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SLAVE TRADE. No. 5 (1874).

REPORTS

ON THE

PRESENT STATE

OF THE

EAST AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
1874.

LONDON:

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Reports on the Present State of the East African Slave Trade.

No. 1.

Dr. Kirk to Earl Granville.—(Received January 14, 1874.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, December 17, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to inclose copy of a letter received this day from Captain F. Elton, First Assistant to the Agency, reporting his arrival at Dar-es-Salam, and the steps there taken in pursuance of my orders, copy of which is annexed.

I have approved the proceedings here recorded, and the course followed by Captain Elton in dealing with the cases that have come before him of slaveholding among Indians at Dar-es-Salam.

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

Inclosure 1 in No. 1.

Dr. Kirk to Captain Elton.

Sir,

Zanzibar, November 21, 1873.

I HAVE to instruct you to hold yourself in readiness to proceed with all despatch to the mainland, and there to complete and carry out in the southern district the policy adopted towards Indian slave-holders in the parts which I have of late been able to visit.

What this policy is you are well aware, both from persual of my Reports and from personal intercourse, and you will in all particulars be guided in the consideration of each case that may come before you by following a similar course.

At the same time while intrusting to you this highly responsible and more important duty, which had it been possible I should have personally conducted, you will keep closely in view the objects of the Treaty of 5th June, 1873, which are the suppression and discouragement of the Slave Trade, and the removal from this odious traffic of all aid or support direct or indirect on the part of the Indian community.

In giving you the following instructions it is not my desire to lay down the route you will strictly follow, provided that the objects indicated are gained, and I leave the detail to your own judgment in full confidence that better results may thereby be attained. I shall, therefore, briefly sketch out the various points it is my direction you attend to.

The following will, I think, be found a convenient programme. Proceeding first to Dar-es-Salam you will there carry out the same system I have found so successful elsewhere, calling upon all natives of India to appear before you and declare severally their slaves. Of these a nominal roll will be made, and either then or on the following day you will require for each slave a free paper written by an acknowledged Kattu of the place.

These being countersigned by you, you will yourself give them to the slaves, explaining to each his or her position, and inquiring how they purpose supporting themselves now they are free, noting any case in which the freed slave may elect to remain with his former master.

You will further take all due diligence to find out if any evasion has been made, and either punish the offender or commit him for trial at Zanzibar before the Consular Court.

Being satisfied that your work has been efficiently carried through at this station, you will then proceed south to Mogogoni, Mboamazi, Miji, Mema, Mwamba, Mker, &c., all villages and places where Indians are settled.

Should an opportunity then offer of visiting Khivale Island, you should go there, if

not you will reserve the visit to that place, which is one of importance, until your return journey.

Approaching the Lufiji from the village of Kikuya, you will pass inland so as to cross the river, if possible, about thirty miles from the coast, in order to report as to its navigability and branches; and you will be guided by information collected by Captain Wharton and myself, as already reported by Government.

On crossing the Lufiji you will again make for the coast and visit the Samanga villages, where I am given to understand certain Hindoos are deeply implicated in the Slave Trade, and in assisting caravans that follow the newly opened land route.

You will throughout your journey bear in mind that at every step you are approaching nearer to the centre of the Slave Trade, and therefore take diligent pains to find out any underhand traffic on the part of Indians, as it is to be presumed that such will partake more of the nature of a commercial venture, and less of the character of domestic slavery the nearer you approach Kilwa.

As you will have occasion to pass through the best copal diggings, I shall expect you to prepare a full Report thereon. You will particularly observe and make inquiries as to the localities in which the modern copal tree is found, and the depth to which the true copal exists, its comparative abundance and manner of distribution, the extent of diggings and manner in which they are worked. In fact collect all the information on this important and interesting subject that an intelligent knowledge may suggest on the spot in the face of new material, and in a country absolutely unexplored by any white man.

I am aware that in doing this some time will be lost, but this will be fully compensated should you be able to supply information on the subject, and all matters connected with the produce of the surrounding country.

At Kilwa you will find it expedient to remain a sufficient time to enable you to get information beyond what can be ascertained on any passing visit.

On the present Governor at Kilwa you can place but little reliance, and you will recollect that here the Slave Trade has hitherto constituted the only commerce of the place, and that everything there bought or sold has been bought or sold in some way for the direct or indirect furtherance of the Slave Trade, in which every resident must have been more or less implicated.

Your duty with regard to domestic slaves will here be of small significance compared with that of making an example of any one involved in the traffic, and you will take such steps as were adopted by me at Lamo to stop all mortgage of slave property to Indians.

Having visited Kilwa, Kisiwani, you will return to Zanzibar *via* Chole and Mafia, touching at Kwale, if you have not already called there, unless the presence of a ship-of-war should enable you to visit the towns and settlements of Mungao, the Delgado district, such as Kiswara, Mkindani, &c.

These, however, you will not find it expedient to approach by land, nor will you allow this division to cause lengthened delay.

I may, however, mention that should you visit the towns in this district, you will probably find some of the Customs Agents personally concerned in the slave dealing. At the station just south of Kilwa, one has been already punished by me for complicity, and I have every reason to think that other such offenders will be found.

You will remember that in intrusting to you this important Mission which I had fully intended personally carrying out, I shall expect from you the most careful and intelligent execution of your duty. You will report fully on every point in my absence to the officer acting for me, and will bear in mind on your journey, what it is almost needless for me to impress upon one who has had experience in Africa, that the smaller your party and the lighter your baggage, the greater is the certainty of success.

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

Inclosure 2 in No. 1.

Captain Elton to Dr. Kirk.

Sir,

Dar-es-Salam, East Coast of Africa, December 14, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to report for your information the steps adopted by me up to date, to carry out the instructions conveyed in your letter of November 21, 1873.

On the 11th of December I sailed from Zanzibar in a dhow, and for that night anchored under the lee of Georgia Island, reaching Dar-es-Salam the following morning.

Here I was received with every attention and civility by the Sultan's Akhida, Rashk

Allah, and as soon as possible convened a meeting of all Indians under British jurisdiction and protection living in the town and immediate neighbourhood, which was attended by fifteen Banians, three Bokras, and three Khojas, in all twenty-one people; one Bokra being reported absent in Zanzibar. To this assembly I conveyed the Orders of Her Majesty's Government with regard to the holding of slaves by Indians, and called upon each man present to register his name, and to declare the slaves in his possession; further stating that any concealment, any future dealing in slaves, or the accepting of slaves as mortgage securities, must in the end lead to the most severe punishment.

On the following day, accompanied by the Akhida and a guard, I proceeded on foot to the village of Mgogoni, situated on the sea-shore to the eastward, where the Jemadar called together the Banians, thirteen in number, who, with three Khojas, compose the Indian community, and to these, when congregated, I also explained the action now taken both in Hindustanee and Kiswaluli. From Mgogoni I walked on to Juliani, where a considerable trade in copal is now carried on, and there found ten Khojas and eleven Banians, summoned by the local officials, whom I addressed in similar terms to those used on the two previous occasions.

From Juliani I sent on to Mboamaji to fetch the one Indian inhabitant of the village, and some slaves (formerly the property of a deceased Banian) reported to be there, and then returned to Dar-es-Salam, after a tiring journey in sand, of some eighteen miles, under a hot sun.

The rest of the day and to-day were occupied in writing free papers for the slaves brought forward, which work, up to the present, has been attended with the following results, viz:—

At Dar-es-Salam, Mgogoni, and Juliana,—				Slaves.
24 Banians originally declared	..	..	..	8
3 Bokras	..	..	..	2
10 Ahojas	..	..	..	13
Total				23

and in addition to these, who have all received free papers, I have also released eight other slaves who have come to light, making a total of thirty-one.

Of these twenty-one remain with their former masters, five have elected to leave their service, two I found deserted and left to starve by a Banian, who has gone to Kutch, and three I have judged it prudent to send by this opportunity to Zanzibar, to be provided with service on the island.

In two cases I have been compelled to punish; one of concealment and confinement of two young slaves by a Bokra, and the other a case in which it was proved a Khoja had received a female slave in connection with a mortgage transaction, and held her for two years in slavery, without wages, and against her will. But whilst inflicting fines in the above instances, to the justice of which all allow, I have been careful to keep in mind the importance of preserving the goodwill of British Indian subjects, and am able to report that I find all castes and classes express a strong desire to see periodical visits so arranged from Zanzibar as to be able to adjudge upon their disputes upon the spot, in many of which a local inspection and knowledge are absolutely necessary.

The recent exodus of Indians from Dar-es-Salam, which has taken place within the last three months, was occasioned, in the first instance, some five months ago, by a dispute regarding a woman, which arose between a slave of Seyd Burgash (he has about 200 here) and a native of one of the neighbouring tribes of Washenzi. In it a Washenzi was killed, and his people demanded as a right the slave's life from the Sultan's Akhida. On the Akhida referring to His Highness, he was ordered on no account to give up the man, but to attack the natives if necessary. No fighting actually took place, though, as a natural result, the surrounding tribes on hearing the orders received, stopped sending in produce from the interior. The bad effect being further intensified by another native belonging to another tribe who came in to trade with an Indian being cut down and severely wounded in the streets by an over-zealous soldier, although protesting he had nothing to do with the people engaged in the original dispute; all local barter in consequence ceased, despite the payment of a considerable "zawadi" (present) by the Akhida to the wounded man; hence the Banians and Khojas migrated to Mgogoni, Juliani, and surrounding villages, where a brisk copal trade (on which I hope hereafter to report fully) has rapidly sprung up to the prejudice of Dar-es-Salam.

It is said, however, that a native caravan with 100 frasilahs of ivory is now within four day's journey, and should this arrive, the few merchants now left in the best laid out town on the Mrima, trust that trade may be reattracted, and that people may return, for

all property, already greatly depreciated in value since Seyd Majid's death, has, during the past few months, again diminished very considerably in price, to the prejudice of the many Indian mortgagées.

On the completion of my work at Dar-es-Salam, Sasani, Mvogoni, Juliani, and Mboamaji, I proceed towards the south, where I fear I shall be obliged to report a most systematic arrangement of the inland slave route, but I send this rough Report of the first steps taken by what perhaps may be the only opportunity of communication for some weeks.

I must, in conclusion, not omit to state that I have received every civility from the Arab officials, and especially from the Sultan's Akhida, Rashk Alla, who is invariably ready to render all necessary assistance, and is himself personally an active and energetic officer.

I have, &c.
(Signed) F. ELTON,
1st Assistant to Political Agent and Vice-Consul.

No. 2.

Captain Prideaux to Earl Granville.—(Received March 17.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, February 2, 1874.

I HAVE the honour to forward two Reports which I have received from Captain Elton, detailing his proceedings up to the 26th December.

In carrying out the difficult mission entrusted to him by Dr. Kirk, Captain Elton appears to have acted with much energy and judgment, and, in particular, to have displayed great tact and discretion in his encounters with the slave caravans.

The transport of slaves by land is now carried on to an unprecedented extent; and, although it is not forbidden by the late Treaty, I shall not fail to take an early opportunity of drawing the attention of His Highness Seyd Burgash to the subject, though it is doubtful whether he possesses the requisite means for the suppression of the traffic. Most of these slaves are destined for the Island of Pemba, where, in consequence of the ravages committed by the small-pox, labour is greatly in request.

The most effectual mode of stopping the traffic would be by means of a rigorous system of police by sea; but, with the present paucity of boats and officers, this is an impossibility. A chain of well-manned boats, stationed a few miles apart, but continually on the move within their respective beats, would have proved an effective check to any operations of the slave-dealers by sea, and probably would have put a final stop this season to the sea traffic, and, as a consequence, to the land traffic also.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. F. PRIDEAUX.

Inclosure 1 in No. 2.

Vice-Consul Elton to Captain Prideaux.

(Extract.)

Mboamaji, December 20, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to report that my work in the Dar-es-Salam district was brought to a close this day, without any hitch or unpleasant circumstance having occurred during my stay.

The Return annexed shows to what an extent the concealment of slaves was practised by the Battiahs of the so-called Banyan community, from whom, in despite of continual warning, it was most difficult, I found, to get correct answers as to the number of slaves held by each individual.

I was, in consequence, forced to make an example; and the effect was produced by my prosecuting one of the principal men of the Battiah division, through his acknowledged agent and wakil, in a case of deliberate and wilful concealment of six slaves. The evidence was overpowering, and scarcely an attempt was made to raise any defence, the defendant's co-religionists being among the first to allow the justice of the conviction which resulted.

In a second case I should have followed a similar course, but the Battiah implicated left for Zanzibar the very day of my arrival at Dar-es-Salam, and returned (so I have just heard) to-day on my departure. The papers relating to this case are, however, in such order as to admit of a prosecution being instituted should such a course appear to

you necessary, and the witnesses can always be found. At the last moment, eight more slaves were reported to me as being farmed out by the same man in the town; but, as I had already started on the way south, all I could do was to note their names and beg the Sultan's Akhidah to give them his protection until hearing further on the matter from Zanzibar. These eight, in addition to sixteen freed by me, make a total of twenty-four slaves who have passed through the hands of this man Hari within the last few years, most of them being purchased for him in the interior by traders and agents whom he supplied with goods.

There was marked and very evident relief observable in the manner of both Battiahs and Khojahs prior to my finally leaving the Dar-es-Salam district, the natural result of the removal of the apprehension with which they have for some time watched the policy of the Government with regard to their slaveholding. Indeed, towards the end of my stay, several disputes and claims for money, houses, &c., were brought before me for settlement, and information freely given, when required, upon all subjects; whilst a great anxiety for increased protection and inspection from Zanzibar was universally expressed.

In consequence, I followed Dr. Kirk's precedent action at Mombassah, Melinde, &c., and named the Head of the Custom-house, Gokuldas Pertumbar, to settle any petty disputes which might arise in the district amongst Indians, and particularly to watch over the interests of the freed slaves, and report directly to Zanzibar any case in which they are ill-treated or re-enslaved, after procuring, in the first instance, the Akhidah's assistance, if necessary, in order to secure their immediate safety.

Gokuldas, from his position as Customs Master, the respect in which his late father was held, and his caste—he is a Wannia—already possesses considerable influence. Whilst feeling assured he will not neglect to report irregularities, I am at the same time confident he will not abuse the trust placed in him.

Five slave caravans, with about 350 slaves, passed Dar-es-Salam from Kilwa up the coast to my certain knowledge during my stay; and I received repeated warnings from various quarters that a strong feeling was aroused at Kisiju and at Kikunia, where the slave-drivers had not only openly declared their intention of shooting me if I took the main road, but had also actively worked up the members of the Indian community in the Kwale district to disregard all orders issued from Zanzibar, and offered them assistance if they would actively resist the freeing of their slaves. However, as the main, or as it is called the Kisiju road, is undoubtedly the only practicable one, and leads directly to my work, I have resolved to go by no other.

The Akhidah, Rashk Allah, an Arab of Sheher, leaves us here. His assistance has been most cordially rendered at all hours, and has contributed to the prompt action with which the work at Dar-es-Salam, Tasani, Mgogoni, Tuliani, Mboamaji, and the outlying plantations, has been accomplished in so short a space of time.

I have, indeed, ventured so far as to promise the Akhidah that he will receive some present from the Agency, in recognition of his services, and hope that, in so doing, and in other matters, my proceedings may be approved.

At a future period I shall have the honour to work up from my notes a detailed report on Dar-es-Salam, the district, inhabitants, trade, &c.; and trust that my paper on the copal trees, and specimens and sketch, which I forwarded a few days ago, have arrived safely.

P.S.—My letters are written in the verandah of a mud-hut, so I must claim some license for careless writing and dirt.

Inclosure 2 in No. 2.

RETURN of Number of Slaves liberated at Dar-es-Salam.

Castes.	No.	No. of Slaves Declared.	No. found Concealed and Freed.	Total No. Freed.	Remarks.
Wanniah	1	1	..	1	Out of this total number of 54, there are 23 who elected to leave their masters. 34 leave their masters.
Mooltani	1	1	..	1	
Barber	1	..	..	..
Battiahs	36	4	25	29	
Bohras	3	5	..	5	
Khojahs	16	13	5	18	
Battiahs (absent)*	1	..	16	16	
„ (deceased)	1	..	12	12	
Bohras (absent)	1	..	6	6	
Total No. given free papers and registered .. ..	..	..	..	88

* NOTE.—In addition to the above total number, 8 more slaves, held by the one Battiah (absent), are placed under protection and will be subsequently freed; and 3 have been sent to Zanzibar as witnesses against their former masters, who illegally effected their sale: total, 11.

Two settlements of 22 slaves freed were formed; 2 boys and a woman sent for service to Zanzibar; and the rest, electing to leave their masters, were found able to look after themselves.

(Signed) F. ELTON,
1st Assistant to the Political Agent.

Inclosure 3 in No. 2.

Vice-Consul Elton to Captain Prideaux.

Sir,

Kisiju, District of Kwale, December 26, 1873.

I HAVE the honour to report my safe arrival at this town on the 22nd instant.

All arrangements being complete, and carriers engaged for the journey, I left Dar-es-Salam on the 20th, and, after holding a Court, and freeing some slaves under a tree in the village of Tuliani, proceeded to Mboamaji. Here, as reported in my last, the Akhidah left us, and we remained for the night in the hut of the Jemadar Ibrahim.

On the morning of the 21st our caravan, consisting of—2 soldiers of the Akhidah's, 6 Government peons and followers, 11 Wapagazi, Sub-Lieutenant Pullen, of Her Majesty's ship "Shearwater," and myself (total, 21 men in all) again set out, and made a good morning march to Massonga, crossing on our path the Moua Maji, a narrow, rapid stream, which falls into the sea near Ras Ndege, and abounds in hippopotami.

The road we were on is known as the Kisiju road, and was adopted by me in preference to the coast line when I discovered that no Indians lived at any of the villages on this latter route, with the exception of one man, Vissonji Nersi, resident at Bosa, in the Chungu bueni district, of whom I shall have occasion to speak hereafter. The latter district is, moreover, impracticable in places, in consequence of the many estuaries running inland, and deep mud renders the mangrove swamps impassable, except at high tide and in boats.

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

After six hours' march, we reached the deserted village of Kigonga, where a party of copal diggers told us a slave caravan had turned out of the path into the woods, in order to avoid us. Half an hour later brought us across the Berze into the Foonze sub-division of the Chungu-bueni district, where we were met by the Battiah of Bosa,

Vissonji Nersi, who had prepared us quarters in the house of one Bilali, the owner of an extensive and well-cultivated plantation situated on a hill overlooking a bend of the river, and, as it afterwards appeared, a halting-place for the slave caravans.

Our day's journey, which I estimate at nineteen miles, lay through a gently undulating grass country, with extended belts of fine trees (amongst which the *mtisandarusi* was frequently to be seen) stretching away to the foot of the hills, marking the Uzeramo country, and only broken here and there by a gentle rise, or an outlying *shamba*, with its surrounding clearings and *mohogo* fields.

Everywhere signs of copal diggings were visible. In fact we were passing through the main fields from which the Zanzibar market was once almost entirely supplied, and which still produce this valuable gum in considerable quantities.

The process of digging is a simple one. Twenty or thirty men, generally of the neighbouring tribes or free men, form a party and spread over a stretch of country which they divide amongst themselves into claims, each of which is worked by five or six of their number. Operations are commenced in each instance by driving five holes to the depth of about 2 feet as a prospect. If the yield is encouraging four more holes are driven, which are followed by the levying of the whole square to the orthodox depth of about 3 feet, deeper than which no shafts are sunk. One square being worked out, a new one is commenced and prospected in precisely a similar manner until all likely ground is gone over; purely sandy soil without a substratum of fibrous and decaying vegetable remains being passed by. The salesmen, chosen from their knowledge of the coast trade and villages, then effect a sale for which they receive an increased share over and above the rest of the workers, and after the division of profits all knock off work until compelled by want of money, *i.e.* goods, to take to the fields again. The trading generally takes place at night in the house of the Indians (whose principal business is copal dealing), and should no bargain be arrived at, the Washenzi leave before daylight, sleep in the woods, and return again at dusk to resume negotiations. As the gum is brought in, it is an admixture of the tree, the Chakazi, and the true (so called fossil) copal, and, I fancy, is still further doctored on its way before reaching European merchants.

There was a very marked distrust shown by Bilali and his people at our arrival, which I was not surprised at when I learnt that we were reported as being ready to attack all slave caravans, and that our host's crops were grown for the express purpose of feeding them. This impression I did my best to remove, and sat up until a late hour before I could convince Bilali that we had no business whatever with the Arabs; even at the last he shook his head and said that it was bad to see white men on the road: our visit would be followed by the slaves being all set free, he knew that.

On the 22nd, after an hour, we crossed the *Mkote*, a brawling stream, the banks of which were overhung with fine trees and luxuriant ferns, running down a lovely valley. This constitutes a serious obstruction during the heavy rains, but can be crossed, I am told, further up. Near here we were overtaken by Kimwere, the petty Chief, whose word is law over the Chungu-bueni district, and who, if report speaks truly, has everything his own way on the inland road. He is a fine stalwart specimen of the *Mrima*, 6 ft. 2 in., and broad in proportion, enjoying the credit, and looks as if he earned it, of being a wonderful athlete and successful hunter. He had a long chase after us, for, thinking we were on the Coast road, he had sent canoes round to the creeks to meet us and was following in one when a messenger brought the news we had taken the main Kisiju path. This started him off and he run us down, on foot and unattended, firing his gun several times on the way as a signal to stop us (which, of course, we did not understand) in order, as he said, not to miss seeing "the first white men who had been in Foruze."

Further on the road, at 10.30 A.M., our guide made a mistake, and, turning off the path, we crossed a bend of the Pafuni River and were brought up by the house of one Kazenga situated between two forks of the stream. Having previously arranged to meet Vissonji Nersi with some slaves to be freed from Bosa and the day's supply of food for my carriers, at our breakfast halt, I started the whole party off again on finding the error; the Wapagazi, two Akhidah's soldiers, and four of our men, taking a short cut to regain the main road by a ford with steep banks, whilst Lieutenant Pullen and I rode back on our donkeys with two men to recross the first and easier ford on the path by which we had arrived.

As we scrambled out through the mud and reeds we found ourselves on the top of a slave caravan ascending the hill, down which we had originally walked. Several strings had already passed by, chained in gangs of sixteens; with the strong ones put in front and the weak behind, and three or four more now defiled within two yards of where we sat on our donkeys, with only sticks in our hands, and our men standing behind us, one with my rifle in a cover and the other with Lieutenant Pullen's over his shoulder, both

unloaded. Two of the Arabs in charge came up, looked at us uneasily, and got past us as quickly as possible, hunting on the slaves but not showing any signs of fight. After they had gone on we were obliged to cross the river a second time, and here we were perhaps delayed ten minutes by the donkeys falling in the mud and being unable without much difficulty to climb the opposite bank.

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

This was the main body, and its discomfiture had been occasioned by the appearance of one of my servants, a boy about twelve years old, who had put a sun-helmet of mine on the top of his fez, and so arrayed broke through the high grass heading the carriers who had taken the short cut. To the excited dread of the Arabs this was a subtle flank movement; they saw themselves separated from their advanced gangs by our arrival, and now the sight of an European hat coming from another quarter was too much for their nerves. Cries of "Wazungo" were set up and immediately followed by a stampede.

I was fortunately in time to find one of our men attacking the lid of, what evidently was, the strong box, and thrashed him soundly before the whole party and one of the Arabs, who, in charge of two gangs and completely bewildered, blundered right into our arms. To this man I explained that we had no business whatever with slave caravans, that the first division had passed in order, that we had only sticks in our hands, and that it was entirely owing to their own fault that the main body had dispersed; moreover, I showed him that all the scattered property remained untouched where it had been thrown down, and then moved all my party off, remaining myself to the last to see that no thieving took place.

Had we wished to do so, nothing would have been easier than to have taken away 200 slaves without any one to oppose our action. There were, I estimated, about 300 in all, in wretched condition. One gang of lads and women, chained together with iron neck rings, was in a horrible state, their lower extremities coated with dry mud and their own excrement, and torn with thorns, their bodies mere frameworks, and their skeleton limbs tightly stretched over with wrinkled parchment like skin. One wretched woman had been flung against a tree for slipping her rope, and came screaming up to us for protection, with one eye half out, and the side of her face and bosom streaming with blood. We washed her wounds, and that was the only piece of interference on our part with the caravan, although the temptation was a strong one to cast all adrift and give them, at any rate, a chance of starving to death peaceably in the woods.

We afterwards learnt at Kisiju that this caravan was 400 strong, and had come from the Nyassa direct to Kilwa, and there accepted an offer of 35 dollars a head all round for the slaves, made by an agent from Pemba, the money to be paid on delivery at either Saadani, Pangani, Wasseen, or Mombasah, the port to be named by the purchaser, who was to smuggle them across to the island at his own risk. So that these unfortunate people were now being driven on their second march of horrors.

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

We now entered the Mangatani sub-division of the Kwale district, and, as we descended into the valley, leaving the copal forest of Kirigesi to the right, sighted another caravan crossing the Mkoondi. As soon as the Arabs saw us they drove the slaves off the road into the long grass, and made them squat down, chain-gang by chain-gang in double rows, then advanced with their guns in a threatening manner on our carriers. I hurried down the hill with my rifle, which I had been carrying for some time previously in my hand, and on drawing nearer to the carriers called out to the Arabs that we had no business whatever with them, and wished to pass quietly on. The leading man's answer to this was to tuck his loose sleeves out of the way, blow up his match, and point his matchlock at me. My reply was to hold out my express and tap the breech, in order to let him see all the shooting would not be on his side. He then took his matchlock down, imitated my action, and deliberately covered me again, shaking off one of his companions who tried to stop him, and moving forward a few paces. I was now positive he would fire, but did not bring my rifle, even then, to my shoulder, which, indeed, would

have been a useless exertion on my part if he had hit me, and if he had missed me I should, of course, have shot him at once.

However at this critical moment one of the Akhidah's soldiers ran in and stood in front of me, crying out, "Will you shoot Burgash's men, I am one; don't you see I am in charge of the Wazungo?" After a wordy wrangle the Arab ordered his matchlock very sulkily, and drew back with his companions to where the slaves were crouched in the grass, and we crossed our baggage over the river with some difficulty, the banks being steep and the water deep, a single tree felled, and lying across, forming a rude bridge for empty handed travellers alone.

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

I have been thus circumstantial in relating the occurrences of this day's work, in order to show that I in no way have interfered with the ruling powers of the South Road, the slave caravan traders and drivers, whose version is that we dispersed one caravan, which lost 200 slaves and all its baggage, and failed in a second attempt, in consequence of the bold front they displayed.

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

An hour later we reached Kisiju, after travelling through thousands of acres of "mohogo," this, the Kwale district, being the garden from which Kilwa is supplied with food for its slaves; large quantities of millet and rice are also exported to Zanzibar, and here we were received with some restraint by the acting Jemadar, Abd-el-Kader (a Baluch), and the notables of the town; these, indeed, allowed, on better acquaintance, that the caravan traders had consulted them the day previously as to the propriety of "stopping our advance," and Abd-el-Kader's answer to them was, that "It was no question for him to decide, God alone knew the business we were employed on."

A regular square in the centre of Kisiju is set apart for the accommodation of the caravans, cooking places are built, huts for the wet weather, spare chains and rings in readiness, and an old Arab in charge, who receives a reward for apprehending any run-aways, and gets everything in order for the arrivals from the south. Here, at present, every caravan halts on its way north, and the inhabitants do a large stroke of business in buying half-dying children, fattening them up, and re-selling at a profit, the place being full of walking skeletons.

It soon came to light that the strongest feelings of distrust had been aroused throughout the large district of Kwale, in consequence of reports from Zanzibar that my real mission was to put a stop to caravan running. Not only had the Indian community been urged to resist the freeing of their slaves, but an alliance, both defensive and offensive, was proposed to them by the people of the Mrima. My first work, then, was to remove all suspicions as to my intentions by sending messengers on the road before me, talking with the various petty Chiefs, and carefully explaining to the Indians resident around, through Vissonji Nersi of Bosa, who was of the greatest assistance, the resolve of the Government no longer to tolerate any connection whatever between its subjects and the Slave Trade.

In this I have succeeded, for Indians in the many surrounding settlements of the district are now bringing in lists of slaves to be freed and cases to be tried (24th and 25th December); and I trust to be able to report that all difficulties are removed from the onward route by a little judicious delay and visits to the various villages and towns, in order to gain the confidence of the natives and show them my actual work lies amongst our own subjects.

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

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

As long as such prices can be procured the trade will flourish, and I can see nothing to stop the inland route (all arrangements are carefully completed and no insurmountable difficulties in the way) but rooting out the trade root and branch.

I should be wrong to conclude this report without stating that all my party are in good order and good spirits, and behaved well under trying circumstances, in which every one's temper was tested to the utmost. From Sub-Lieutenant Pullen I received great assistance when matters looked at their worse and a fight appeared imminent, and his coolness prevented any disorder whatever amongst our carriers, who were enabled by him to move away to the cover of the ford.

I leave to-day for Kitmangao, a purely Indian town on the coast, about 10 miles off, where the principal copal trade is carried on, and thence through the various settlements to Kikunia.

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

No. 3.

Captain Prideaux to Earl Granville,—(Received March 17.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, February 7, 1874.

IN continuation of my letter of the 2nd instant, I have the honour to forward, for your Lordship's information, copies of further correspondence which I have received from Captain Elton, in which he gives an account of his proceedings up to the 28th ultimo, and furnishes reports upon the Dar-es-Salam, Chungu-bueni, and Kwale districts.

With reference to Captain Elton's letter, dated 28th January, 1874, I have the honour to state that, in a private conversation which I held with the Sultan a few evenings ago, I brought the great extent of the land traffic to His Highness' notice, and asked him to lend his aid and co-operation towards checking it. He replied that there was no reference made to the land traffic in the Treaty; that it was chiefly carried on in districts which were quite beyond his authority; that with regard to the export of these slaves I was probably better informed than himself, but that if I could prove that the Governor of any of his ports connived at it, he would imprison him for life; and, lastly, that if he had a vessel of war it would be easy for him to co-operate with our cruisers in watching the ports, but that at present he could do nothing in that way.

At present Pemba is closely watched by the boats of our squadron, and I believe that few, if any, dhows can cross without the certainty of capture; but as soon as this vigilance is relaxed, as it must occasionally be, the information of the slave-traders is so good that large exportations will at once take place. A few more boats and officers are imperatively required upon the station, in order to effectually check the traffic between the mainland and Pemba.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. F. PRIDEAUX.

Inclosure 1 in No. 3.

Report by Vice-Consul Elton on Dar-es-Salam.

Island of Chole, January 7, 1874.

DAR-ES-SALAM is situated in latitude 6° 50' south, and longitude 39° 21' east, and lies south (magnetic) 41 miles from the town of Zanzibar.

Had the original plans of the founder, Seyed Majid, been carried out in their full integrity, he would have left a model settlement behind him on the Mrima. Various obstacles, however, hindered the completion of them, and it does not appear probable that much progress will be made under the existing Government, Seyed Burghash being disinclined to foster any project of which he has not been the originator.

The town is built on the north side of the Dar-es-Salam river, which spreads into a land-locked basin, where vessels of large size can anchor with perfect safety. This, the harbour and approaches, have been recently surveyed on a 6-inch scale by Her Majesty's ship "Shearwater," in which Captain Wharton ascended the river for four miles (drawing 15 feet), and reports the waters navigable for some distance further to lighter draught.

The Sultan's residence is built at the inland extremity of the basin, and is the far right of the town, and from it a line of stone houses should form a crescent facing the anchorage, with a broad road and flights of steps communicating with the sandy beach, on the inner line of which wells, affording a good supply of fresh water, are conveniently constructed. But time, neglect, and weather are rapidly destroying the steps, terraces, and wells; only two of the houses are habitable, and the others are stopped short at the first story, a low thatched barn does duty for the Custom-house in the broad overgrown field which marks the site allotted by Seyed Majid for the erection of a more pretentious structure; the boldly designed main streets are choked up with rank grasses and brushwood, the houses for the most part deserted and locked up, or giving way to decay, except at one enterprising corner where a few Indians industriously strive to revive a failing trade with the interior. House property is almost valueless, and land around so depreciated that a plantation of some extent was shown me for sale, at a price of 40 dollars. A plot of land and a half-finished house in the centre of the town, mortgaged about two years ago for 500 dollars, would not fetch a reserve of 200 dollars when offered lately by auction; at the same time a thatched hut and two acres, in a good situation, went for 7 dollars. Yet the climate is healthy, the air clear, and fevers uncommon and easily shaken off,—so say the inhabitants,—the site a beautiful one, and the surrounding country green and well wooded; nevertheless there hangs about the scene a gloomy appearance, and the idea suggested itself that the desolation must be connected with the smash of some limited liability company, which has been compelled to stop work, and failed to attract the public by its preliminary outlays to see the advantages of a new seaside settlement.

The Akhidah, Rashk Allah, an Arab of Sheher, represents the Sultan's authority, and is supported by a few mercenaries, Arabs, Baluchis, and half-castes. A guard is kept at his house, where there are a quantity of muskets, matchlocks, and old powder-horns stored for the purpose of equipping the 200 slaves, who work on Burghash's extensive plantations, in case of disturbances with neighbouring tribes. Two or three Arabs pine on the outlying estates, and a host of the Mrima half-castes idle and shuffle about the town and adjacent villages, living from hand to mouth on the produce of their slaves, and on small trading ventures which they send in their charge towards the Uzeramo country. The Indian community of Dar-es-Salam is represented by:—

1 Wannia; 13 Battiahs; 1 Mooltani; 3 Bhoras and 3 Khojas, with families; whilst in the neighbouring villages, where the copal trade has gone, Mgogone contains 13 Battiahs, 1 Barber and 3 Khojas; and Tulwani, 10 Battiahs and 10 Khojas, the latter with families.

A primary mistake was made by an attempt to force the Dar-es-Salam trade, to the prejudice of other ports, further north, which had before enjoyed the monopoly of caravans from the interior, for, after a glimmer of success, the death of Seyed Majid, and the withdrawal of patronage from the town was at once followed by the natives resuming the popular and old times. It is now a long period since any caravan of value has been down, although the people live on rumours of a rich arrival *en route*; a small quantity of ivory, it is true, did reach from Unyamwezi during my stay, but it represented the venture of one man, and had no influence upon local trade. Ivory pays to the Dewan a "Moorba" of 3 dollars per frasilah, when brought in by those tribes of the Washenzi, who trade habitually, or by Arabs, or by Wasawahili; and a further 12 dollars per frasilah on arrival at Zanzibar. If brought in by Washenzi, who are not habitually traders to the port, it pays 6 dollars per frasilah to the Dewan, but 9 dollars at Zanzibar. Thus, in each instance, the total amount of duty per frasilah, 15 dollars, is the same. A few tusks find their way down from high into the Uzeramo country, where elephants are still said to be found in considerable numbers. The india-rubber Uiane is in abundant quantities in the close vicinity, and, at one time was exported largely at from 9 dollars to 10 dollars a frasilah. Its collection was stopped in consequence of leopards attacking boys gathering the juice, several being killed, and a fall in price; and it is now being destroyed wholesale, together with the copal trees, in the extensive clearings carried on by the Sultan, in order to add to his land under cultivation. These plantations are thickly planted with cocoa-nut trees, as yet young, and mohogo; some fine mango trees are to be seen, but the oil tree palms introduced are progressing but slowly. Wax is seldom brought in now by the Washenzi; the copal is almost entirely diverted to

Mgogoni and Tuliani, at these latter villages, towards evening, armed parties appear with the gum and spend the night in bargaining with the Indians, 2 dollars are often asked for what is worth 6*d.*, and long and difficult negotiations invariably precede the handshake which cements the deal, and this once given no dispute is known to follow. Millet, Indian corn, and rice, of several varieties, senna, and bungala are grown throughout the district, which exports to Zanzibar, but not to a great extent.

The copal trade, intermixed with grain speculations, and the lending moneys and goods at a rate of 8 per cent. per mensem to small traders who sneak about the upper lands and are seldom absent for more three months at a time on a single venture, these are the commerce of the Indian. Lower down in the Chungu-bueni district, and the fine Kwale district, he would find more copal, more ivory, more general trade, but would there have to pay black mail on all his profits to half-a-dozen self-styled Sultan's. Here he is effectually protected from oppression, the Sultan's authority being maintained, and, although he sighs for the greater gains, yet he deems it prudent to be in a secure atmosphere, and away from the slave caravan line and its lawless followings, and in the main he is, I think, right.

The slave caravans strike the coast above Dar-es-Salam, turning off from the Kisiju road, near Mboamaji, and making for the Dar-es-Salam river, which they cross about five miles from the sea, near Seyed bin Abdullah's (a worthless, cringing Arab, and a wine-bibber), from thence their path passes through the Sultan's plantations and skirts close past the town. The straighter road *vid* Tuliani and Mgogoni, is now seldom adopted as the ferry over the entrance to the river, which must be crossed, presents a danger. Their numbers and their destination might here become known, and they fear information finding its way across to Zanzibar. Recently, the caravans have so increased in size and numbers, that the Akhidah, who, as a rule, avoided the subject, one day expressed his astonishment, and went so far (he, an Arab of Sheher with natural Slave Trade propensities) as to say "he had never seen anything so shameful, it was only killing men, not trading."

Religion does not cause dissention in the Dar-es-Salam district. The Shafis and the Bohras coalesce in many points, the Khojas follow their own line quietly, whilst the prejudices of the Battiah are never wantonly outraged; neither do politics ruffle the pool with more than a passing ripple. One day resembles another with its money making and eternal gossiping, and persevering idling; ample regrets follow relations of the past prosperity when Seyed Majid was King, and caravans headed by flags and men firing guns swaggered through the streets to receive royal presents, and men of high estate from Zanzibar spent their revenues open-handed; but nothing is done, Burgash is pronounced "the unlucky," and to-morrow is a counterpart of yesterday.

Yet that the country presents admirable facilities for sugar growing, even for European settlement, is evident to all. It appears the one healthy spot on the Mrima; cattle thrive, it is pleasant to the eye to rest upon; alluvial, well-wooded plains roll back to the Uzeramo hills and the neighbours, undisturbed, are harmless.

The slave population appears fairly well off in the district: food is cheap, and fish plentifully caught all along the coast and in the river. Miles of staked inclosures fronting the sea form preserves, which are fished and re-fished assiduously, and boats work the outlying banks for "bonito." During the three "days to themselves," commonly given to slaves, they collect large quantities of salt with which they do a small trade, and manage to secure something for daily necessaries.

(Signed) F. ELTON.

Inclosure 2 in No. 3.

Vice-Consul Elton to Captain Prideaux.

Sir,

Chole Island, January 8, 1874.

IN continuation of my previous letter of December 26, 1873, I have now the honour to report that my work in the Kwale district terminated with the following result:—

34 Battiahs were found holding	..	..	..	..	104 slaves.
11 Khojas	..	..	..	..	36 "
8 Bohras	..	..	..	..	12 "
In the Chungu-bueni district—					
1 Battiah was found holding	..	..	..	..	4 "
Total	..	..	..	..	156 "

All these people have been duly registered and furnished with free papers, 130 remaining with their former masters and 22 electing to leave their service. No case of concealment was found, ample time being given for declaration; and in only one instance was it necessary to punish a Battiah, who was inclined to set the law at defiance.

On my arrival at Kisiju, when I observed the restraint with which the party was received, and ascertained the feelings of distrust which had been aroused by those in the caravan interest, I at once took steps to prevent the possibility of any misunderstanding bringing on a collision. As a first measure I begged the Jemadar, Abd-el-Kader, to write a circular note to the Dewans and chief men of all the villages in his district (the Kwale district extends from Makatani to the Rufigi River), setting forth my arrival and my business with the Indian community, and my non-interference with the caravans; also that, as I travelled with the Sultan's written pass in my hand, every assistance must be given me, for he (Abd-el-Kader) would now personally guarantee that the caravans would not be meddled with if I was unmolested by them on the road.

At the same time I dispatched Vissonji Nersi, of Bosa, to visit Kitmangoa, Kunderani, and other neighbouring villages, with instructions to explain the precedent proceedings at Dar-es-Salam, and to establish a feeling of confidence amongst the Indians here subject to dangerous influences.

I myself remained at Kisiju, in the Jemadari, and for two days the place was full of new arrivals, who, upon one excuse or another, clamoured for private interviews, generally in order to ask for a present for imaginary services to be performed at some visionary future day. The best effect was, however, produced by having a civil word for all; and before leaving Kisiju, not only had the Indians from the outlying Settlements of Kitmangoa, Zerase, Nusseebgani, Kunderani, and Demani declared and brought in seventy-nine slaves, but my advice was freely asked on local and general matters, and Abd-el Kader and the notables of Kisiju became my firm allies.

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

Kisiju is built on the banks of a broad tidal stream, the Magassi, on which, two hours higher up, is situated Zerase; and in the same neighbourhood are Demuni and Nusseebgani. The former town, which is narrow and straggling, is thickly shaded with mango and cocoa-nut trees, whilst dense mangrove thickets fringe both the rivers and the many indenting "khors." The country around is wonderfully fertile, hardly a week having passed for years without rain falling; and "the Garden of Kisiju" worthily maintains its name—rice, mohogo, Indian corn, and millet growing luxuriously, and a large export grain trade thrives.

On the 26th, at low tide, we forted the Magassi shoulder-deep near its embouchure, the stream being rapid and the river of considerable width, forming a broad lagoon at high water. Proceeding along the sea-beach, we passed the ruins of an old Portuguese building, the walls of which still held together against the inroads of climate and the attacks of parasitical trees. Blocks of masonry strewed the sands, and a large stone water-trough, thickly encrusted with sea-shells, appeared to excite even our Arab guards, who indulged in long stories on the many remains in the district, none of which, however, appear to me of the very remote date which local tradition ascribes to them.

Three hours' march brought us to Kitmangoa, situated, as are all these towns and villages, at the head of an indenting mangrove swamp, accessible to dhows of light burden at the spring tides. On one side of the swamp live the Khojas, nine houses in number, and on the other side reside the Battiahs, only half-a-dozen Waswahili being settled with them.

This is the principal copal-trading station in Kwale. The tree grows up to the borders of the creek, and digging operations commence from the outskirts of the village itself. Parties from the neighbouring tribes come to and fro to barter almost hourly, and a mutual trust is evidently established. The copal is brought in carefully-fastened matting baskets, and the usual bartering takes place; but openly, and not at nighttime, as at Tuliani and Mgogoni, where the outlying tribes have lost all confidence in the *bona fides* of the Arab authorities.

Bows, arrows, and spears are, however, invariably carried; and the great object of

the native copal digger is to become the possessor of a dangerous, rusty, flint-lock gun, such as are imported from Zanzibar, and can be retailed here at 2½ dollars apiece. It is noticeable in the Khoja houses that they are built with an upper loft and rough ladder for the storage of goods. "It was not prudent," one told me, "to show much to these people; they could be treacherous." However, both the Arabs and the Indians are only too prone to ascribe every bad motive to the native of the soil, forgetting that their own slave-trading propensities and rapacity have converted their neighbours into a suspicious race, whose worst actions are committed under a morbid dread of some new form of oppression of which they are destined to be the victims.

Cattle thrive here, and the Banyans appear quite at home in their settlement; they have built an inclosure and planted a garden round a covered and raised terrace, on which they meet for meals, which, with inner sheds, forms at once a fort and a pleasant lounge; and here we slept for the night. After freeing seven more slaves found out by my men, from this I proceeded to Sandazi, *vid* Kivinja, and from here (where there are five houses of Banyans and one of Khojahs) worked Macrore, Mji-Mensa, and Kivinja, all copal stations, and all situated, as Kitmangao, on the indenting mangrove creeks or "khors," which are the peculiar feature of the south Mrima.

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

On the following day, the 28th, whilst engaged in writing papers for 36 slaves, the gangs of another caravan, 96 in number, filed along the road not 100 yards from where I was sitting, as if in mockery of the work I was engaged upon. Here I received a letter from one Vissonji Bimji of Mji-Mema, a village only a few miles distant, but stating that the villagers had stopped his slaves from coming, and I accordingly sent two of the Arab guard (I took seven soldiers from the Jemadar at Kisiju) to inquire into matters. The assertion proved untrue, and the man's slaves, seven in number, all elected to leave him: one, his own daughter, a pretty girl, by a slave woman, he is said to have forced; and I believe it to be the case, for, although she would make no accusation of cruelty against her father, yet she begged to be protected against him. Vissonji I fined for his non-appearance, and forced him to give his daughter a dowry of 50 dollars, placing her under the care of Jairam of Kivinja and two Battiahs of Sandazi; a hulking scoundrel of a Swahili, to whom she had been evidently promised (or sold?) by her father, appearing on the scene at the last and claiming her clothes off her back, supported in his claim by Vissonji. I only heard a few days later that this Battiah had walked to Kikunia to persuade his caste fellows there to send away their slaves to avoid release, and on their declining to do so, refused to eat, drink, or sleep in the village, but returned home, saying, if he was left alone he would resist the Sircar. Had I known this I should have sent him to Zanzibar, although, as things at present stand, he has lost all his slaves, some money, and any influence he may have possessed in the district is utterly gone.

At Sandazi, in the centre of the village, stood the finest copal tree I have yet seen, fully as large as a good average English oak. It is a source of revenue to the man whose huts it shades. Several large limbs had decayed and fallen, whilst in many places gum exuded in large masses from wounds and from the undersides of the limbs; and I saw most confirmatory proof of the truth of the conclusions I arrived at previously, each succeeding change being traceable step by step. All this district abounds in "diggings," and, as at Kitmangao, the fossil gum is found almost up to the road and as far as the hill range, which now rose towards the southward.

On the 29th we passed on our way another caravan of 73 slaves, which drew off into the grass, the leaders coming forward and saluting us; then a frightfully hot march through the Pemba mangrove swamp and two hours further journeying brought us to the last village of Kwale, Kikunia.

Kikunia consists of a number of scattered huts at the head of a khor entering the Simboranga mouth of the Rufigi, and is situated about 12 miles inland from the sea. There is a colony of eleven Banyan houses, and many of the Battiahs have taken to themselves women of the country. Forty slaves were released here and at Pemba. Water is 3 miles distant and bad; cattle die, and the climate is unhealthy, but trade interests are paramount; copal is brought in abundantly, grain is raised extensively, a trade done in wood, wax, and ivory finds its way down the Rufigi. So the settlement is carried on.

Here the coast fever found us out, and within twelve hours nine out of our party of twenty-one (including myself) were utterly prostrate under very violent and repeated attacks, varied with ague. I, nevertheless, managed to complete my work, free the slaves, and arrange to place Jadhoo, the Customs Master, in charge of Sandazi, Kivinja, Macrore, Mji-Mema, and Kikunia, to report to Zanzibar. I had already given to Vissonji Nersi of Bosa the other division, Kisiju, Kitmangao, Kunderani, Zerare, and Nusseebjani, as his share of work in the Kwale district. I then thought it useless to linger longer in an unhealthy coast village, with bad water and bad provisions, on the banks of a mangrove swamp, so made up my mind to leave at once for Chole, do what business lay there, and allow the party to recruit.

On the 2nd of January we sailed in a dhow, placed at my disposal by a Battiah, passing one trying night with fever in the swamp before reaching Simboranga, and late on the 3rd landed on Chole Islands. Here I propose to remain a week, in order to thoroughly shake off my illness and recover a little strength, and then sail to Samanga, from which place I shall work back on the Rufigi. I trust Lieutenant Pullen, who has been severely shaken, it being his first experience in East African fevers, may be sufficiently well by that time to accompany me.

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

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

On the 1st no slaves passed up from Kilwa; on the evening of the 2nd, the day I sailed, 200 were due, which slept on the Rufigi. All caravans are compelled, from the lay of the country and the Rufigi Delta, to pass close to the village of Kikunia; but a more lengthened description will be found of the route in my Report, annexed, on the Kwale district.

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

Inclosure 3 in No. 3.

Report by Vice-Consul Elton on the Chungu-bueni and Kwale Districts.

THE Chungu-bueni district, comprising the lands of Fonze, is so deeply indented by the mangrove lined khors, as to be almost impassable along the coast to travellers. Here the interruptions can only be crossed at the lowest tide through an ooze of mud and sand; there high tide and canoes must be awaited, whilst quicksands are both common and dangerous. Proceeding southward, from Ras Ndege, the following villages are passed on the coast—Sara, Kibuiji, and Puna, before reaching the creek of Chungu-bueni, on which are situated Bajuni and Bosa. Beyond, the Kurati Creek is the next obstacle, and Paracha and Dendeni, the only groups of huts met with before Kisiju is reached. The large Zegra creek stretches inland beyond the Kisiju road, and from the hill at Bilali's at Fonze the swamps of Chungu-bueni are visible. The coast villages are thinly inhabited by fishermen, who enjoy the repute of living by wrecking dhows, and the shore is looked on as inhospitable. Only one Battiah was found a settler; he had lived at Bosa for seven years, and is well suited to battle his way alone amongst the Mrima folk, who hold him in wholesome fear. Formerly, there were several Indians in the district, but one by one they have moved towards Dar-es-Salam or Kwale, in consequence of the exactions of the petty chiefs. Kimwere, in the first place, claims a royalty for permission to settle on the soil; in the second place, a fee simple must be paid to the local Jumbe; and, in the third, the official power steps in (often represented by a man with a self-constituted office) and demands 2 per cent. on profits, which he condescends to estimate, without any inspection of books, from his local

experience and observations. Vissonji Nersi, of Bosa, commenced by paying his footing to Kimwere, and forming a friendship with this really powerful chief. He then paid for a right to build, to the head man of Bosa, and has successfully opposed all further demands. Others tried to follow his example, but, not having secured Kimwere's support, had to pay their money and then depart in search of less rapacious neighbours. As a result, Nersi monopolizes the Chungu-bueni copal, very little finding its way north to Tuliani, and only a limited quantity being picked up in the Mangatani District, where the only resident Battiah is, moreover, unpopular.

Grain is grown largely on the borders of Chungu-bueni, hippopotami being the great drawback, and look-out places are constructed in the fields, even as far inland as Bilali's, from which they are shot and harassed away by night-guards.

But few plantations are met with on the Kisiju road, and these principally raise mohogo, sweet potatoes, and a little Indian corn. Bread, made of bananas and mohogo, were offered for sale at the halting-places. The main business of the district is copal digging. The many small shafts sunk in prospecting honeycomb the ground up to the very edge of the road, and make it dangerous to venture in the long grass; whilst, far and wide, the workings of the true (so-called fossil) gum run in close proximity to belts of the modern tree.

Near Mangatani a large forest, Kiregeri, extends to the westward, and between the clumps and in the openings, where presumably the trees had stood, some of the finest copal is found, of this I have specimens, both from the tree and ground.

Passing through Fonze and Mangatani, the latter well watered by the Mkoonde, the Kisiju division of the large Kwale district is reached. Here miles of mohogo meet the eye; rice is grown in great quantities, Indian corn thrives, and the mango and cocoa-nut tree both spring up rapidly and bear profusely. This fertility, the people say, is owing to the steady rainfall, scarcely a day passes without a shower falling in the neighbourhood, and when the rest of the country presents an arid and parched appearance, the plantations around the Mgassi River are green and flourishing. A good deal of speculation is carried on by Indians in grain, who buy very largely and hold until prices rise in Zanzibar and Kilwa; and at the present moment large quantities are stored, holding on for a better market. Cattle are not kept about Kisiju, leopards abounding in the dense thickets bordering the Mgassi, from whence they levy blackmail on children and goats, up to the outskirts of the villages. There is no inner road by which the slave caravans can pass, but across the Mgassi, by the beach from Kilwa and pass Kisiju; hence a new line of industry is established, and the inhabitants find buying up starving children unable to march further and reselling them, an easy and lucrative mode of eking out their incomes. They also supply the caravans with food, and look up stragglers and runaways; the traders, in return, being on their best behaviour, and only too anxious to maintain the good terms which they have succeeded in establishing all along the road, and upon which their safe conduct depends.

To the many ruins found both here and in the neighbourhood I am not inclined, as the Arabs are, to ascribe an ancient date, those on the sea-shore are certainly Portuguese, the masonry of the main walls of what must have been a description of look-out tower still holds together, as well as portions of a surrounding inclosure, although built on a bluff, and open to the full action of wind and weather.

When in Zanzibar a Battiah or a Hindi says he comes from Kwale, it does not imply he has anything to do with Kwale Island, where no Indians live, and cocoa-nut trees and mohogo are cultivated by a few hybrid Mrima men; he belongs to the district of Kwale extending from the Mkoonde River to the Rufigi, and probably lives in one of the numerous copal stations, of which Kitmangoa is the most important. Situated at the head of an indenting mangrove creek, a few miles from the coast, where dhows warp up to load at spring tides, the Khoja houses dot the wooded slopes on the one shore, and the Battiah huts the other, park like land, broken with the paths by which the natives bring in produce, stretching back to a low line of hills in the distance. Beyond a mile the settlers do not care to venture, and the land is almost sealed, the Washenzi stipulating that no trading parties are to be sent in, and in case of offence closing the copal supply. Here barter goes on from morning until nearly sun down, although the season is now slack, the first rains which soften the earth being the signal for vigorous digging, which is relaxed as the dry season returns and work becomes more laborious. I found it impossible to discriminate between the tribes; each village owns its Chief, and adopts his name, hence the tribal designations become so confusing that Arabs, Indians, and Waswahili alike abandon the task of selection in despair, and class up to the hills as, Washenzi. Nearer Kikunia, however the Mtoli, a large family, abut upon the Rufigi, and assume some importance.

Sandazi, Kivinja, Kunderani, Zerare, Demuni, Nusseebgani, Macrore, Mji-Mema, and Pemba complete the list of trading stations, and are most of them, like Kitmangao, situated some distance from the sea, and on mangrove creeks. An annual sum is paid by each house to the local chiefs, and a share of profits is levied on a varying scale. Justice and protection are to be procured only by a system of fees at Kisiju, whilst presents must be made to those in petty authority, but there is no such wholesale oppression complained of as that which drove the traders out of Chungu-bueni.

Kaniki, Satini, Amerikano, and a few beads, guns and powder (the latter is scarce and valuable, owing to Seyed Burghash's monopoly), together with copper-wire and fancy handkerchiefs, form the stock-in-trade, and the frasilah of copal is bought from the natives at prices varying from 4 dollars to 5½ dollars; on this the Custom-house levies 20 per cent., *i.e.*, from 100 frasilahs they appropriate 20, and from 120, 24 as Government duty. On all grain 5 frasilahs on 100 are also taken in a similar manner. Add to this heavy tax the local and petty extortions, fees, shipment, transit, &c., and it will readily be seen what a bound the copal trade would take if untrammelled and under equitable rules. Tied down as it is, it supports hundreds, but under a different régime would afford lucrative employment to thousands.

Approaching Kikunia a ridge of rounded sand-stone hills runs in a southerly direction, and the land bordering the road, up to the foot of these hills and on their slope, are singularly well cultivated and fertile. Large mango trees, and the cocoa-nut and palms thrive, but beyond on the farther slopes the native tribes hold their own, hence Kikunia is another place where only one path exists for the slave caravans. The water here is bad, distant, and scarce, and a long mangrove swamp leads to the Simboranga mouth of the Rufigi. The creeks from Pemba and Mji-Mema also branch into the same outlet, which forms the first important break in the coast line. Large quantities of wax reach Kikunia from the interior.

It is needless for me to comment further on the caravans, they pass through Kikunia on an average eight days out of ten, and hundreds of slaves are driven up. I should, however, state that there is no intention whatever of stopping for the rainy season, the Rufigi is the main obstacle, and every arrangement is completed there to avoid delay.

The Sultan's authority is represented by a Baluch Jemadar at Kisiju, with some ten or twelve Askari, Arabs and Baluchis, elsewhere he has not a vestige of authority, and Abd-el-Kader was careful to impress the fact upon me. He gave me seven men (four of whom I sent back from Kikunia), but added at the same time that he could be responsible for nothing beyond the Mgassi River.

(Signed) F. ELTON.

Chole Island, January 10, 1874.

Inclosure 4 in No. 3

Vice-Consul Elton to Captain Prideaux.

Sir,

Island of Chole, January 13, 1874.

I HAVE the honour to report, in continuation, that I discovered and freed, at Chole, 27 slaves held by 4 Banyans, 1 Khoja and 1 Bohrah: this brings up my total list of men freed to 278.

This island fully answered to the expectations I had been led to form at Kikunia. Cattle are plentiful, goats and a few sheep, fish, and yams, sweet potatoes, and fruit are obtainable. The air at this season of the year is fresh and bracing, and not the least of its recommendations, after the mangrove swamps, mosquitos are unknown.

The Kwale district use it uniformly as a sanatorium, and any one seriously attacked with fever or dysentery is sent here to recover, the clear sea breeze and good water working, as it has done in our cases, a favourable change.

In the Admiralty chart Cholé is wrongly laid down, it is actually about one-fifth of the size indicated, and should be cut off at the north-west corner of Captain Owen's Island, a passage dividing it from the neighbouring island called Jiwani. It is perfectly easy to walk round Chole in a couple of hours. The vegetation is luxuriant,—mango, and cocoa-nut trees, oranges, baobabs, jack fruit, &c., shade the paths, the population, however, is scanty, never having recovered from severe losses by cholera, when that disease was brought from Kilwa and Zanzibar some years ago. Produce is brought across from Mafir and Jiwani in canoes, but Mafia, although fertile, is considered unhealthy, many of the landowners there preferring to reside at Chole.

The Governor of Kilwa, Salim bin Said, arrived at an estate he owns at Terenia on

Mafia on the 6th, on his way to Zanzibar (summoned, so it is said, by the Sultan), and I sent over my head man with a polite message and the letter from the Sultan, of which I was the bearer, expressing my regret that I should miss him in Kilwa. In return I received a courteous answer and a present of provisions, together with a letter to the Kathi of Kilwa (Seyed Burghash's letter was also returned at my request as a passport), the Governor adding I should find all ready for my reception. He has since sent daily to inquire after the party.

The Indians here are principally engaged in grain speculation with the coast. Cowries are also exported, together with the fine mats for which Chole is famous, and produce from the Mafia plantations finds its way through the merchants' hands to Zanzibar and other markets. Only one Indian resides on Mafia who held no slaves.

To-morrow the spring tides serve to ascend the Samanga creek, and I leave for that place, working back on the Rufigi, and hoping, if all goes well, to reach Kilwa about the 24th.

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

Inclosure 5 in No. 3.

Vice-Consul Elton to Captain Prideaux.

Sir, *Kilwa Kivinja, January 28, 1874.*

I HAVE the honour to report, for your information, the number of slaves marched up the coast from Kilwa, actually passed on the road by me during thirty days, from 21st December, 1873, to 20th January, 1874.

To this list is added the number which, from information, is given as having been seen on the road between the 2nd and 15th January, 1874, when I was absent at Chole, but this is manifestly understated and perhaps represents half the correct amount.

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

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

Inclosure 6 in No. 3.

LIST of Slaves passed on Inland Route from Dar-es-Salam to Kilwa Kivinja, between December 21, 1873, and January 20, 1874.

December 21	..	80	} Estimated.
" 22	..	700	
" 23	..	200	} Turned off the road for us.
" 23	..	300	
" 27	..	100	} Counted. Of the 1,100, we counted 1,000 and were tired. A full 150 passed afterwards.
" 28	..	96	
" 29	..	73	
" 30	..	400	
" 31	..	1,100	
January 2	..	200	} Runners came on to get food ready for these 200, and they were to arrive in the evening; we left in the afternoon for Chole.
Total ..	..	3,249
Understated, 482	}	250	} 480 reported as having passed through Samanga, from 2nd to 16th January, during our absence at Chole.
		150	
		50	
		32	
January 18	..	200	
" 18	..	100	
" 20	..	65	
Grand Total	..	4,096	

NOTE.—Lieutenant Pullen's numbers from his note-book are considerably above these.

(Signed) F. ELTON,
1st Assistant to Political Agent.

Captain Prideaux to Earl Granville.—(Received March 17.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, February 9, 1874.

I REGRET to have to report that, on the 28th January, a serious outrage was committed on the person of Benjamin Hartley, a young missionary student belonging to the Universities Mission. Mr. Hartley was at Morongo, a village situated between Pangani and Tanga, and was shooting by himself in a retired spot, when a caravan of about forty slaves passed in charge of four Arabs. Mr. Hartley injudiciously went up to the caravan, and appears to have entered into conversation with the slaves, when the Arabs interfered, and an altercation ensued, which resulted in Mr. Hartley being most savagely attacked. It seems he was first shot down, and, while on the ground, was slashed about the head by the Arabs with their heavy swords, the brain being laid bare in two or three places. So far as I can gather at present, they desisted at the request of an Zunyamwezi man who happened to pass by at the time; the villagers were also turning out to come to the rescue, I believe, but the evidence upon the subject is very scanty. Mr. Hartley was brought over to Zanzibar by his companion, a sub-deacon, named Francis Mabruki (who was not present when the outrage occurred), and taken to the mission-house, where he is now lying in a most precarious state. His Highness Seyd Burghash has sent over to Morongo to procure any evidence he can with respect to the Arabs, who I trust will be identified and duly punished. It is probable that they were passing with this caravan to Tanga, in the hope of exporting the slaves to the Island of Pemba.

I have, &c.

(Signed) W. F. PRIDEAUX.

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REPORTS on the Present State of the East African
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