY 23.

Mr. W. MCARTHUR gave notice of questions, on the 29th July, relative to the Fanti Confederation, and compensation to persons who had been unjustly imprisoned at Cape Coast.

JULY 23.

WEST AFRICAN SETTLEMENTS.

Mr. M'ARTHUR asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he would state to the House what instructions had been given to the Administrator at Cape Coast and to the Administrator-in-Chief of the West African Settlements with regard to the Fanti Confederation; whether Her Majesty's Government intended to avail themselves of the facilities offered by that Confederation for the formation and maintenance of roads, the general education of the young native people, and the development of agricultural, mineral, and other resources in the protected territories of the Gold Coast, as proposed by the confederated kings and chiefs in the Constitution adopted by the said Fanti Confederation; and whether Her Majesty's Government proposed to grant compensation to the persons who were imprisoned at Cape Coast by Mr. Salmon, the Acting Administrator.

Mr. KNAITCHBULL-HUGGESSON, who was nearly inaudible, was understood to say that the Administrator-in-Chief of the West African Settlements had received instructions that Her Majesty's Government had no wish to discourage any effort of the Fanti Confederation to establish for themselves an improved form of government. So long, however, as they remained under protection of the British Government, that Government must be consulted previous to the adoption of the new institutions.

SILVER COINAGE.

In supply, 27,000*l.* additional was granted for supplying the demand for silver coin.

SEMI-OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENT.—The Queen has approved the appointment of Mr. Herbert Tey or Usher, C.M.G., to be Lieutenant-Governor of Tobago, in succession to Mr. Cornelius H. Kortright, whose term of office has expired. Her Majesty has also approved the appointment of Colonel Robert William Harley, C.B., to be Administrator of the Gold Coast, in succession to Mr. Usher.

NEW SILVER COINS.

New silver coins are at present in demand for many of our colonies and settlements, and there has for some time been great difficulty, and of late an almost impossibility, in obtaining them. Remark on the statement made by Mr. Lowe, Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the House of Commons, that the machinery of the Mint was not now equal to the occasion, and that a Birmingham manufacturer was to assist in producing silver coins for Her Majesty's Government, a contemporary observes: "It would seem that a good deal of unnecessary ridicule has been expended upon Colonel Tomlin in the matter of the silver coinage, and that, after all, the member for Great Grimsby was in the right in his persistent attacks on the deficiency and bad quality of our silver. Mr. Mundella, last night, extracted an admission from Mr. Lowe that we are short of silver coin, notwithstanding the fact that 600,000*l.* worth has been coined this session. By the help of Birmingham manufacturers, we are to be helped at the rate of 50,000*l.* a-week more, so that there is now some hope that we may have silver coins with some trace of image and superscription. The appeal to Birmingham is a confession that the Mint is not equal to its task, and, indeed, the gold coins that have of late been turned out from that establishment have not shown the finish and excellence that we have been accustomed to expect."

MEETING AT THE MANSION HOUSE, LONDON, RESPECTING THE SLAVE TRADE IN EAST AFRICA.

An influential public meeting has been held at the Mansion House in relation to the East African slave trade, and to concert measures for its entire suppression.

Sir Bartle Frere, upon whom the Lord Mayor called, in moving the first resolution, said that the slave trade, which had been suppressed in the West Indies, was carried on with vigour on the East Coast of Africa, and partly under the unconscious protection of the British Government. Before we had anything to do directly with the government of India, or any colonies in Africa, there was an immense trade, and healthy and vigorous, which had been going on for ages between East Africa and India. The early navigators tell that they found there considerable freedom, a certain amount of civilisation, and a very large amount of trade with India. A century after that the country had been for the greater part occupied by the Portuguese, in some part by Englishmen, and its commerce and prosperity had declined. Something had been done since then to revive a legitimate trade there, and there was a very considerable trade with other countries in Europe. That trade was capable of enormous development. The unhealthy districts were all on the coast. The interior was well-watered and healthy, and yet the inhabitants had been swept from it within living memory by the slave trade. Large regions had been depopulated, and that was the state in which it was now found. It was since we made ourselves masters of the Indian seas that the slave trade had grown to its present dimensions. It must now be put down. The meeting would, therefore, respectfully urge upon Her Majesty's Government to take steps for the prompt abrogation of those treaties, and to carry out in other respects the recommendations embodied in the report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons to secure an entire abolition of the slave trade in Eastern Africa.

Sir Thomas Buxton, who seconded the resolution, said the slave trade papers had from year to year contained a mass of information on the subject, furnished by captains and others, which left no doubt that a tremendous evil was going on; but at present there was little excuse for the ignorance that existed on the subject. Zanzibar was the port through which the trade was carried on. In many cases we had treated the native states of Zanzibar very much in the way we treated the native states of India. We had interfered in their political affairs and their internal arrangements. That and other circumstances showed we had a certain authority in that port and in the islands about it, and if that evil of the slave trade continued, the world would hold us responsible for it in a great degree.

The Recorder of London showed that by the payment of 8,000*l.* a-year to the Sultan of Zanzibar, the slave trade on the East Coast, with all its aggravated horrors, might really be put an end to. The Sultan was at one time disposed to abrogate the old treaty, and to substitute a new one, which would have gone far to diminish these horrors, and that for 8,000*l.* a-year. What we wanted to show was that a better use might be made of those unfortunate people than selling them for two yards of common cotton for an adult, and a corresponding quantity for a child. (Hear, hear.) The Recorder went on to show that the Germans, Americans, and French had an interest in the question, and concluding by moving, "That, in view of the sentiments of the people of England, which had been so distinctly pronounced on this subject during the whole of the present century, it was the opinion of the meeting that they would cheerfully sanction, through their representatives, the very limited expenditure which

for a short period might be required for the total suppression of the traffic."

The motion was seconded by Mr. W. H. Smith, M.P., and unanimously adopted.

The Rev. H. Waller and General Rigby, the latter of whom for four years had acted as the English Consul and Political Agent at Zanzibar, gave harrowing accounts of the sufferings of the people captured and carried into slavery, as those sufferings had come under their observation.

On the motion of Mr. Andrew Johnston, M.P., it was resolved, having regard to the large commerce of the city of Hamburg with Zanzibar and the East Coast of Africa, to invite the Senate of that city to urge on the German Government the importance of an active co-operation with that of Her Majesty in the suppression of the traffic, which prevented that large extension of legitimate commerce which had followed its extinction on the western side of Africa.

On the motion of Lord Stratheden, the meeting concluded with a cordial vote of thanks to the Lord Mayor.

LIVERPOOL MARKETS.

JULY 27 TO AUGUST 3.

GROUND-NUTS.—45 tons decorticated at 14*l.* 10s. per ton. IRREGULAR at 33*l.* to 37*l.* Bonny at 37*l.*; Old Calabar, 37*l.* to 37*l.* 10s.; Benin, 37*l.* 10s.; Brass, 42*l.*; and Nun River at 42*l.* 2s. 6d. per ton.

COTTON.—Great pressure to sell. Some decline from last week. Sales, 78,000 bales.

Price, Lagos Cotton worth about 7d. to 8d.

Aug. 5 to Aug. 10.

PALE-OIL.—Market quiet and rather easier; sales 420 tons, irregular 31*l.* to 36*l.*; Accra, 36*l.* 10s.; Bonny and Cameroons, 36*l.* 15s.; Old Calabar, 37*l.*; Brass, 42*l.* per ton.

COTTON.—Demand revived, and prices slightly in advance on those of last week. Sales of week, 86,000 bales. Price, Lagos quality, 7d. to 8d.

AUGUST 10 TO 17.

BENNI SEED.—100 bags at 54s. per quarter.

PALE KERNELS.—110 tons, at 12*l.* 10s. to 12*l.* 15s. per ton.

PALE-OIL.—About 1,250 tons sold on the spot and to arrive; irregular at 32*l.* to 34*l.* Accra at 36*l.* 5s. to 36s., Benin at 37*l.* Bonny at 36*l.* 10s. to 36*l.*, and Old Calabar at 36*l.* 15s. to 36*l.* 10s., New Calabar at 41*l.*, and brass at 41*l.* 10s. per ton.

COTTON.—There has been increased depression, followed by reaction, and quotations about the same as last week. Sales, 70,000 bales.

Value of Africans last week, but none in the market.

LIST OF PASSENGERS, PER STEAM SHIP VOLTA, ARRIVED JULY 28, 1872.

Mr. J. Gouveia, Fernando Po; Capt. M'Taggart, Bonny; Mrs. and Miss Roye, Monrovia; Mrs. Beckles, Sierra Leone; Dr. McCoy, ditto; Lieut. Sargent, ditto; Italian Consul, Mr. J. J. Alldridge, ditto; Mr. E. F. Merck, ditto; Mr. J. Lipson, ditto; J. Brooks and servant, Madeira. Two third-class passengers, Bonny.

LIST OF PASSENGERS, PER STEAMSHIP LOANDA, ARRIVED AUGUST 14, 1872.

H. McLachlan, Esq., Old Calabar; A. Barry, Lagos; Mrs. Swatson, Accra; Lieut. Fuller, R.N., Cape Coast; J. L. Crusoe, Esq., Grand Bassa; three British seamen, Cape Coast (H.M.S. Torch); three deck passengers, the Rivers, &c.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AFRICAN TIMES.

50, Ludgate-hill, London, July 24, 1872.

Sir,—A paragraph having lately appeared in many of the papers, stating that a Mr. Samuel, of Ludgate-hill, "had retired from business," we shall esteem it a favour if you will kindly give publicity to the fact, that the aforesaid gentleman is in no way related to or connected with our firm.—We are, Sir, your obedient servants, SAMUEL BROTHERS.

JAPANESE OPINION OF EUROPEANS TRADING, &c., IN JAPAN.

"There is no mystery in the fact that Christianity has not made any considerable progress beyond Europe, when we know that those Christians who go out to foreign countries behave themselves worse than the heathen, or at least no better than they. First of all, they are the slaves of Mammon, go to houses of ill-repute, swear without almost any cause, insult the natives, kick and beat them, and behave as haughtily as Julius Cæsar. Moreover, these things take place on Sunday more than any other day of the week, because on other days they have things of more material interest to attend to."—From an Essay by a Japanese Student, in "The Japanese in America."

The African Times.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY. PRICE 5s., STAMPED.

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The African Times.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 23, 1872.

SUBSCRIPTIONS.

Rev. J. Nicol, 15s.; Rev. T. Maxwell, 10s.; B. G. McCaulay, 5s.; J. J. Thomas, 5s.; R. S. Williams, 5s.; E. T. Goyea, 5s.; Christian, 5s.; C. Cuthbert Brown, 10s.; S. Collins, 5s.; N. T. King, 5s.; T. Z. Gibson, 5s.

LAGOS AFFAIRS AND THE LATE ADMINISTRATOR.

CAPTAIN GLOVER is not to return to Lagos. So far good. It would have been an outrage on official propriety as well as upon public feeling, had a contrary decision been arrived at in the Colonial office. Taking advantage, as we have before shown, of a grievous error of Earl Kimberley, who supposed that the war troubles in the Oil rivers might be checked by prohibiting the export of arms from Lagos; and employing the ordinance he was instructed to publish with this object, to the furtherance of his hostile feelings and views against the Egba, Ijebu, and Porto Novo authorities and people, he has brought a cloud of trouble over trading Lagos that will be felt, and remembered with pain and sorrow, long after it shall have passed away. Captain Glover is removed, he is not to be again thrust upon a settlement he has so grievously injured by his late and former political proceedings. But, as we asked last month, who is to pay the losses that have been sustained by his really unjustifiable acts? The ordinary course of trading has been suspended for above four months, which has given an opportunity and occasion for the strong to oppress and plunder the weak; ships, chartered from England to bring home cargoes of produce from Lagos, which would have been forthcoming in the ordinary course of trade, found themselves at a port where no produce was to be got; and had either to be kept on week after week at heavy demurrage, or to leave without cargoes, or only partially loaded. Fifteen or twenty ships at one time have been waiting outside the bar of Lagos thus circumstanced. Who is to pay for all this? Merchants and traders are, of course, to be the victims, and to pay for the grievous errors and delinquencies of great and small officials; a Secretary of State, and the Administrator of the settlement! The evils caused have taken too great a variety of shapes to be fully exposed. But among many there is one we feel bound to notice. Official error and delinquency stop the healthy current of trade and commerce; traders can no longer get any produce from their debtors, the native barterers; no matter what amount of resources of this kind they may be possessed of, they are for the time being placed in the position of not being able to obtain a farthing from any of them. What then? Lagos is a British settlement, and the course of law cannot be in any way interfered with. The governing power keeps every trader's till empty, but the governing power does not, therefore, say, "There shall be no action for debt, no proceedings for unfulfilled contracts and obligations, which I, the governing power, have made it impossible to pay or fulfil." Under these circumstances, the agents of European houses, with whom almost all native traders and merchants have relations, put the screw on these latter wherever they see that a gain may be made, or a grudge be gratified. The courts issue decrees and sign judgments against real or supposed debtors, just as if trade or commerce were pursuing their regular course; and the property and goods of the native merchant and trader (there being no native purchasers at a time of trade suspension) are sacrificed, or we may truly say plundered under due form of law. We fear that Lagos could show a large amount of oppression and wrong thus exercised and endured. And what remedy have the plundered and oppressed? None whatever. The Secretary of State re-

ceives his official salary, and cannot have done or caused wrong. The removed Administrator gets another appointment; he has committed an error or done wrong, but he has been in other respects a good public servant. The legal authorities not having had the action of their courts and of the law suspended by Government order, are bound to hear complaints and give decisions regardless of the unnecessary ruin they may cause. Officially, no arrangements can be better; and this is the best of all possible worlds; while for those who are oppressed, plundered, and ruined through their error or wrong-doing, or mechanical action unsuited to such a state of events, there is nothing left but unavailing complaints and irretrievable loss. They have been ruined by political events, and there is an end of it; the official theory being that no merchant or trader has any cause of complaint for loss or wrong he may endure in consequence of the political acts of his rulers. Officialism rather expects that the crushed one should be satisfied to be thus crushed, like the fanatic Hindoo under the wheel of Juggernaut. But our West Coast friends, the scholars of British missionaries or educated in England, and imbued with English ideas, are not Hindoos; and have none of the Hindoo Juggernaut reverence for the political wheel that may have ground them in the dust. And we utter their complaints in their name, because they are just and reasonable; and because, moreover, we hold it as a point of moral right that wherever erring political action, which he could not foresee or resist, inflicts wrong on a subject, he is entitled to compensation from some source or other, since he could not obtain protection. The ordinance for prohibiting the exportation of arms, ordered to be passed and proclaimed by Earl Kimberley, was a mischievous ordinance, founded on grievous ignorance such as it was impossible that any man trading under British rule and protection, could have conceived that a British Secretary of State could be capable of. The action of the late Administrator of Lagos, under that ordinance which he had been instructed to get passed by his Council with a specific object, in turning that ordinance into unpardonable hostility against the surrounding native nations and peoples, was action which the men thus trading vainly protested against, but had no power to control; there was no possible imperial object of advantage to be obtained by the application of that ordinance, as it was applied by Administrator Glover; and we do therefore maintain, in the interests of right against wrong, and of the weak against the strong, that every penny of loss, which it could be proved has been caused directly or indirectly by that ordinance so applied, ought to be paid either by Secretary of State, Administrator, or the Imperial Treasury. We say the Imperial Treasury, and not the Treasury of the settlement, because the passing of that ordinance was not at the instance of the Administrator of the settlement, but was a direct Imperial command; and ordered, not for objects connected with that settlement, but for supposed Imperial views and objects in the Oil rivers—places with which the Settlement of Lagos has nothing whatever to do. We have had but too much experience of the almost hopelessness of obtaining justice from Government, when they deny it, through action in the House of Commons; but we shall nevertheless endeavour to instigate a discussion next session on the very important point involved in the late Imperial and local governmental action as regards Lagos, and the grievous individual loss and wrong thereby directly and indirectly inflicted. Unhappily, too, the evil had not yet become altogether of the past when the last mail left Lagos. The Governor-in-Chief had done all that could be done on the British side to induce the native authorities on the mainland to re-open roads and markets for the trade-supply of Lagos. But those native authorities stand very much on their dignity, and could not be expected to rush at once into the British official arms with expansive affection. And therefore the markets were still unsupplied. Ships were still waiting in vain for produce; and although hope was reasonably enough now in the ascendant, and a happy change of position, from ruinous stagnation to a profitable activity, was daily and hourly expected, the settlement and its merchants and traders were still suffering from the unjustifiable political course pursued by the late Administrator Glover, who, as an offset to having

sanitarily improved Lagos, has done his best or his worst to ruin it commercially. But the cloud will pass away; and there is every reason to believe that no such official misdoings will ever be allowed again to interrupt the commercial progress and prosperity of the settlement with impunity. We hope that Earl Kimberley will make choice of a wise, and prudent, and good Administrator to succeed Captain Glover—one who will comprehend what are the essential interests of Lagos as a commercial emporium for the countries lying between the Bight of Benin and the River Niger; and which seems to be destined, under wise and enlightened government, to a very brilliant and eminently useful future as regards production, commerce, and civilisation in the Egba and Yomba countries.

LETTERS OF DR. LIVINGSTONE AND THE EAST AFRICA FOREIGN SLAVE TRADE.

It is with a strange mixture of sensations that we have heard from Dr. Livingstone. Our joy—and it was a great joy—came not unmixed with annoyance; annoyance the more poignant, because we were at the same time filled with admiration of the American gentleman who had dashed away the cobwebs of Zanzibar delusion, which for four long years had hidden the loved and honoured explorer from our sight; and had restored him once again to our eager and delighted gaze. While we shout, "Honour, all honour, to the enterprising and intrepid Mr. Stanley, and to the liberality of his New York patron," we cannot avoid a feeling of natural humiliation, that England should have been in this instance so unwisely or lukewarmly served, as to have made this country dependent on American agency, for that intelligence from Dr. Livingstone, which we were all so painfully anxious to receive. When we think of all that has been attempted by the British Government and the Royal Geographical Society of London, for the relief and succour of the great traveller; that all those efforts have been futile; that through the British Consul at Zanzibar, we could get no certain information from the Doctor, no relief to him during four long, long years; until hope was nearly dead in our hearts, and fear that we should never again hear of him alive was well-nigh victorious within us; and that now we are indebted to the spirited enterprise of the proprietor of a New York newspaper, the official zeal and intelligence of the United States' Consul at Zanzibar, and the persistent and undaunted energy of an American citizen, Mr. Stanley, for the knowledge of his being still alive; and for his having been so abundantly succoured that he is able to renew his interesting and important researches in the great lake districts of Central Africa,—we feel that there must have been great faults somewhere; and that some one must be guilty in the matter. We shall not ourselves pretend to decide who has been to blame. Heavy charges are brought against Dr. Kirk, the British Consul at Zanzibar, by Mr. Stanley, a Mr. Fraser, and others; and it does seem to require explanation, how and why it happened, that not one message could be got to Dr. Livingstone by Dr. Kirk during those four anxious years; while thirteen messages and reliefs were successfully sent by the American Consul to Mr. Stanley during his perilous expedition in search of and his stay with the Doctor. If this turn out to be another case of British official incapacity, we can only deeply deplore that it should have been located on the East Coast of Africa at so very important a period. But turning from this disagreeable subject to the Doctor's characteristic letters, how wide a field for Christian sympathy do they exhibit! We are not at all inclined to sit quiescently before it, and cry, "Alas, alas!" in hopeless despair. To redeem those countries and their people from that devastating and brutalizing curse of the foreign slave trade, ought to be, and must be, the first practical effort made by Great Britain. Years and years ago, we called for increased determination, and better-planned and more liberally supported measures on the part of our Government, to relieve Eastern Africa from the desolating abomination. It was clearly of no use to write despatches to Zanzibar, and send an occasional cruiser to those Eastern shores. The work of murdering and enslaving still went on in those unhappy

lands; and the Arab dhows still bore away their twenty thousand victims yearly up the Persian Gulf, for the supply of the adjacent Mahomedan countries. In this matter of the final suppression of the African slave trade, we seem to have fallen into an era of words—mere words. Instead of being invigorated by the victories we have, as a nation, achieved over that trade in Western Africa; and pushing on vigorously to final and complete conquest over the hideous East African branch of it, we have sunk to sloth and comparative indifference. The late debate in the House of Lords, and meeting at the Mansion House (see pages 20-21), has shown us evidence of a terrible national declension in this matter. The demon of money seems to have eaten up the Christian spirit; if it be true, as no doubt it is, that years have been wasted in a biggling dispute, as to whether the paltry sum of 8,000*l.* to the Sultan of Zanzibar, as the price of his compensation in putting a final end to the iniquitous and murderous traffic, should be paid exclusively out of the Imperial Treasury; or whether the Indian Treasury should share the burthen. Is it not an awful national declension, that a mere 4,000*l.* a-year should be thought of more importance than the lives and liberties of the one hundred thousand victims which would have been spared but for that one year's false economy? Under such circumstances, Lord Stratheden refused, as we think very properly, to withdraw his motion. There has been, unhappily, but too much deference of late to official inertia and indifference. Government and Secretaries of State, even the best of them, require constant urging to do good. They are so much occupied with the daily cares of their existence, that they have not the time necessary, as it would appear, to estimate properly the relative value of 4,000*l.* and 100,000 human lives, and floods of tears and blood and misery and woe. There would seem to be some similitude in torpor, between Her Majesty's Government, as regards that accursed East African slave trade, and Dr. Kirk at Zanzibar, as regards the life and succour of the great exposé of the horrors of that inhuman traffic. As Mr. James Gordon Bennett and Mr. Stanley have electrified the latter into active life, so let us hope the Government will be electrified into activity by the attention now once again given to the horrible enormities practised by Arab and Banian slave dealers in Eastern Africa and on the Persian Gulf. Is the Christian heart of England asleep, or dead, that no universal shout of execration and demand of remedy is heard? and is there no Christian heart at all in the other so-called Christian countries of Europe? It seems to us something like nonsense to say that the East African slave trade cannot be put an end to without the co-operation of other Christian Powers. The supply of slaves from East Africa is now entirely for the Mahometan countries round the Persian Gulf; and no one else save these countries, the slave traders, and the Zanzibar authorities, have any interest in upholding it. Would that we could see evidence that the mantle of Lord Palmerston had fallen upon Earl Granville as regards the African foreign slave trade. He who, as one of the Government of this country, should be the means of destroying that accursed thing—the continuance of which is a disgrace to Christendom—will achieve a lasting and honourable fame. All that is required is a judicious boldness, in determination to effect the thing, and in supplying and applying the necessary funds for the purpose. There would possibly be some cavillers in the House of Commons against expenditure in this direction, but we feel sure that if the matter were rightly placed before the House and the country by members of the Government, there would be a public response, loud, general, and enthusiastic enough to bear the Ministry triumphantly through, even though hundreds of thousands of pounds were required for an immediate or a speedy attainment of the great object. Let the country at large become but once thoroughly aroused to the fact, that the accursed slave trade, within a very limited space in Eastern Africa, is consuming 100,000 human lives a-year, devastating and depopulating a fine country, and degrading and destroying its remaining people, in order that the Mahometan harems in Persia, &c., may have their yearly supply of slaves, and there will soon be an end to the abomination. We feel our own

heart so burn within us, that we would fain preach the Holy Crusade! To the rescue, Christian England! to the rescue! Down with that accursed remnant of an accursed thing! A hundred thousand human lives every year to be saved; and floods of misery, woe, blood and tears to be prevented,—to the rescue! to the rescue! New realms to be opened to the Gospel of Christ Jesus—the Gospel of peace and love—to the rescue! TO THE RESCUE!

THE CHIEF MAGISTRATE AT CAPE COAST.

INTIMATELY connected with the Fanti Confederation and its affairs since November last, has been the question as to the fitness or unfitness of the Chief Magistrate, Mr. Chalmers, for the office he holds. Up to that time no one had questioned his fitness at Cape Coast. He did not win such good repute when at Bathurst; but at Cape Coast there seemed to be but one opinion regarding him in the discharge of the duties of his office, and that was most favourable—a fact the more extraordinary, because at Cape Coast the most general rule seems to be, for the principal people to “agree to disagree” about everything. It was really a source of great pleasure to us to hear of a Chief Magistrate on the West Coast winning golden opinions on all sides. We were therefore the more disappointed when—it having entered into the unwise head of Mr. Salmon, as Acting Administrator, to imprison the nominated officers of the Fanti Confederation who brought him copies of the Constitution of that Confederation to be forwarded to Earl Kimberley and the Governor-in-Chief for their information—we found that the Chief Magistrate, before whom those imprisoned gentlemen must necessarily be tried should proceedings be instituted against them, was mixing himself up at every stage of the affair with the acts of Mr. Salmon—making himself a party in all the preliminary stages of a criminal prosecution, against persons at whose trial, if they were to be tried, he would have to preside as judge. And our disappointment was increased in view of all Mr. Chalmers' proceedings in the case of the two Mr. Fynns and Mr. Forson, with the earlier stages of which he had apparently been too much associated, as an instigator of the search for papers in which that case had its origin; in the examination of such papers; and in counselling and advising Colonel Foster, the nominal Crown prosecutor. Still further was that disapproval strengthened when we learned how strong an effort Mr. Chalmers had made to have those gentlemen tried before him in the Judicial Assessor's Court, where he himself would have had to decide without the aid of a jury; instead of, as was manifestly the legitimate way, in the Chief Magistrate's Court, where the accused would be tried by a jury. We therefore published some of the letters of our correspondents, which placed these facts before us. We did not, however, comment upon them as we should have done in other cases. The facts stood forth very strongly. We had brought the whole of the proceedings of which those of Mr. Chalmers were part, before the Secretary of State for the Colonies; and we felt sure that all must be inquired into. We still wait the issue of that inquiry. Meanwhile, however, public feeling at Cape Coast, formerly so favourable to Mr. Chalmers, had so changed under the course pursued by him in those political imprisonments and trials, that not long after the arrival of the new Governor-in-Chief, Mr. Pope Hennessy, a petition was presented to him, setting forth some of the alleged facts, and praying his dismissal. The Governor-in-Chief having replied to the petitioners (see p. 19), we think it our duty to publish, with that reply, a letter addressed to the Governor-in-Chief by Mr. J. H. Brew; and which the Governor-in-Chief had also considered before sending the reply above mentioned. We do not hold ourselves answerable for any of the allegations of facts in Mr. Brew's letter; nor for any of the charges he has made, founded upon those real or supposed facts. We give them, that, in conjunction with the contents of letters which formerly appeared in this Journal, and to which the Governor-in-Chief alludes in his said reply, the whole case as against Mr. Chalmers may be on record in our columns. Nor shall we express

our opinion at present as to any decision touching this question, at which the Governor-in-Chief or the Secretary of State may have arrived. There are, however, one or two thoughts suggested by the Governor-in-Chief's reply, to which we feel bound to give utterance. Mr. Pope Hennessy says that, having perused Mr. Chalmers' note, he arrived at the conclusion that Mr. Chalmers is “a painstaking, conscientious, learned, and able judge.” Now this we fully endorse, as having been the universal opinion at Cape Coast before the assistance of Mr. Chalmers, to which we have alluded, in those preliminary criminal proceedings instituted by Mr. Salmon and Colonel Foster. The charges brought against Mr. Chalmers, as we have understood, and still understand them, are, not that he is not “a painstaking, conscientious, learned, and able judge,” in all ordinary cases, but that a period of political prosecutions having arrived, he (Mr. Chalmers) consented to act at the same time as counsellor of the Crown and judge of the accused whom the Crown might, at his advice and under his counsel and directions, prosecute criminally before him. This it is which, as it seems to us, has discredited Mr. Chief Magistrate and Judicial Assessor Chalmers in the minds and hearts of the people of Cape Coast; and these are charges not answered by a declaration that as established by his notes he is (in all ordinary cases, we presume) “a painstaking, conscientious, learned, and able judge.” In due time we shall, no doubt, be acquainted with the contents of Mr. Pope Hennessy's report to the Secretary of State, and see the grounds on which he justifies Mr. Chalmers' conduct in those political cases; and then we shall give our full opinion also. It may possibly be held officially, that there not being any Queen's Advocate at Cape Coast, Mr. Chalmers was bound to give his counsel, advice, and aid to the Crown (as unworthily represented by Mr. Salmon) in those proceedings. We do not feel ourselves called upon to give any opinion now on this important point; but we cannot refrain from saying, that if such were Mr. Chalmers' duty to the Crown, it was equally his duty to avoid even the faintest semblance of agreement with the universally-execrated Judge Jeffreys of other times; and to have openly declared, that having been thus constrained by duty to advise and assist the Crown against the prisoners, he would never preside as judge in their trial should they be arraigned. A judge should be in his judicial office, like Caesar's wife, “not only pure, but beyond suspicion.”

LETTERS OF DR. LIVINGSTONE.

By the courtesy of Mr. James Gordon Bennett, of the *New York Herald*, by whom Mr. Stanley was sent in search of Dr. Livingstone, whom he so happily found and relieved, the following among other letters have been printed in the London papers. We now give the greater portion of two of these:—

“Ujiji-on-Tanganyika, Nov., 1871.

“My dear Sir,—It is in general somewhat difficult to write to one we have never seen. It feels so much like addressing an abstract idea; but the presence of your representative, Mr. H. M. Stanley, in this distant region takes away the strangeness I should otherwise have felt, and in writing to thank you for the extreme kindness that prompted you to send him I feel quite at home.

“If I explain the forlorn condition in which he found me, you will easily perceive that I have good reason to use very strong expressions of gratitude. I came to Ujiji off a tramp of between 400 and 500 miles beneath a blazing vertical sun, having been baffled, worried, defeated, and forced to return, when almost in sight of the end of the geographical part of my mission, by a number of half-caste Moslem slaves, sent to me from Zanzibar instead of men. The sore heart made still sorer by the truly woful sights I had seen of ‘man's inhumanity to man’ reacted on the bodily frame, and depressed it beyond measure. I thought that I was dying on my feet. It was not too much to say that almost every step of the weary sultry way I was in pain, and I reached Ujiji a mere ruckle of bones. Here I found that some 500l. worth of goods I had ordered from Zanzibar had unaccountably been entrusted to a drunken half-caste Moslem tailor, who, after squandering them for sixteen months in the way to Ujiji, finished up by selling off all that remained for slaves and ivory for himself. He had divined on the Koran, and found that I was dead. He had also written to the governor of Unyamwebe that he had sent slaves after me to Manyema, who returned and reported my decease, and begged permission to sell off the few goods that his drunken appetite had spared. He, however, knew perfectly well from men who had seen me that I was alive and waiting for the goods and men; but as for morality, he is evidently an idiot; and, there being no law here except that of the dagger or musket, I had to sit down in great weakness, destitute of everything save a few barker cloths and beads I had taken the precaution to leave here in case of extreme need. The near prospect of beggary among Ujijians made me miserable. I could not despair, because I laughed so much at a friend

who, on reaching the mouth of the Zambezi, said ‘that he was tempted to despair on breaking the photograph of his wife; we could have no success after that.’ After that, the idea of despair has to me such a strong smack of the ludicrous, it is out of the question.

“Well, when I had got to about the lowest verge, vague rumours of an English visitor reached me. I thought of myself as the man who went down from Jerusalem to Jericho; but neither priest, Levite, nor Samaritan could possibly pass my way. Yet the good Samaritan was close at hand, and one of my people rushed up at the top of his speed, and in great excitement gasped out, ‘An Englishman coming! I see him!’ and off he darted to meet him. An American flag, the first ever seen in these parts, at the head of a caravan, told me the nationality of the stranger. I am as cold and non-demonstrative as we islanders are usually reputed to be, but your kindness made my frame thrill. It was indeed overwhelming, and I said in my soul, ‘Let the richest blessings descend from the Highest on you and yours.’ The news Mr. Stanley had to tell me was thrilling; the mighty political changes on the Continent, the success of the Atlantic cables, the election of General Grant, and many topics, riveted my attention for days together, and had an immediate and beneficial effect on my health. I had been without news from home for years, save what I could glean from a few *Saturday Reviews* and copies of *Punch* for 1868. The appetite revived, and in a week I began to feel strong again. Mr. Stanley brought a most kind and encouraging despatch from Lord Clarendon, whose loss I sincerely deplore—the first I have received from the Foreign-office since 1866—and information that her Majesty's government had kindly sent 1,000l. to my aid. Up to his arrival I was not aware of any pecuniary aid. I came unsalaried, but this want is now happily repaired, and I am anxious that you and all my friends should know that, though uncheered by letters, I have stuck to the task which my friend, Sir Roderick Murchison, set me, with John Bullish tenacity, believing that all will come right at last.

“D. LIVINGSTONE.

“To James Gordon Bennett, Esq.”

“South-Eastern Central Africa, February, 1872.

“My dear Sir,—I wish to say a little about the slave trade in Eastern Africa. It is not a very inviting subject, and to some I may appear as supposing your readers to be very much akin to the old lady who relished her paper for neither births, deaths, nor marriages, but for good racy bloody murders. I am, however, far from fond of the horrible—often wish I could forget the scenes I have seen, and certainly never try to inflict on others the sorrow which being a witness of ‘man's inhumanity to man’ has often entailed on myself.

“Some of your readers know that about five years ago I undertook, at the instigation of my very dear old friend, Sir Roderick Murchison, Bart., the task of examining the watershed of South Central Africa. The work had a charm for my mind, because the dividing line between North and South was unknown, and a fit object for exploration. Having a work in hand, I at first recommended another for the task, but on his declining to go without a handsome salary and something to fall back on afterwards, I agreed to go myself, and was encouraged by Sir Roderick saying, in his warm, jovial manner, ‘You will be the real discoverer of the sources of the Nile.’ I thought that two years would be sufficient to go from the coast inland across the head of Lake Nyassa to the watershed, wherever that might be, and after examination try to begin a benevolent mission with some tribe on the slope reach to the coast! Had I known all the time, toil, hunger, hardships, and worry involved in that precious water-parting, I might have preferred having my head shaved and a blister put on it to grappling with my good old friend's task. But having taken up the burden, I could not bear to be beaten by it. I shall tell you a little about the progress made by-and-by. At present let me give you a glimpse of the slave trade, to which the search and discovery of most of the Nile fountains has brought me face to face. The whole traffic, whether on land or ocean, is a gross outrage of the common law of mankind. It is carried on from age to age; and, in addition to the untold evils it inflicts, it presents almost insurmountable obstacles to intercourse between the different portions of the human family. This open sore in the world is partly owing to human cupidity and partly to ignorance of the more civilised of mankind of the blight which lights chiefly on the more degraded. Piracy on the high seas was once as common as slave trading is now. But as it became thoroughly known the whole civilised world rose against it. In now trying to make the Eastern African slave trade better known to Americans, I indulge the hope that I am aiding on, though in a small degree, the good time coming yet, when slavery as well as piracy shall be chased from the world.

“Many have but a faint idea of the evils that trading in slaves inflicts on the victims and on the authors of the atrocities. Most people imagine that negroes, after being brutalised by a long course of servitude, with but few of the ameliorating influences that elevate more favoured races, are fair average specimens of the African man. Our ideas are derived from the slaves of the West Coast, who have for ages been subjected to domestic bondage, and all the depressing agencies of a most unhealthy climate. These have told most injuriously on their physical frames, while fraud and trade rum have ruined their moral natures. These are not typical Africans any more than typical Englishmen; the natives of nearly all the highlands of the interior of the continent are, as a rule, fair average specimens of humanity. I happened to be present when all the head men of the great chief Insama, who lives west of the south end of Tanganyika, had come together to make peace with certain Arabs who had burned their chief town, and I am certain one could not see more finely formed intellectual heads in any assembly in London or Paris, and the faces and forms corresponded with the finely-shaped heads. Insama himself had been a sort of Napoleon for fighting and conquering in his younger days, was exactly like the ancient Assyrians sculptured on the Nineveh marbles as Nimrod and others; and he showed himself to be one of ourselves by habitually indulging in copious potations of beer, called *pombe*, and had become what Nathaniel Hawthorne called ‘bulbous’ below the ribs. I don't know where the phrase ‘bloated aristocracy’ arose. It must be American, for I have had glimpses of a good many English noblemen, and Insama was the only specimen of a bloated aristocrat on whom I ever set my eyes.

“Many of the women were very pretty, and, like all ladies, would have been much prettier if they had only let themselves alone. For-

tunately, the dears could not change their charming black eyes, beautiful foreheads, nicely rounded limbs, well-shaped forms, and small hands and feet. But they must adorn themselves; and this they do—oh, the hussies!—by filing their splendid teeth to points, like cat's teeth. It was distressing, for it made their smile, which has so much power over us great he-donkeys, like that of the crocodile. Ornaments are scarce. What would our ladies do, if they had none, but pout and lecture us on ‘women's rights!’ But these specimens of the fair sex make shift by adorning their fine, warm brown skins, tattooing various pretty devices without colours, that, besides purposes of beauty, serve the heraldic uses of our Highland tartans. They are not black, but of a light warm brown colour, and so very sisterish—if I may use the new coinage—it feels an injury done to one's self to see a bit of grass stuck through the cartilage of the nose so as to bulge out the *ala nasi* (wings of the nose of anatomists). Cazembe's queen—Moari a Ngombe by name—would be esteemed a real beauty, either in London, Paris, or New York, and yet she had a small hole through the cartilage near the tip of her fine slightly aquiline nose. But she had only filed one side of the two front of her superb snow-white teeth; and then, what a laugh she had! Let those who wish to know go and see her carried to her farm in her pony phaeton, which is a sort of throne fastened on two very long poles, and carried by twelve stalwart citizens. If they take *Punch's* motto for Cazembe, ‘Niggers don't require to be shot here,’ as their own, they may show themselves to be men; but whether they do or not, Cazembe will show himself a man of sterling good sense.

“Now, these people, so like ourselves externally, have genuine human souls. Rua, a very large section of country north and west of Cazembe's, but still in the same inland region, is peopled by men very like those of Insama and Cazembe. An Arab, Syde Bin Habib, went to trade in Rua two years ago, and as the Arabs usually do where the natives have no guns, Syde Bin Habib's elder brother carried matters with a high hand. The Rua men observed that the elder brother slept in a white tent, and pitching their spears into it by night, killed him. As Moslems never forgive bloodshed, the younger brother forthwith ran amuck on all indiscriminately in a large district. Let it not be supposed that any of these people are like the American Indians—insatiable, bloodthirsty savages, who will not be reclaimed or enter into terms of lasting friendship with fair-dealing strangers. Had the actual murderers been demanded, and a little time been granted, I feel morally certain, from many other instances among tribes who, like the Ba Rua, have not been spoiled by Arab traders, they would all have been given up. The chiefs of the country would, first of all, have specified the crime of which the elder brother was guilty, and who had been led to avenge it. It is very likely that they would stipulate that no other should be punished but the actual perpetrator. Domestic slaves acting under his orders would be considered free from blame. I know of nothing that distinguishes the uncontaminated Africans from other degraded peoples more than their entire reasonableness and good sense. It is different after they have had wives, children, and relatives kidnapped; but that is more than human nature, civilised or savage, can bear. In the case in question indiscriminate slaughter, capture, and plunder took place. A very large number of very fine young men were captured and secured in chains and wooden yokes. I came near the party of Syde Bin Habib, close to the point where a rent in the mountains of Rua allows the escape of the great river Lualaba out of Lake Moero. And here I had for the first time an opportunity of observing the difference between slaves and freemen made captives. When fairly across Lualaba Syde thought his captives safe, and got rid of the trouble of attending to and watching the chained gangs by taking off both chains and yokes. All declared their joy, and perfect willingness to follow Syde to the end of the world or elsewhere, but next morning twenty-two made clear off to the mountains. Many more, on seeing the broad Lualaba roll between them and the homes of their infancy, lost all heart, and in three days eight of them died. The had no complaint but pain in the heart, and they pointed out its seat correctly; though many believe that the heart is situated underneath the top of the sternum or breast-bone. This to me was the most startling death I ever saw. They evidently died of broken-heartedness, and the Arabs wondered, ‘seeing they had plenty to eat.’ I saw the others perish, particularly a very fine boy of ten or twelve years of age. When asked if he felt ill he put his hand correctly and exactly over the heart. He was kindly carried, and as he breathed out his soul was laid gently on the side of the path. The captors were not unusually cruel. They were callous—slaving had hardened their hearts. When Syde, who was an old friend of mine, crossed the Lualaba, he heard that I was in a village where a company of slave traders had been furiously assaulted for three days by justly incensed Babcemba. I would not fight nor allow my people to fire if I saw them, because the Babcemba had been especially kind to me. Syde sent a party of his own people to invite me to leave the village by night, and come to him. He showed himself the opposite of hard-hearted; but slaving ‘hardens all within, and petrifies the feelings.’ It is bad for the victims, and ill for the victimisers.

“I once saw a party of twelve who had been slaves in their own country—Lunda or Londa—of which Cazembe is chief or general. They were loaded with large, heavy, wooden yokes, which are forked trees, about three inches in diameter, and seven or eight feet long. The neck is inserted in the fork, and an iron bar driven in across from one end of the fork to the other, and rivetted; the other end is tied at night to a tree, or to the ceiling of a hut, and the neck being firm in the fork, the slave is held off from unloosing it. It is excessively troublesome to the wearer, and when marching two yokes are tied together by their free ends, and loads put on the slaves' heads besides. Women having in addition to the yoke and load a child on the back, have said to me on passing, ‘They are killing me; if they would take off the yoke, I could manage the load and child, but I shall die with three loads.’ One who spoke thus did die, and the poor little girl, her child perished of starvation. I interceded for some; but, when unyoked, off they bounded into the long grass, and I was gently blamed for not caring to preserve the owner's property! After a day's march under a broiling vertical sun, with yokes and heavy loads, the strongest are exhausted. The party of twelve above mentioned were sitting singing and laughing. ‘Hallo,’ said I, ‘these fellows take to it kindly; this must be the class for whom philosophers say slavery is the natural state;’ and I went and asked the cause of their mirth. I had to ask the aid of their owner as to the

meaning of the word *rukla*, which usually means to fly or leap. They were using it to express the idea of haunting, as a ghost, and inflicting disease and death; and the song was, 'Yes, we are going away to Manga (abroad or white man's land) with yokes on our necks; but we shall have no yokes in death, and we shall return and haunt and kill you.' The chorus then struck in was the name of the man who had sold each of them, and then followed the general laugh, in which at first I saw no bitterness. Perembe, an old man, of at least 104 years, had been one of the sellers. In accordance with African belief, they had no doubt of being soon able, by ghost power, to kill even him. Their refrain was—

'Oh, oh, oh!
Bird of freedom, oh!
You sold me, oh, oh, oh!
I shall haunt you, oh, oh, oh!

The laughter told not of mirth, but of the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter. 'He that is higher than the highest regardeth.'

"About north-east of the Rwa we have a very large country called Manyema, but by the Arabs it is shortened into Manyema. It is but recently known. The reputation which the Manyema enjoyed of being cannibals prevented the half-caste Arab traders from venturing among them. The circumstantial details of the practices of the men-eaters given by neighboring tribes were confirmed by two Arabs, who, two years ago, went as far as Bambarre, and secured the protection and friendship of Moenkuss—lord of the light-grey parrot with scarlet tail—who was a very superior man. The minute details of cannibal orgies given by the Arabs' attendants erred by the sheer excess of the shocking. Had I believed a tenth part of what I was told, I might never have ventured into Manyema; but fortunately my mother never frightened me in infancy with 'Bogie,' and stuff of that sort, and I am not liable to fits of bogophobia, in which disease the poor patient believes everything awful if only it is attributed to the owner of a black skin. I have heard that the complaint was epidemic lately in Jamaica, and the planters' mothers have much to answer for. I hope that the disease may never spread in the United States. The people there are believed to be inoculated with common sense.

"But why go among the cannibals at all? Was it not like joining the Alpine Club in order to be lauded if you don't break your neck where your neck ought to be broken? This makes me turn back to the watershed, as I promised. It is a broad belt of tree-covered upland, some 700 miles in length from west to east. The general altitude is between 4,000 and 5,000 feet above the sea, and mountains stand on it at various points which are between 6,000 and 7,000 feet above the ocean level. On this watershed springs arise which are well-nigh innumerable—that is, it would take half a man's lifetime to count them. These springs join each other and form brooks, which again converge and become rivers, or say streams, of 20, 40, or 80 yards, that never dry. All flow towards the centre of an immense valley, which I believe to be the Valley of the Nile. In this trough we have at first three large rivers. Then all unite into one enormous lacustrine river, the central line of drainage, which I name Webb's Lualaba. In this great valley there are five great lakes. One near the upper end is called Lake Benba, or more properly Bangweolo, but is not a source of the Nile, for no large river begins in a lake. It is supplied by a river called Chambeze and several others, which may be considered sources; and out of it flows the large river Luapula, which enters Lake Moero, and comes out as the great lake river Lualaba, to form Lake Kamolondo. West of Kamolondo, but still in the great valley, lies Lake Lincoln, which I named as my little tribute of love to the great and good man America enjoyed for some time and lost. One of the three great rivers I mentioned—Bartle Frere's, or Lufira—falls into Kamolondo, and Lake Lincoln becomes a lacustrine river, and it too joins the central line of drainage, but lower down, and all three united form the fifth lake, from which the slaves sent to me instead of men forced me, to my great grief, to leave as the 'unknown lake.' By my reckoning—the chronometers being all dead—it is five degrees of longitude west of Speke's position of Uji; this makes it probable that the great lacustrine river in the valley is the western branch, or Petherick's Nile—the Bahar Ghazal, and not the eastern branch, which Speke, Grant, and Baker believed to be the river of Egypt. If correct, this would make it the Nile only after all the Bahar Ghazal enters the eastern arm.

"But though I found the watershed between 10 deg. and 12 deg. south—that is, a long way farther up the valley than any one had dreamed—and saw the streams of some 600 miles of it converging into the centre of the great valley, no one knew where it went after that departure out of Lake Noero. Some conjectured that it went into Tanganyika, but I saw that to do so it must run uphill. Others imagined that it might flow into the Atlantic. It was to find out where it actually did go that took me into Manyema. I could get no information from traders outside, and no light could be obtained from Manyema within—they never travel, and it was so of old. They consist of petty headmanships, and each brings his grievance from some old feud, and is worse than our old Highland ancestors. Every headman of a hamlet would like to see every other ruling blockhead slain. But all were kind to strangers; and though terrible fellows among themselves, with their large spears and huge wooden shields, they were never known to injure foreigners till slaves tried the effects of gunshot upon them, and captured their women and children. As I could get no geographical information from them, I had to feel my way, and grope in the interminable forests and prairies, and three times took the wrong direction, going northerly, not knowing that the great river makes immense sweeps to the west and south-west. I felt as if I were running my head against a stone wall. It might, after all, turn out to be the Congo; and who would risk being eaten and converted into black man for it? I had serious doubts, but stuck to it like a Briton, and at last found that the mighty river left its westing and flowed right away to the north. The two great western drains, the Lufira and Lomame, running north-east before joining the central line or main—Webb's Lualaba—told that the western side of the Great Valley was high, like the eastern, and as this main is reported to go into large reedy lakes, it can scarcely be aught else but the western arm of the Nile. But, besides all this—in which it is quite possible I may be mistaken—we have two fountains on, probably, the seventh hundred mile of the watershed, and giving rise to two rivers, the Liambai, or Upper Zambesi, and the Kafue,

which flow into Inner Ethiopia, and two fountains are reported to rise in the same quarter, and, forming Lufira and Lomame, flow, as we have seen, north. These four full-grown gushing fountains, rising so near each other, and giving origin to four large rivers, answer in a certain degree to the description given of the unfathomable fountains of the Nile by the secretary of Minerva in the city of Sais, in Egypt, to the father of all travellers, Herodotus. But I have to confess that it is a little presumptuous in me to put this forward in Central Africa, and without a single book of reference, on the dim recollection of reading the ancient historian in boyhood. The waters were said to well up from an unfathomable depth, and then part, half north to Egypt and half south to Inner Ethiopia. Now, I have heard of the fountains afore-mentioned so often that I cannot doubt their existence, and I wish to clear up the point in my concluding trip. I am not to be considered as speaking without hesitation, but prepared, if I see reason, to confess myself wrong. No one would like to be considered a disciple of the testy, old, would-be geographer, who wrote 'Inner Africa Laid Open,' and swore to his fancies until he became blue in the face. The work would all have been finished long ago had the matter of supplies of men and goods not been entrusted by mistake to Banians and their slaves, whose efforts were all faithfully directed towards securing my failure. These Banians are protected English subjects, and by their money, their muskets, their ammunition, the East African Moslem slave trade is mainly carried on. The cunning East Indians secure most of the profits of the slave trade, and adroitly let the odium rest on their Arab agents. The Banians will not harm a flea or a mosquito, but my progress in geography had led me to the discovery that they are by far the worst cannibals in all Africa. They compass, by means of Arab agents, the destruction of more human lives for gain in one year than the Manyema do for their flesh-pots in ten. The matter of supplies and men was unwittingly committed to these our Indian fellow-subjects, who hate to see me in their slave market, and dread my disclosures on the infamous part they play. The slaves were all imbued with the idea that they were not to follow, but force me back, and after rioting on my goods for sixteen months on the way instead of three, the whole stock of goods was sold off for slaves and ivory. Some of the slaves who came to Manyema so baffled and worried me, that I had to return between 500 and 600 miles. The only help I have received, except half a supply which I dispatched from Zanzibar in 1866, has been from Mr. Stanley, your travelling correspondent, and certain remains of stores which I seized from the slaves sent from Zanzibar seventeen months ago; and I had to come back 300 miles to effect the seizure. I wait here—Unyanembe—only till Mr. Stanley can send me fifty free men from the coast, and then I proceed to finish up the geographical part of my mission. I come back to the slavery question, and if I am permitted in any way to promote its suppression, I shall not grudge the toil and time I have spent. It would be better to lessen human woe than discover the sources of the Nile.

"When parties leave Uji to go westwards into Manyema the question asked is not what goods they have, but how many guns and kegs of gunpowder. If they have 200 or 300 muskets and ammunition in proportion, they think success is certain. No traders having ever before entered Manyema, the value of ivory was quite unknown. Indeed, the tusks were left in the forests with the other bones where the animals had been slain—many were rotten, others were gnawed by a rodent animal to sharpen his teeth, as London rats do on leaden pipes. If civilly treated, the people went into the forest to spots where they knew elephants had been killed either by traps or spears, and brought the tusks for a few copper bracelets. I have seen parties return with so much ivory, they carried it by three relays of hundreds of slaves. But even this did not satisfy human greed. The Manyema were found to be terrified by the report of guns; some, I know, believed them to be supernatural, for when the effect of a musket-ball was shown on a goat, they looked up to the clouds, and offered to bring ivory to buy the charm by which lightning was drawn down. When a village was assaulted, the men fled in terror, and women and children were captured. Many of the Manyema women, especially far down the Lualaba, are very pretty, light-coloured, and lovely. It was common to hear the Zanzibar slaves—whose faces resemble the features of London doorknockers, which some atrocious iron-founder thought were like those of lions—say to each other, 'Oh, if we had Manyema wives, what pretty children we should get.' Manyema men and women were all vastly superior to the slaves, who evidently felt the inferiority they had acquired by wallowing in the mire of bondage. Many of the men were tall, strapping fellows, with but little of what we think distinctive of the negro about them. If one relied on the teachings of phrenology, the Manyema men would take a high place in the human family. They felt their superiority, and often said truly, 'Were it not for fire-arms, not one of the strangers would ever leave our country.' If a comparison were instituted, the Manyema, taken at random, placed opposite, say, the members of the Anthropological Society of London, clad, like them, in kilts of grass cloth, I should like to take my place alongside the Manyema, on the principle of preferring the company of my betters; the philosophers would look wofully scraggy. But though the 'inferior race,' as we compassionately call them, have finely-formed heads and often handsome features, they are undoubtedly cannibals. It was more difficult to ascertain this than may be imagined. Some think that they can detect the gnawings of the canine teeth of our cannibal ancestry on fossil bones, though the canine teeth of dogs are pretty much like the human. For many a month all the evidence I could collect amounted only to what would lead a Scotch jury to give a verdict of 'Not proven.' This arose partly from the fellows being fond of a joke, and they like to horrify any one who seemed credulous. They led one of my people, who believed all they said, to see the skull of a recent human victim, and he invited me in triumph. It found it to be the skull of a gorilla—here called soko—and for the first time became aware of the existence of the animal there. The country abounds in food of all kinds, and the rich soil raises everything planted in great luxuriance. A friend of mine tried rice, and in between three and four months it yielded one hundred and twenty fold; three measures of seed yielded 360 measures. Maize is so abundant that I have seen forty-five loads, each about 60 lbs., given for a single goat. The 'maize-dora'—or holcus, sorghum, tanaacetum, cassava—sweet potatoes, yams, furnish in no stinted measure the farinaceous ingredients of diet; the palm-oil, the ground-nuts, and a forest-tree afford the fatty materials of food; the bananas and plantains, in great profusion, and the sugar-cane, the saccharine; the palm toddy, beer of

bananas, tobacco and bange, *canabis sativa*, form the luxuries of life; and the villages swarm with goats, sheep, dogs, pigs, and fowls; while the elephants, buffaloes, zebras, and sokos or gorillas, yield to the expert hunter plenty of nitrogenous ingredients of human food. It was puzzling to see why they should be cannibals. New Zealanders, we were told, were cannibals, because they had killed all their gigantic birds (moa, &c.), and they were converted from the man-eating persuasion by the introduction of pigs. But the Manyema have plenty of pigs and other domestic animals, and yet they are cannibals. Into the reasons for their cannibalism I do not enter. They say that human flesh is not equal to that of goats or pigs; it is stiltish, and makes them dream of the dead. Why fine-looking men like them should be so low in the moral scale, can only be attributed to the non-introduction of that religion which makes those distinctions among men which phrenology and other ologies cannot explain. The religion of Christ is unquestionably the best for man. I refer to it not as the Protestant, the Catholic, the Greek, or any other, but to the comprehensive faith which has spread more widely over the world than most people imagine, and whose votaries, of whatever name, are better men than any outside the pale. We have, no doubt, grievous faults, but these, as in Paris, are owing to the want of religion. Christians generally are better than the heathens, but often don't know it, and they are all immeasurably better than they believe each other to be.

"The Manyema women, especially far down the Lualaba, are very pretty and very industrious. The market is with them a great institution, and they work hard and carry far in order to have something to sell. Markets are established about ten or fifteen miles apart. There those who raise cassava, maize, grain, sweet potatoes, exchange them for oil, salt, pepper, fish, and other relishes; fowls, also pigs, goats, grass-cloth, mats, and other articles change hands. All are dressed in their best—gaudy-coloured, many-folded kilts that reach from the waist to the knee. When 2,000 or 3,000 are together they enforce justice, though chiefly women, and they are so eager traders they set off in companies by night, and begin to run as soon as they come within the hum arising from hundreds of voices. To haggle, and joke, and laugh, and cheat, seems to be the dearest enjoyment of life. They confer great benefits upon each other. The Bazanya women are expert divers for oysters, and they sell them and fish for farinaceous food from the women on the east of the Lualaba, who prefer cultivating the soil to fishery. The Manyema have always told us that women going to market were never molested. When the men of two districts were engaged in actual hostilities the women passed through from one market to another unharmed; to take her goods, even in war, was a thing not to be done. But to these market women the half-caste directed their guns. Two cases that came under my own observation were so sickening, I cannot allow my mind to dwell upon or write about them. Many of both sexes were killed, but the women and children chiefly were made captives. No matter how much ivory they have obtained, these 'Nigger Moslems' must have slaves, and they assaulted the markets and villages, and made captives, chiefly, as it appeared to me, because, as the men ran off at the report of guns, they could do it without danger. I had no idea before how bloodthirsty men can be when they can pour out the blood of fellow-men in safety. And all this carnage is going on in Manyema at the very time I write. It is the Banians, our protected Indian fellow-subjects, that indirectly do it all. We have conceded to the Sultan of Zanzibar the right, which it was not ours to give, of a certain amount of slave trading, and that amount has been from 12,000 to 20,000 a year. As we have seen, these are not traded for, but murdered for. They are not slaves, but free people made captive. A Sultan with a sense of justice would, instead of taking head money, declare that all were free as soon as they reached the territory. But the Banians have the customhouse and all the Sultan's revenue entirely in their hands. He cannot trust his Muhammadan subjects, even of the better class, to farm his income, because, as they themselves say, he would get nothing in return but a crop of lies. The Banians naturally work the custom-house so as to screen their own slave agents; and so long as they have the power to promote it, their atrocious system of slavery will never cease. For the sake of lawful commerce it would be politic to insist that the Sultan's revenue by the custom-house should be placed in the hands of an English or American merchant of known reputation and uprightiness. By this arrangement the Sultan would be largely benefited, legal commerce would be exalted to a position it has never held since Banians and Moslems emigrated into Eastern Africa, and Christianity, to which the slave trade is an insurmountable barrier, would find an open door. DAVID LIVINGSTONE.

"James Gordon Bennett, Esq."

AERIAL STEAM NAVIGATION IN AMERICA.

The Aerial Steam Navigation Company have applied to the Legislature to make them an appropriation of \$25,000 to construct an avitor. The propriety of this concession is found in the history of the exertions of this company and the efforts of Mr. Marriott, who for twenty years has been engaged in the study and experiment of perfecting a flying machine to navigate the air. This gentleman, after long and patient study, and by the application of entirely novel lifting and propelling machinery, dispensing altogether with the balloon, succeeded in perfecting an aerial vessel, made buoyant with gas and propelled by steam, which, in the presence of 100 gentlemen in San Francisco, arose from its anchorage, sailed through the air, guided by its helm, and in all respects was governed by its machinery, with and against the wind. The experiment was pronounced a success, and all concurred in declaring that the invention was most wonderful, and that it demonstrated the possibility of navigating the air and of practically using the air as a highway of commerce. An accidental fire destroyed the model, which has been constructed at great expense by the Aerial Steam Navigation Company. The inventor had exhausted himself, pecuniarily, in a multitude of models and numberless attempts to put into successful operation his brain-work. If it had not already been demonstrated that the

invention was a success, there might be an impropriety in going to the State for money. Legislators might shake their heads, and say all this is the airy nothing of an inventive brain; but now that this thing has been illustrated, now that it is known that the only impediment to the navigation of the air is the pecuniary means to construct the vessel, Science may clearly say to the State, "I have demonstrated the fact; I have shown that the air is navigable in a vessel of a certain construction; now give me the means to build this vessel."—*San Francisco News Letter*, March 30.

A NEW HARBOUR FOR GERMANY.

Among the new enterprises brought before the public is one which may be considered as almost an international Anglo-German undertaking, and by no means an unimportant one. It consists of railways leading from Harburg and Bremerhaven, that is to say, from Hamburg and Bremen to Cuxhaven, between the Elbe and the Weser, where the depth of the sea admits of the construction of a first-class harbour able to receive the largest steamer now afloat, and at the same time calculated to put an end to the interruption of the direct trade with Northern Germany in winter-time. The very first banking-houses of Berlin and Hamburg have taken this great and useful project into their hands; the Government of the Empire, as well as the authorities of Hamburg, are affording every possible encouragement; the Prussian House of Deputies has even compelled the Prussian Government to hand over to the company a short State railway to Stade, which is now in progress of construction for the express purpose of rendering the undertaking, which includes the construction of a very important harbour, more profitable; and disposable capital is not wanting here. If you cast a glance on the map of Europe, knowing that the Baltic is but a very unsatisfactory maritime highway, you will easily see that no spot on the whole coast of the Continent is to be compared to the mouth of the Elbe for facilities of maritime access. You will at once understand why Hamburg is by far the most important emporium on the whole Continent. Now, just imagine the immense trade of Hamburg for the most part transferred to Cuxhaven; imagine lines of steamers plying between the ports on the east coast of England and the new port, which may be reached in less than thirty hours, so that live cattle may be conveyed in a good state from the north and east, and then estimate what the traffic of Cuxhaven and its railways is likely to be."

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The Packets of the 24th proceed to Madeira, Teneriffe, Bathurst, Sierra Leone, Monrovia, Cape Palmas, Capé Coast Castle, Accra, Jellah Coffee, Lagos, Benin, Bonny, Fernando Po, Old Calabar, and Cameroons.

The Packets of the 30th usually proceed to Madeira, Cape Palmas, Bonny, Gaboon, Black Point, Landana, Congo, Ambrizette, Kinsembo, Ambriz, and St. Paul de Loanda. That of August 30 (the Africa) will also call at Lagos and Old Calabar.

N.B.—The Ports of Call of the Packets of the 24th are fixed by contract with H.M. Postmaster-General, and cannot be varied except by express permission; but the Packets of the 12th and 30th are open to call at other Ports, in addition to those named, and may omit calling at some.

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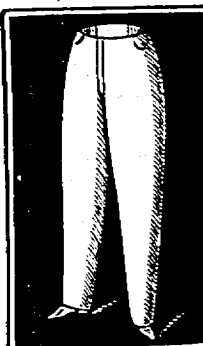
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