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## CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

# SLAVERY IN THE ZANZIBAR DOMINIONS.

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*Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.  
August 1896.*

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## Correspondence respecting Slavery in the Zanzibar Dominions.

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### No. 1.

*The Earl of Kimberley to Mr. A. Hardinge.*

(Extract.)

*Foreign Office, February 16, 1895.*

IT must be remembered that the radical change which is impending with regard to slavery will only be postponed by a continuance of the existing system. Slavery is dying out. Whatever may be the facts as to the length of life of a slave, it is evident that now that importation has practically ceased and children born since the 1st January, 1890, are free, the rapidly diminishing supply of slave labour will compel masters to face the inevitable advent of total abolition.

On the other hand, public opinion in this country is increasingly strong on the subject, and complaints are made that, since the virtual repeal of Seyyid Ali's Proclamation, no legislative advance has been made. The repeal, you will remember, was justified on the ground that its maintenance would endanger the peace of the Sultanate and possibly the Sultan's life. I am not aware whether these reasons can still be urged against its revival, which, otherwise, it is difficult to resist. I should wish you to consider the question carefully in concert with His Highness and Sir L. Mathews, bearing in mind that British opinion is in favour of immediate emancipation.

In forming a judgment on this important matter, you will doubtless receive valuable assistance from the investigations of Her Majesty's Vice-Cousul in Pemba.

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### No. 2.

*Mr. A. Hardinge to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received April 22.)*

My Lord,

*Zanzibar, March 26, 1895.*

MR. DONALD MACKENZIE returned from Pemba yesterday and came to see me this morning. He has undertaken his present journey in three capacities. He is reporting to the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce on the commercial prospects of this part of East Africa, to Sir Edgar Vincent on the smuggling of tobacco into Turkey through the Arabian ports, and to the Anti-Slavery Society on the best means of destroying the Slave Trade and domestic slavery in Pemba and Zanzibar. The study of the slavery question was the chief object of his visit to Pemba, where slavery is more unchecked, and its evils more glaring, than in Zanzibar; but he also made inquiries, during his stay of nearly a week, in the course of which he travelled overland from Chaki-Chaki to Weti and Kishi-Kashi, into the agricultural resources of the island, and was very favourably impressed by them.

I did all in my power to insure the success of Mr. Mackenzie's mission, procuring him introductions to the two Walis, and giving him letters myself to the principal Indian merchants. He was cautious in his inquiries as to slavery, avoiding, as far as possible, direct questions, but the natives themselves, both freemen and slaves, seem to have been very willing to give him information, though some of the Indians and Arabs were evidently suspicious of his objects, and whilst professing extreme gratification at his visit, tried to place obstacles, so far as they dared, to its extending to the plantations in the interior. I think it very possible from what he told me that some of the British Indian merchants have disregarded the laws forbidding them to own slaves, and have indirectly, if not directly, acquired them. I had already instructed Mr. O'Sullivan,

before his departure for Pemba, to report to me any cases which he could discover of their having done so.

On the general question of slavery in Pemba, Mr. Mackenzie seemed to take a moderate, common-sense view. He said some of the slaves had complained of harsh treatment, whilst others appeared happy and contented with their lot, and, whilst naturally condemning the institution in the abstract, and expressing a strong desire for its early disappearance, he quite admitted the difficulties in the way of the immediate and unconditional abolition which is demanded by the enthusiasts of his party. He was of opinion that concubinage, one of the most difficult factors of the slavery question, would have to be retained, even if slave labour were abolished. It was, he thought, so essential a feature of Arab domestic life, especially in this part of the Moslem world that interference with it would be practically impossible. On this point I thoroughly agree with him. In disturbing harem slavery we touch the Moslem on a point respecting which he is far more sensitive than on any merely economic questions—his relations to his women—and affect thousands to whom the loss of income from land or labour would appear a much less serious injury. He was strongly in favour of a registration both in Zanzibar and Pemba of estates and slaves—a “Domesday Book” as he called it—for both islands, and he fully recognized the importance of providing some incentive which should compel the freed slaves to work, regarding idleness as bad for them morally, quite apart from economic considerations. I suggested a 10s. a-year hut tax, such as that which has, I believe, been established in Matabeleland, and which might take the place of his master’s stick as a means of obliging the negro to labour, besides recouping the State for the loss entailed by the temporary collapse of its agriculture; but I pointed out that there was the danger here, which did not exist in Matabeleland, that the negroes could easily go across to the mainland.

We had some talk about the effects of the abolition of the legal status of slavery on the import of fresh slaves, and I endeavoured to show, as I have already done in my despatch of the 26th February last,\* that the mere abolition of the legal status would no more prevent, though it might no doubt greatly diminish, the importation and the illegal detention of individuals as slaves, than the present prohibition of their purchase now prevents their being illegally bought and sold. As a matter of fact, the legal status of “slavery,” so far as Sultan’s Decrees or any temporal legislation can effect it, is abolished already, since a labourer who cannot lawfully be sold, and who, if treated with harshness, and deprived of any of the rights sanctioned by usage, can claim from the State protection and emancipation, does not answer to the conventional definition of a slave, the essence of whose position is that he is a chattel, without rights, and saleable like a beast, but approaches more nearly to the serf or *adscriptus glebæ* of mediæval European villenage; yet if, notwithstanding this, and notwithstanding the fact that the sale of a slave gives him a right to claim his freedom, slaves are still bought and sold regardless of the risks run, there is no reason to suppose that the abolition of the legal status will, so long as raw negroes are ignorant of their rights, and buyers and sellers prepared to face certain dangers, prevent similar evasions of the law.

Before leaving this difficult and complicated subject of slavery, respecting which I fear I have exhausted your Lordship’s patience, there is one point to which I should like to once more invite your attention. I mean the argument from the case of India. In my despatch of the 26th February last\* I avowed my inability, from want of sufficient knowledge of the conditions under which Moslem slavery existed in India, to express my opinion on the subject, and I confined myself to conjectures drawn from general impressions. Since writing that despatch I have, however, casually come across, in Sir William Macnaghten’s “Principles of Mahommedan Law,” a passage which, I think, throws considerable light upon the number of persons affected in India by the passing of the Act of 1845. Macnaghten wrote, I believe, about fifteen or twenty years before that Act became law, and there seems no reason for supposing that during that interval there was any great increase in the number of Indian slaves. The presumption would, on the contrary, be rather the other way.

“The question of Mahommedan slavery,” he says, “seems to be but little understood. According to strict law the state of bondage, so far as Mussulmans are concerned, may be said to be almost extinct in this country. They only are slaves who are captured in an infidel territory in time of war, or who are the descendants of such captives. . . . Of those who can legally be called slaves but few at present exist. In the ordinary acceptance of the term all persons are counted slaves who may have been sold by their

\* See “Africa No. 6 (1895).”

parents in a time of scarcity, and this class is very numerous. Thousands are at this moment living in a state of hopeless and contented, though unauthorized, bondage. That the illegality of this state of things should be known is certainly desirable. The law may impose its authority in cases of peculiar hardship and cruelty. I believe, however, it will be found that there is little moral necessity for such interposition. In India (generally speaking) between a slave and a free servant there is no distinction but in the name, and in the superior indulgences enjoyed by the former. He is exempt from the common cares of providing for himself and his family, his master has an obvious interest in treating him with lenity, and the easy performance of the ordinary household duties is all that is expected in return. . . . . The sales of children which do take place are (setting aside the fact of their illegality) devoid of all the disgusting features which characterize the Slave Trade. They are not occasioned by the *auri sacra fames*, but by absolute physical hunger and starvation, and the morality must be rigid indeed which would condemn as criminal the act of a parent parting with a child under circumstances which render the sacrifice indispensable to the preservation of both." (Preliminary remarks, pp. 30 to 36, in Macnaghten's "Principles of Mahomedan Law.")

Macnaghten then quotes some remarks by Mr. H. T. Colebrook in "Harrington's Analysis," in which, after speaking of the relations of master and slave in India as generally characterized by "gentleness and indulgence on the one side, and zeal and loyalty on the other," he describes the sale during famines of children by their parents for sums so nominal as to prove conclusively that the chief object of the transaction was the preservation of the children's own lives.

It would appear from the foregoing remarks that in India, before the passing of the Act of 1845, there were two classes of slaves, both mainly employed, not as labourers, but as domestic servants: (1) slaves legally held according to Moslem law, *i.e.*, the descendants of persons captured in an infidel territory or Dar-ul-Harb, such, for instance, as that of the idolators of Central Africa, between whom and Islam there must theoretically always exist a state of war; and (2) children born free within a territory under Moslem law, and therefore sold contrary to that law by their parents, under the pressure of dire necessity. The first class (the one to which all the Zanzibar slaves belong) was in India very small—in fact, at the time when Macnaghten wrote, a good many years before the Act of 1845, he could describe it as almost extinct. The second class was much more numerous, but its number, to judge by Macnaghten's language, must have fallen far short of that which Sir Bartle Frere's expression about the "tens of millions of Mahomedans affected by the Act" would, at first sight, seem to suggest. "Thousands," he says, "are living in contented, but unauthorized, bondage." As the slaves, even before the abolition of the legal status, could have legally claimed their freedom from any Court recognizing, as the British Courts did, and in many respects still do, the Moslem law as to personal status, the only persons whose legal position would really be altered by abolition were therefore the few slaves belonging to the first category, who, in Macnaghten's time were, he tells us, a class "almost extinct."

It is difficult to explain, if this is so, how Sir Bartle Frere can have said that millions of Indian Mahomedans had been affected by the Act of 1845, unless we suppose him either to have spoken with insufficient consideration or recollection of the facts, or to have meant that the abolition of the legal status of slavery, in so far as it was the abolition of an institution sanctioned by the Koran, might have been expected on abstract grounds to excite among Mahomedans a resentment which events showed that it did not really arouse. Whatever his meaning, however, it is, I think, clear that no practical or tangible effect was, as a matter of fact, produced by the Act of 1845 on the material interests of the Mahomedan population of India, and this being the case the whole argument from the example of India breaks down when applied to Zanzibar.

It may be that the securing of legal equality and freedom of contract to the negro is an object so all-important in itself that we are right to disregard in its prosecution both material considerations and native sentiment. This is a moral question, appealing strongly to many men of the highest principles, whose views carry well-deserved weight, and I offer no opinion on it here. All I wish to emphasize is the belief, expressed by me less confidently in my despatch above referred to, that the successful results of the Indian Act of 1845 in India itself afford absolutely no test of its applicability here, where the whole conditions of the question of slavery are so radically different. I should not have troubled your Lordship with a reiteration of this belief had I not accidentally found my own impressions confirmed by so high an authority as Sir W. Macnaghten, and were I not convinced of the importance of thoroughly weighing all

their arguments before we allow the extreme advocates of abolition to commit us irrevocably to an experiment which in this country may prove most critical.

I trust, however, that the passages which I have been able to cite, and which appear to me to have an important bearing on the question, may excuse a repetition of views already submitted in a previous despatch.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) ARTHUR H. HARDINGE.

No. 3.

*Mr. A. Hardinge to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received May 22.)*

(Extract.)

Zanzibar, April 27, 1895.

SINCE the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 16th February I have had several interviews with the Sultan, the last of which took place to-day, on the subject of the revival of the clause in Seyyid Ali's Decree giving a slave the right to purchase his own liberty; and I have taken the opportunity to impress upon His Highness the strong feeling existing in England against the maintenance of domestic slavery in his dominions, and to prepare him for the possible necessity of its abolition at an early date.

When I first mentioned this possibility, the Sultan, as was natural, seemed a good deal disturbed, and he was evidently anxious to postpone a discussion of the subject. I told him, however, that even if I should not be instructed to press for any immediate action, the operation of his predecessors' Decrees, and of natural laws, made it certain that the slave population, unless unlawfully recruited, would ere long die out; and that it behoved us all, and himself most of all, as Ruler of Zanzibar, to consider, during this period of transition, by what means the inevitable change could be accompanied with the minimum of injury to his people. "We all recognize," I said, "the difficulties of the labour problem, but with energy and good-will on all sides they ought not to prove unsurmountable. If, as I hope, your Highness has a long reign, you will necessarily live to see the end of the system of slavery. By grappling with the question at once, and devising, in concert with Her Majesty's Government, timely measures for insuring that it should not be attended by any permanent loss to your Arab subjects, you will render your reign glorious as well, and will earn their well-deserved gratitude."

His Highness promised to give his unceasing attention to the problem, though he seemed very pessimistic as to any possible remedies; and he then went on to argue that he had always done what I had wished in the matter of freeing or protecting slaves whom their masters had treated with harshness. He had done this even though it had involved his having to compensate the masters out of his own pocket, since it constantly happened that poor men, deprived by him of their slaves, came to him afterwards to entreat him to assist them and prevent them from becoming beggars, and, as a Mahommedan and a merciful Ruler, he could not send them empty away.

He appealed to me to say whether, with all the security which his proved willingness to follow my wishes in these matters afforded, it could really be contended that Mahommedan slavery as it existed at Zanzibar entailed any cruelty or hardship.

I said that the feeling in England was not directed so strongly against domestic slavery (though that, too, was repugnant to modern ideas) as against the Slave Trade, which appeared inseparably bound up with it.

Experience seemed to show that so long as slavery was a legal institution in Zanzibar, the temptation to add to the slave population would prove irresistible, and would act as a direct incentive to the Trade, with all its monstrous features, on the mainland.

As regards the practical question of the revival of the redemption clause itself, it could, I believe, be brought about without creating any violent and dangerous opposition, such as was anticipated in 1890. The clause itself would require some redrafting, and would have to be very carefully explained, otherwise it might unnecessarily alarm owners, and create, at any rate at first, a ferment, and perhaps numerous desertions amongst their ill-informed and credulous slaves. The Sultan seemed to fear that the latter would, as he termed it, "get big heads," *i.e.*, become insubordinate and insolent,

and that many of them would commit robberies in order to obtain their redemption money, but if very severe examples were made of any offenders of this latter description, the danger of a sudden increase of crime could, I believe, be quite adequately checked. A large portion of the slave population would probably be injuriously rather than beneficially affected by the change, so that it would not, I think, broadly speaking, be of any great value to the slave. Much depends on the decision which Her Majesty's Government adopts as to the question of the abolition of the legal status. If the latter is enforced at once, or before slavery dies a natural death, it seems hardly worth while to initiate any fresh half-measures, or to have two separate crises, one over the revival of the clause under discussion, and the other and more serious one on the wider question of total abolition. If, on the other hand, the re-enactment of the clause would so disarm the advocates of immediate emancipation as to put it off for some years, or at least till some system of free labour were ready to take the place of slavery, it would certainly be to the interest of Zanzibar to obtain this respite by its revival, even though in a certain number of cases it should prove of doubtful value to the slaves.

In conclusion, I should mention that at the close of our interview the Sultan referred to the distress, and in many cases ruin, which would overtake his subjects should Her Majesty's Government insist on abolition, and particularly to its effects on his own income, pointing out that if his present estates were to be thrown out of cultivation he could not possibly maintain his position on his present Civil List. He hoped Her Majesty's Government, if they were really bent on freeing the slaves, would submit to him some definite proposals respecting compensation, since, if they took his property and that of his subjects away, or rendered it valueless, it was only just that they should make some provision for them. I said I felt sure that your Lordship would consider His Highness' position in the most friendly and sympathetic spirit; that there were indications of a readiness on the part of Parliament to consent that deficiencies in the revenues of Zanzibar arising out of the abolition of slavery should be met out of British funds; and that I believed that there was every wish in England to deal fairly and generously with his people. I again, however, reminded him that, even if emancipation did not take place at once, its difficulties would only be put off, and that the only way to surmount them was that he himself and his Arab and free subjects, instead of simply despairing of the future, should co-operate loyally and cordially with Her Majesty's Government in endeavouring to establish on the ruins of slavery a new and healthier system of labour.

There is one point in connection with Seyyid Ali's Decree to which I should advert before closing this despatch. Where the master of a slave is himself a slave, to whom should the purchase-money be paid—to the master, or to the master's legal owner? As I have already mentioned to your Lordship, the ownership of slaves by other slaves is not an uncommon feature of Moslem slavery. A curious instance came before me recently, which is, I think, interesting as showing how completely the system of slavery has permeated the whole life of this people. A slave who had slaves of his own complained to me that his master wished to take them away from him because he had not given him enough labour, and I found on further inquiry that the master in question was himself a slave of a well-known Tanganyika Arab, Mahomed-bin-Khalfan, or Bumaliza. I had therefore to deal with the mutual relations and interdependence of three slaves, two of whom were at once slaves and slave-owners, possessing the obligations of slaves in one capacity, and the customary, though not the strictly legal, rights of masters in the other. Suppose then that a sub-slave (so to speak) earns money enough to buy his freedom, his immediate master, being a slave, cannot strictly speaking, give it him, for a slave cannot make a man a free man, nor legally is he his possessor, and it would, therefore, seem that the money ought to go to the master's master. On the other hand, when the latter has given his slave other slaves as a *bond fide* gift, or when a slave has legally bought (before 1890) slaves for himself with his own earnings, their loss is his rather than his owner's, and it would seem equitable that he, and not his owner, should receive at least the greater part of the purchase-money. Perhaps the fairest expedient would be some system of division between the two, the application of which might be left to the discretion of the Sultan or of the Courts, according to the circumstances of each case.



*Mr. A. Hardinge to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received May 22.)*

My Lord,

*Zanzibar, April 29, 1895.*

I CONSULTED Sir L. Mathews on the various questions dealt with in my preceding despatch.

He entirely concurred in the opinion expressed by me as to the revival of the compulsory redemption clause in Seyyid Ali's Decree. He considered that there was some foundation for the Sultan's anticipation that it might lead to a certain increase of thefts and robberies by slaves, but he thought with me that drastic punishments could most likely effectually restrain this. Like myself, he did not think that the revival of the clause would be of much practical benefit to the slaves, but it would prove of advantage to Zanzibar if it helped to put off, if only for a time, any general measure of abolition. The great thing needed was to gain a respite and to prevent emancipation from coming on with a rush, bringing with it national bankruptcy, internal disorder, and a sense of bitter resentment and despair on the part of the ruined Arabs, before there had been time to devise means of staying, or at least of mitigating, these evils.

He then suggested an expedient for hastening the abolition of slavery without too great a disturbance of existing social conditions, which appears to me to have much to recommend it, and which I have, therefore, the honour to submit to your Lordship's consideration. He proposed that all existing owners should be invited to free their slaves by "tadbir," that is, to make them free at their own deaths, and that the heirs should be indemnified by the payment to them by the State of 5*l.* a-head for each "mudebbir" slave, this being the average value of a slave at the present rate of exchange. The capital thus acquired by the heir, joined to the rent which he would be allowed to exact in money, kind, or labour from freed slaves living on his estate, would enable him to pay for labour, whilst the fact that the emancipation would be spread over a number of years would divest it of the character of a sudden and universal revolution, which constitutes one of its chief dangers. The Arabs, if they felt that emancipation in some form or another was inevitable, would probably be willing to accept it in one which left them their slaves for their own lives, which allowed them the religious credit of freeing them themselves, and which insured that their children should not be left utterly destitute. I believe that if with this we were to combine stringent laws against emigration to the mainland, or indeed from one portion of each of the two islands to the other (so as to keep, as far as we could, the freed slaves on their former owners' estates, and secure their paying rent), with a small hut tax to enable the State to recoup itself for reducing the tax on cloves, and perhaps a paid *corvée* under Government supervision during the clove harvest, it might not be impossible to save the plantations and keep the heads of the Arab land-owners above water.

Any such scheme would, of course, require to be drawn out with great care and precision; but, in view of the strong demand now being made in England for early abolition, it appears to me desirable to lose no time in considering general principles and outlines.

I may mention that rumours have already spread that further measures in the direction of emancipation are being contemplated, and have, I am told, caused a certain agitation among the Arabs. One of the latter, I hear, stated to an English missionary here that the Arabs, if really driven to bay, were determined to die in defence of their rights and of those of their children—they would perish fighting over their slaves. Such excited language need not be taken too seriously, but it should, I think, be borne in mind that if abolition is carried out in such a way as to ruin the propertied classes in these islands, so that they have nothing further to gain or lose, and are beyond the restraints of hope or fear, they are more likely to make a desperate, though, of course, in the long run useless, resistance than if they can be persuaded that the change will be effected with the maximum of regard for their interests and of precautions to prevent their suffering by it. My conviction, and that of Sir L. Mathews, is that the only way of carrying out emancipation, without the most serious injury to Zanzibar, is, whilst impressing gently, but firmly, upon the Arabs that it is inevitable, to induce them, if possible, to co-operate with us, by the offer of such terms as will tempt them to acquiesce in it, rather than listen to the counsels of despair.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR H. HARDINGE.

*Consul Smith to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received May 28.)*

My Lord,

*Bilbao, May 26, 1895.*

IN reading the correspondence respecting slavery in Zanzibar recently presented to Parliament, I have noticed certain points in Mr. Hardinge's Reports with regard to which important considerations appear to have been overlooked—considerations which, if taken into account, will greatly modify the results obtained. I believe that, in view of the great issue involved, I ought to bring these matters to your Lordship's notice, although it does not seem my duty to begin a discussion on many other conclusions with which I disagree, but which are after all matters of opinion. I confine myself to the points which seem to be susceptible of proof. They are three:—

1. The numbers of lawfully held slaves now in the islands.
2. The effect on the revenue of a reduced clove crop.
3. The effect on the price of labour of general manumission.

In Mr. Hardinge's Report upon slavery in Zanzibar much depends upon the probable number of slaves now lawfully held in the two islands. No exact information regarding the population is extant, and it may be thought that no results based on the rough estimates which have to serve instead can be reliable. If it were sought to obtain exact results, this would be true, but in the present case little is aimed at beyond showing that the lowest estimate given in Mr. Hardinge's despatch exceeds by several times the highest number that can be made to accord with what is known of the conditions of the case. Further, it must be remembered that, in deducing small numbers from great ones, every error in the data is proportionately diminished.\*

From a rough estimate, based on information given by Sir Lloyd Mathews, Mr. Hardinge concludes that about three-sevenths of all the slaves now in the islands are lawfully held (p. 36, note). But this result must be wide of the truth because, as stated in the note just referred to, no death-rate has been applied to the children born in slavery since June 1873. Nor has any rate of wastage been applied to those who, being in slavery before that date, had not yet attained the age of parentage, and would, therefore, have suffered reduction in numbers before having any children. The data on which Mr. Hardinge founds his calculations are to be found on p. 36 of the Parliamentary Print ("Africa No. 6, 1895").

He takes as the number of survivors from the time before the Treaty of 1873..	7,000
Since born in slavery .. .. .	55,000
Surviving now .. .. .	62,000

He adds that there would be a second generation of slaves born in slavery, the children of those born in slavery after June 1873, amounting to 15,000 or 18,000, but does not include this number in the estimate. It will be seen that under this head there cannot at most be more than a few score, because all children born after the first January, 1890, are free, and at that date the eldest of the supposed parents could not have been more than 16½ years old.

With regard to the numbers which make the above total, I will not at present criticize Sir L. Mathews' estimate that there are 7,000 slaves and freed slaves now living in the islands who were there before the Treaty. But with regard to the number since born, it may be observed that nothing approaching this number can now be surviving, because a very large death-rate has steadily acted first on the parents and then on the children. What was the rate of wastage for the whole body of slaves may be nearly found from the data given in Mr. Hardinge's despatch; from the general rate may be deduced a rate applicable to young people and children; and it will then be easy, using the birth-rate suggested by Sir L. Mathews, to compute the probable number of children born in slavery between June 1873 and the 1st January, 1896, who are now surviving.

From p. 32 of the Parliamentary Paper it appears that Seyyid Barghash estimated the population of Zanzibar at 300,000, and that of Pemba at 100,000, of which two-thirds, or 266,000 were slaves. His estimate agrees with that made by Sir Richard Burton in 1858, who rated the population† of Zanzibar at 300,000, and, with regard

\* See the foot-note further on.

† Burton's "Zanzibar," vol. i, p. 312, *q. v.* for other estimates.

to Pemba, said, "The population\* is held to be half that of Zanzibar, . . . but this appears a considerable exaggeration." "The slaves† on Zanzibar Island are roughly estimated at two-thirds of the population; some travellers increase the number to three-fourths." Though Burton's estimate was made fifteen years before, I know of no reason why it should not be looked on as corroboration of that made by Seyyid Barghash, and, indeed, Mr. Hardinge, under all reserves, uses Barghash's estimate as a guide to the amount of the population and to the number of slaves in the islands at the signature of the Treaty in June 1873. Of the 266,000 slaves supposed to have been then in the islands, Sir L. Mathews estimates (p. 36) that there now only remain from 6,000 to 7,000 slaves and freed slaves. If in twenty-two years 266,000 slaves have been reduced to 7,000, there must have been an annual wastage through death, desertion, and kidnapping of 159‡ in the 1,000, that is to say, that each year nearly one-sixth of the existing slave population disappeared. This rate of wastage applies to the whole body of slaves, and, as I shall presently show, will require modification before it can be used to discover the probable number of surviving slave children, the problem which I will now discuss.

Sir L. Mathews, as I understand him, reckons (p. 36) that 35 children are born to every 100 slaves who attain the proper age. As far as my judgment goes this is about true. It is clear that to obtain the number of births after June 1873 this average must not be applied directly to the whole body of slaves then held, for many had passed the reproductive age, or, at least, had had their proportion of children. I should estimate that about half of the body of slaves might be reckoned as having their children yet to come. That would make about 133,000 slaves below the reproductive age in June 1873. Mr. Hardinge takes 55,000 as a likely number of births. Now, 55,000 is 35 per cent. on 157,000, which is rather above my own estimate, but to avoid even the appearance of partiality, I will adopt it for my computation.

These 157,000 immature slaves were of all ages, and would have been gradually growing up, so that their children would have been born at all times between June 1873 and a future not very remote date when the last will have borne their children. It will be convenient to assume that all their children will have been born by June 1895, an assumption which sets as high as possible the number born in slavery. During the whole twenty-two years an inexorable death-rate has been acting on both generations. Let us consider what death-rate it would be reasonable to adopt on the evidence before us, and then what would be its effect. We have seen that the annual general rate of wastage of the slave population is about 159 per 1,000. But the rate of wastage of immature slaves is likely to be lower than that of the adult slaves, because although a greater proportion would be kidnapped, and, where young children are in the case, a greater proportion would die, yet I presume that a smaller proportion would run away. I think I shall put the rate of wastage very low, if I take it at three-fourths§ of the general rate, that is to say, at 119 per 1,000. This rate I propose to apply to all immature slaves, both parents and children. The process is rough, but I do not think that it will introduce material error, and certainly not in the direction of under-estimating the number of survivals. If a different rate is to be used for parents and for children it will be necessary to divide the parents into classes—a process that could only be done by a series of guesses—and to guess two different rates of wastage. It seems, therefore, best to take a reasonable rate of wastage and apply it uniformly, a method which gives the incidental advantage of great simplicity of calculation.

We have now the materials for solving the problem, which may be stated thus: In June 1873 there were 157,000 immature slaves in the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba. Each 100 slaves that grew up had 35 children.¶ An annual rate of wastage of 119 per 1,000 constantly acted on both generations, and all children born after the 1st January, 1890, were born free. How many of the children born in slavery after June 1873, now survive? By the formula for geometrical progression, I find that the number of children alive in June 1895, is 3,842. Deducting one-quarter for the children born during the five and a-half years which have elapsed since the 1st January, 1890—for though the Decree freeing these was in their own interest not pressed on the public notice it is certainly in force—we find that there now survive of the children born in slavery since June 1873 only 2,882.

\* Ibid., vol. ii, p. 17.

† Ibid., vol. i, p. 462.

‡ An error of 1,000 in the estimated number of survivors would make a difference of five and a-half in the rate of wastage; an error of 10,000 in the estimated original number of slaves would only make a difference of one and a-half per 1,000. Very considerable changes in the data would therefore only slightly modify the results.

§ The lower this rate of wastage is put the higher will be the rate for adults.

To sum up: on p. 36, it is estimated that there are now in the islands 6,000 to 7,000 slaves and freed slaves imported before June 1873.

We may rate the number of slaves at	..	..	..	..	..	6,000
Surviving children born in slavery since the Treaty	..	..	..	..	..	2,882
Children of the preceding born in slavery, say	..	..	..	..	..	100
Total	..	..	..	..	..	8,982*

A further deduction must be made from this total in order to find the number lawfully held. By Article 4 of Seyyid Ali's Decree of the 1st August, 1890, it is laid down that slaves may only be inherited by lawful children, and that if the owner leaves none such the slaves become *ipso facto* free on the death of the owner. Since by Mahomedan law women do not inherit slaves (except their own attendants?), we may read "sons" for "children" in the paragraph. This law has been in force for nearly a quarter of the whole time since the signature of the Treaty, so that a proportion of the above-mentioned 9,000 slaves must have become free. What that proportion may be I will not attempt to guess, but it is clear that it must by now be something considerable. I do not know what became of the late Sultan's slaves. If the present Sultan inherited them, he is bound to liberate them by the promise made on his accession, to carry out all former Decrees against slavery, and so would have no claim to compensation unless on our liberality.

I claim to have shown from the data given in Mr. Hardinge's despatches that there must now be considerably under 9,000 lawfully-held slaves in the islands. If Sir L. Mathews' estimate (p. 32) be accepted, that there are now 140,000 slaves in the islands, it results that one slave out of fifteen, or about  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., are lawfully held. This proportion agrees with that given on p. 19, an estimate reached by a different road, which, by the lapse of time, would now need slight modification. As regards actual number, I do not think that there can now be either as many as 9,000 lawfully-held slaves, nor yet in all as many as 140,000 slaves in the islands. For if the rate of wastage is as high as implied by the data given in the despatch, the presence of such a number of slaves would argue an annual importation of about 17,000 slaves, which is clearly far above the truth. Again, if there were in Seyyid Barghash's time as many as 134,000 free men in the islands, and there has since been little change (p. 32) in the numbers of the free population, there can hardly now be as many as 140,000 slaves out of a total of 209,000. I am well aware that the figures with which I have worked are only guesses at truth, and that calculations cannot take the place of direct counting, however rough. But the data are from men who have no bias in favour of abolition; and the calculations which all work downwards, deriving small numbers from great ones, have the necessary tendency of correspondingly reducing every error in the results. If there is doubt as to the material accuracy of my deductions, I would beg your Lordship to be so good as to show this despatch to one accustomed to actuarial computations.

Secondly, with regard to the effect on the revenue of a reduced clove crop. Sir Lloyd Mathews estimates that if slavery were abolished in Zanzibar Islands the State would suffer a loss of two-thirds of the revenue derived from cloves, or nearly one-third of the total revenue. I venture to submit that there are peculiarities in the clove trade which make it almost certain that a reduction in the supply would at once raise the price, so that the State would lose little or no revenue by the change. I do not believe that abolition would restrict the price of labour in the measure that is believed, but I will show that even if it did, there would be no loss to the public purse under the head of revenue from cloves. To explain my position, I will refer your Lordship to Sir G. Portal's Trade Report, No. 982, p. 13: "Cloves supply little more than a luxury; the demand for them is limited and diminishing rather than increasing." On p. 9: "The cloves grown in Zanzibar and Pemba amount to about four-fifths of the crop of the whole world. . . . A few years ago the price of cloves used to range from 7 to 10 dollars per frasila, and the export duty taken was 30 per cent. *ad valorem*. The price now does not exceed

\* In order to show how little my arguments are affected, even by considerable changes in the data, I may point out that a difference of 1,000 in the number of possible parents (157,000), only makes a difference of nineteen in the final result. With the same object I have calculated the numbers of survivors (in the same way as above) in two extreme cases: 1. Assuming that there were 200,000 slaves lawfully held in June 1873, of which 10,000 survive at the present time, 1,000 being freed slaves; and, 2. Assuming that there were 300,000 slaves lawfully held in June 1873, of which 10,000 survive now, 1,000 being freed slaves. In Case 1 there would now be 3,390 surviving children born in slavery, making a total of 12,390 lawfully-held slaves. In Case 2 there would now be 3,836 surviving children born in slavery, making a total of 12,836 lawfully-held slaves. From both totals must be made a deduction for inheritance by others than sons. Thus it is seen that, using the most extravagant estimates, there cannot be now lawfully held in the islands as many as one-third of the number mentioned on p. 41 as an intentionally low figure.

2½ to 2¾ dollars per frasila, and the export duty has been reduced to 25 per cent. These figures need no comment. The market is overstocked with cloves.”

Mr. Vice-Consul Cave, in the Trade Report for 1893 (No. 1382), writes to the same effect. He says that “the price of cloves in March 1894 was as low as 2¼ to 2½ dollars per frasila, nor can this be wondered at, for not only does the demand seem to be diminishing rather than increasing, but the London market is overstocked to such an extent that there is reason to believe that it can supply all the markets of the world for a period of twelve months, and, in addition to this, there is said to be a large quantity of cloves in Zanzibar at the present moment. . . .”

It is thus seen that Zanzibar and Pemba produce 80 per cent. of the total supply of the world. It would not be possible, even if cloves were worth their weight in gold, to bring young trees to bear crops in less than five or six years. So that, if the supply from these islands were largely reduced, there can be no doubt that the price would greatly rise. If I mistake not, it is the rise of price consequent on the destruction of trees by the hurricane of 1872, that is largely responsible for the present low prices; for seeing the high prices that ruled in the following years, every one hastened to plant clove trees, with the result that the supply now exceeds the demand. In the years 1875 to 1879, the price of cloves went as high as 9 dollars the frasila, but in the year 1883, when the young trees in Zanzibar had come well into bearing, the price went down to 3 dol. 30 c.

There are points about the supply of cloves which call to mind the supply of diamonds. Both commodities are luxuries; both are supplied from small areas; both fell in price from over-supply. The supply of diamonds has been made remunerative; why should not the cause which, under Mr. Cecil Rhodes' guidance, raised the price of diamonds, have a similar effect upon the price of cloves? Indeed, Mr. Rhodes has remarked that the control of the clove crop by the Zanzibar Government might be made to increase the revenue and the general prosperity in the way that control of the output of the Kimberley mines had increased the profits of diamond mining. It would not have been easy to carry out the idea, but it is obvious that if from any cause the supply from the islands be checked, the price of cloves must rise. Although then, *ex hypothesi*, the owners of land might suffer, the revenue under this head is unlikely to do so.

The third point on which I wish to speak is the prophesied rise of wages for daily labour. A slave at present has to give a large part of his receipts to his master. If he were freed, he would be able to keep all that he earned, and thus, without asking more, would be receiving a greatly increased wage. Few could do no work. Mr. Rodd (p. 17) says of town slaves: “Those not actually employed in the family circle of the master engage in any employment which offers.” A much stronger testimony against the alleged lethargy of slaves is given by those who ought to know them best, in the strong objections made to the Article in Seyyid's Ali's Decree, which allowed slaves the privilege of self-redemption. Slave-owners would hardly have been so seriously disturbed by the grant of a privilege which they thought slaves would but seldom use.

I hope I have shown to your Lordship's satisfaction that at the most, taking Mr. Hardinge's figures, there cannot be more than 9,000 slaves now lawfully held in Zanzibar and Pemba, and that, therefore, adopting General Mathew's numbers, fourteen-fifteenths of the whole body of slaves are illegally in slavery. As a minor result it appears that if compensation is to be given, the sum of 450,000 dollars, or 56,000*l.*, would suffice to compensate the owners at the higher of the rates (p. 41) mentioned by Mr. Hardinge. I hope that I have proved that a reduction in the clove crop would involve little or no loss to the revenue, but probably a gain, and that there is as yet no reason to anticipate that abolition would enable those who are now working as slaves to demand for daily work two or three times their present wage.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) C. S. SMITH.

No. 6.

*Mr. A. Hardinge to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received June 3.)*

My Lord,

Zanzibar, May 11, 1895.

THERE are two considerations in connection with the abolition of slavery on which I have omitted to lay stress in my earlier despatches on the subject, but which should, I think, not be lost sight of by Parliament when the settlement of the question is finally decided on.

The first is the circumstance that the longer abolition is delayed the better will Zanzibar be able to face it when it comes about by natural causes. During the four years which have elapsed since the establishment of the Protectorate, our revenue has risen, under sound English management, from 9 to 14 lakhs of rupees per annum, and there seems no reason why this rate of progress should not be maintained for some years to come, as fresh sources of income are created. The growth of our trade and the gradual development of the mainland Protectorates, ought, under ordinary circumstances, so to increase our wealth as to make the ultimate loss of the greater part of our revenue from cloves and any temporary paralysis of local commerce much less serious than would be the case if abolition came about at once, while our solvency is still mainly dependent on our agriculture, and before there had been time to provide by other means against the dangers of financial disaster. I mention this point because the argument is sometimes used that abolition must come in time, and that its opponents are merely delaying its assumed inevitable evils.

The second point on which I would lay stress is the moral aspect of the slavery question. Undoubtedly if the maintenance of slavery, even if only for a few years longer, entailed real suffering or hardship on the slave population (I am not now discussing the Slave Trade, which can, I think, as far as these islands are concerned, be put a stop to by the measures recommended in my despatch of the 26th February last, but Mahomedan domestic slavery), no fiscal considerations could justify it. It would be our duty to say, "Perish the revenue; the prosperity of the Exchequer cannot rest on the misery of the governed." The testimony of every European resident in Zanzibar would, however, I believe, be that the slave population is, on the whole, contented, and materially a good deal better off in relation to its wants than the labouring classes in most countries of Europe, so that the necessity of immediate abolition is only urgent from a moral point of view if the theoretical injustice and inequality of the system of slavery, an injustice not felt by the slaves themselves, since it is in accordance with their own religious and social conceptions, is to outweigh every other interest.

I trust your Lordship will excuse my again returning to this subject. Its importance in relation to the future of this country naturally causes it to be constantly present to my mind, and I am anxious that before a decision is adopted, which may prove of the most vital moment to Zanzibar, every side and aspect of the problem should have been fully and impartially weighed.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) ARTHUR H. HARDINGE.

No. 7.

*Mr. Fox to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received June 6.)*

My Lord,

14, Dean's Yard, Westminster, June 5, 1895.

AS the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a recent speech in the House of Commons, definitely admitted, on behalf of the Government, that the suppression of slavery in the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba had now to be carried out, the following suggestions may perhaps prove useful to those who may at the present time have under consideration how this may most easily be accomplished:—

In the first place, it may be borne in mind that it has long since been most conclusively proved by our slavery and Slave Trade experiences in the West Indies and elsewhere to be extremely difficult to introduce free-paid labour where slavery still is in operation; that the two systems of labour are entirely incompatible, and are impossible to exist alongside each other.

In the second place, it is generally recognized that where British rule is established, and where liberty and justice are properly administered by British officials, no difficulty under ordinary circumstances is experienced in securing an adequate supply of labour; that native labour is as a rule greatly attracted to such places, which are under the protection of the British flag.

In the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba the difficulties attendant upon the introduction of free labour and the abolition of the legal status of slavery are, however, greatly simplified by the fact that the revenues of the planters and the Government are mainly dependent upon the cultivation of cloves, an agricultural product of which these two islands may be said to possess an almost entire monopoly, as the quantity of cloves produced in other parts of the world is very limited, and there are special reasons why for some years to come these islands will be in a position to retain the practical control of this crop.

It has been computed by leading produce brokers in Mincing Lane that the total requirements for cloves by all the markets of the world are limited to about 90,000 bales (of 140 lbs. each), or say, 12,600,000 lbs. per annum.

These authorities also declare that the demand for cloves is not affected by the price, as is the case with most other commercial commodities; that the same quantity will be sold if the price is 6*d.* or 3*d.* per lb.

But owing to an undue amount of labour having during the past few years been concentrated in the production of cloves in these two islands, the supply has greatly increased, so that last year the quantity exported exceeded 125,000 bales, or 17,500,000 lbs. In consequence of the supply being so much in excess of the demand, the price of cloves has fallen from, in 1889, 8½*d.* per lb. for the best quality, to, in 1894, 3¼*d.* per lb. for the same quality.

If the quantity exported from the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba were reduced by one-third or to about two-thirds of the present output, the Mincing Lane brokers are of opinion that the prices would probably be raised to double the present rates, and thus the revenues or profits realized by the Government of Zanzibar and owners of the plantations would be greatly enhanced.

Owing to the abnormally low price of cloves and the excessively large quantity produced, it would appear that the present time would prove an exceptionally favourable opportunity for the application of the provisions of the Indian Act of 1843 by which the legal status of slavery was abolished in India, and it is the opinion of leading authorities who have had much experience in Zanzibar that its application there would not dislocate the labour question in these two islands any more than it did in India, and that as soon as slavery is abolished abundant supply of free labour from the neighbouring coast and the interior of the Continent, as well as perhaps from India, would be attracted, so that the cultivation of other crops besides cloves could thus be largely extended, and the revenues of the island would be greatly increased.

It is suggested that simultaneously with the abolition of the legal status of slavery and the introduction of payment of wages in cash, the Zanzibar Government should compensate the planters by paying off all existing loans and mortgages advanced to them by the Banians and local native bankers at heavy rates for interest and other charges varying from 25 per cent. to 50 per cent. per annum by new loans at 6 per cent. per annum, that these loans should be advanced by Government through the agency of a land mortgage bank under the control and supervision of officials resident in various parts of the islands, the Government should stipulate that a certain proportionate share of the crops should be set aside for the payment of the labourers' wages, the said share of crops to be handed over to the officials of the bank, who shall sell the same to local merchants at current market prices. The bank to advance through its officials the requisite cash for payment of labourers' wages.

Simultaneously with the abolition of the legal status of slavery the Government should introduce improved means of carriage of agricultural produce to ports of shipment so that the employment of natives as porters may be largely done away with; also improved methods of cultivation, such as, for example, the cultivating of the soil by small Indian ploughs in the place of hand hoeing. By reducing the costs in connection with the interest charges now paid to the native bankers, as well as those of cultivation and transport by improved implements and appliances, it is estimated that these diminished costs and charges will largely compensate and serve to balance any enhanced costs involved in the change from slave to free labour.

There are no statistics available in England showing the amount of indebtedness of the Arab planters, but it is believed the sum of 250,000*l.* to be advanced by the Government at 6 per cent. would probably prove sufficient to free most of the planters from their more oppressive liabilities, and this capital might be advanced to the Zanzibar Government by the British Government at 5 per cent. per annum.

It may be said that if you diminish to the extent you propose the present production of cloves and reduce the cost of cultivation and transport of crops, and attract labour from the neighbouring coast by offering wages, the supply of labour in these islands will prove greatly in excess of the demand; but in reply to this argument, it should be borne in mind there are many other crops besides cloves which may with great advantage be cultivated, such as, for example, that of the cocoa-nut and its product copra, which might be greatly increased; also those of rice and other grains, cassava, ground-nuts, &c.

I have, &c.

(Signed) FRANCIS WM. FOX.

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No. 8.

*Mr. A. Hardinge to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received July 26.)*

My Lord,

*Mombasa, July 6, 1895.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith an extract of the instructions which I have addressed to Mr. Jenner, who was appointed by the Earl of Kimberley to take charge of Kismayu and the adjacent district under the new Administration, and who leaves here to-morrow for his post.

I have, &amp;c.

(Signed) ARTHUR H. HARDINGE.

Inclosure in No. 8.

*Mr. A. Hardinge to Mr. Jenner.*

(Extract.)

*Mombasa, July 5, 1895.*

AS it is desirable that the formal transfer of the territory administered by the Imperial British East Africa Company to Her Majesty's Government should be accomplished as soon as possible along the whole coast, you will proceed by the steam-ship "Purulia," which leaves Mombasa on the 7th instant, to Kismayu and publicly announce in the baraza the change of Government and the fact that you are provisionally appointed to take charge of the district. A letter from His Highness the Sultan to his Representative at Kismayu is inclosed herewith, and should be duly delivered to him on your arrival. You will also hand to Mr. Craufurd the accompanying letter from the late Company's Administrator at Mombasa, which will be his authority for handing over charge to you.

In effecting the actual transfer you will be careful to follow as closely as possible the formalities and language employed by myself at Mombasa in the baraza which was held here and at which you were present. You will make it clear that no change has taken place or is contemplated in the Sultan's position as Sovereign of the 10-mile radius round Kismayu and of the adjacent islands; that the Mahomedan religion and law, both written and customary, will be maintained as heretofore.

As regards law, however, you will remember that slavery has been formally abolished by a Decree of Seyyid Barghash, though I am informed that the Imperial British East Africa Company have hitherto not strictly enforced this enactment, and have, on grounds of expediency, which it is not now necessary to discuss, not only tolerated the existence of slavery in the town, but even occasionally returned to their Somali owners runaway slaves who had taken refuge there. You will discontinue this practice, and as regards domestic slaves in Kismayu itself, you will in any case which comes before you officially or judicially act on the lines of the Indian Act of 1843, which abolishes the legal status of slavery.

No. 9.

*Mr. A. Hardinge to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received August 26.)*

My Lord,

*Zanzibar, August 2, 1895.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a copy of a letter from Sir L. Mathews on the suggestions made by Mr. Fox, of the Aborigines' Protection Society, respecting the abolition of slavery in these islands.\*

Although, as your Lordship will observe, Sir L. Mathews doubts whether Mr. Fox's scheme will solve the problem, on the ground mainly that if the Government succeeded the Indians as mortgagee it would only acquire as security land which it could not, without slaves, itself cultivate at a profit (for this is his strongest argument), I should not be disposed to dismiss as entirely unpractical the proposal which he makes to advance money at greatly reduced interest by a Government land mortgage bank to the Arab landed proprietor, provided it could be combined with the supply of coolie or other reliable

\* No. 7.



paid labour. On this latter question I am now collecting, with a view to communication with Calcutta, certain particulars with which, in Sir G. Portal's time, the Government of India wished to be furnished. I welcome, moreover, any suggestion emanating from the philanthropic bodies interested in these matters which implies a recognition that the native land-owner has claims to consideration, and that his protection against ruin, as a consequence of the legislation imposed by them, is a legitimate object of solicitude. I do so not only on the grounds of justice and of our moral obligations to the native races we govern, and on whom we enforce our social conceptions, but because I believe that the changes involved in the destruction of the whole Mahomedan system of slavery and serfdom can only be effected without danger if we convince the free population that we are honestly anxious to secure them against injury accruing from it. And I think that the scheme for the redemption of mortgages, and for advances by a Government bank, which Mr. Fox suggests, even though it might not dispose of all the difficulties of the question, would be an earnest of our desire to act equitably, which would greatly facilitate their solution.

One circumstance worth noting, which rather complicates the dealing with native mortgages, is that, as the Mahomedan law prohibits, as usury, the giving or taking of interest on loans, the interest is not specified in the mortgage deeds. An Arab who borrows 100*l.* from an Indian will be entered in the Kadi's books as having received from him not the real amount actually borrowed, but a fictitious amount made up of that sum plus the interest which he has privately bound himself to pay, and which sometimes goes to 20 or even 50 per cent.; and in the absence of any documentary evidence it may be difficult, if the Indian chooses to be dishonest, and to represent himself as having charged a much smaller interest than he has really done, to distinguish between the latter and the actual amount of the loan. Thus, a receipt for 100*l.* lent on a mortgage may really mean that the mortgagor has actually received 75*l.*, or even less, according to the interest informally agreed on between himself and the mortgagee.

The Zanzibar Government is fully alive to the importance of improved means of communication and cultivation, but it must not be forgotten that the construction and maintenance of roads in a rocky coral island, covered with a dense tropical vegetation, is attended with considerable expense, and that the adoption of better agricultural implements and appliances, though it can be initiated on Government lands, must depend in the main on the inhabitants themselves, all classes of whom are, in such matters, somewhat indolent and improvident, as well as distrustful of novelties.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) ARTHUR H. HARDINGE.

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Inclosure in No. 9.

*Sir L. Mathews to Mr. A. Hardinge.*

*August 2, 1895.*

I HARDLY know what to say about Mr. Fox's suggestions. To me it seems that a change of mortgagees, and emancipation at the same time, would bring about general bankruptcy. The gain received in paying less interest would be sunk by having to pay heavily for labour. As regards octroi duty on produce, this is not allowed by the Treaties; cloves and chillies are only dutiable. Taxing other produce, and also making charges over and above those allowed by Treaties on dutiable goods could not be enforced on subjects of the various Treaty Powers. With no Treaties Mr. Fox's suggestions might be attempted by Her Majesty's Government alone, but I am of the opinion that the owners of the soil would soon become bankrupt, and the plantations fall to the mortgagee. The Government being the mortgagee would in turn be unable to work the plantations under the same conditions.

Even if octroi duties were allowed, in the case of copra, the price would be so increased that we could not produce it for export in competition with other countries.

The natives, I am afraid, would require a great deal of bringing up to the new ideas, and their way of living from hand to mouth would cause much trouble and loss to the planters in not getting labour when required. New labour can only be introduced by degrees. A radical and sweeping change must mean disorganization for years and bankruptcy.

Yours, &c.  
(Signed) L. W. MATHEWS.

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*Mr. A. Hardinge to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received September 23.)*

(Extract.)

*Zanzibar, August 29, 1895.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith copies of Reports from Mr. Pigott and Mr. MacLennan, who until lately represented the Imperial British East Africa Company at Mombasa and Lamu respectively, on the question of the abolition of slavery, and the relation of the existing system of slavery to the Slave Trade. Mr. Pigott dwells chiefly on the first, Mr. MacLennan on the second aspect of the problem. I had hoped to send at the same time a Report from Captain Rogers, but that officer has been so busily employed in connection with the military operations in the Takaungu and Gazi districts during the last two months, that he has not had time to prepare one. I regret this all the more, as I understand that Captain Rogers is claimed as an advocate for total abolition, whereas this is certainly not the impression I have derived from my own conversations with him. I trust, however, to be in a position shortly to forward a despatch from him on the subject.

I would venture to call your Lordship's special attention to the views expressed by the clergy and mission ladies of Mombasa as to the dangers of wholesale and hasty abolition, and to suggest that they afford serious material for reflection to the enthusiasts of the abolitionist cause.

The missionaries are, by the very obligations of their calling, idealists in the noblest sense of the term, men whose whole life is a protest against the sacrifice of principle to expediency, and an effort to educate the backward races of mankind to high conceptions of religion and morality. The Church Missionary Society, moreover, the opinions of whose clergy in East Africa Mr. Pigott quotes, is more than any other missionary body associated with the evangelical part of the Anglican Church, to which the great anti-slavery leaders, such as Wilberforce, Zachary Macaulay, &c., all belonged, and which has always been specially conspicuous, as the sneers of its enemies at Exeter Hall bear witness, by its zeal for the philanthropic movements of the age. When, therefore, they find men, and not men only, but English mission ladies, trained in these traditions and ideals, deprecating quite as much on moral as on material grounds any rough or hasty dealing with the difficult problem of Moslem domestic slavery, we may surely pause to ask ourselves whether there may not be another side to the question.

I would, at the same time, call your Lordship's attention to the view expressed by Mr. MacLennan as to the connection between slavery and the Slave Trade. The common argument of the abolitionists is that even if domestic slavery is as harmless as the friends of the Arabs contend, it is nevertheless directly responsible for the continuance of the Slave Trade, as to the horrors of which there are no two opinions. Mr. MacLennan I think shows conclusively that, as far as his part of the coast is concerned, no stimulus is given by the moribund slavery existing there to the Slave Trade, and that in Lamu and Witu proper, where the country, unlike that between Lamu and the German frontier, has been thoroughly subjugated and pacified by a series of military expeditions, the operation of existing laws is hastening by rapid strides the disappearance of the slave population.

P.S.—Since writing this despatch I have received the Report to which I referred above from Captain Rogers, a copy of which I have the honour to transmit herewith. Your Lordship will observe that though he is in favour of the ultimate abolition of slavery, and does not believe, so far as his experience goes, that it would tend to increase vice and laziness among the freed slaves, he considers that any fresh measure in that direction at the present moment would be premature.

*September 1, 1895.*

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Inclosure 1 in No. 10.

*Mr. Pigott to Mr. A. Hardinge.*

Sir,

*Mombasa, August 1, 1895.*

I HAVE the honour to report on the question of the abolition of slavery in the British Protectorate in East Africa.

It is unnecessary for me to make any remarks on the state of slavery, as this has already been fully dealt with in your despatch to the Earl of Kimberley, dated the 26th February last.\*

There can be no doubt that it is desirable that the status of slavery should be done away with, but the question is, how can it best be done so as to inflict the minimum amount of hardship on all the parties concerned, especially on the slaves themselves and their owners?

It is difficult to state, with any degree of accuracy, the number of slaves within the dominions of His Highness the Sultan on the mainland and adjacent islands, not including Zanzibar and Pemba, but it is probable that they amount to fully 70 per cent. of the total native population, which is estimated at about 200,000; of these we may therefore consider that there are about 60,000 free people and 140,000 slaves.

Experience has taught us that if a large number of slaves are liberated at one time they are apt to break loose, loot shops and shambas, and commit all sorts of excesses. If, therefore, it is decided to abolish slavery at once, it will be necessary to have an armed force sufficient to cope with and put down any disturbance which may arise in the territory affected.

Experience also shows us that slaves will not, as a rule, work unless compelled to do so. The freed people will therefore be driven to stealing when they begin to feel the pangs of hunger, and, unless foreign labour is imported, it is probable that most of the shambas will go out of cultivation, and much distress will be felt by the poorer population, especially those of the towns who depend on the locally grown grain for food, rice being beyond their means.

Further, it will be necessary to make provision for freed slaves who, either from their age or from other causes, are unable to support themselves. These are now provided for by their owners, and it is probable that a similar provision will have to be made for many slave-owners who at present hold a few slaves and live on their earnings. These slaves are sent out to work every day. They earn from 3 annas to 1 rupee, half of which they pay to their owners, keeping the balance for themselves. The owners would, as a rule, be unable to make a living out of the compensation which might be granted to them, and, being unable to do any work themselves, would be thrown on the State, or starve.

It is not necessary here to consider the consequences of setting free the thousands of young women and girls who have been employed as domestic slaves or concubines, and who are unaccustomed to working for themselves. The result can better be imagined than described.

I have the honour to inclose copies of letters received from members of the Church Missionary Society, whose experience and work among the slaves and their owners on the coast, and especially in Mombasa, render their opinion of great value. The question as to what is the most satisfactory way to deal with the matter is a most difficult one. To every proposal which has been made as yet there are some grave objections, but almost, if not quite, all those who have studied the question, and who are really acquainted with the people (*i.e.*, the slaves and their owners), agree that it would be inadvisable, if not actually fatal, to make any sudden change in the existing state of things.

With regard to the application of the Indian Act of the 7th April, 1843, if the meaning is fully explained to the slaves, it will amount to the immediate abolition of slavery. If, on the other hand, its meaning is not made clear, it will, as some of the other slavery Decrees have done, remain a dead letter.

There is very little doubt that if this Act were applied, or any other means introduced for the immediate suppression of slavery, there would be a wholesale emigration of Arabs and Swahilis to the mainland opposite Zanzibar.

The existing local Decrees provide that—

1. There shall be no new slaves introduced into the dominions of His Highness the Sultan.

2. That all children born after 1890 are free.

3. That all Traffic in Slaves is illegal, and persons found selling or buying slaves are liable to have all their slaves confiscated (*i.e.*, freed).

4. That the slaves of persons dying without lawful issue are free.

If, then, a further Decree is made confirming all former Decrees, and providing—

(a.) That every slave shall have the right to purchase his own freedom, or that of his relations, at a fixed rate, say 40 dollars;

(b.) That compensation at the rate of, say, 20 dollars, shall be paid to any person who shall free all his slaves before a certain date; and, lastly,

(c.) That after twenty years the status of slavery shall cease to exist, the number of slaves freed annually will increase greatly; and as no new slaves can be introduced to replace them, in a few years slavery will die a natural death without any steps being taken which would upset the community and ruin the country;

It is probable that some arrangement would have to be made for the support of young children, who are born free, of slave parents, as it is hardly to be expected that their owners would consent to support them, knowing that they would get no return, in labour or otherwise, for the money expended. This might be arranged by having all such children registered, and an allowance of, say, 4 pice a-day, made to the owners of the parents, so long as the children remain with them and are unable to support themselves. This would not be a very heavy item of expenditure, as it is a remarkable and well-known fact that comparatively few slaves have children.

It would further be advisable to make the registration of all slaves compulsory. This would entail a large staff and an office in every district. No person would then be able to claim any one as his slave who was not registered as such, and might at any time be called upon to produce any particular slave. All deaths should be reported to the registrar, whose duty would be to verify them.

It is a noteworthy fact that the worst characters on the coast are, as a rule, either runaway or freed slaves.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) J. R. W. PIGOTT,  
*Acting Administrator.*

P.S.—The Rev. H. K. Binns is Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, and, in the absence of Bishop Tucker, is in charge of all the Church Missionary Society's work in the Protectorate.

The Rev. W. E. Taylor is missionary-in-charge of the Church Missionary Society's work in Mombasa.

Miss Lockhart and Miss Grieve are also working for the Church Missionary Society in the town of Mombasa.

Mr. Smith is a missionary of the Church Missionary Society, but has not had any actual experience with slaves and their owners, his work having been at Frere Town, Rabai, and other Settlements, the inhabitants of which are, as a rule, freed runaway slaves.

J. R. W. P.

Inclosure 2 in No. 10.

*The Rev. H. K. Binns to Mr. Pigott.*

Dear Mr. Pigott,

*Frere Town, July 30, 1895.*

WITH regard to the question of the abolition of slavery, upon which you ask my opinion, I beg to say that I think it would be nothing short of a calamity to suddenly abolish slavery in these parts; first, I believe it would raise the whole of the slave-owning population against the Government, and cause very serious troubles; and, secondly, I believe it would mean a large proportion of the slaves themselves becoming absolutely destitute.

I believe the abolition of slavery may be effected by degrees, by registration, &c., as proposed by Mr. Hardinge, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul-General, and I consider this to be the most practical plan.

Believe me, &c.  
(Signed) HARRY K. BINNS.

Inclosure 3 in No. 10.

*The Rev. W. E. Taylor to the Rev. H. K. Binns.*

Dear Mr. Binns,

*Mombasa, July 26, 1895.*

IN answer to your letter, inclosing a copy of that of Mr. Pigott to the Bishop *re* the abolition of slavery in East Africa, inquiring whether, in the opinion of those experienced, it should be suddenly effected or otherwise.

In my humble opinion, it is plain that (1) slavery is wrong, and is, moreover, illegal, and that (2) having no recognized standing as an institution in English law, it cannot be legally supported for an instant, nor, therefore, is it capable of gradual abolition by any government of British institution; but must, logically, be considered abolished *de facto* by any supersession of Arab by British rule. But at the same time, it seems that (3) a public Proclamation to that effect would be, more or less, certainly dangerous, and especially at this unsettled juncture; and (4) the liberation of a number of settled slaves, unaccustomed to the proper use of freedom, with its responsibilities and privileges, would tend to produce a demoralized and dangerous class of people, such as would be sure in the future to embarrass the good government and to mar the prosperity of this country. Therefore, I feel sure, unless (5) sufficient measures are also taken to secure, on the one hand, the overawing of the ill-disposed until the crisis shall be well over, and, on the other, the education into the ways of freedom of the irresponsible population to be freed, as also that of the masters when they "find their occupation gone," that the carrying out of the doctrine above stated, without the precautionary and educational measures indicated, would be for the present fraught with danger to public peace and safety, and even directly tend to evils comparable with those it is designed to combat.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) W. E. TAYLOR,  
*Missionary of the Church Missionary Society in Mombasa, &c.*

Inclosure 4 in No. 10.

*Miss Grieve to Mr. Pigott.*

Dear Mr. Pigott,

*Mombasa, July 31, 1895.*

IN answer to your letter of to-day, I have no hesitation in saying that I think the effect of any sudden action on the part of the authorities in abolishing slavery would be that much suffering would be imposed on the free-born women of the town, as they are utterly unused to hard work, more so indeed than the average lady at home, from the enervating life they lead. I know of a case in point. A free-born lady is left by her husband with one slave woman while he is on "safari;" this woman ran away from her mistress, who, in consequence, is often in difficulties for food and water, which she can only get by begging or bribing other slaves of her friends to get for her.

The effect on the slave-women themselves would be disastrous. For, though I am sure, some from family ties, and some from genuine love to them, would stay with their mistresses, the majority would leave them, and unless some great effort were exerted, immorality and sin would abound unlimited. Excuse me writing thus freely.

I do not think the sudden abolition would interfere with our work, for the girls could come unchecked to us; though, on the other hand, there certainly would be a feeling of resentment generated against the European.

Miss Wilde feels she has too lately come to town to express an opinion; Miss Lockhart hopes to write to you.

Trusting that this grave question will be solved so as to secure justice and freedom without undue haste, believe me, &c.

(Signed) ANNIE J. GRIEVE.

Inclosure 5 in No. 10.

*Miss Lockhart to Mr. Pigott.*

Dear Mr. Pigott,

*Mombasa, August 1, 1895.*

I AM afraid that my opinion on the question of the abolition of domestic slavery must be a very one-sided one, as I have not really studied it all round, and have only noticed the result of this sadly degrading system on the women of the town; but while one longs for the whole system to be utterly abolished, one can't help thinking that if they suddenly get their freedom, it will mean to the majority of these slave-girls, liberty just to follow their own evil tendencies, for the masters and mistresses, who certainly have some control over them now, of course would have none then.

If there is the gradual abolition of slavery, surely we Christians may hopefully pray that there may be the gradual learning as to how to use that liberty, for these

women are teachable. If the Government with immediate freedom, means to "mother" and house the slave-girls, give them work to do and force them to do it, then I should hope for abolition to-day.

I have not spoken much on the subject with the mistresses, but the few who have mentioned it to me have just said in a helpless sort of way, "If you take away our slaves, who is going to do our work?" and, poor things, they are unfitted for any hard physical exertion, but this, too, it seems to me, will be righted gradually, for as they and their husbands get to know more of the spirit of the Gospel of Christ, and feel the power of it in their lives, they will have more liberty, which will not only make them more fitted for physical exertion, but will make them long that all under them may have the same liberty.

Believe me, &c.  
(Signed) MAGGIE J. LOCKHART.

Inclosure 6 in No. 10.

*Mr. Smith to Mr. Pigott.*

Dear Mr. Pigott,

*Rabai, August 1, 1895.*

IN reply to your letter *re* the abolition of the status of slavery, I take it for granted that it means the abolition of the status of slavery in the 10-mile limit of the territory at present under the flag of the Mahommedan Sultan of Zanzibar.

If this is so, I do not see how the immediate emancipation of the slaves could be effected, seeing that slavery is legalized by the Koran.

One can only hope that the officers of the British Protectorate will enforce and strengthen the rules *re* the redemption and registration, &c., of slaves, laid down by the Executive of the late Imperial British East Africa Company; the missionary body in the meanwhile, by preaching and practice, instilling into master and slave the enlightening principles of Christianity.

But if, on the other hand, the British Government have sovereign rights in this territory, then it is my humble opinion that it is their duty at all costs to act at once, by freeing the slaves, compensating the masters, and providing both protection and a means of an honest livelihood for the released slaves, and I think that at the end of, say, fifteen or twenty years, you would find the slave in a far better condition than if his redemption had spread over that period. He must be already very low down in the scale of civilization, when he is content to call his present state "a happy lot!" All honour to the people who lift him up.

Yours sincerely,  
(Signed) A. G. SMITH.

Inclosure 7 in No. 10.

*Mr. MacLennan to Mr. A. Hardinge.*

*British East Africa Protectorate, Lamu,  
August 16, 1895.*

Sir,

IN accordance with your request, I have the honour to submit the following remarks on the subject of the present position of slavery in the Lamu district, and the impetus which its existence may possibly give to slave-trading in the interior. These observations are made after an experience of two years as the Imperial British East Africa Company's District Superintendent at this place.

It is my opinion that very few, if any, slaves have been imported into the Islands of Lamu, Manda, Patta, Faza, and Suju (which embraced the district under my charge) since the promulgation of the Slavery Decree of His Highness Seyyid Alibin-Said, dated the 1st August, 1890. This conclusion is arrived at after consideration of the following facts:—

1. That the Decree referred to has been thoroughly published throughout the late Imperial British East Africa Company's territory, more particularly in the districts in close proximity to the coast, and that its terms are well-understood by the owners and their slaves. In some cases where slaves came from remote quarters to seek redress under the provisions therein contained, proof was afforded of how conversant they were with the terms of the Decree.

2. That the Decree in question has reduced the value of slaves to a minimum in consequence of the risk of their sale, transfer, or mortgage being discovered, and the infliction of the consequent penalties on the parties concerned in these transactions. It is therefore not worth the risk of forfeiture of their other slaves and property to engage in such unremunerative operations.

3. Good and industrious slaves are always on friendly terms with their masters, who invariably treat them as members of their own family, and it is quite possible that such slaves might assist their masters in obtaining fresh ones, or, at any rate, they might not inform against them; but the bad and indolent slaves (and there are many of them in this district) who are most troublesome to their masters would, in the event of any transactions in slaves in which their masters were concerned coming to their knowledge, take the first opportunity of acquainting the authorities of what was taking place, with the view of obtaining their own freedom.

4. Since the pacification of the Witu district, the tribes of the interior in this neighbourhood have been enabled to move about from place to place with the greatest freedom. The Wapokomo from the Tana River come daily to Witu and Lamu, as also do the Waboni, a nomadic tribe of hunters occupying the country to the north of Witu, and behind Wangeh and Dodori on the mainland opposite the Islands of Faza and Suju. The Gallas of Witu visit their fellow tribesmen, the Watoleh Gallas, from the neighbourhood of Port Durnford, and *vice versa*. The coast freemen and slaves proceed into the interior to collect rubber and other produce. Communication with the various tribes has in this manner been considerably accelerated, and the knowledge of the various Edicts in connection with slavery will become still better known and understood. As an instance of this, a Witu Galla was able to trace from information received from a Watoleh Galla that his sister, who had been stolen about five or six years previously, was now living with an Arab residing in the Island of Tula, near Kismayu. On inquiry this proved to be correct, and it appeared that shortly after purchasing her the Arab freed her in presence of witnesses, presumably because he became aware of the Slavery Decree of 1890, and feared its consequences. She will therefore be returned to her parents.

5. The Lamu slave-owners formerly obtained the majority of their slaves at Kilwa, but the sea being now so efficiently patrolled by Her Majesty's ships, together with the necessity for all passengers travelling by dhows or other native craft having their name and description entered in the native passenger manifest, as required by the Brussels Act, renders it almost impossible for any more to be brought here in this manner. The overland journey from Kilwa is equally difficult, owing to the risk of the movements of any slave-dealing party becoming known to the officials at the various coast towns passed *en route*. Other slaves were obtained from the Wanyika, Wakamba, and Wagiriama tribes, and if any attempt were now made to enslave them at the coast, the matter, for various reasons, would very soon be discovered; among others, the fact of their not being able to speak Ki-Swahili fluently would arouse suspicion, and they would not be long in learning from their fellow slaves of the means to be adopted in order to obtain their freedom.

6. There is now little or no collusion among the Arabs and Swahilis in regard to slavery, and any person bold enough to risk the chance of obtaining fresh slaves in face of the obstacles enumerated above would, in the event of his success, be in danger of his action being brought to the notice of the authorities by other natives with whom he might not be on friendly terms.

7. In addition to the foregoing reasons, there is ample local evidence of the decrease in the number of slaves in this district, and that no fresh ones have been recently imported. The cocoa-nut plantations, which are getting over-grown, and rapidly going out of cultivation, owing to the scarcity of slaves to work them, are numerous, while the value of plantations generally, for the same reason, has depreciated within the last eight or nine years to half of their former value, *e.g.*, a plantation which would realize 1,000 dollars about eight or nine years ago will now realize not more than 500 dollars, and sometimes it is difficult to get a purchaser at all.

This decrease is accounted for by the fact that prior to the subjugation of the Witu rebels a large number of coast slaves was stolen from their owners by these rebels and sold to the Somals, while many others fled from the coast and joined the rebels in order to evade justice, and such of them as were not sold to the Somals have since then been freed by Mr. Rogers.

The following is an analysis of the slaves freed up to date in the Islands of Lamu, Manda, Patta, Faza, and Suju since the 29th March, 1891, being the date on which the first freedom paper was granted by the Company in this district:—

Freed by Order of Administrator or Court.	Purchased their own freedom.	Worked off their own freedom.	Freed by Owners.	Freed in consequence of Owners dying without leaving lawful Children.	Total.
41	11	..	31	164	247

While I understand Mr. Rogers recently freed over 800 slaves in the Witu Protectorate, thus making a total of about 1,100. It will thus be obvious that the slaves are rapidly decreasing in number.

As regards the slaves owned at present by the inhabitants of the coast-line, their status has been materially improved; they are no longer in fear of their masters, and when they consider themselves aggrieved in any way, they show no hesitation in lodging complaints against them in order to obtain redress, and their evidence has been accepted in cases tried by the Company's officials. These facilities acquired by the slaves must of necessity have a deterrent effect on any inclination on the part of the owner to treat harshly any of his slaves.

The Company's native officials in this district were very carefully selected, and I have frequently observed their keen desire to obtain the freedom of any slave who became entitled to it in virtue of the various Edicts in force. At the same time, I have every reason to believe that they would not risk the loss of their position and property by conniving at slave-trading in any form whatsoever.

In the whole circumstances above referred to, I am of opinion that, as regards this district, the fact of the existence of slavery in its present form does not in any way conduce to the prosecution of the Slave Trade in the interior.

Having described the position of slavery in this district, I now come to the question of emancipation. From what I have written above, it will be seen that slavery as it now exists is merely slavery in name, and that it is in no way associated with the cruelties pictured by the anti-slavery enthusiasts. Any scheme for immediate emancipation would, in my opinion, lead to results which I cannot think are aimed at by the abolitionists. Besides bringing absolute ruin on owners, it is very questionable what benefits would accrue to the slave. Being a slave all his life, he would find himself in a position which he was quite incapable of appreciating or controlling when suddenly thrown out into the world on his own resources. Slaves are, as a rule, a very improvident class of people, and spend whatever they have at once, without any thought for the future. This does not matter so much when they have a master behind them who, when they are ill, or unable to find employment, is bound to supply them with food and clothing; but the position would be different when they obtained their freedom, and it is easy to imagine the distress which would exist. As regards the owner, he is a man who has never been taught any work; he has been brought up to look upon his slaves as much his property as his plantations and donkeys, and to regard all work, with the exception of trading, tailoring, and clerical work as bringing absolute disgrace upon himself and his family; in fact, he would no longer be considered a free man if he did any work now performed by slaves. He would, therefore, find himself in a very helpless position in the event of the immediate freedom of all his slaves, because, being a very thriftless class of people, they have no money to pay for hired labour. A scheme for compensation would, I believe, not be so welcome to owners as one under which they would be allowed to enjoy possession of their present slaves for a period of (say) three to five years. In the latter case, they would find themselves in a situation with which they were accustomed to deal, and give them time to gradually prepare themselves for the difficulties which total abolition would bring about. My experience leads me to the opinion that immediate emancipation would create a worse situation than that which the best friends of the cause of abolition are at present endeavouring to remedy.

I have, &c.

(Signed) DON MACLENNAN.



Inclosure 8 in No. 10.

*Captain Rogers to Mr. A. Hardinge.*

*British East Africa Protectorate, Lamu,  
August 28, 1895.*

Sir,

IN accordance with your verbal instructions, I have the honour to submit the following observations on the status of slavery in the Lamu and Witu districts:—

*Seyyid Ali's Decree of August 1890.*

This Proclamation has been rigidly adhered to and enforced, and has resulted in putting an effectual check on the importation and exportation of slaves, as well as being the means of considerable improvement of their status. Formerly, owners punished and imprisoned their slaves themselves, the slaves having virtually no appeal, as, according to the law, the evidence of a slave was of no value; but now the word of a slave is accepted with equal weight as that of a free man, and justice is within the reach of all, and the many injustices slaves were subjected to have been put a stop to.

The sale, mortgage, and transfer of slaves have been absolutely forbidden, and the few times such transactions have been attempted they have invariably come to the notice of the authorities, and the persons implicated punished, and all their slaves granted their freedom.

Cases of cruelty and harsh treatment are also now happily of rare occurrence, only some two or three such cases having come to my notice during a period extending over five years, during which time I have been intimately connected with all classes, and in daily intercourse with them.

The foregoing remarks apply to the coast-line between Kipini and Port Durnford, including the islands over which perfect control and supervision have been maintained, but do not include the tract of country inhabited by Somalis, who are known to make periodical raids on the Gallas, carrying off numbers of women and children into slavery. This tribe have hitherto been too powerful for the local Administration to deal with, owing to their very large numbers and migratory habits.

#### *Abolition of Slavery.*

In my opinion, the immediate abolition of slavery would be premature. As the whole of the labour class in this district is entirely composed of slaves, their immediate freedom would mean total ruin to their owners, who are pecuniarily in the worst circumstances, and unable to pay for hired labour. They are, moreover, absolutely unable to work for themselves, owing to the accident of birth in being born "free," and educated from their earliest childhood to look upon all labour, with the exception of trading, sewing, and clerical duties, as the greatest degradation upon themselves and their families.

The rigid enforcement of Seyyid Ali's Decree having effectually put an end to the importation of slaves, and practically put them on a level legally with a free man, together with the large numbers who have obtained their freedom thereunder during the last five years, lead me to the opinion that another such period would bring about almost the entire abolition of slavery in these parts, as, to my own knowledge, people who possessed fifty to sixty slaves five years ago have now not half that number, owing to desertion and the large numbers freed. For the reasons above-mentioned, I consider that it would be advisable to postpone any total emancipation for a period of five years. This would prove no hardship to the owners, as it would give them time to devise means for providing for themselves, and not being entirely dependent on slave labour.

I have heard it quoted that emancipation to slaves would lead to an increase of crime and immorality, the men becoming thieves and loafers, and the women prostitutes. My experience proves the contrary, and cases in point are the freed slave Settlements at Pangani and Witu, where some 1,100 are now living, and employed in cultivating, and no complaints have been made against them. So far as the emancipation of women increasing immorality, to my mind it is the contrary, as a woman, when free, would be in a position to marry a man of her own choice, instead of, as at present, being at an early age seduced by her master, with whom would then remain the selection of a husband at his pleasure.

In conclusion, so far as my experience goes, abolition of slavery, within the time above stated, will be beneficial in every way to the country without pressing unduly on the owners, who will by experience gradually realize their position, and have to work for their own maintenance, and the present class distinctions between free men and slaves will be entirely removed to their mutual advantage.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) A. S. ROGERS.

No. 11.

*Mr. A. Hardinge to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received February 7.)*

My Lord,

*Zanzibar, January 10, 1896.*

I HAVE the honour to report that I proceeded on the 1st instant to Pemba to inspect Her Majesty's Vice-Consulate at Chaki-Chaki, and inquire into the general state of affairs in the island.

I am glad to be able to inform your Lordship that Mr. O'Sullivan appears to have entirely won the confidence and regard of the natives of Pemba of all classes. When he first arrived there, nearly a year ago, the establishment of the Vice-Consulate was naturally viewed by them with a good deal of suspicion and dislike. It was thought to be the prelude to fresh measures against slavery, which, in the present impoverished condition of the Pemba Arabs, would have been a most serious blow to them, and, in general, of European interference with their cherished customs and traditions. Gradually, however, as Mr. O'Sullivan made no attempt to interfere with their slaves, except in cases of gross abuses in which they themselves recognized that interference was legitimate, as he dealt far more justly than the local authorities, many of whom are the mere helpless instruments of the Indian usurers, with cases between the latter and the Arabs, and as they realized that it was his wish to cultivate good relations with them, their attitude became much more friendly, and it was clear to me, from what I saw when in Pemba, that he was not only respected in virtue of his office, but liked and trusted for his own sake throughout the island. The fact that, as a doctor, he has been able to cure many persons may partly account for this; but it is also, I believe, largely due to their appreciation of his tact and courtesy, and of a genuine sympathy with their difficulties of which they cannot help being conscious.

Mr. O'Sullivan will in due course furnish a detailed report on the political and economical condition of his district, and it would be beyond my province to anticipate the criticisms which he is necessarily far more qualified than myself to make on it; but it may not be out of place for me to touch in the meantime upon one or two questions affecting its welfare.

The most important of these is the question of slavery. Mr. O'Sullivan assures me that since his arrival in Pemba (he cannot, of course, speak of the state of things before it), the importation of raw slaves from the mainland has practically ceased. I am inclined to think that this is true as regards any importation on a large scale, as against that of slaves in small numbers here and there in canoes. It is certain that the decrease of the slave population is keenly felt by the Pemba Arabs. I rode some 80 miles throughout the northern and central districts (the most fertile ones) of the island, staying at the country houses of some of the principal Arab planters, and almost everywhere I noticed that the clove plantations were either overgrown with grass and weeds, and gradually going to rack and ruin, or, where this was not the case, that the crop was only partially picked. Everywhere I received the same reply, that there were not slaves enough to pick the cloves or weed the ground around the trees. Some had died, others had run away, and under the existing law could not be replaced. Several cases were brought before me in which a proprietor, who a few years ago had some 200 slaves, numbered barely 50 now.

I endeavoured once or twice to impress upon the Arabs with whom I stayed the expediency of devising some measures to meet this state of affairs, either by inducing the Government to procure them free coolie labour, or by introducing other forms of cultivation, pointing out to them that even if there was no scarcity of labour, the supply of cloves to the world was in excess of the demand for them, and consequently that they would bring in less and less every year. Formerly Pemba produced in large quantities rice, cereals, and, I believe, sugar, for which the soil would seem to be well fitted; and in its southern districts the oil palm is abundant, though the Arabs have not yet learnt to utilize the oil as a source of revenue; but the failure of the clove

crop in the year 1872 in Zanzibar, after the famous hurricane, which did not affect the sister island, having sent up the price, and kept it high till Zanzibar was enabled to recover from the effects of the disaster, the Pemba landowners abandoned all other forms of cultivation for the more immediately lucrative one of cloves, and at present it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the whole island is a vast clove forest, which, what with the over-production of cloves on the one hand, and the decrease of labourers on the other, is of very little profit to its possessors. This year, for example, the price of cloves has fallen to 2 dollars the frasilah (of 35 lbs.).

Unfortunately it is not in the nature of the Arabs to pull themselves together, and adapt themselves to new circumstances and new necessities. Crushed by the burden of debt to the Indian usurers, under which they are daily sinking deeper and deeper, with no means of obtaining the ready money which they would require to pay for free labour, or to make new agricultural experiments save by contracting fresh loans at a still more ruinous rate of interest, distrustful and ignorant of any methods except those which they have inherited, and to which they cling with blind conservatism, they fall back upon the consolations of fatalism, or upon the hope, as one of them expressed it to me, that God, who in his wisdom had permitted the English Government to deprive them of lands and slaves, would cause it in His mercy, to devise some means for preserving them from absolute ruin. As for devising such means themselves, such a thought never occurs to them, that is the business of the Government. You, they say, are the rulers. You have chosen for your own reasons to take our slaves away, and prevent our getting new ones, it is for you, and not for us, to provide a remedy for the wrongs you have inflicted on us.

Mr. O'Sullivan is of opinion that if the Arabs were given compensation in cash for the loss of their slaves, and enabled, with the ready-money thus placed in their possession, to pay for coolie labour, they would probably avail themselves of it, in preference to drifting with folded hands into beggary; but it will be necessary that the Government should initiate the experiment, and convince them of its feasibility, and this I am glad to say it is about to do. Sir Lloyd Mathews has just purchased from the heirs of the late M. Cottoni the estate at Ras Tundawa, known as "French Farm," and it is his intention, not only to make this acquisition the port of Chaki-Chaki, a place now inaccessible except at high-water, and the seat of the Customs and Shipping Departments for the island, but also to endeavour to cultivate with coolie labour the clove and cocoanut plantations which abound on it. If the experiment should prove a success, and some four or five of the larger and more independent Arab planters should imitate it, their example will influence others; and if with this is combined:—

1. The payment of rent in money, kind, or labour, by every slave claiming his freedom, for the hut or plot of ground occupied by him, to the Arab on whose estate it is situated;

2. Reduction or abolition of the clove tax, and the institution in its place of a registration tax to be paid by all freed slaves, so as to check and control any fresh importations;

3. Restrictions on emigration, so as to prevent an influx of lazy and criminally disposed freed slaves into the town of Zanzibar; and,

4. Some form of paid corvée, similar to the present Egyptian Nile corvée during the clove harvest, which, considering that the freed slave does not pay a penny in taxation to the Government, and is far better off in proportion to his wants than the European peasant or workman, would not be a hardship; and

5. The disallowing of interest on bond or mortgage deeds at a rate of above 12 per cent. per annum; we may, I hope, enable a respectable proportion of the landed proprietors of Pemba, and for that matter of Zanzibar also, to tide over the crisis when it comes.

Before leaving the subject of slavery, I ought perhaps to mention that Mr. O'Sullivan's advent has proved beneficial to the slaves in two ways: (1) the knowledge is being gradually diffused throughout the island that any cruelty or harshness by the masters will be inquired into and redressed by him, and many slaves have already successfully applied to him for protection; (2) a certain number of Indians owned slaves in defiance of the law; these, as soon as the Vice-Consul's arrival was announced, were all set free. As I had the honour to report to your Lordship's predecessor, the slave's lot in Pemba is harder, and the customary indulgences fewer than in Zanzibar. This is, I think, largely due to the fact that it is much more difficult for a slave to escape from Pemba; on the mainland, for example, where the facilities for escape across the 10-mile land frontier are numerous, the slaves are better off than in Zanzibar, indeed, the Arabs

now complain that in the neighbourhood of Mombasa they will labour for three hours and then strike work for the rest of the day, and if any attempt is made to punish them, will run away to the bush, or to Fulladoyo and Makongeni. In Pemba they work in harvest time from eight to nine hours, but in what, to a European, seems rather a leisurely fashion. The slave-driver whom I have read of in the speeches of imaginative orators as "standing over the wretched slaves with a whip of hippopotamus hide" has, I need hardly say, no real existence in these islands; the part assigned to him would indeed be a somewhat difficult and exhausting one in a clove plantation, as, in order to wield his instrument of torture with effect, he would have to be constantly climbing from tree to tree. What really happens is this: when the slaves arrive in the particular cover to be picked, a certain number are assigned by an older slave, who is made responsible for them, to each tree, they then swarm up the trees, which are from 20 to 40 feet high, or climb from branch to branch, usually without ladders (though I have seen a sort of rough scaffolding built round the trees to assist climbers), each provided with a small basket made of leaves or matting, into which they throw the cloves as they pick them. As each basket fills, a fresh one is passed up to the picker seated on his branch till the tree has been denuded of its fruit. At 4 o'clock, when work ceases, the contents of all these baskets are carried to an open space or yard in front of the planter's house, where the women slaves may be seen up to sunset, squatting on the ground, and separating the clove stems—themselves an article of industry—from the cloves, which are then placed on mats to dry for three days in the sun before being taken in sacks into the towns to be sold to the Indian traders. If a slave idles away his time, and does not pick sufficient cloves, he is no doubt liable on his return to be beaten, or deprived of his weekly holiday, but the idea of his working under the lash is a conception derived from West Indian or American tales of slavery, and has no basis of fact as far as the African clove plantations are concerned. I should add that Mr. O'Sullivan does not believe that the Pemba freed slaves would willingly or systematically work for wages. Their wants are so few, and the country is so naturally fertile—the plough is unknown there, the only agricultural implement in use being a sort of hoe with which they scratch the surface of the ground before sowing, yet every tropical product grows abundantly—that they would prefer to produce in their own little plots just enough sweet potato and "mhogo" for their daily sustenance, than to toil for wages in excess of their needs. He has sometimes tried himself to get them to work for him in building, house improvements, &c., but the general reply is that they do not care about earning money, they have enough to eat, and that is all they want.

I am aware that many competent authorities do not share this opinion, and that Bishop Tucker, in a recent letter to Sir John Kennaway, which has been quoted and commented on in the "Anti-Slavery Reporter," has expressed the conviction, derived from his own observation in portions of his diocese in which slavery does not prevail, that the emancipated African will work, but I am inclined to think that the Bishop's experience of the more vigorous races of the up-country districts, in which a certain amount of industry is requisite for the production of food, would not be borne out were he to study the negro in the Islands of Pemba and Zanzibar, where a soil of extraordinary fertility, calling for scarcely any effort on the part of the cultivator, is combined with a relaxing hot-house climate, very unfavourable to human energy and activity. It must be borne in mind, moreover, that in many African regions in which slavery, in the sense of a legally defined status and institution is unknown, forced labour is imposed on the inferior classes by the despotic power of the barbaric native Ruler. Such a system exists, for instance, in Uganda, where the people are compelled to "build for the King and Chiefs," and appear to be as completely at their mercy as any "slaves" in Moslem countries.\*

In the earlier part of this despatch I referred to the indebtedness of the Arabs to the Indian usurers, and this is, I think, a question almost as important as that of slavery itself. I believe that there is scarcely a landowner in Pemba who is not in the hands of these usurers, of whom the principal is a Banian living at Chaki-Chaki, and known as Buddhu; and I regret to state that the Wali Suleiman-bin-Mubarak, who is himself, I am informed, under heavy pecuniary obligations, both to this Buddhu and to another Indian money-lender named Isaji Nurbhai, allows them to behave towards their unfortunate debtors in a most oppressive and extortionate manner.

\* When the Mganda Chief Mbogo was living in Zanzibar I was constantly obliged to check his cruel treatment of the domestic servants who had accompanied him from Uganda, and whom he called his slaves. He always spoke of them as "Watumwa," and could not be made to comprehend that there was any difference between Zanzibar and Uganda slavery.

A case came before me in which an old Arab who had backed an absconding debtor's bill for 2,000 dollars, was compelled, on failing to pay the whole sum when it fell due (he still owed 900 dollars) to sign a promissory note for a fresh sum for 1,400 dollars, of which he had not received a penny himself, and to give up to Buddhu the receipts for the sums already paid by him, which the money-lender, of course, promptly destroyed.

In another instance, an Arab trader who had pledged his plantation to Buddhu was not allowed to realize the money by selling it when the time expired, but was kept by the Wali, at the instance of the Banian, for four months in prison with his legs in irons, in the hope that a large sum might be wrung from his relations, or that he might be induced to sign a new promissory note, and it was only in consequence of repeated representations by Mr. O'Sullivan that he was released on the day before my arrival at Chaki-Chaki.

These promissory notes or fictitious receipts for sums never in reality paid to them, are the means by which the usurers evade the Mahomedan prohibition of the taking of interest; and though Buddhu pretended to me that he never took more than 20 per cent. per annum, an examination into some of his transactions proved that he rarely obtained less than 60, and in one of them, in which he had secured the support of the authorities, was charging 150 per cent.

I accordingly called him up before me, and, in the presence of the Wali of Chaki-Chaki and of the principal Arabs of the place, warned him that claims of a grossly inequitable nature would not be supported or allowed; that he would not be permitted to seize in payment of a debt more than the actual security stipulated in a mortgage deed—he has apparently in past times obtained execution against the whole of the mortgagor's estate on some such ground as that the value of the security had depreciated—and that I would not sanction the imprisonment of debtors at his instance, or at that of other usurers, where there was no question of their being guilty of any criminal or fraudulent transaction.

These Indian usurers are the middlemen through whom the Arabs sell their cloves, sometimes receiving from them in return, instead of money, comparatively worthless merchandize, which the Indians have bought for the local market and have not been able to retail. They form a mutually self-supporting ring, one Hindi or Banian, who has a business at Chaki-Chaki, acting as agent for others who live in other towns, and who, in their turn, act as his men of business there, and thus constitute a combination against which the Arab planters, improvident, and hopelessly unbusinesslike, find it impossible to struggle. Their places of business are to be found not only in the two or three larger towns, but throughout the country districts, where many of them, I am assured, combine with the keeping of a shop, and the advance of loans on interest, the sale of cheap and poisonous spirits to the natives, and the purchase from slaves, under the rose, of stolen cloves and other plantation produce at reduced prices.

The acquisition of the Ras Tundawa estate, and the improvements which will follow in its train, will, I trust, draw the attention of the Zanzibar Government more closely than before to the needs of Pemba, which has hitherto been a good deal neglected, and I have submitted to Sir Lloyd Mathews a variety of small alterations which are required, and which are now under his consideration. The restoration of the ruinous old fort and prison of Chaki-Chaki, the clearing and paving of its present dirty streets, and the removal of the shark market, with its stench and offal heaps from its centre, the building of a decent road from the head of the creek to the town—now approached only by a path, impracticable in wet weather, up a steep and slippery hill—about to be taken in hand without further delay, to the great advantage of the public health and convenience.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) ARTHUR H. HARDINGE.

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No. 12.

*Mr. A. Hardinge to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received February 7.)*

My Lord,

Zanzibar, January 17, 1896.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a Memorandum which has been drawn up by Mr. Vice-Consul MacLennan, on the legislation of the last ten years against slavery and the Slave Trade, in the British Protectorates in East Africa.

## Inclosure in No. 12.

*Memorandum as to Measures adopted in the Zanzibar and East Africa Protectorates towards effecting the abolition of Slavery.*

PREVIOUS to 1885 several legislative measures were introduced for the suppression of the Slave Trade, and the more important ones are—

1. Treaty, dated the 5th June, 1873, entered into between Her Majesty and the then Sultan of Zanzibar, Seyyid Barghash, in which His Highness agreed that, from the date of the Treaty, "the export of slaves from the coast of the mainland of Africa, whether destined for transport from one part of the Sultan's dominions to another, or for conveyance to foreign parts, shall entirely cease." He further engaged that all public markets in his dominions for the buying and selling of imported slaves should be closed.

2. Treaty, dated the 14th July, 1875, supplementary to the one above referred to, stipulating that the presence on board of a vessel of domestic slaves in attendance on their masters, or of slaves *bond fide* employed in the navigation of the vessel, is permitted, provided that such slaves are not detained on board against their will; and that all vessels carrying slaves other than those referred to shall be deemed guilty of carrying on the Slave Trade, and may be seized by Her Majesty's ships and condemned by the competent authority.

3. Proclamation, dated the 15th January, 1876, issued by Seyyid Barghash, declaring the abolition of slavery throughout his dominions in Benadir and the district of Kismayu.

4. Proclamation, dated the 18th April, 1876, issued by Seyyid Barghash, declaring the bringing down of slaves from Nyasa and other parts of the interior, and their subsequent sale to dealers who take them to Pemba, to be contrary to his orders and the terms of the Treaty with Great Britain, and forbidding the fitting out and arrival of slave caravans from the interior; any slaves so arriving to be confiscated.

5. Proclamation, dated the 18th April, 1876, by Seyyid Barghash, forbidding the conveyance of slaves from Kilwa to Pemba; and ordaining that any persons found disobeying his order should be imprisoned and their slaves confiscated.

As regards Proclamation No. 3 above referred to it should be explained that it was never enforced at Kismayu until Her Majesty's Government assumed the administration of the British East Africa Protectorate in July last, when Mr. Jenner, Her Majesty's Sub-Commissioner for the Province of Jubaland, was instructed to decline to recognize the status of slavery in Kismayu and the adjacent district. As a matter of fact he had little occasion to apply these instructions, but a case arose in September last in which he dismissed a claim based on the status of slavery on the ground that since Seyyid Barghash's Decree that status was no longer legal.

Of the most important measures introduced since 1885 the following may be enumerated.

Proclamation (No. 1 in Appendix annexed hereto), dated the 9th December, 1888, issued by Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General, Zanzibar, forbidding the making of contracts with owners for the hire of their slaves.

Proclamation (No. 2 in Appendix), dated the 20th September, 1889, issued by the Sultan of Zanzibar, Seyyid Khalifa, granting in favour of the Governments of England and Germany perpetual right of search of all dhows belonging to his subjects in Zanzibar territorial waters, and decreeing that all slaves brought into the Zanzibar dominions after the 1st November, 1889, are free.

Public Notification (No. 3 in Appendix), dated the 20th September, 1889, issued by the Acting British Agent and Consul-General, intimating, for the information of all British subjects, that the right of search above referred to applies to all dhows, boats, and canoes belonging to them.

Proclamation (No. 4 in Appendix) issued by His Highness Seyyid Ali, on the 15th May, 1890, forbidding the landing of slaves in shambas, or places in Pemba near the sea.

The Imperial British East Africa Company which, under a Royal Charter from Her Majesty, administered, for a period of seven years, the territories now comprised in the British East Africa Protectorate issued a Proclamation (No. 5 in Appendix) notifying that natives belonging to certain tribes in the interior and under their protection could not be held in slavery.

For some years previous to the advent of the Company large numbers of slaves had fled from their owners at the coast towns to the various Mission stations in the

interior, while others established themselves in strong settlements at Fuladoyo and Makongeni, about 60 miles inland from Malindi. These were difficulties with which Mr. Mackenzie, the first Administrator of the Company, found himself compelled to deal immediately on his arrival, because the owners threatened to combine in an attack upon the Mission stations in order to recapture their slaves.

As regards the slaves harboured at the Mission stations, Mr. Mackenzie arranged with the owners that, on payment of the sum of 25 dollars, they would grant them their freedom. The position, however, as regards those at Fuladoyo and Makongeni was somewhat different, as they were sufficiently strong to resist any attempt on the part of their owners to take them, but in order to put a stop to the friction which was constantly taking place between these slaves and their owners an arrangement was ultimately arrived at by Mr. Mackenzie under which any slave desirous of obtaining employment and undertaking to pay his master 15 dollars would, on payment of that sum, obtain his freedom; Mr. Mackenzie at the same time undertaking that any slaves running away from their master, after the date of this arrangement (2nd March) would, if necessary, be arrested by the Company's police and returned to their owners. A considerable number of slaves obtained their freedom under these arrangements.

On the 1st August, 1890, the Sultan of Zanzibar, Seyyid Ali, issued a Proclamation (No. 6 in Appendix) prohibiting from that date the exchange, sale, purchase, or traffic of whatsoever nature in domestic slaves or otherwise. It was discovered, however, that the immediate enforcement of all the clauses of this Decree was inopportune, and His Highness therefore issued the Proclamations (7 and 8 in Appendix).

The Sultanate of Witu continued to be recognized as a separate State in conformity with the Anglo-German Treaty of 1890, after the establishment of the British Protectorate, and it was only after the punitive expedition of Admiral Fremantle, and when the Imperial British East Africa Company had undertaken the provisional administration of the territory in March of that year, that any legislative measures against slavery were introduced. In the Agreement then entered into between Mr. George Mackenzie on behalf of the Company and the Chiefs and Notables of Witu, the latter undertook for the future to have no dealings of any kind whatsoever with the Slave Trade, and engaged and declared that all the inhabitants of Witu henceforth were free, and that the status of slavery was abolished, but that owing to the present necessity of labour to work their shambas and plantations, the general emancipation of slaves throughout Witu would be deferred for five years. In consequence, however, of the subsequent hostile attitude of these Chiefs this Agreement was of no practical effect, and the Company withdrew from the administration of the territory in July 1893 (three years before the emancipation of slaves was to have taken place). The Government of His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar assumed the administration after the evacuation of the Company, but owing to the very unsettled state of the country it was found impossible to enforce the terms of the Agreement referred to, and the Regulations in force in the Zanzibar dominions were therefore made applicable to Witu.

Regulations have been drawn up and rigidly enforced under the terms of the Brussels Act regarding the registration of native craft, and the importation of fire-arms, as well as the supervision of native caravans in the interior.

The practice of enslavement for debt, by which is presumably meant the reduction to slavery of the insolvent debtor to his creditor is unknown to the Mahomedan law, and therefore does not exist in the Zanzibar dominions; nor am I aware that the practice exists among the native tribes in the interior of the British East Africa Protectorate.

In enumerating in the foregoing Memorandum the various Decrees by the successive Sultans of Zanzibar in connection with slavery, I have omitted to mention that an Agreement entered into between Seyyid Khalifa and Sir Gerald Portal provided that all children born in His Highness' dominions after the 1st January, 1890, should be free. This Agreement has, however, so far, not been embodied in any public Proclamation.

(Signed) DON MACLENNAN,  
Her Britannic Majesty's Vice-Consul.

Zanzibar, January 17, 1896.

## Appendix.

(No. 1.)

*Proclamation.*

To all British and British Indian subjects in the dominions of His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar.

The attention of Her Majesty's Government having been drawn to the fact that British and British Indian subjects are not always careful to observe the law regarding the hiring of slave labour, Her Britannic Majesty's Agent and Consul-General now hereby gives warning that under section 370 of the Indian Penal Code any British subject who makes a contract with the owner of a slave for the labour of such slave commits an offence, which, under that section, is punishable with imprisonment, which may extend to seven years and be accompanied by a fine. There is no law forbidding a British subject to hire the labour of any slave who may himself be willing to work for him, provided that the agreement for such labour shall be one made directly between such British subject and such slave.

The question of the consent of the owner of the slave, or of his participation in the wages to be earned by the slave, is in either case one in which any direct understanding or contract between the British subject and the owner is illegal. These matters concern the slave and his owner alone, and all wages earned by the slave must be paid direct to the slave and to no one else.

It is hereby notified that in future any breach of the law in this respect will be rigorously prosecuted.

(Signed) C. B. EUAN-SMITH,  
*Her Britannic Majesty's Agent and Consul-General.*

Zanzibar, November 9, 1888.

(No. 2.)

[In the name of the Most High God.]

From Khalifa-bin-Said.

To all my subjects who may see this let this be known to you that in consideration of the wishes of the two High Governments of England and Germany I have granted to them, their Representatives and naval officers, a perpetual right of search of all dhows belonging to our subjects in our territorial waters, in accordance with and in continuation of the Treaty made in the time of my brother Seyyid Barghash. All slaves who may be brought into our dominions from the 1st November, 1889, are free, but they shall remain our subjects; and those who may bring any slaves shall be punished. In return for this the blockade will be annulled.

Written by his order by his slave Abdul Aziz-bin-Mahomed.

Dated September 20, 1889.

(No. 3.)

To all subjects of Her Britannic Majesty.

I hereby give notice that His Highness the Sultan has granted to England and Germany, their Representatives and officers, the perpetual right of search of dhows, boats, and canoes of his subjects in his territorial waters.

This also applies to all dhows, boats, and canoes belonging to English subjects.

His Highness has also decreed that all persons who shall enter his dominions after the 1st November are free.

(Signed) G. H. PORTAL,  
*Acting British Agent and Consul-General.*

Zanzibar, September 20, 1889.

(No. 4.)

*Proclamation.*

From His Highness Ali-bin-Said.

To all Arabs and others living in Pemba. We have heard what has happened in Pemba, how that the Slave Trade is carried on there against our wishes. Let this be known to you that from the date of this Proclamation if any dhows land slaves in the shambas or places near the sea, and the owners of those shambas or places do not seize the slaves and the owners they must not blame me but themselves for the result. If they are unable to seize them at once they



can go to the Governor and get soldiers in order to secure them. Be careful that none of you allow any one to land slaves in his shamba or place. This is our order. If any one acts against this our order he will be punished severely.

Written by his order by his slave Abdul Aziz-bin-Mahomed.

Dated May 15, 1890.

(No. 5.)

*Proclamation.*

It has been reported to me that the Wanyika and Giriama tribes are now making war upon each other and selling their captives into slavery. These tribes are free people, who have made Treaties with, and placed themselves under, the jurisdiction of the Company.

Notice is therefore hereby given that the following tribes, the Wanyika, the Wagiriama, the Waduruma, the Wakauma, the Wagala, the Wakamba, the Wagibania, the Wasani, the Wakambi, the Waribi, the Warabai, the Washimba, the Wadigo, the Wateita, and the Wapokomo, are all under the protection of the Company. No man, woman, or child belonging to any of these tribes can be held as a slave, and any so held will, on appealing to the Company, be at once liberated, and no compensation whatever can be claimed, or will be paid, to the holder of such a person.

In making this Proclamation it must be understood that it only applies to the members of the free tribes above named, who are under the jurisdiction of the Company. It is not intended to apply to or affect the ordinary domestic slaves, who are heretofore recognized to be the property of their masters according to old custom and the law of the Sultan of Zanzibar. With such slaves the Company has no intention to interfere; they will be dealt with according to the Sheriah.

(Signed) G. S. MACKENZIE.

Mombasa, May 1, 1890.

The above Proclamation was read in the public Baraza on the 11th Ramathan, 1307, before the Wazee and all the people of the town, and they unanimously approve of, and agree to be bound by, the terms of it.

(Signed) SALIM-BIN-KHALFAN,  
*Livali of Mombasa.*

(No. 6.)

*Proclamation.*

In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate, the following Decree is published by us, Seyyid Ali-bin-Saïd, Sultan of Zanzibar, and is to be made known to, and obeyed by, all our subjects within our dominions from this date

*Decree.*

1. We hereby confirm all former Decrees and Ordinances made by our predecessors against slavery and the Slave Trade, and declare that, whether such Decrees have hitherto been put in force or not, they shall for the future be binding on ourselves and on our subjects.

2. We declare that, subject to the conditions stated below, all slaves lawfully possessed on this date by our subjects shall remain with their owners as at present. Their status shall be unchanged.

3. We absolutely prohibit from this date all exchange, sale, or purchase of slaves, domestic or otherwise. There shall be no more traffic whatever in slaves of any description. Any houses heretofore kept for traffic in domestic slaves by slave-brokers shall be for ever closed, and any person found acting as a broker for the exchange or sale of slaves shall be liable under our orders to severe punishment, and to be deported from our dominions. Any Arab or other of our subjects hereafter found exchanging, purchasing, obtaining, or selling domestic or other slaves shall be liable under our orders to severe punishment, to deportation, and the forfeiture of all his slaves. Any house in which traffic of any kind in any description of slave may take place shall be forfeited.

4. Slaves may be inherited at the death of their owner only by the lawful children of the deceased. If the owner leaves no such children, his slaves shall, *ipso facto*, become free on the death of their owner.

5. Any Arab or other of our subjects who shall habitually ill-treat his slave, or shall be found in the possession of raw slaves, shall be liable under our orders to severe punishment, and in flagrant cases of cruelty to the forfeiture of all his slaves.

6. Such of our subjects as may marry persons subject to British jurisdiction, as well as the issue of all such marriages, are hereby disabled from holding slaves, and all slaves of such of our subjects as are already so married are now declared to be free.

7. All our subjects who, once slaves, have been freed by British authority, or who have long since been freed by persons subject to British jurisdiction, are hereby disabled from owning slaves, and all slaves of such persons are now declared to be free.

All slaves who, after the date of this Decree, may lawfully obtain their freedom are for ever disqualified from holding slaves, under pain of severe punishment.

8. Every slave shall be entitled as a right at any time henceforth to purchase his freedom at a just and reasonable tariff, to be fixed by ourselves and our Arab subjects. The purchase-money, on our order, shall be paid by the slave to his owner before a Kadi, who shall at once furnish the slave with a paper of freedom, and such freed slaves shall receive our special protection against ill-treatment. This protection shall also be specially extended to all slaves who may gain their freedom under any of the provisions of this Decree.

9. From the date of this Decree every slave shall have the same right as any of our other subjects who are not slaves to bring and prosecute any complaints or claims before our Kadis.

Given under our hand this 15th day of El Haj, 1307, at Zanzibar (1st August, 1890).

(Signed) ALI-BIN-SAID,  
Sultan of Zanzibar.

(No. 7.)

*Proclamation.*

Be it known to all our subjects that our Decree of the 15th El Haj, this year 1307, which is now in force, and must remain in force, shall not be the cause of bad behaviour or disobedience on the part of the lawful slaves towards their masters.

Be it known to all that slaves who shall run away without just cause, or otherwise behave badly, shall be punished as before, according to justice, and, if necessary, they shall be brought before us for punishment.

Let this be known to everybody.

Signed and sealed at Zanzibar the 23rd El Haj, 1307 (9th August, 1890).

(Signed) ALI-BIN-SAID.

(No. 8.)

*Proclamation.*

Be it known to all men our subjects, with reference to what I wrote on the 15th El Haj (1st August), and put up in the Custom-house.

If any slave runs away from his master, or does anything wrong, punish him as before. If any slave does great wrong, kills any one, or steals, send him to the Liwali, who will punish him. You will see it and be pleased.

If any slave brings money to the Kadi to purchase his freedom, his master will not be forced to take the money.

(Signed) SEYYID ALI-BIN-SAID.

Zanzibar, 3 Moharrum, 1307 (20th August, 1890).

No. 13.

*Mr. A. Hardinge to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received February 29.)*

My Lord,

Mombasa, January 29, 1896.

THE English local authorities here agree both with myself and with the members of the East Africa Protectorate Council at Zanzibar in thinking that it would be very inexpedient to take any step against slavery which could excite general discontent so long as the rebel Chiefs are in the field with a certain following. The application of Seyyid Ali's Decree is as it is very unpopular on the mainland. Your Lordship will remember how strongly Sir Francis de Winton protested at the time against it, and the Elders both of Mombasa and Malindi have since the Proclamation of the Protectorate expressed their dissatisfaction on the part of the people of both those towns, with the operation of recent laws against slavery; but they quite realize that no change in a reactionary direction is now possible, and are prepared to make the best of the *status quo*, which the assurance given to the Mahomedan population generally on the 1st July last that their religion and law would be maintained, has led them to hope will not be further altered.

We must therefore be prepared for a very general outbreak of resentment against the Government if any further interference with the Moslem slavery laws is announced, and the occurrence of such an outbreak at the present moment, when the whole of the coast

province is still in a disturbed condition and the partizans of the rebels to be found in all the principal towns, may most seriously retard the pacification of the country.

I have heard it sometimes argued by persons who are disposed to underrate the difficulties of the slavery problem that the hostility of the entire free population to abolition need cause us no disquiet, as the slaves, who outnumber the Arabs and free Swahilis, would assist the Government in repressing it. Even assuming, however, that we could witness with equanimity on a territory under our rule the hideous scenes of a servile insurrection, this view is, I believe, based on a misconception. Though large numbers of slaves would probably avail themselves of the abolition of the legal status to cease to do regular work or earn money for their masters, they would not have the discipline or the cohesion required to act in concert. Many of the more intelligent ones are slave-owners themselves; this is usually the case with the armed and fighting followers of the powerful Sheikhs, who, as distinct from the cultivators and town labourers, would throw in their lot with their Arab masters, or rather Chiefs, and I think it may be said of the slave population generally that, however little they may love the Arab, they greatly prefer him to the European. Community of religion and of social customs, the inter-marriage which results from their common Mahommedanism, and from the fact that the son of a negro slave concubine and an Arab father is regarded as one of themselves by his brothers of pure Arab descent, and the circumstance that when the slave-owner is a negro, and even often when he is an Arab, his slaves, even if from time to time he cruelly beats or oppresses them, are generally treated as members of the family, feeding out of the same dish and living with him on terms of considerable intimacy, all combine to produce a fusion and a closeness of ties between the various Mahommedan and Swahili speaking races, whether free or slave, on this coast, which can never exist between any of them and the white alien and infidel from Europe. The crass ignorance of the lower class of slaves, moreover, is such, and their fear and distrust of strangers so great, that it is most difficult to make them comprehend that we are honestly desirous of benefiting them.

Another consideration in connection with this matter on which the military authorities here lay stress, is that of transport. Though I believe that ultimately we shall be able to get free labour for transport work, two-thirds of the present porters now employed in carrying loads for caravans and military expeditions are slaves. We do not, of course, hire them direct from their owners, and they are engaged by us as if they were freemen, but in practice they write on because their masters require some form of work for them, and carrying loads with good wages, of which owners can afford to let them keep a good part (if they did not the slaves would run away, as many have indeed done, once they got clear of the coast), is preferred by many of them to regular plantation or town labour. But it is very doubtful whether, if they were absolutely their own masters, they would not prefer to live by odd jobs in the coast towns, just earning enough in one month to keep them in idleness for the next, or to squat on some place where they could plant just enough "mohogo" for their sustenance, rather than take service as porters for the interior, and it seems probable that the abolition of slavery would, at any rate for a year, or at least a certain number of months, completely disorganize our transport, whilst considerably increasing the expense of procuring men for caravans. The inconvenience of such a state of things when it is necessary to start a column, with its attendant equipment of carriers, at a moment's notice, after a body of rebels or marauders, can easily be imagined, and is a factor which should not, I think, be lost sight of.

Bearing in mind all these difficulties, I would venture most respectfully to submit that the adoption of any fresh measures against slavery might be postponed for a few months, say until I return to England in June, if, as I hope, your Lordship gives me leave to do so. I might then, under your Lordship's directions, elaborate, in conjunction with the Foreign Office a scheme for further hastening the abolition of slavery, which I could submit to the Sultan on my return in the autumn.

It must be remembered that both here and in Zanzibar abolition of the legal status of slavery will entail the creation of new native non-Mahommedan Courts, to whom the Cadis will have to be ordered to refer all slave cases, since it would be as hard upon them to compel them to repudiate, in the teeth of the commands of the Koran, the status of slavery, as it would be for the civil power in France or England to force the clergy, against their conscience, to marry persons divorced by secular Courts. In no Mahommedan State do the Cadis admit or apply the doctrine of the general illegality of domestic slavery, which indeed is not yet recognized in Turkey or Egypt, so far as I know, by the Secular Tribunals applying the new Codes based on European law, and any sweeping scheme of abolition here must, I think, include within its scope the creation of

a new native judicial system, or at any rate its grafting, for slavery purposes, on the one already in existence. This in itself will require careful consideration, and I would ask to be allowed to submit certain proposals on the subject before the measures which, I gather are contemplated respecting slavery, are finally decided on.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) ARTHUR H. HARDINGE.

No. 14.

*Admiralty to Foreign Office.—(Received March 7.)*

Sir, *Admiralty, March 5, 1896.*  
I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to forward herewith, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, a copy of the Annual Report on the Slave Trade, of the Commander-in-chief on the East Indian station, for the year 1895.

I am, &c.  
(Signed) EVAN MACGREGOR.

Inclosure in No. 14.

*Rear-Admiral Drummond to Admiralty.*

Sir, *“Bonaventure,” at Trincomalee, February 1, 1896.*  
WITH reference to section 6, p. 2, vol. I, of the Instructions to Naval Officers, &c., relative to the Slave Trade, I have the honour to report, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that the only occurrence in connection with the Slave Trade, which has been reported to me during 1895, is dealt with in the following extract from a letter from the officer commanding Her Majesty's ship “Pigeon.”

*“‘Pigeon,’ at Bahrein, December 2, 1895.*

“2. On the 18th I received a letter from Colonel F. A. Wilson, Political Resident, with respect to the recent release of slaves.

“Bahrein, he states, has never given any promise to renounce slavery, but only to abstain from buying and selling; as this promise was made forty years ago there should be only now domestic born slaves in the island. Some of the tribes have, however, come to the island since that Treaty was made, and apparently their Chiefs have not considered themselves bound by the Treaty made with us by Sheikh Esi-bin-Ali.

“3. Hitherto Mr. Gaskin, Extra Assistant Political Agent, has been releasing slaves irrespective of the time they have been slaves, but Colonel Wilson informed me that complete emancipation was not feasible, and that he considered that owing to the many difficulties in the case, the release of recently imported or ill-treated slaves would meet all immediate requirements.

“4. As Mr. Gaskin had not returned from Bushire I saw the Chiefs myself, and pointed out that the immediate release of all the slaves, as they feared, was not contemplated, and that cases of refugee slaves would be inquired into and decided upon by their treatment and length of servitude.

“With this they all appeared perfectly satisfied, and requested me to make the offer on their part to Colonel Wilson that from the present date they would each give a guarantee to Sheikh Esa-bin-Ali to stop the Traffic of slaves in every way in their respective tribes.

“5. I have forwarded their propositions to Colonel Wilson, and the tribes have settled down quietly.

“6. I have received no information during the year as to any Traffic in slaves by sea on the East Indies station.”

I have, &c.  
(Signed) EDMUND DRUMMOND.

*Mr. A. Hardinge to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received May 30.)*

(Extract.)

*Zanzibar, May 4, 1896.*

I BELIEVE that the export of slaves from the mainland of British East Africa may be regarded as practically extinct. The reason for this is plain enough.

1. At almost every sea-port town along the coast there is a British official, and these towns are none of them large enough for traders there to be able to embark a cargo of slaves without his knowledge, whilst the few coast villages at which no Government officer is stationed (Mtapwa, Uyombo, Watamu, Kwyhoo, and Tula) are sufficiently close at hand for any violation of the law to be at once reported to him. The coast of British East Africa is, it must be remembered, a very inhospitable one, especially in the height of the monsoons, and the ports and creeks on it are few in number.

2. The only two real slave-trading centres in the British Protectorate are Ukamba and Somaliland. But the Slave Trade there is local; after inter-tribal fights the women and children of the vanquished tribe will be reduced to slavery by the victors, and in the districts not yet entirely under our effective control, such as Kitui, for it is only in such districts that these inter-tribal wars still rage, will occasionally be sold, two or three at a time, not more, to a roving Arab or Swahili trader, who will either keep his illegal purchases for his own domestic use or dispose of them, if he thinks the risk worth running, to the natives of some place at a little distance from the coast at which there is no resident English officer. There are, however, only three routes by which a slave-trader in Kitui, or in the adjacent slaving districts, can reach the coast: (1) the Mackinnon Road, lined with European stations and constantly patrolled by Government caravans to and from Uganda; (2) along the Athi River, or, as it is called in its lower course, the Sabaki; but this route (Lugard's) is, as I know on the strength of my own personal inquiries and inspection at Makangeni, so overgrown with thick bush as to be no longer practicable, certainly not for any large caravans; and (3) down the Tana, also to all intents and purposes impracticable for a slave caravan, as the slaves, after being carried in canoes down a river, both banks of which are very populous, would have to run the gauntlet of four Mission stations and two British forts close to Witu (Kau and Kipini) before they could reach the sea. The Somalis raid other tribes for slaves, and buy them in various quarters, but they are for themselves, not for retail or export. Their only port in our Protectorate at which either of these operations could take place is Kismayu, and there the presence of a staff of British officers, from whom every up-country native must obtain a pass to enter the gates, makes them impossible. Before the late rebellion, it is true, there was a fairly active Slave Trade carried on largely with Pemba by the semi-independent Chiefs of Gazi and Takaungu, but with the overthrow of their power, and the establishment of permanent British officials at both their capitals, this Traffic has entirely ceased. The fact that in the first half of last year (that is, before the rebellion, and when Mubarak's authority was still unimpaired), out of 486 dhows boarded as suspicious by our cruisers, only six, containing on an average four each, were found to be carrying slaves, is a sufficient proof that the Slave Trade is being effectually killed in Zanzibar and British East African waters. For it must be remembered that, once you destroy the dhow traffic, you have gone a long way towards destroying the trade itself.

No merchant will find it profitable to trade in slaves, especially where his transactions are attended with grave danger, any more than in cattle or in any other article, in small consignments of two or three at a time. To obtain the profits which he requires in order to repay his risk and outlay and the devotion of his main capital and energies to this particular Traffic, he must deal in large cargoes. He can now no longer do so, and, as a consequence, the big wholesale slave merchants of the days when the trade was unchecked have abandoned their business and left no successors. The Slave Trade is now carried on, not as their main business, but as a secondary and shady branch of it, and therefore only on a small scale, by disreputable men, chiefly Muscat or Hadramaut Arabs, of the same type as the old English smugglers, who have as little scruple about violating the Mahommedan as the European law, and will steal both the legal slaves of their brother Moslems, and even children born free or emancipated by a Mahommedan Court, as readily as they would the outlawed pagan—a proceeding which the old-fashioned slave merchant would have considered just as disgraceful as would an honest horse-dealer in England the stealing of another man's beast. These low-class Arabs will prowl about the beach on the outskirts of Zanzibar, or of some mainland town, with a canoe keeping close by, and will

surprise and pick up, by bribing them with a few pice to carry cocoa-nuts, &c., a girl or two, or a small child here and there, and thrust them into the canoe, lie in wait for a favourable wind or for the darkness, and then slip into some creek in Pemba, where the captives, whom they will represent as their own slaves, will be kept in the bush till a buyer, perhaps of the same class, can be found for them. The Shihiri and Muscat Arab traders, who return to Arabia during the south-west monsoon, will also frequently contrive to take a Zanzibar slave or two each, or perhaps even a free negro (they are not particular as to the "legal status"), on dhows which frequently on their way north, pick up Africans, slave or free, in fishing-canoes (the Wali of Lamu lately had some slaves who were out fishing kidnapped in this way). The same applies to the so-called "Kiriboto" Arabs, of whom numbers come here for service as irregular troops or police.

A certain risk, however, attaches to this, since the slaves cannot be shipped at Zanzibar, but must be taken secretly in canoes into the open and transferred to the dhow there, and there is always the danger that the canoes may be swamped outside the channel, or seized by some local police authority within it, before they can reach the dhow.

The above remarks as to the export apply largely to the import of slaves into the East African territories under British rule or influence. It may safely be said, I think, that no slaves to speak of are imported against their will (I am not speaking of unsaleable domestic slaves going to and fro with their masters) into British East Africa, and only a small number in canoes and boats, such as I have described above, chiefly from the mainland opposite, into Zanzibar and Pemba. Sir L. Mathews thinks some 300 or 400 a-year, at most, may still be imported in this way into the islands, of whom a considerable portion do not stay there but are transferred in dribbles, by various under-hand devices, to dhows proceeding to Arabia. Pemba probably receives the greater number: the want, as yet, of proper control in the interior and the physical configuration of the island rendering it peculiarly suited for any kind of illicit traffic. Mr. Vice-Consul O'Sullivan, however, tells me that, notwithstanding these circumstances, the import of slaves there has been greatly reduced, and is, in his opinion, now insignificant.

Nyasaland at one time imported a considerable number of slaves into the Sultanate, and among the older men one still sees, both here and on the mainland, many Yaos. But the establishment of the British Protectorate there, the overthrow, one after another, of the slave-raiding Chiefs, and the collapse of the dhow traffic (since the importation of Nyasa slaves into Zanzibar from so great a distance as the Zambezi, or even from Kilwa, is not possible in canoes or small boats) have practically put an end to this branch of the Slave Trade, and the local authorities assure me that very few slaves from that part of Africa now come so far north as these Islands.

It may indeed be said that throughout East Africa (including in that expression the whole region between the Zambezi and Cape Guardafui) the establishment of continuous European Protectorates has put an end to that worst aspect of the Slave Trade, the systematic raids by armed bands of coast traders on the villages in the interior. The horrors common in the time of Livingstone, and which lasted down to a quite recent period, especially when the Arab power established by Tippoo Tib and Rimaliza at Kasongo and the Manyema country was supreme throughout what is now the eastern portion of the Congo Free State, the devastation of whole districts by the slave-raiders, the march of hundreds of fettered captives, along tracks lined with human skeletons, down to Kilwa and Bagamoyo, have become happily impossible now that all the great coast ports, and the principal up-country markets and centres along the old slave-routes, are occupied by European Government officers.

To sum up, the present condition of the Slave Trade, at any rate in East Africa—I am not, of course, now speaking of Arabia and the Red Sea—may, I think, when we contrast it with what it was only a decade ago, be viewed with the comparative satisfaction with which we regard, in any country, statistics showing a substantial decrease of crime. Both the sources and outlets for the Traffic are being everywhere effectively stopped; it is passing more and more into the hands of the most reckless and criminal class of the population; the great raids and dhow loads of the past are giving place to petty kidnappings of individuals here and there, of which many are detected and punished, and which a better and more costly system of police and coastguard could probably altogether suppress.

The Zanzibar Government is, I am glad to say, fully alive to the necessity of unremitting vigilance and energy in the attainment of this end, and Sir L. Mathews has now got police at all the smaller ports, as well as at the principal villages in the interior of this island, at which the landing or sale of slaves would be likely to take

place, and which in old days were rarely or never visited. Several captures have as a consequence been lately effected, and I trust, especially if the system is extended to Pemba, that the knowledge that the authorities are on the watch may act as a useful deterrent.

It cannot, however, be too often repeated that the kidnappings and smugglings described above will not cease at once as a consequence of the abolition of the status of slavery. That change will not render them more illegal or punishable than they are under the existing law, which prohibits, and has effectually diminished, the importation, exportation, and sale of slaves. So long as the Slave Trade exists in Arabia, and, as I have already pointed out, whilst Mecca remains closed to Europeans it will always flourish there, as well as in the remoter Turkish and Persian provinces, there is bound to be a certain demand for negro slaves, and adventurers, prepared to run the risk, from Shehr and Hadramaut, which still kidnap, as they do now, free African children, and even ignorant adults, for the markets of the Hedjaz and Oman. Abolition will check more rapidly, but not much more rapidly than a good system of registration, the import of slaves into these islands, but will not palpably, at any rate for some little time to come affect illicit export.

I have dealt in this despatch with the Slave Trade rather than with domestic slavery, but there are two or three points in connection with the latter institution to which I may take the opportunity of adverting.

An argument, which has of late been very frequently used is that, but for the fear of being seized here as slaves, large numbers of Wanyika, from Duruma, Giriama, and other mainland districts, who are now said to be deterred by the existence of domestic slavery, would come over to these islands for work.

When I first came here, and before I had any personal knowledge of the Wanyika, this appeared to me the strongest practical argument against slavery; but a more intimate acquaintance with these tribes, with whom the development of the Mazrui rebellion has brought me into close contact in their own country, has convinced me that it is really fallacious.

The Nyika, which some writers, only acquainted with the unpromising portion of it traversed by the Uganda Road, represent as throughout its length and breadth an arid desert inhabited by a low race of savages, is in reality a fine country, in some parts highly populous and fertile, and occupied by tribes which, if primitive and indolent, are by no means deficient in intelligence, and are passionately attached to their native soil. Though their villages are often neat and well kept—and for cleanliness they compare most favourably with those of the Swahilis—their wants are few and simple, and I do not believe that there are many—if, indeed, any—among them who, for the sake of increasing their incomes, would leave their beloved uplands, where, beyond the waving fields of Indian corn, studded here and there with pine-apples and mango trees, the dome-shaped cottages nestle in the thick bush or behind their “bomas” of thorn or cactus, in order to earn wages as day-labourers in the coast towns, or, worse still, to cross the sea, which they regard with superstitious horror, to Zanzibar. If they really wished for employment as labourers, they could get it in abundance at Mombasa and Malindi; and, as a matter of fact, they come there freely, quite undeterred by the existence of slavery. They come, however, not to seek for work as cultivators or labourers, but to barter their produce for cloth and beads, and the few that have been persuaded by the railway contractors to engage as coolies have usually run away to their native land the very moment they received their first advance or instalment of pay. The supposition that these people, whose work in their own homes is done almost entirely by their slaves and, where they have none, by their women and children, could be relied upon as labourers in the Zanzibar plantations, seems to me entirely fanciful, and every Englishman, at all intimately acquainted with them, to whom I have spoken on the subject, agrees with me in so regarding it. One tribe fairly near the coast, the Wa Teita, who are not pure Wanyika, and seem to be intellectually a lower race, can be made to work, not, indeed, as regular labourers or agriculturists, but as porters backwards and forwards between Mombasa and their own district; but I think it very unlikely that they could be induced to settle for a length of time away from their own homes or develop any real habits of industry. The most promising element I have seen so far are the freed slaves of Witu, many of whom are Yaos and Nyasa men, and some of these I propose trying in the islands, though I do not feel very hopeful of the result.

Lastly, I would wish to call attention to the assumptions, which have generally passed uncontradicted and have thus got to be received as axioms, that the life of a slave in these islands is generally short, and that the fact that few live to an advanced age is due to the severe and trying labour of the clove plantations. These assumptions

have been put forward by the Abolitionists as a ground for stating that the whole of the present slave population has been imported since 1873, and therefore as a reason for confiscating the owner's interest in them without any further ceremony or inquiry. It is probable, indeed, that if the average mortality both of slaves and of free persons in these unhealthy islands, with their fever and bad sanitation, is taken, it will be found to be very high, and also that children and young people under 20 years of age, whether they come from Europe or from the healthier and more bracing parts of the African mainland, will in most cases not long resist, without a change, the debilitating influence of the climate. But slaves born in the islands, or imported when over 20 years or so, will generally live to a fair age, and I have seen many grey-haired old men and women among them, of 60 years or more, who may well have been imported over thirty or forty years ago. The assumption, which has found expression in debates in Parliament, that the work in the clove plantations is killing, is another of those sweeping propositions which have been accepted without being examined. As a matter of fact this work is far less severe and far less of a strain on the muscles than most agricultural labour at home, and is more like hop-picking than anything else. All the slave has to do is to weed the ground round the trees to keep it clean, and when the crop is ripe, during two or three months of the year, to sit on a branch or on one of the bars of a ladder, in a wood protected from the sun by the number of clove trees, and pick the fruit which he throws into a basket. He considers this hard work because, as a good many trees have to be picked, it means more or less constant labour, while the harvest is on, for some seven or eight hours a-day, and is thus a greater strain on him than the ordinary agricultural work in the tropics, which here consists chiefly of scraping the ground in a leisurely fashion with a hoe—spades and ploughs being as yet unknown; but as far as I have been able to see, and I have visited a certain number of plantations, it would be thought little of, if the climate were one in which he could thrive, by the ordinary European labourer. It is certainly far less exhausting than the work of the Wachukuzi slaves in town, who coal ships, carry loads, and work at buildings.

Mr. Pease, I see, lately stated in Parliament, on the authority of Sir John Kirk, who himself left this country some ten years ago, that during the last twelve years the number of slaves in Zanzibar and Pemba had trebled, and from this he seemed to draw the conclusion that the Slave Trade, instead of diminishing, had increased, and that the various decrees of Seyyid Khalifa and Seyyid Ali for the gradual abolition of slavery had proved absolutely inoperative.

I can only say that this view is entirely opposed to the experience of, I should think, every present resident, whether native or European, in the islands, and that it should be held at all can only be explained by the fact that the revenue from cloves has increased, and that this increase has appeared to imply a necessary proportionate increase of slave labour.

Against this, however, we have to set the fact that for many years after 1872, the year of the great hurricane which destroyed so many of the trees in Zanzibar, this island practically produced no cloves; that, as a consequence, the Pemba people began everywhere to plant clove trees (attracted by the high prices offered owing to the inadequate supply from Zanzibar), and have during the last ten years literally converted their island into a clove forest; that Zanzibar has now fully recovered from the effects of the disaster of 1872; that whilst from 1872 to 1876 no tax was levied on cloves, and from 1876 to 1886 an export duty varying from 1 to 2½ dollars per frasilah was levied, in 1886 a tax of 30 per cent., and in 1887 and in all succeeding years of 25 per cent., *ad valorem*, was imposed upon them, the effect of which was to show an increased revenue under this head; and that the greater care and honesty with which that tax has been collected since English officials have superseded the old Arab and Indian tax-gatherers, has perceptibly increased its productiveness. These causes, if carefully examined, will, I think, account for the apparently contradictory phenomenon of an increase of revenue from agriculture accompanying a falling-off in labour.

I fear I may appear to be wasting your Lordship's time, and so to speak, "beating the air," by piling up arguments against the Abolitionists when abolition has already been decided on in principle. But the manner in which this principle is applied may be of vital importance to the future of Zanzibar, and I should, I think, be wanting in my duty, not only to your Lordship, but to the people of this country, who have no one but myself to plead their cause, or to appeal on their behalf to English justice, if I failed, even at the eleventh hour, to put forward a single consideration which could help to secure to them the most favourable terms.



No. 16.

*Mr. A. Hardinge to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received May 30.)*

My Lord,

Zanzibar, May 9, 1896.

I HAVE the honour to inclose herewith copy of a letter which I have received from Uganda from the Bishop of Eastern Equatorial Africa, in which he requests me to forward a Memorial, signed by himself, the Archdeacon of Uganda, and a number of missionaries working in that part of his diocese, in favour of the abolition of the legal status of slavery in the Zanzibar dominions.

The Bishop, who, as I remarked incidentally in my despatch of the 10th January, has always been an uncompromising abolitionist (though I notice with pleasure in his letter to Sir John Kennaway that he favours compensation to the Arabs), was away from Mombasa when Mr. Pigott consulted the local clergy there on the slavery question, and had not therefore the opportunity of then expressing his views on the subject. I gather from an unofficial letter which he has written to me that he is anxious to correct the impression which your Lordship may have derived from my despatch of the 29th August last, that the representatives of the Church Missionary Society in East Africa are all opposed to any radical measures at the present juncture for dealing with Mahommedan slavery, and it is of course my duty to assist him in giving every publicity to his opinions.

Though his Lordship, owing to the numerous calls upon his attention in Uganda and other districts in the far interior of his extensive diocese, has perhaps a less intimate acquaintance with all the aspects of this difficult problem than those resident missionaries on the coast who take a different view of it from his, any statement from him in regard to it is naturally deserving of all consideration and respect, but I confess that I do not attach the same value to the opinions of Archdeacon Walker or of the other signatories of the Memorial, and I should certainly not regard them as outweighing those of men like the Rev. H. Binns, or the Rev. W. E. Taylor, who are in daily intercourse with the Arab and Swahili population. The Uganda clergy are as little qualified to speak authoritatively of the domestic life of the coast Mahommedans, as their brother missionaries in this island would be to criticise the real value of the Church Missionary Society's labours at Kampala, or to invidiously compare the cordial relations between the Protestant and Roman Catholic Missions at Zanzibar with the somewhat strained ones which at one time existed between the priests and converts of the rival Churches in Uganda.

The conditions existing in these two African regions, separated from one another by 800 miles of wild country, are entirely different, and I cannot help regretting that those Uganda missionaries who speak so confidently about the "more or less intimate connection between domestic slavery at Zanzibar, and slave-raiding and slave-trading in the interior," did not, if they wished any weight to be assigned to it, support this somewhat vague general proposition by some concrete proofs. I have endeavoured to show in my despatch of the 4th instant, that, whatever may have been the case in the past, there is now no connection between the local slave-trading resulting from inter-tribal wars among the natives of Ukamba and Kikuyu, and the existence of domestic slavery in the Sultanate of Zanzibar, and until the Uganda clergy can prove the contrary, not by sweeping assertions, but by reasoned arguments, their opinions should not, I think, be allowed to be set in the balance against those both of responsible Government officers, and of missionaries, not less eager than themselves for the true welfare of the natives on the coast.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) ARTHUR H. HARDINGE.

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Inclosure 1 in No. 16.

*Bishop Tucker to Mr. A. Hardinge.*

Sir,

Mengo, Uganda, March 17, 1896.

I HAVE the honour to inclose to you a Memorial signed by missionaries of the Church Missionary Society working in the interior, deprecating very earnestly any delay in abolishing the legal status of slavery within the limits of the British East Africa and Zanzibar Protectorates.

May I venture to ask you to be good enough to forward a copy of the Memorial to Lord Salisbury.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) ALFRED R. TUCKER,  
*Bishop, East Equatorial Africa.*

Inclosure 2 in No. 16.

*Memorial.*

To Her Britannic Majesty's Consul-General and Diplomatic Agent, Zanzibar.

WE, the undersigned missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, believing that the existence of a legalized condition of slavery in Mombasa, Zanzibar, Pemba, and the coast districts is more or less intimately connected with slave-raiding and trading in the interior of the continent, beg to express the very earnest hope that the legal status of slavery in the above-mentioned districts, which are under the control of Her Majesty's Government, may be abolished without delay.

(Signed) ALFRED R. TUCKER, *Bishop, East Equatorial Africa.*  
R. H. WALKER, M.A., *Archdeacon of Uganda.*  
ARTHUR J. PIKE, M.A., *Clerk in Holy Orders, Uganda.*  
ERNEST MILLAR, B.A., *Clerk in Holy Orders, Uganda.*  
J. B. PURVIS, *Gayaza, Uganda.*  
T. B. BUCKLEY, B.A., LL.B., *Clerk in Holy Orders, Bulamwezi, Uganda.*  
H. B. LUVIN, *Bulamwezi, Uganda.*  
G. R. BLACKLEDGE, *Clerk in Holy Orders, Ngagwe, Uganda.*  
H. R. SUGDEN, M.A., *Clerk in Holy Orders, Singo, Uganda.*  
T. B. FLETCHER, *Singo, Uganda.*  
A. B. LLOYD, *Bukoba, Uganda.*  
F. ROWLING, *Clerk in Holy Orders, Busoga.*  
J. ROSEVE, *Clerk in Holy Orders, Uganda.*  
A. B. FISHER, *Kinakulia, Bunyoro Frontier, Uganda.*

No. 17.

*Mr. A. Hardinge to the Marquess of Salisbury.—(Received July 13.)*

My Lord,

*Zanzibar, June 18, 1896.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a Report which I have received from Her Majesty's Vice-Consul in Pemba on the general condition of his district.

It is little more than a year since Mr. O'Sullivan took up his duties, and he has during that time made a thorough study of the state of the Island of Pemba, the results of which are embodied in this Report.

With reference to slavery, the most important question at present engaging our attention in Pemba, some of the recommendations made by Mr. O'Sullivan for facilitating the transition from the present system of slave to one of free labour, such as the enactment of laws to prevent vagrancy by freed slaves, a paid corvée during the clove harvest, &c., have already been suggested by me in a very similar form, and notably in my despatch of the 10th January last. I do not, however, propose to discuss them in this despatch, as I shall be in England almost as soon as it reaches your Lordship, and can lay my views respecting them verbally before the authorities at the Foreign Office.

I have, &c.  
(Signed) ARTHUR H. HARDINGE.

## Inclosure in No. 17.

*Report by Mr. O'Sullivan upon the Island of Pemba.*Size and formation  
of the island.

THE Island of Pemba is a low, irregular coralline bank, a little over 40 miles long, with a breadth varying from 5 to 12 miles. It nowhere rises to a height of more than 150 feet, and it is clothed throughout with dense and perennial verdure. Running parallel with its western coast is a chain of islets, some which are of considerable size and inhabited, the whole forming an archipelago.

Towns and villages.

There are three towns in Pemba Island, all located on the western seaboard, namely, Chaki Chaki, situated about midway on the coast, where the island is narrowest, at the extremity of a deep inlet of the sea, which terminates in a long, winding, mangrove creek; Weti, which lies about 10 miles to the north; and Jamba'ngome, which lies about as many miles to the south of Chaki Chaki. M'Suka and Fufuni are both large villages situated, respectively, at the extreme north and the extreme south of the island, and scattered throughout the interior are several other villages of lesser size.

Chaki Chaki is the chief town; it is notable chiefly as being the site of a large, ruined fort, which evidently is of considerable antiquity, but by whom built, whether by the Portuguese or by the Mazrui Arabs, both of whom dominated Pemba at different periods in times past, is uncertain.

The inhabitants.

The inhabitants of Pemba consist of Arabs, slaves, Wa-Pemba, and British Indians, plus a small number of freed slaves. Those owe their freedom to the observance by the Arabs, in times past, of that portion of the teaching of the Koran which enjoins the owner of slaves to provide for the liberation, on his death, of some of them at least, for which act of benevolence he is promised an adequate reward in Paradise. Of late years, however, this pious custom has been generally disregarded by the Arabs.

The total population.

Prior to my arrival in Pemba there were no European inhabitants. I estimate the total population of the island at between 90,000 and 100,000, composed, in round numbers, as follows:—

Arabs .. .. .	2,000
Slaves—	
Domestic and plantation ..	63,000
Concubines .. .. .	2,000
Wa-Pemba and freed slaves ..	25,000
British Indians .. .. .	300
<b>Total .. .. .</b>	<b>92,300</b>

The Wa-Pemba.

The Wa-Pemba are the aborigines of the island. They are the descendants, doubtless, of some mainland tribe, members of which settled in Pemba long ages ago. They are ethnologically distinct from the Wa-Swahili of the coast, than whom they are much darker in colour. Their language is Ki-Swahili, but they speak a dialect of their own, much of which is unintelligible to the ordinary Swahili scholar. They have never actually been enslaved by the Arabs. They own at the present time a considerable portion of the land throughout the island, and they also possess slaves. In former times the Wa-Pemba, as vassals of the Sultan of Zanzibar, paid to him an annual poll-tax of 1 dollar. Seyyid Barghash remitted that tax on the condition that, in lieu thereof, the Wa-Pemba should give their services gratuitously in cultivating his extensive estates in Pemba. A similar arrangement still holds. His Highness, the present Sultan, owns large plantations in the island, which are managed for him by an Arab agent. The general work of cultivating those estates is performed by slaves belonging some to His Highness and some to his agent, but the latter is empowered by the Sultan to compel the Wa-Pemba to supply, without payment, whatever extra labour is needed for the picking of the clove crop.

The British  
Indians.

The British Indians, of whom practically all are Mahommedans, have established themselves mostly in Chaki Chaki, Weti, and Jamba'ngome, but they are also to be found in most of the villages throughout the island. Of those Indians, some are independent merchants, and others are agents for Indian firms in Zanzibar. Their chief business consists in buying cloves, of which the export is entirely in their hands. They purchase from the various Arab growers, at a uniform price-current which they determine among themselves, and they subsequently ship the cloves to Zanzibar in their own dhows. They likewise control the imports, and they manage the entire retail trade of the island. Nearly all those Indians are money-lenders as well as traders, and the rates

of interest which they exact from the Arab borrowers are invariably very heavy, and, in many instances, usurious in the extreme.

My estimate of the total of the service population is based upon the calculation that, at the present time, each of the 2,000 Arabs owns on an average about thirty slaves, thus making 60,000, of whom almost all are employed in cultivating the plantations. Certain individual Arabs undoubtedly hold large numbers of slaves: thus Ali-bin-Abdullah-el-Thenawi, the largest slave-owner in Pemba, is reputed to possess as many as 500, and there are three or four other Arabs who possess probably 300 slaves and upwards each. Such figures are, however, quite exceptional, and I think that my calculation as to the average holding is fairly correct.

The servile population.

As regards concubines, it is difficult to obtain any accurate information. A few Arabs are said to have each as many as fifty inmates and upwards in their harems; but from what I have been able to learn, I should say that the total number of concubines in the island is about 2,000, as I have stated. The condition of those women is very different from that of ordinary slaves; they are well treated by their masters, and they are required to perform only the lightest domestic work. Moreover, when a concubine bears a child, she thereby ceases to be a slave, and she ranks afterwards almost on an equality with the Arab wife. The children born of concubines are regarded as legitimate, and no distinction is made, either by the father or by others, between them and the children born of the Arab wife or wives. This is the more remarkable as the concubines, almost without exception, are negresses. The intermingling of the two races has been going on for generations, with the result that most of the "Arabs" born in Pemba are really negroids.

Concubines.

The servile population of Pemba has been steadily diminishing in numbers for some considerable time past, and for the following reasons. The death-rate amongst the slaves in the island is very high, the mortality being heaviest during the wet, cold seasons, and the birth-rate is extraordinarily low. The hard work which the slaves, both male and female, are forced to perform, and their miserably inadequate diet, sufficiently account for both phenomena. Furthermore, the slaves are constantly running away from their owners, and of the fugitives a considerable proportion succeed in effecting their escape to the mainland by means of canoes. Several Arabs have told me that the total number of their slaves is less now than it was three years ago by between 30 and 40 per cent. Lastly, the recruiting of fresh slaves from outside has been checked, to a great extent, by the presence in Pemba waters, of men-of-war boats.

The number of slaves is diminishing.

As regards the past twelve months, during which I have resided in Pemba, I should say that few, if any, fresh slaves have been brought into the island. If any considerable number were introduced, intelligence of the matter would almost certainly reach me sooner or later. The slaves in Pemba know that there is a British Representative in the island to whom they can look for protection. Fresh slaves would speedily learn of this from the other slaves, and they would readily find means to come to me, especially as I am constantly moving about in the various districts of the island. The fact that, during the past year, I have had no complaints made to me by any slaves to the effect that they had recently been kidnapped and brought to Pemba against their will, is, I think, fairly good proof that the smuggling of fresh slaves into Pemba has practically ceased.

The smuggling of fresh slaves into Pemba has practically ceased.

The truth is, that Pemba is no longer a ready and profitable slave market as it was in past days. The Arabs in the island are fully aware that heavy punishment awaits them if detected in the purchase of slaves, especially fresh slaves, and they realize that the chances of detection are now very great. This means that purchasers are shy and prices low, a condition of the market which does not commend itself to the vendors, who naturally look for a speedy and profitable sale of their chattels to compensate them for the risks of running the blockade.

The buying and selling of slaves within the island itself undoubtedly prevails to a considerable extent, but it is difficult to obtain conclusive evidence of such transactions, and it is impossible entirely to prevent the practice.

I have been told that most of the British Indians in Pemba were slave-owners up to about fifteen months ago, but that they gave their slaves papers of freedom at that time, on learning that a British Representative was appointed to reside in the island, and would shortly arrive.

The British Indians are said to have formerly owned slaves.

The lot of a plantation slave in Pemba is a hard one at best. The Arab is a stern and exacting task-master, often a cruel one as well. Beyond assigning to the slave a plot of land upon which to build himself a hut, and for the cultivation of sufficient food to keep him alive, he gives himself no concern about the welfare of his chattel, to whom he gives neither food nor clothing. The slave works for his master on five days out of

The lot of a plantation slave.

the seven; on Thursdays and Fridays in each week he is permitted, as a rule, to work for himself, although, in many instances, Fridays only are allowed him. During the clove-picking season the slave works seven days a-week for his owner, but of the cloves picked by him on Thursdays and Fridays during that period, he is allowed, as a rule, to keep for himself a proportion, usually one-third or one-half.

The free days in the week are devoted by the slave to the cultivation of his plot of land, in which he grows mohogo, maize, and sweet potatoes, which constitute his staple diet. Occasionally he cuts fodder or firewood, which he carries for sale to the nearest town or village. In this way he may earn, possibly, 40 pice in the course of the two days; out of such earnings he has to buy clothing, such as it is, for himself and for his wife, if he has one, besides lamp-oil and other small necessaries. The women slaves devote their Thursdays and Fridays either to the cultivation of the plots of land, or else to the weaving of mats which are used in drying the cloves, and which sell for a few pice each.

The enforcement of Seyyid Ali's Decree of 1890 would in no way benefit the servile population of Pemba, for it is manifestly impossible for a slave to save up sufficient money wherewith to purchase his freedom.

The enforcement of Saïd Ali's Decree would not benefit the Pemba slaves.

When a slave becomes incapacitated for work, owing to disease or accident—old age is hardly ever a cause, for the average life of a slave is a short one—he is, in almost every instance, discarded by his owner, and has to eke out an existence as best he can. It is pitiful to note the starved appearance and miserable condition of the disabled specimens of humanity, who drag themselves to the towns on Friday in each week to solicit alms from the charitable.

In the punishment of their slaves, the Arabs show little mercy; for offences, even of a trivial nature, savage floggings are administered, while for the heinous crime, in Arab eyes, of running away from their owners, the wretched slaves are treated with the most ruthless severity, and, in some instances, are subjected to the most barbarous cruelty. This was exemplified in the case of a male slave whom I recently sent to Zanzibar. The man belonged to Ali-bin-Abdullah-el-Thenawi, the leading Arab and largest slave-owner in Pemba, and he attempted to effect his escape. For this his master caused him to be flogged almost to death in the first instance; he was afterwards taken right out into the plantation and secured by means of iron anklets to a growing clove tree, of which the stem was placed between his legs. There he was left for over seven months, to serve as an object-lesson, which should deter the other slaves from imitating his example. During all that period he received as food only one cocoa-nut per day. His master evidently intended that the unfortunate man should die a lingering death from suffering and starvation; he was emaciated to the last degree when I discovered him and set him free, and it is marvellous that he had survived so long. The irons, moreover, had eaten completely through the flesh of his ankles to the bone, and altogether he was the most pitiable object imaginable. It is satisfactory to know that in this instance, at all events, the owner has paid the penalty of his brutality. Ali-bin-Abdullah-el-Thenawi has been sentenced by the Consular Court at Zanzibar to a term of seven years' imprisonment; he has been fined 500 rupees, and he is prohibited from ever returning to Pemba.

In fairness to the other Arabs, it is to be said that Ali-bin-Abdullah was exceptionally notorious for his excessive cruelties, and many of the principal slave-owners have expressed to me their disapproval of his methods, especially as exemplified in the case which I have described.

I am glad to be able to state, as a pleasant reverse to such a picture, that I know of several instances where the slaves are well and kindly treated by their masters, and appear to be happy and contented with their lot.

For administrative purposes, Pemba is divided into two districts, representing respectively the northern and southern halves of the island. Each district is governed by a Wali, who has under his command about 100 askaris. All cases of summary justice are adjudicated by the Walis, who also are supposed to decide upon the punishment to be awarded to such slaves as may have given their masters cause for complaint. As a matter of fact, however, the slave-owners themselves inflict upon their slaves whatever punishment they may deem fit, and they appeal to the Walis only when they wish to have their slaves locked up in the Government prisons. Cases involving a knowledge of Arabic Law, are, in most instances, referred to the Cathis, of whom there are several in each Waliate. The Chief Cathi in the island, Hashid-bin-Mohamed Mosli, who is reputed to be especially well versed in the Sheria, constitutes in

Disabled slaves are discarded by their owners.

The punishment of slaves.

A case of barbarous cruelty.

Some Arabs kind to their slaves.

The administration of the island.

himself a Court of Appeal. Intricate cases are submitted to him by the minor Cathis, in accordance with instructions from the Sultan to that effect, and his decision in all cases is final.

It cannot be said that the law is impartially administered in Pemba, and this is not surprising in view of the paltry salaries paid to the officials. Thus the principal Cathi in Chaki Chaki district receives only 40 rupees per month, and the stipends of his colleagues throughout the island are on a correspondingly low scale. Little wonder then that the local Judges seek to supplement their official incomes by having recourse to the system of levying backsheesh from those who have occasion to appear before them.

Cloves constitute not only the staple but almost the sole product of Pemba. From the subjoined figures it will be seen that the output of cloves from Zanzibar and Pemba, has been steadily increasing for the past three years, and that of the total amount of the article produced in the two islands, Pemba supplies by far the greater proportion. The statistics as recorded in the Zanzibar Custom-house, are as follows:—

TOTAL ANNUAL PRODUCTION OF CLOVES.

Year.						From Zanzibar.	From Pemba.
1893	..	..	..	..	..	Frasilas. 108,090	Frasilas. 259,367
1894	..	..	..	..	..	138,691	372,999
1895	..	..	..	..	..	146,397	391,461

The supply of the article is greatly in excess of the market demand, with the result that the price has fallen so low as to afford the growers very little profit. This is a very serious matter for the planters in Pemba, since practically all the cultivated area of the island is devoted almost exclusively to the clove crop. The Arabs know nothing of the laws of supply and demand. Their aim is to have as many frasilas of cloves as possible to sell, and they are at a loss to understand why the Indian merchants pay a diminishing price, seeing that the quality of the article is as good as in former years, when prices ranged high. I have explained to the chief growers the cause of the depreciation in value of cloves, and I have urged upon them the advisability of devoting their attention to the cultivation of other crops as well. The most suitable crops, apart from the cereals, and those which may be expected to yield good returns within the shortest period, are, in my opinion, vanilla, coffee, and cacao. The late M. Cotoni, a French subject, who owned an extensive estate situated near Chaki Chaki, demonstrated by practical experiments, carried out on a small scale upon his plantation, the fact that Liberian coffee and vanilla can both be successfully grown in Pemba. Moreover, I have observed the vanilla vine growing wild in various parts of the island. It certainly is not indigenous, but when or by whom planted I cannot ascertain. Possibly M. Cotoni may have distributed cuttings from which the vine has since propagated itself. Cacao has not yet been tried in Pemba, but I should say that the island is particularly suitable for its cultivation.

Over-production of the article.

Advisability of introducing fresh crops.

The Arabs are anxious to carry out my suggestions with regard to fresh crops, but they do not know how to obtain the necessary seeds and seedlings. Furthermore, they are ignorant of the methods of cultivating the respective crops, and of preparing the products for export. These are difficulties which can readily be overcome. His Highness' Government recently purchased the estate of the late M. Cotoni. This might be made a model plantation, under competent supervision, where the planters throughout the island could acquire all requisite knowledge. The Zanzibar Government might, furthermore, arrange to procure for the Arabs, on easy terms of payment, the necessary materials for stocking their estates.

A Government model plantation required.

But even with such assistance the landowners will have to wait several years before they can hope to reap any benefit from the introduction of fresh crops. Meanwhile, the production of cloves is likely to continue on the increase, and the value on the decrease. Last year's output of the article from Pemba, large as it was, represented, as I can testify from personal observation, much less than the available total. I should say that almost one-third of the crop remained unpicked, owing to lack of labour.

The over-production of cloves is an evil which affects not only the growers, but also the Zanzibar Government, which derives most of its revenue from the imposition of a 25 per cent. export duty upon the article, the said duty being paid in kind.

Financial position  
of the Pemba  
Arabs.

Most of the Pemba Arabs are in a bad way financially. For several seasons past they have made very little profit out of their cloves, and they nearly all have borrowed money from the Indians at heavy, and in many cases, usurious interest upon the security of their plantations. Those mortgages are now falling in, and the Indians are foreclosing, as the Arabs have no money wherewith to meet their liabilities. The average selling price of last season's clove crop in Pemba was only 2½ rupees per frasila (35 lbs.), and the price is likely to decline still further in future.

Under these circumstances, there seems to be little prospect of the Arabs being able to extricate themselves unaided from their financial embarrassments.

Suggested assistance  
by the establishment  
of a Government  
land bank.

It would, I consider, be politic on the part of His Highness' Government to take steps towards rectifying this undesirable condition of things. It must be remembered that Pemba has hitherto received no assistance of any kind from Zanzibar, although for years past it has been the main source of the Government revenue, and the planters clearly merit some help in their present difficulties. I would suggest the establishment by His Highness' Government of a land bank for the purpose of advancing to the Arabs, at reasonable interest, sufficient money for paying off the mortgages upon their plantations. For this purpose no great sum will be needed. I believe that a lakh to a lakh and a quarter of rupees would suffice. The claims of the Indians should, of course, be closely scrutinized, and exorbitant interest disallowed. A lien upon the various estates would constitute adequate security for the moneys loaned by Government, for the claims of the Indians represent, in nearly all instances, considerably less than the intrinsic value of the properties mortgaged. It would be desirable that the Arabs should be allowed a fair period, say three, or even five, years, for the repayment of the principal. They would have no difficulty, meanwhile, in finding the moderate annual interest required by Government, and they would be in a position to develop the resources of their plantations on lines such as I have already indicated.

Exports and  
imports.

The exports from Pemba consist of cloves and clove stems, which are the chief items, copra in considerable quantities, and an insignificant amount of chillies and tortoiseshell. The statistics relating to cloves have already been given. No separate records have hitherto been kept of the amounts of the other items which go to make up the total exports.

The imports consist of rice and other grains, cotton goods, lamp oil, ghee, dried fish, and miscellaneous goods. No separate accounts of the imports either have hitherto been kept, but the total annual value is supposed to be between 700,000 and 1,000,000 rupees.

The entire carrying trade of the island is effected by means of dhows, owned by the British Indians, which ply between Zanzibar and the three towns, Chaki Chaki, Weli, and Jamba'ngome.

Agricultural  
possibilities of the  
island.

The agricultural possibilities of Pemba are simply boundless. The soil throughout the western two-thirds of the island consists of a deep layer of vegetable humus which overlies in parts a blue, and in parts a red clay. It is of the most amazing fertility, and the variety and luxuriance of the vegetation which it nourishes are wonderful to behold. Here the clove attains to its greatest perfection. On some of the plantations there are groves of those trees, said to be about 60 years old, of which the average height is over 50 feet, and the yield of cloves per tree is as much as 3 frasilas and upwards. In the eastern portion of the island, the soil is a light sandy loam, which is well adapted for grains and pulse.

The annual rainfall in Pemba is enormous, and sunset is habitually succeeded by drenching dews. The sun's rays acting upon the rich moist soil stimulates all kinds of vegetation to an extraordinary degree, and the island is in fact a vast forcing-house.

The existing conditions of soil and climate are suitable for an immense variety of useful products. Amongst the cereals, rice thrives exceptionally well. In former years considerable quantities of it were exported, of which the quality was admittedly excellent, but its cultivation is now much neglected, and the amount grown in the island is insufficient for the local consumption. Jowari (*holcus sorghum*), known to the Arabs as "ta'am," meaning food (whence the Ki-Swahili "m'tama"), also grows well. It ripens in five months, and attains a height of nearly 20 feet. Maize matures rapidly, and bears magnificent cobs. Many varieties of pulse grow almost wild. Amongst them are to be enumerated the black, red, and white varieties of "lubiya" and the "thur," which is known to the Arabs as "turiyan," and to the Wa-Swahili as "baradi." A small green pea (*phaseolus Mungo*), called "chiroko" by the natives, thrives well, as does also the small black grain (*phaseolus radiatus*), locally termed "phiwi." In a word, Pemba might be made the granary of East Africa.

A variety of oil-palm (*etæis guineensis*) grows freely in the southern portion of the island. It differs from the west coast palm in having for its inflorescence not a spike, but a raceme, and it is probably a distinct species. It yields oil of excellent quality, which would prove a very valuable commercial commodity, but the inhabitants of the island are ignorant of the method of extraction. The benefits which accrue from the systematic cultivation of the oil-palm are well exemplified in the present flourishing condition of various places in the Gold Coast and in the Bight of Biafra, of which it has proved the financial salvation. The oil palm.

The worst feature about Pemba is the climate. The island is a hot-bed of malaria, and all classes of the inhabitants suffer severely from the various manifestations of that protean disease. Elephantiasis is common amongst the black population, and of the endemic complaints, other than malaria, which affect all residents indiscriminately, are to be chiefly enumerated dysentery and other bowel disorders, ophthalmia, skin affections of an aggravated type, and ulcers which appear mostly upon the feet and legs, and which closely resemble syphilitic sores. In spite of the great rainfall, there are but few streams in the island, and none of any considerable size. The water appears to soak into the porous soil, and the necessary fluid has to be obtained, in most instances, from wells. These are liable to contamination of the grossest kind, and doubtless much of the sickness which prevails throughout the island is attributable to the consumption of impure water. Climate of Pemba.

The liberation of the slaves in Pemba would doubtless give rise to an acute labour crisis, and would upset the economic conditions of the island. It is notorious that plantation slaves, when freed, have a great objection to perform any kind of agricultural work, which naturally is associated in their minds with their former servile state. That this is a difficulty which may be anticipated in Pemba was demonstrated by what recently occurred on the estate which the Zanzibar Government have purchased. General Sir Lloyd Mathews, First Minister of His Highness' Government, came to Pemba about three months ago to arrange certain matters connected with the taking over of the estate. He summoned the freed slaves, over 100 in number, who formerly belonged to M. Cotoni, and who, since his death about eighteen months ago, have continued to squat upon the plantation. All of those Sir Lloyd offered to engage, on very fair terms as regards wages, for the cultivation of the estate. They would be required to work only five days per week, and in addition to the wages, each would receive a free plot of land. More than one-half of those freed slaves declined to accept work, even on the liberal terms offered to them, and even after it was pointed out to them that their refusal meant that they must surrender their huts and plots of ground and quit the property. This they preferred to do, and I learn that most of them have since left the island. The question of liberating the slaves.  
Freed plantation slaves averse to do agricultural labour.

An exodus on a wholesale scale, in the event of all the slaves being set free, must manifestly be guarded against; otherwise there would be practically a total cessation of agricultural operations, the landowners would be absolutely ruined, and the island would speedily go out of cultivation.

I would suggest that the freed slaves be prohibited from quitting the island for a period of five years from the date of their liberation, and that measures be taken to prevent their doing so. Such a regulation would be the less harsh in view of the facts that, of the slaves at present in Pemba, a considerable proportion have been born in the island, while of the others, recruited from various parts of the mainland, the great majority were kidnapped many years ago when they were children. They remember little or nothing about their respective tribes, they have mostly forgotten their native language where it has been other than Ki-Swahili, and it is very doubtful whether they have any desire to return to their original homes. Suggested precautions in connection with the liberation of the slaves.

It would, furthermore, be desirable that the freed slaves be compelled to reside upon the estates of their respective former masters, to whom they should be made to pay such annual hut rent as might be fixed by Government. This arrangement would secure to the Arabs an annual income proportionate to the number of slaves formerly held by them.

It would also make it easier for them to procure labourers for the cultivation of their plantations, as the donation by them of such plots of land as the freed slaves would need for their own use might be made conditional upon the performance by the said freed slaves of a certain amount of work in lieu of rent.

Lastly, I would suggest that it be made compulsory for the freed slaves to work for their former owners during the clove-picking season, on terms also to be determined by Government. At present the land-owners gladly avail themselves of free labour to assist in the picking of their crop, and the usual arrangement in such cases is that



the free labourer keeps for himself a proportion, generally one-third or one-half, of the cloves which he picks. Such would be an equitable arrangement in the case of the freed slaves also.

It would be necessary, of course, to protect and watch over the freed slaves, for in very many instances, doubtless, their former masters would endeavour, by terrorizing over them, to reduce them to a state of practical slavery, in which their condition would be well nigh as bad as before their liberation.

There is little doubt that after a while the freed slaves, finding that they must remain in the island, and failing to obtain other work, would settle down to agricultural labour, especially when it became clear to them that they would receive fair remuneration for their toil. Moreover, the mainland blacks, and especially those along the coast, would probably be willing enough to come and work in Pemba if they were assured that there was no danger of their being enslaved.

Seychelles offers an encouraging example in connection with this question of abolishing slavery, for it has passed successfully through a crisis analogous to that which may be expected to occur in Pemba if the slaves in that island are liberated. The population of Seychelles, apart from the European element, is composed of freed slaves and of their descendants, yet no difficulty is now experienced in getting those people to work as agricultural labourers.

During a visit which I recently paid to Seychelles I had the opportunity of visiting the chief plantations in the archipelago. I observed for myself how thoroughly and well the general work of cultivation is carried out. The planters told me that the negro labourers are in every way satisfactory, and that they are quite competent, under supervision, to look after crops such as vanilla, coffee, and cacao, which require especial care, and to prepare the different products for the market. The labourers receive, on an average, 10 rupees per month each for six days' work per week.

The superiority of the free labour in Seychelles as compared with the slave labour in Pemba is very striking. I should say that the Seychelles negro is fully three times more efficient, from an agricultural point of view, than is the Pemba negro under existing conditions, and the chief reason of the difference is undoubtedly that the former is a free man, who receives adequate remuneration for his work, whereas the latter is a slave, who receives no remuneration of any kind for his enforced labour, and whose only stimulus is fear of the stick.

In the event of its being decided by Her Majesty's Government to abolish slavery in Pemba, I would recommend that the owners be paid fair compensation, not only for their slaves liberated, but also for the further loss which they would incur in consequence of their being deprived of the free labour upon which they have hitherto depended. The latter item of compensation might take the form of a sum of money equivalent to the wages for (say) three or five years of as many free men as there are slaves set free. I have already explained the financial position of the Arabs and the embarrassments by which they are beset; the loss of their slaves, without compensation, would mean absolute ruin to them.

It is doubtless true that the majority of the slaves now in Pemba are held in contravention of the Treaty concluded in 1873 between Her Majesty and Seyyid Barghash, but it must be remembered that no serious attempts were made to enforce its provisions against slave-dealing, and that it remained practically a dead letter so far as Pemba was concerned; furthermore, it is probable that many of the present slave-owners in the island have never even heard of that Treaty. An exception, as regards compensation, might justly be made in the case of slaves acquired since 1890, when Great Britain became the Protecting Power, but those constitute a very small proportion of the total servile population.

It would be necessary, of course, carefully to scrutinize and to verify the statements of the various owners as to the number of slaves respectively held by them should it be decided to award compensation.

It would be undesirable, I consider, to include concubines in whatever scheme of liberation may be decided upon. I have explained the position occupied by those women, and I am confident that the Arabs would strenuously oppose and bitterly resent any interference with the inmates of their harems.

I do not anticipate that there will be any serious difficulty in carrying out the provisions of a Decree for the abolition of slavery.

It is to be expected, of course, that the attitude of the Arabs will be one of hostility to any such measure; but if compensation be awarded them, and if they know that assistance will be extended to them on the lines which I have indicated in the course of this Report, they are not likely to offer any serious opposition to the freeing of their

The example of  
Seychelles.

Superiority of free  
over slave labour.

Recommendations  
with regard to  
compensation of the  
slave-owners.

slaves. I do not think that, in any case, they are likely to push their opposition to the length of an armed resistance.

Doubtless, their position at first will be a trying one; they are certain to experience much difficulty, for a time at least, in procuring labour for the cultivation of their plantations, and this will be the case more especially for those amongst them who have been harsh task-masters in the past. However, the labour difficulty will right itself eventually, and the money paid to the slave-owners as compensation will enable them to tide over the worst of the crisis.

The Arabs have had a good innings in times gone by; in future they will have to pay for labour as other planters elsewhere do, and they must learn to adapt themselves as best they can to their altered circumstances.

*Pemba, May 30, 1896.*

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CORRESPONDENCE respecting Slavery in the  
Zanzibar Dominions.

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