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AFRICA. No. 6 (1895).

CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

SLAVERY IN ZANZIBAR.

*Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
April 1895.*

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE
BY HARRISON AND SONS, ST. MARTIN'S LANE,
PRINTERS IN ORDINARY TO HER MAJESTY.

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Correspondence respecting Slavery in Zanzibar.

No. 1.

British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to the Earl of Rosebery.—(Received August 10.)

My Lord,

55, New Broad Street, London, August 9, 1893.

IN view of the continued shipment of slaves from the mainland and Island of Zanzibar, the attention of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society has been directed to the responsibility which England has incurred by undertaking the Protectorate of the Sultan's possessions in East Africa.

In various parts of the world where she has assumed the Protectorate of countries in which slavery had long existed, England has cleared herself from the stigma of recognizing any legal status in that institution. Notably, in the case of India, the Gold Coast of Africa, and Cyprus, the British Government decreed that in no Court of Law should the institution of slavery obtain legal recognition, a policy by the carrying out of which, without any sudden disturbance of the existing state of things, slaves were enabled to emancipate themselves, since no Court, English or native, could compel them to return to their masters against their will. Copies of the Decrees abolishing the legal status of slavery in the above-named territories are annexed for your Lordship's information.

On several occasions during the past ten years this Society has urged Her Majesty's Government to take steps for obtaining the abolition of the legal status of slavery in the Sultanate of Zanzibar, even before it came under British protection. In 1888 the Society recalled the attention of the Foreign Office to a Report written by Sir John Kirk in March 1884, in which the latter stated that he believed "the non-recognition of slavery as a status known to the law to be essential to prosperity in Pemba." Replying to this Report of the Consul-General, the late Earl Granville instructed him to lose no fitting opportunity of bringing this matter before the Sultan, and in November of the same year Sir John Kirk wrote to the Secretary of State as follows:—

"I shall avail myself of the present occasion to urge upon the Sultan the advantages he would gain by ignoring slavery as a status recognized by law in Zanzibar and Pemba, as thereby free men would gladly come over in numbers in search of wages and food, who are now afraid to do so, or who, if they do, are kidnapped on landing and claimed as slaves by some one or other on shore."

On the appointment of Sir Charles Euan-Smith as Sir John Kirk's successor at Zanzibar, the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society again brought this question before the Foreign Office in March 1889, and in reply to its Memorial the Marquis of Salisbury stated that the Society might feel confident that the new Minister would not fail to seize any opportunity which might offer of urging the Sultan to adopt a policy so desirable in the interests of humanity and civilization.

Other Memorials with reference to slavery in Zanzibar and the non-fulfilment of the Treaties entered into from time to time by successive Sultans have been forwarded by the Society to the Foreign Office, but with the details of these it is unnecessary now to trouble your Lordship.

On the 1st August, 1890, a Proclamation was issued by the Sultan, "confirming all former Decrees and Ordinances made by our predecessor against slavery and the Slave Trade," and this action was hailed by the British public with much satisfaction.

Unfortunately, however, the relief alleged to be afforded to the slave population by these Edicts was withdrawn in a very few weeks by another Proclamation cancelling some of the most important clauses of the original document, although, as a matter of fact, all slaves introduced into Zanzibar after 1873 were illegally held in bondage, in contravention of the Treaty of that year abolishing the Slave Trade.

The fact that Great Britain has assumed the Protectorate over Zanzibar has placed

her in a position towards the slave population of those territories perfectly different from that existing at the time referred to, and it is therefore incumbent upon her to declare that slavery is an institution that cannot be recognized in any country under the protection of Her Majesty.

The Reports which have lately appeared in the press, and which must have come to the knowledge of Her Majesty's Government, together with the cases brought before the Consular Court, clearly prove that the Slave Trade on the East Coast of Africa, and from Zanzibar, is flourishing as vigorously as it did before England assumed the Protectorate.

From these captures it has been made clear that the large profits derived from the Trade are sufficient to stimulate a traffic in human beings which would no longer be possible were an enactment issued giving to the slave population in Zanzibar the rights of free men.

The Committee is assured by the very best authorities, long acquainted with Zanzibar, that the result of such a method of abolition as that now again urged upon Her Majesty's Government would be succeeded by no violent disruption of the ordinary domestic life, a view which entirely accords with the experience of the Society in various parts of the world during the past half-century.

In support of this view the Committee begs to inclose an extract from a letter which it received from an eminent Indian subject of Her Majesty in Zanzibar, who considered that even so long ago as 1889 the time was ripe for the abolition of slavery in that country.

In asking your Lordship to carry out this policy, the Committee feels assured that Her Majesty's Government would receive the support of the public of England in continuation of that moral policy to which this country has set her seal.

On behalf of the Committee, I have, &c.

(Signed)

CHAS. H. ALLEN, *Secretary.*

Inclosure 1 in No. 1.

METHODS OF ABOLISHING THE LEGAL STATUS OF SLAVERY.

THE following methods have been adopted under the sanction of the British Crown for abolishing the status of slavery in countries where that institution has existed from time immemorial :—

India.

Act No. 5 of 1843, passed by the Honourable the President of the Council of India in Council, on the 7th April, 1843, with the assent of the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India :—

An Act for declaring and amending the Law regarding the Condition of Slavery within the Territories of the East India Company.

1. It is hereby enacted and declared that no public officer shall, in execution of any decree or order of Court, or for the enforcement of any demand of rent or revenue, sell or cause to be sold any person, or the right to the compulsory labour or service of any person, on the ground that such person is in a state of slavery.

2. And it is hereby declared and enacted that no rights arising out of an alleged property in the person and services of another as a slave shall be enforced by any Civil or Criminal Court or Magistrate within the territories of the East India Company.

3. And it is hereby declared and enacted that no person who may have acquired property by his own industry, or by the exercise of any art, calling, or profession, or by inheritance, assignment, gift, or bequest, shall be dispossessed of such property, or prevented from taking possession thereof, on the ground that such person, or that the person from whom the property may have been derived, was a slave.

4. And it is hereby enacted that any act which would be a penal offence if done to a free man shall be equally an offence if done to any person on the pretext of his being in a condition of slavery.

Scinde.—General Order.

By the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India.

Political Department, Agra, March 13, 1843.

The Governor-General is pleased to appoint Major-General Sir Charles Napier, K.C.B., Governor of the Province of Scinde.

The Governor-General is pleased to direct that all Acts of Parliament for the abolition of slavery, and for the suppression of the Slave Trade, shall have full force and effect in every part of Scinde which now is, or hereafter may be, occupied by the British army.

The Gold Coast.

His Excellency Governor Strahan, who proceeded to West Africa to carry out the policy adopted by Her Majesty's Government there, held a meeting of all the Kings and Chiefs of the Western and Central tribes on the Gold Coast, on the subject of the Slave Trade and slavery. It was held at the Castle of Cape Coast, in the Palaver Hall, on the 3rd November, 1874.

After giving a short history of the help rendered by England to the protected tribes, his Excellency delivered—

“The Message of the Queen on the Slave Trade and Slavery on the Gold Coast.

“In return for the benefits rendered, the Queen requests your aid in putting an end to a thing she and her people abhor. This thing is against a law which no King or Queen of England ever can change. I have pointed out to some of you that the English people buy sheep, fowls, and other live stock, but not men, women, and children. The Queen is determined to put a stop at once to the buying and selling of slaves, either within or without the Protectorate, in any shape, degree, or form, and she will allow no person to be taken as a pawn for debt. (This last passage was repeated with considerable emphasis.) The Queen desires to make you as happy as her own people. This buying, selling, and pawning of men and women and children is wrong, and no country where it exists can be happy. The Queen does not desire to take any of your people from you; those of them who like to work for, and with, and to assist you, can remain with you. If they are happy and continue to live with you on the same terms as now, no change will be forced upon you; but any person who does not desire to live with you on those terms can leave, and will not be compelled by any Court, British or native, to return to you. The Queen hopes to make you happy in many ways—as happy as those in her other dominions. It is right that I should tell you distinctly that if you desire her protection you must do as she wishes, as she orders. This is the Queen's message. When the Queen speaks in this way it is not a matter for palaver, question, hesitation, or doubt, but she expects obedience and assent. I will only say that, without the Queen's money and troops, you would have been slaves of a bloodthirsty people. The Queen has paid a great price for your freedom. You, and those near and dear to you, would have been dragged hence to form a portion of the thousands who are decapitated and sacrificed by this savage race for their customs. Your homes would have been homes full of misery. I see you to-day enjoying peace, and I call on you all to join with me in the prayer, ‘God save the Queen.’

“My message is delivered.”

The Governor ceased speaking, and for a short time the Chiefs were consulting among themselves what answer to give. At last King Edo, of Mankessim, solicited permission from his Excellency to retire till the next day, so that they (the Kings) might consult together as to the answer they could give. This, however, the Governor refused, and referred them to that portion of his speech or message wherein he had stated that, when the Queen expressed her wishes, it remained only for them to obey; but, if they wished it, he would retire for a short time, and leave them to their deliberations. His Excellency then left the Palaver Hall, and upon his return in about one hour the Kings and Chiefs informed him that they were willing to cease from buying or selling slaves, but raised objection to the slaves being permitted to go free if they chose without there being any cause shown, and likewise to pawns not being allowed.

From a statement in continuation of this Report, it was feared that his Excellency the Governor had consented to the continuance of compulsory slavery, and that "no slave could leave his or her master or mistress unless there was proof given of cruelty or maltreatment." The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society had resolved to address the Secretary of the Colonies on this subject, when they observed, with much satisfaction, the subjoined letter from Lord Carnarvon, stating that whenever a slave wished to leave his owner, no English or native Court would interfere:—

"Lord Carnarvon presents his compliments to the editor of the 'Daily News,' and, with a view to prevent any misapprehension of the precise position of the measures now being adopted for the abolition of slavery on the Gold Coast, thinks it right that it should be known that, according to Governor Strahan's Report of the last mail, the Kings and Chiefs, after asking and receiving explanations, were fully satisfied with the announcement that any slave who may not wish to continue to live with his master shall not hereafter be compelled to return to him by any Court, English or native. It is therefore unnecessary that cruelty or any other cause should be established; and Lord Carnarvon entertains no doubt that under this declaration slaves will be entirely free to stay with or to leave their masters, and that any attempt to interfere with this freedom will be effectively punished. The proceedings, however, now reported must be looked upon as the first step of a policy which must of necessity be gradual in its development.—*Colonial Office, December 4, 1874.*"

Governor Strahan's Proclamation abolishing Slavery on the Gold Coast.

The following is the text of the Proclamation of Governor Strahan relative to the abolition of slavery:—

"Whereas the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty has resolved to abolish slave-dealing in her Protectorate of the Gold Coast, and the importation thereinto of slaves and persons intended to be dealt with as slaves, and also to provide for the emancipation of persons holden as slaves within the same Protectorate;

"And whereas the Governor and Legislative Council of the Gold Coast Colony have, by Her Majesty's commands, enacted an Ordinance, bearing date the 17th December, 1874, by which all selling, buying, or dealing in slaves is declared unlawful, and is absolutely and for ever abolished, prohibited, and made penal; and another Ordinance, also bearing date the 17th December, 1874, providing for the emancipation of persons holden in slavery:

"Now, I do hereby proclaim, publish, and make known the said Ordinances to all persons whom it may concern.

"And further, in order and to the intent that all the Kings, Chiefs, Headmen, and other persons throughout the aforesaid Protectorate and elsewhere may the more readily understand and obey the laws now made and enacted, I hereby require every person to take notice and observe that now and from henceforth—

"It is unlawful to sell, or purchase, or transfer, or take any person as a slave.

"It is unlawful to sell, or purchase, or transfer, or take any person, so as to make such person a slave.

"It is unlawful to put or take any person in pawn for or on account of any debt.

"It is unlawful to bring any person, whether slave or free, into the Protectorate territories from Ashantee or elsewhere, in order that such person should be sold or dealt with as a slave or pawn.

"It is unlawful to take or send any person out of the protected territories in order that such person should be sold or dealt with as a slave or pawn.

"It is unlawful to make any contract or agreement for buying, selling, or pawning any person, or for bringing any person into or out of the protected territories to be dealt with as a slave or pawn.

"It is unlawful that any King, Chief, Headman, or other person should in any palaver, or by any means whatsoever, force or constrain any person for the purpose of compelling him to remain at any place or serve any master, contrary to the will of such person.

"Whosoever offends against any of these laws shall be punished with imprisonment and hard labour, and may also be fined.

"If in any contract hereafter made it should be agreed that any person shall be put in pawn, or bought, or sold, or transferred, the whole contract shall be null and void.

"And, further, let all persons whom it may concern take notice that all children who, after the 5th day of November, 1874, have been or shall be born in the Protectorate have

been declared free. But it is not intended by any of the aforesaid laws or otherwise to offer inducement to any persons to leave any master in whose service they may be desirous of remaining, or to forsake the 'kroom' where they have been accustomed to inhabit; and that it is intended to permit the family and tribal relations to continue in all respects according as used and wont, except only that of slavery, and such customs as arise therefrom, and are thereon necessarily dependent.

"Given at Government House, Cape Coast Castle, this 17th day of December, in the year of our Lord 1874, and in Her Majesty's reign the 38th.

"By command,
(Signed) "W. OWEN LANYON,
"Acting Colonial Secretary.

"God save the Queen."

No. 1, 1874.—GOLD COAST COLONY.

In the 38th year of the reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria.

(L.S.) Captain GEORGE CUMINE STRAHAN, *Governor*.

[December 17, 1874.]

At a Legislative Council held at Cape Coast Castle on the 17th day of December, in the year of our Lord 1874.

An Ordinance to provide for the abolition of Slave-dealing.

Whereas it is expedient that effectual measures should be taken for abolishing slave-dealing,

Be it therefore enacted by the Governor of the Gold Coast Colony, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council thereof, as follows, viz. :—

1. This Ordinance shall come into operation upon its being passed by the Legislative Council, and assented to by the Governor, and thereupon shall extend and apply to the Gold Coast Colony and the protected territories.

2. In this Ordinance the term "protected territories" shall mean the countries or territories on the West Coast of Africa, near or adjacent to the Settlement on the Gold Coast wherein the Queen's Majesty has acquired, or may hereafter acquire, powers and jurisdiction.

3. Slave-dealing is hereby declared unlawful, and is prohibited.

4. Whoever shall do, or shall attempt to do, any of the acts hereinafter mentioned, that is to say—

- (1.) Deal or trade in, purchase, sell, barter, transfer, or take any slave;
- (2.) Deal or trade in, purchase, sell, barter, transfer, or take any person in order or so that such person should be held or treated as a slave;
- (3.) Place or receive any person in servitude as a pledge or security for debt, whether then due and owing, or to be incurred or contingent, whether under the name of a pawn, or by whatever other name such person may be called or known;
- (4.) Convey or induce any person to come within the limits of the protected territories in order or so that such person shall be dealt or traded in, purchased, sold, bartered, transferred, or become a slave, or be placed in servitude as a pledge or security for debt;
- (5.) Convey or send, or induce, any person to go out of the limits of the protected territories, in order or so that such person should be dealt or traded in, purchased, sold, bartered, transferred, or become a slave, or be placed in servitude as a pledge or security for debt;
- (6.) Enter into any contract or agreement with or without consideration for doing any of the acts, or accomplishing any of the purposes, hereinafter enumerated;

shall and shall be deemed to have committed the offence of slave-dealing.

5. Whoever shall aid, assist, counsel, request, order, or procure any person to commit the offence of slave-dealing shall be deemed and be guilty of slave-dealing, and may be tried and convicted either as an accessory before the fact to the principal offence, or after the conviction of the principal offender, or may be indicted and convicted of the

substantive offence, whether the principal offender shall or shall not have been previously convicted, or shall or shall not be amenable to justice.

6. Every offence of slave-dealing may be inquired of, tried, determined, and dealt with by any Court having, within the Gold Coast Colony or the protected territories, competent jurisdiction to try crimes and offences: declaring that the term "Court" for the purposes of this Ordinance shall include the Courts of such native Kings and Chiefs only as the Governor may by his Commission authorize, either specially to try the offence of slave-dealing, or generally to try crimes and offences.

7. Whosoever shall be convicted of slave-dealing shall be liable to be punished by imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for a period which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to be fined, either in addition to, or in substitution for, such imprisonment; and where any fine shall have been imposed, such fine shall be recoverable by distress and sale of the goods and chattels of the party convicted; and in default of sufficient distress, or without proceeding by distress in case the Court pronouncing sentence shall so order, by imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for any term not exceeding two years, unless such fine shall be sooner paid.

8. Every person who, as a slave or otherwise, shall be brought or induced to come within the Gold Coast Colony or protected territories so or in order that such person should be dealt or traded in, sold, purchased, bartered, transferred, or taken, or should become or be a slave, or be placed in servitude, or transferred as a pledge or security for debt, shall become and be, and is hereby declared to be, a free person.

9. Every present contract in which it is stipulated or agreed that any person shall be brought or sold, or placed in servitude, or be transferred either as a pledge or security for debt, or in any other way, shall, so far as regards any such stipulation or agreement, be, and is hereby declared to be, wholly, and in every particular, null and void, and every future contract which shall contain any such stipulation or agreement shall be absolutely illegal.

10. This Ordinance shall be sufficiently cited for all purposes as "The Gold Coast Slave-dealing Abolition Ordinance, 1874."

Passed in the Legislative Council this 17th day of December, in the year of our Lord 1874.

(Signed) ALFRED MOLONEY,
Clerk of Legislative Council.

I assent to this Ordinance in Her Majesty's name.
(Signed) GEO. C. STRAHAN, *Governor.*

No. 2, 1874.—GOLD COAST COLONY.

In the 38th year of the reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria.

(L.S.) Captain GEORGE CUMINE STRAHAN, *Governor.*

[December 17, 1874.]
At a Legislative Council held at Cape Coast Castle, on the 17th day of December, in the year of our Lord 1874.

An Ordinance to provide for the Emancipation of Persons holden in Slavery.

Whereas divers persons under the native laws of the protected territories on the Gold Coast are or may be holden in slavery, and it is just and expedient to provide for the emancipation of all such persons:

Be it therefore enacted by the Governor of the Gold Coast Colony, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council thereof, as follows, viz. :—

1. This Ordinance shall come into operation upon its being passed by the Legislative Council and assented to by the Governor, and thereupon shall extend and apply to the Gold Coast Colony and the protected territories.

2. In this Ordinance the term "protected territories" shall mean the countries or territories on the West Coast of Africa, near or adjacent to the Settlement on the Gold Coast, wherein the Queen's Majesty has acquired, or may hereafter acquire, powers and jurisdiction.

3. All persons who after the 5th day of November, of the year 1874, shall have been or shall be born within the limits to which this Ordinance applies, who under the native

laws of the protected territories are, or may be liable to be holden, or but for this Ordinance would or might be, or be liable to be holden in slavery are, and shall be, and are hereby declared, free persons to all intents and purposes; but providing that, except in so far as is inconsistent with this Ordinance and with "The Gold Coast Slave-dealing Abolition Ordinance, 1874," nothing herein contained shall be construed to diminish or derogate from the rights and obligations of parents and of children, or from other rights and obligations, not being repugnant to the law of England, arising out of the family and tribal relations customarily used and observed in the protected territories.

4. If at any time after this Ordinance shall have come into operation any claim or alleged right over or affecting the liberty of any person shall be made, stated, or brought into controversy, or shall arise, or come in question, whether as a ground or cause of action, or by way of plea, answer, demurrer, or defence of, in, or to any suit, action, cause, indictment, information, prosecution, or proceeding, or in any other manner of way whatsoever, then, and in every such case, such claim or alleged right shall be deemed and be of no force or validity, and every Court of Justice, Judge, Magistrate, native King, Chief, and other tribunal, authority, and person before whom any such claim or alleged right may be made, stated, brought into controversy, or shall arise, or come in question as aforesaid, shall refuse, disallow, discharge, and dismiss the same for all purposes and effects whatsoever: Providing always that this enactment shall not be construed to include or apply to such rights as under the ordinary rules of English law applicable to the Gold Coast Colony may arise under and by virtue of contracts of service between free men, or as are included and reserved in the last preceding section.

5. Whosoever shall, by any species of coercion or restraint, compel or attempt to compel the service of any person declared in this or in any other Ordinance of this Colony a free person shall be guilty of an offence punishable in the manner prescribed in the 7th section of "The Gold Coast Slave-dealing Abolition Ordinance, 1874": Provided that this enactment shall not be construed to apply to any such coercion as lawfully may be exercised by virtue of such contracts of service as under the ordinary rules of English law applicable to the Gold Coast Colony may be entered into between free persons, or by virtue of such rights as are included and reserved in the 3rd section of this Ordinance.

6. This Ordinance shall be sufficiently cited for all purposes as "The Gold Coast Emancipation Ordinance, 1874."

Passed in the Legislative Council this 17th day of December, in the year of our Lord 1874.

(Signed) ALFRED MOLONEY,
Clerk of Legislative Council.

I assent to this Ordinance in Her Majesty's name.
(Signed) GEO. C. STRAHAN, Governor.

Ordinance of the High Commissioner and Commander-in-chief of the Island of Cyprus, with the advice of the Legislative Council thereof, to remove doubts as to the legal abolition of involuntary Servitude in Cyprus, and to declare the Law in respect thereto.

[December 27, 1879.]

Whereas doubts have been expressed whether involuntary servitude in this island has been abolished in due form of law, and it is expedient that these doubts should be removed:

Be it therefore enacted by his Excellency the High Commissioner and Commander-in-chief of the Island of Cyprus, with the advice of the Legislative Council, as follows:—

1. Involuntary servitude, except for any crime or offence whereof a person shall have been duly convicted, is hereby declared to be unlawful.

2. No rights arising out of an alleged property in the person and services of another as a slave shall be enforced by any Civil or Criminal Court or other authority whatsoever within this island.

3. No person who may have acquired property by his own industry, or by the exercise of any art, calling, or profession, or by inheritance, assignment, gift, or bequest, shall be dispossessed of such property, or prevented from taking possession thereof, on the ground that such person, or that the person from whom the property may have been derived, was a slave.

4. No one shall be excused from the consequences of doing any act amounting to a

penal offence on the ground that the person to, upon, or against whom the act was done was or was believed to be in a state of slavery.

5. This Ordinance shall be entitled "The Involuntary Servitude Declaration Ordinance, 1879."

Passed in Council, this 18th day of December, in the year of our Lord 1879.

Inclosure 2 in No. 1.

Extract from a Private Letter from an eminent British-Indian Subject at Zanzibar, dated January 10 (? 14), 1889.

IN writing to you I wish to mark not only my sense of the appreciation of your Society's disinterested efforts in the cause of humanity, but also my great abhorrence of the inhuman institution of slavery, as it obtains here in Zanzibar, in these enlightened times. Of the barbarities practised on slaves in the interior by slave-dealers I have no personal knowledge; but living, as I do, in an Arab and Swahili quarter here, I am, to my great uneasiness, a constant witness of the revolting cruelties to which domestic slaves, male and female, are subjected at the hands of their unfeeling masters and mistresses. Often have I seen a slave-girl tied to a post and unmercifully flogged for some supposed or petty delinquency, while the mistress of the house would enjoy the sight and join in a hearty laugh with her other domestics at the heartrending cries of the wretch flogged. I am an ardent advocate of the total abolition of slavery from the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, as I am firmly of opinion that this is the time for striking a death-blow to this diabolical institution here, and that if the present opportunity is allowed to escape, I am afraid it may take several years before another such opportunity presents itself. Owing to the present state of things here, the Arabs and other slave-owners here are already half prepared to hear of the proposal to emancipate their slaves, while the slave population flutter with delight at the prospect of their expected emancipation. Any apprehension that an attempt at emancipation of the slaves here will be attended with a revolt by slave-owners would show want of knowledge of the native population, who, as a body, are peace-abiding, and are little disposed to risk their lives and property in any case. The Arabs and Swahilis of Zanzibar and Pemba, however partial to slavery, are not to be judged of by the character of those bloodthirsty slavers who have created all the disturbances on the coast and in the interior at present.

No. 2.

Foreign Office to British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

Sir,

Foreign Office, August 14, 1893.

I AM directed by the Earl of Rosebery to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 9th instant, and inclosures, urging the abolition of slavery in the British Protectorate of Zanzibar.

I am to state, in reply, that your Committee may rest assured that this important question will be very carefully considered by Her Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.
(Signed) P. CURRIE.

No. 3.

The Earl of Rosebery to Mr. Rodd.

Sir,

Foreign Office, August 14, 1893.

I TRANSMIT herewith copies of a letter, and its inclosures, from the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,* urging the abolition of the status of slavery in Zanzibar.

I should be glad if you would consult General Mathews on the subject, and furnish me with your opinion as to the measures recommended by the Society.

I am, &c.
(Signed) ROSEBERY.

No. 4.

British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to the Earl of Rosebery.—(Received September 7.)

My Lord, 55, New Broad Street, London, September 1, 1893.
MR. RENNELL RODD, Acting Agent and Consul-General at Zanzibar, has addressed a despatch to your Lordship, under date Zanzibar, 12th June,* commenting upon a letter addressed by me to the editor of the "Daily News" on the 9th May respecting slaves kidnapped in Zanzibar, and complaining of statements therein contained.

Of Mr. Rodd's letter I had no knowledge until it appeared in the "Times" of the 16th August, although received at the Foreign Office on the 10th July, and as it was addressed to your Lordship, I now have the honour to submit the following reply:—

In commenting upon the conciliatory remarks made by me as to the action of France in this particular instance, Mr. Rodd thinks that I have erred in crediting France with carrying out the provisions of the Brussels Act. On this point I fully admit that Mr. Rodd is in a better position than myself to judge the action of the French officials, for, as regards the line of conduct taken by them on this occasion, I merely repeated the statement in the "Zanzibar Gazette" of the 12th April.

This is, however, a matter of secondary moment, for the chief object of my letter was to call attention to the extent of the sea traffic in slaves that still goes on both into and out of two islands that now form part of a British Protectorate, viz., Zanzibar and Pemba, which were acquired consequent upon an Agreement under which we ceded Heligoland to another Power.

On reperusing my letter to the "Daily News," and Mr. Rodd's comments thereon, I fear that, perhaps from my not having expressed more fully what I intended to convey by the words "Zanzibar and neighbouring ports," persons not fully acquainted with the extent of the Zanzibar territory on the mainland and on the islands may have fallen into the same error as Mr. Rodd by supposing that I referred only to the export Slave Trade from the islands to Arabia. This is the only Slave Trade to which Mr. Rodd in his reply refers (excepting what he calls a "petty traffic" between the mainland and the islands), and this being so, I am not surprised that he contests the estimate of the number of slaves given by me. My argument is that, as the highest authorities agree in estimating the slaves captured at only about the one-twentieth of those shipped, whether for conveyance from the mainland of Africa to the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, or from the Zanzibar dominions to Arabia, that a rough estimate can be formed of the total amount of the Slave Trade.

The case on which my letter was founded was certainly of the shipment of slaves for the Persian Gulf, and Mr. Rodd fails to see that in speaking of "Zanzibar and neighbouring ports" I had in view the ports on the mainland, as well as those of the islands.

The "Zanzibar coast" is a well-known expression, used to include not only that portion now ruled by Germany, but also what still remains under the nominal rule of the Sultan, though actually administered, like Zanzibar Island itself, by officers appointed by the British Government. England, therefore, as the Protecting Power, is alone responsible, since the obligations assumed in regard to Protectorates in Africa are, under the Berlin and Brussels Acts, as full and binding upon her in the Zanzibar Protectorate as though it were a Crown possession.

I regret that Mr. Rodd should have been thus mistaken as to my meaning, because I see that many organs of the English press, relying upon his authority, have accepted his statements, and expressed their satisfaction at the conclusion he arrives at, "that very few slaves have been removed from the Island of Zanzibar this season," not recognizing the fact that he omits all reference to the import of slaves that goes on all the year round to the islands. Certainly, the unusually large number of captures made this season point unmistakably to a continued activity in the Slave Trade both into and out of the islands.

The actual number of slaves shipped in order to be smuggled into the islands or to Arabia can only be estimated from those captured, as no statistics whatever are obtainable of those which escape the vigilance of Her Majesty's cruisers.

An examination of the Reports on the African Slave Trade during the last fifty years, as published by the British Government, shows an almost complete consensus of

* See "Africa No. 6 (1893)."

opinion on the part of the highest authorities that only about 5 or 6 per cent. of the slaves shipped are ever captured by cruisers, and this without the slightest aspersion on the vigilance and zeal of the officers employed upon this arduous service.

This was the estimate given by Admiral Sir Leopold Heath as the proportion of captures made by the ships of the squadron under his command before the Treaty of 1873 with Zanzibar was negotiated, and when we had simply to deal with the Arabian Slave Trade. In his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1871 on the East African Slave Trade he stated that our vessels had captured about 1,000 slaves in the year, and that 19,000 were unaccounted for. The Select Committee, in its Report, states that during the years 1867-68-69 the slaves captured numbered 2,645, whilst, according to the Return of slaves exported from Zanzibar and Kilwa during those years, 37,000 must have evaded capture (pp. vii and 55). This estimate was substantially confirmed by Consul O'Neill and others in official despatches.

Sir John Kirk, writing from Zanzibar in 1880 to the Marquis of Salisbury, and referring again to the Slave Trade between the mainland and the islands, states that, "with everything in our favour, a Treaty that allowed us to seize all slaves afloat, and to condemn any vessel in which they were carried, it was still a fact that we could not capture more than 5 per cent. of the slaves that were being taken to Pemba." This estimate was repeated by Sir John Kirk at the Brussels Conference in 1889-90.

By limiting his reply to the export of slaves carried off from the Island of Zanzibar to Arabia, and ignoring the much greater traffic which certainly goes on from the mainland to the islands for the supply of fresh slaves for use in the clove plantations of our British Protectorate, on which the revenue of that Protectorate depends, Mr. Rodd thinks proper to accuse me of ignoring the fact that the northern Slave Trade goes on during two months of the year only, owing to the violence or contrary nature of the monsoon winds. So far as regards the Trade in Slaves to Arabia, Mr. Rodd might appear to have some ground to go upon, but even then he, either through ignorance or in order to strengthen a weak case, makes one serious error, for it is well known to all acquainted with the native trade of these seas that there are two seasons of the year—not one—when Arab vessels pass to Arabia. The first is from March or April to the end of June, at the beginning of the south-west monsoon, and the second from September to November, when the force of the wind takes off. I believe the one is known to the natives as "Moosim," the other as "Damani."

There are thus some five or six months open to Arab traders to make the voyage to Arabia and the Persian Gulf without danger. As, however, Mr. Rodd has almost ignored the Slave Trade into the islands, which our British-protected Arabs are interested in concealing as far as possible from the knowledge of the British officials, and has pointed out only the efficacy of the steps taken to prevent slaves living on the island from being kidnapped and taken away to other markets (in which he undoubtedly has the full support and sympathy of the resident slave-owners), I would venture to call the particular attention of your Lordship to the fact that since 1873 no slaves can have been legally imported into the islands from the mainland, for during the past twenty years all transport of slaves by sea has been carried on both in defiance of the Treaty with Great Britain and of the law of Zanzibar. It follows, therefore, that since the testimony of experienced officers goes to prove that slaves in captivity in the islands seldom have families, and die early, there can be but very few slaves now legally held in bondage in the islands.

Since the Foreign Office decided to discontinue the publication of the usual annual papers with the Consular and other Reports on the Slave Trade, it is impossible to obtain access to any official statements of the number of slaves recently taken by our cruisers, but as the authorities whom I have quoted agree in giving it as their opinion that, under the most favourable circumstances, not more than about 5 or 6 per cent. of the slaves shipped are ever captured, whether of slaves going to Arabia or only to the islands, I venture to think that were a Return published of the total captures made in what has now become the maritime zone of the Brussels Act, an approximate estimate of the extent of the present Traffic might be arrived at.

Turning again to Mr. Rodd's letter, I find that, in the last sentence but one, he repeats that he adheres to his "opinion that very few slaves have been removed this year beyond those which have been recaptured and liberated." He does not dispute my assertion that 200 slaves were captured in one month, or that 5 per cent. is about the average of captures made, which I maintain would represent, on the estimate of the distinguished and experienced authorities above cited, something like 4,000 shipped in one month.

Mr. Rodd concludes his letter by charging me with culpable ignorance of a subject upon which the public would assume me to be an authority. I think I am now entitled to ask Mr. Rodd to produce the authority for his conviction that very few slaves have been removed from the island this season, and that he should also tell us upon what authority he speaks of a "petty traffic in slaves secretly carried on between the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba and the coast," when we know that, after twenty years of total prohibition, the islands still remain well stocked with slaves, and able to furnish armies of porters, while slave labour is the only labour available, and that on which the finances of our Protectorate seem to depend. Mr. Rodd, not having been long in the Sultan's territories, has probably not realized the fact that the slaves in Pemba alone number many thousands; that, owing to the nature of the low-lying island and the work entailed by the cultivation of the clove, the life of a slave on that island is estimated to be a very short one; or that the loading of cargoes in the harbour of Zanzibar, and the coaling even of our ships of war engaged in the suppression of the Traffic, is still largely dependent on the supply of labour of slaves, who, in defiance of Treaties and laws, have been imported into islands under the protection of Her Majesty's Government. This state of things occasions a demand for continual renewals, whilst, owing to the number of creeks, it is very difficult to prevent slaves being run over during the night from the mainland.

Neither does Mr. Rodd appear to have taken account of the large number of porters (the majority of whom are slaves) for employment by travellers and caravans in Zanzibar. Mr. Stanley estimated this number at something like 20,000 a-month (*vide* "Morning Post," 16th November, 1892, also the "Times," 8th December, 1892); but even granting that this may be greatly in excess of the real number, Sir Gerald Portal, writing to the Marquis of Salisbury in September 1891, complains that the porters sent out from Zanzibar in the various expeditions amounted to many thousands per annum. So great was the drain of labour that it gave a considerable stimulus to the Slave Trade, Sir Gerald Portal stating that "the Arab land-owners are put to such straits for labour that they are willing not only to give high prices, but also to run considerable risks in order to obtain new slaves." It was owing to the inconvenience caused that the Sultan and Sir Gerald Portal issued a Decree that no porters should be employed outside Zanzibar territory; but whether this Decree is still in force, or has ever been carried out, it is impossible for me to say, even after carefully studying the answer lately given by the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs in the House of Commons on this subject.

With regard to kidnapping and slave-trading in Zanzibar, the Anti-Slavery Society could scarcely desire a better witness than Mr. Rennell Rodd. He says that in a place like Zanzibar, where "all the owners of domestic slaves are slave-dealers, in sympathy if not in fact, it is no difficult matter to purchase or kidnap children, in a manner which will almost defy detection."

The fact that slavery (with its necessary consequence, the Slave Trade) is allowed to exist in two islands under British protection, although all legal importation of slaves has been so long forbidden, is officially admitted in Mr. Rodd's despatch, and this is the point to which I endeavoured to call the attention of the public most particularly when, in my letter to the "Daily News," I asked: "When is the British Government going to carry out the suggestion made by Sir John Kirk in 1884, and urged by this Society upon every Foreign Secretary for many years past, for the abolition of the legal status of slavery? Nothing short of this can possibly stop these scandalous kidnappings which are carried out under the protection of the British flag." This question I now repeat, and with the fact fresh in my memory of the arrest of the steamer "Kilwa" (a vessel belonging to the Zanzibar authorities), with slaves on board, who were condemned in Court, I feel that the public opinion of Great Britain ought not to be diverted by any side issues, or contentions about estimated numbers, from the main point of my letter, which Mr. Rodd entirely ignores, *viz.*, the abolition of the legal status of slavery throughout the British-protected dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar.

I have, &c.
(Signed) CHAS. H. ALLEN, *Secretary.*

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No. 5.

Foreign Office to British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

Sir,

Foreign Office, September 9, 1893.

I AM directed by the Earl of Rosebery to acknowledge receipt, on the 7th instant, of your letter of the 1st instant relating to the Slave Trade in the Zanzibar dominions, a copy of which has been sent to Mr. Rodd.

A copy of the Parliamentary paper in which Mr. Rodd's despatch was laid before the House of Commons is inclosed herewith.*

I am, &c.
(Signed) P. CURRIE.

No. 6.

The Earl of Rosebery to Mr. Rodd.

Sir,

Foreign Office, September 9, 1893.

YOUR despatch commenting upon the letter of the Anti-Slavery Society of the 9th May last was laid before Parliament in the paper "Africa No. 6 (1893)" of which a copy is annexed.

It has elicited a reply, of which a copy is inclosed for your information.†
The Society have been informed that a copy has been sent to you.

I am, &c.
(Signed) ROSEBERY.

No. 7.

Mr. Cracknall to the Earl of Rosebery.—(Received December 18.)

(Extract.)

Zanzibar, November 22, 1893.

IT may not be out of place for me to express my sense of the just way in which the Sultan decides the numerous cases concerning slavery and slaves and their masters sent by me in my capacity as Judge; in cases of cruelty or oppression he acts with prompt severity, and carries out loyally the decrees of himself and of his predecessors.

No. 8.

Mr. Rodd to the Earl of Rosebery.—(Received December 31.)

My Lord,

London, December 31, 1893.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 14th August last, inclosing copies of a letter, with inclosures, from the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in which the question is raised as to whether the moment has not now arrived for the abolition of the status of domestic slavery in Zanzibar, and directing me to report upon the measures recommended.

The question is one which must be approached with an open mind for all the far-reaching consequences which it entails and the many points of view which may claim consideration, and I need not say that throughout my stay in Zanzibar it has been frequently discussed, as your Lordship suggests it should be, between myself and General Mathews, who is probably more competent than any other Englishman to appreciate the relative positions of slave and slave-owner in that island.

I will endeavour to lay before your Lordship an unbiassed statement of what I have been able to glean, both from his experience and from that of many others whose long residence in the country makes their opinions of value, at the same time submitting that the arguments here developed apply to a sudden and wholesale measure of abolition. They would not necessarily be advanced against less sweeping

* "Africa No. 6 (1893)."

† No. 4.

schemes for gradual and voluntary redemption, though I should be surprised if any considerable number of the domestic slaves were to avail themselves of an opportunity thus presented to them.

I may state at the outset that the Arabs, both in Zanzibar and on a great part of the mainland, are perfectly aware that with the ever-increasing spread of Europeans and European influence in Africa, the permanent continuance of slavery will not be permitted, nor are they now over the greater part of the area in question sufficiently formidable to raise any dangerous opposition to a measure which they know is, sooner or later, inevitable, provided always that the advocates of the measure hold a sufficiently strong position to enforce it. On the other hand, the Somalis in the northern portion of the British sphere, the slave-owning populations of the Witu forests, themselves consisting chiefly of runaway slaves, and the people occupying the country between Witu and the Juba, about whom comparatively little is known, would not be so easy to deal with.

The questions to be considered are, it would seem, firstly, the expediency of the manner and occasion of bringing about a total abolition of domestic slavery, and especially, therefore, how far the necessary powers yet exist for putting any such measure in force; for I believe, and the belief is confirmed by recent experiences, that no more fatal step can be taken in Africa than the proclamation of sweeping measures of reform, the impracticability of enforcing which a little foresight would have revealed. Then there is the economic question, which cannot be disregarded, seeing that the order and progress which we hope to be able to introduce into these countries cannot be furthered without a certain economic prosperity; and, finally, there is the question of how far such a measure would at the present moment be humane or beneficial to those whom it is intended to relieve.

In a previous correspondence with the Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society, I have understood him to mean by the expression "Zanzibar" not only the island of that name and Pemba, that is to say, the present Sultanate under British protection, but also the whole of the mainland coast formerly claimed or administered by the Zanzibar Sultans. Of this a large portion has been transferred with its "Hinterland" to the German Empire, while the rest, with the exception of the Benadir ports rented by Italy, is administered under lease by the Imperial British East Africa Company.

Here of course he only refers to regions under British protection; but in considering the advisability of now proceeding to the total extinction of domestic slavery, I should be quite ready to accept the wider definition of Zanzibar, for it is my firm conviction that it would be very difficult to adopt energetic measures on the islands without a similar enforcement on the mainland. The link is still too strong for differential treatment to be possible. The Arabs of the capital are so many of them holders of property on the mainland, and the old institutions of the Sultanate have been preserved in great measure on the coast, that portion administered by the Company being in fact still an integral part of the Sultan's dominions. Were such a measure to be immediately contemplated on the islands and in the British sphere without any understanding that it should be simultaneously enforced in the German sphere, I believe that the balance of populations on the eastern coast would be disturbed by wholesale emigration, and that the growing depopulation of the Sultan's dominions would be rapidly completed.

A considerable number of slaves would willingly follow their masters rather than face the difficulty of obtaining a livelihood for themselves. Many would be transferred by compulsion, for the preventive measures we might enforce could scarcely suffice to cope with any wholesale movement, while on the mainland the machinery for preventing the transference of population which such a partial measure would entail does not at present exist, and the practicability of enforcing the measure at all must surely appear somewhat remote when it is realized that, in all the territories administered by the Imperial British East Africa Company, there are scarcely a dozen British officers and next to no elements of a coercive force. Great numbers of enfranchised slaves would also, in all probability, as will be pointed out further on, withdraw to the mainland and go up country.

Nor would its enforcement even in Zanzibar and Pemba Islands be an easy matter at the present moment, for, as I have already had occasion to point out in a correspondence elicited by the Anti-Slavery Society, Zanzibar is merely a Protectorate, and a great difference exists between a Colony and a Protectorate. In the former we work by authority, in the latter by influence, and it is difficult to believe that any influence short of force which could be brought to bear upon a Sultan, however enlightened, would induce him to do of his own free will a thing so contrary to the

whole traditions of his race, his own instincts, and his sense of expediency, as suddenly to abolish domestic slavery.

The inclosures in Mr. Allen's letter, suggesting the applicability of the measures taken on the Gold Coast and in India to Zanzibar, offer, therefore, no parallel; for what analogy can exist between an Arab despotism, influenced and guided though it be by British protection, with extensive dependencies on a coast hitherto but very partially administered, and not even thoroughly explored, and a small Crown Colony thoroughly under British control like the Gold Coast, or India with its marvellous administration, the result of many years of beneficent dominion?

It would appear also not to be thoroughly understood that the British Court in Zanzibar does not take, and has never taken, cognizance of the status of slavery, but this Court exists for the trial of British subjects under the Capitulations, while the Arab and native populations are still justiciable by the Sultan and the Magistrates by him appointed.

Mahomedan law debars the slave from such civil rights as are secured to him by the Indian Act of 1843. This Act was framed for a country where the Tribunals were under British control, and which had been subject to British influence for nearly a century. That it should be applied without difficulty to a country which has so very recently become a British Protectorate, where the population are still under native jurisdiction and governed by Mahomedan law, is therefore not to be expected. The utmost we could hope to obtain at present would be the application of a somewhat analogous principle by the Sultan to his Courts; but it is not to be anticipated that the introduction of a principle so directly opposed to Mahomedan religious law would readily commend itself to the Sultan, or be accepted without a struggle by his subjects. Once more, if any concessions can be obtained in this direction, there must be adequate means of securing that they do not remain a dead letter, as so many abolitionist measures have done, or the position of the Protecting Power will be distinctly weakened.

That the Protectorate has enabled us to use our influence in a manner beneficial to the lot of the domestic slave I think there is no doubt, and the present Sultan has shown a most laudable energy in enforcing the observance of the existing Ordinances for that purpose, and proved himself most ready to take up and punish all cases of contraventions brought to his notice by his European advisers. It was only a short time before my departure from Zanzibar that I learned that a leading Kathi, to whom a disputed inheritance had been referred, had ordered some slaves of the testator to be secretly sold. I at once brought the case to the notice of the Sultan, who dismissed the Kathi from his office, and secured the release of the slaves. At our final audience with His Highness, he assured both Sir G. Portal and myself that he intended to be very strict in looking after the lot of slaves whose masters died without direct issue, though where debts were left behind it was very often the British Indian subjects who were anxious to secure the sale of such slaves for the redemption of these debts. I cannot but feel that such influence as the Protectorate has given us, an influence increasing every day, has, on the other hand, involved certain tacit pledges as to no sudden or violent rupture of the *status quo*, such as would disturb the whole social and economical position of the Sultanate, which was placed under British protection peacefully, without any such condition having been previously laid down, and with the definite understanding, moreover, that the Sultan's jurisdiction under Mahomedan law remain unimpaired over his own subjects. Indeed, in the Company's territory on the mainland, such definite pledges have actually been given in return for signal advantages to the cause of anti-slavery.

With regard to the British Protectorate lying between the Tana and Juba Rivers, with the exception of the immediate neighbourhood of Witu and of certain portions of the coast, but little has yet been explored. The important Chief, Mzee Saif, is the holder of a considerable number of slaves, and the Somalis in the north, who are notoriously the hardest of all masters, have been in the habit of procuring stolen slaves from Witu. This will in future be impossible, and it is to be hoped that the development of a practical administration in Witu will rapidly extend northwards. At the present moment, however, any attempt to proscribe domestic slavery in these unexplored regions is of course out of the question, and any Proclamation to that effect would render the gradual extension of authority more difficult and dangerous than it has already proved to be.

It has been maintained that an injustice has been done in Witu by applying there the law in force in Zanzibar. This view would seem to be in great measure due to insufficient knowledge of what is meant by the Witu Protectorate, lately taken over by

Her Majesty's Government from the Imperial British East Africa Company, and placed under the Sultan's administration. This Protectorate includes the great expanse of territory between the Juba and Tana Rivers. On the other hand, the Agreement made in 1891 with the self-styled Sultan of Witu after Admiral Fremantle's punitive expedition could, had it ever been made effective, only have applied to the small community of runaway slaves and outlaws till then occupying the Settlement of Witu and the forest villages. Fumo Bakari had neither the right nor the power to legislate for any but the people who acknowledged his Chieftainship. Now, after the recent outbreak, the Witu people are scattered through the forest, where it is practically impossible to get at them, and so enforce conditions which they have never observed, and which Bakari only signed in a moment of panic in order to escape further attack. Should they ultimately become submissive, there is no reason why they should not be held to their Sultan's Agreement, whatever the general law proclaimed for the Protectorate as a whole may be. As a matter of fact, their slaves are deserting and coming into the new Settlement at Witu, where they are treated as freemen and provided with allotments, the forest people being regarded as outlaws and rebels.

Until some substitute has been found for domestic slavery in the islands, it cannot be doubted for a moment that any sudden and wholesale measure of abolition would involve the cessation of all progress, for, apart from the question of emigration, there is but little prospect, until a long period of education and development have gone by, that the agricultural slave would carry on even such desultory work as he now performs when left to his own devices.

This leads to the consideration of the economic question, in reviewing which shortly I shall confine my observations to the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, about which I am more qualified to speak, though, of course, what applies to these islands is equally true of any parts of the mainland where plantations may be established. The Zanzibar Protectorate may be said to depend for its existence upon its clove plantations. Other sources of revenue are, and must continue to be for some time, small, and it may be accepted as a general statement that the whole wealth of the islands lies in the clove produce. The plantations are now worked by domestic slaves, under the direction of their Arab masters, who, nominally the proprietors, are in reality little more than managers, by reason of the heavy mortgages held by Indian traders on their estates, for which a very large interest is exacted. These plantations are being worked at a greater disadvantage every year, owing to the decrease and the non-renewal of the slave population, and the necessity for introducing foreign labour has now become almost imperative. Gradually as this is brought about, and a spirit of emulation and competition is of necessity taught to the negroes, their emancipation will follow in natural course. Were it to be at the present moment suddenly enforced, it would involve the bankruptcy of all the land-owners, the ruin of many Indian traders, and of the whole foreign mercantile community, as well as the inevitable bankruptcy of the Government, and with this the undoing of all the good work done and contemplated. For, in the opinion of General Mathews and many others who have the necessary experience, were the strong tie which binds master and slave together to be broken, the emancipated slaves would no longer work upon the clove estates; many of them would rather try to join expeditions inland from the African coast, and take their chance of settling down in up-country districts. Some would no doubt remain with their old masters, but little reliance could be placed on their work, which would only be done by fits and starts, as the nature of the undeveloped negro is only to labour sufficiently to keep himself from starvation, or to satisfy actual pressing wants.

The work in the clove plantations is somewhat arduous, and the picking, which must all be done during the brief period before the blossom arrives at maturity, demands for that short time the incessant labour of a large number of hands. Until some substitute, therefore, has been provided for domestic slave labour, the immediate emancipation of the agricultural population would entail disaster. Indeed, were it suddenly to be introduced, instead of being gradually brought about by the force of circumstances, I do not see how these islands could be saved from misery, and perhaps famine, unless some system, not far different in effect but less acceptable to all concerned, of State control over labour were framed to take its place. For as yet the agricultural slave is hardly capable of self-management; he is improvident and idle by nature, and could scarcely exist, isolated as he here is from his tribe and its local habits, without external guidance. The character of the slave population, of course, differs largely, though within a smaller radius of divergence than that of European

people, and a great distinction is noticeable between the slave population of the town and those who are engaged in tilling the soil. The former are quick-witted and intelligent, and thoroughly appreciate the value of what money can buy. The latter, when working on their own account, are satisfied with the rudest and coarsest material for food, while their relaxation from the minimum of labour, required for the cultivation of the mahogo root, is to sit still and do nothing. No desire to improve their lot, no ambition for gain, stimulates them to exertion, and it would appear that if, at the present moment, the obligation to work were withdrawn, the whole agricultural population of the islands would relapse into inert and degraded savagery.

Instances may, of course, be quoted of cases, whether at Industrial Missions, of which there are unfortunately so few, or in factories established by Europeans, such as that of Messrs. Boustead, Ridley, and Co., at Zanzibar, where, under close and constant supervision, the negro is doing excellent work; but that only means that another and better form of guidance has been substituted, one, however, which it is at present impracticable to hope to apply upon a wholesale scale.

Upon an estate belonging to General Mathews, some thirty-five freed slaves captured at sea were established in the course of this year. When questioned as to what they wished to do, they said they were all diggers, that was all they knew how to do, and their wish was to remain in Zanzibar and work. They were accordingly given, each of them, a plot of land, and were furnished with clothes, food, seed, and all that was needful to start with, by the kind-hearted proprietor, whose bargain with them was that they should divide their labour equally between their own plots and the general estate. I am informed by the General that he has not had much satisfaction out of the experiment; a few of them have proved satisfactory, but a great number of them do nothing for him and very little for themselves.

This tendency to relapse into idleness and misery, unless kept up to the mark by some external means, is matter of general observation, and I have therefore little doubt that the gloomy estimate formed of the results to these islands of a sudden wholesale emancipation without the provision of some other labour supply is a correct one. The bankruptcy of Zanzibar and of its Government, with the undoing of all the civilizing work in progress there, is certainly not an eventuality to be lightly contemplated, even if the proposed emancipation were of certain and immediate benefit to those whose mode of life has actually been moulded under the ban of slavery.

A few observations with regard to the status and manner of life of the domestic slave will, perhaps, contribute towards forming a judgment upon this last consideration.

Mr. Allen has quoted a letter from a British Indian resident in Zanzibar, who speaks with some warmth of the cruelties practised on slaves by their masters and mistresses. If I am not mistaken, this extract is from a letter which has done duty before, written by one of the former Indian pleaders at the British Court, who occasionally corresponded with the Anti-Slavery Society. That slaves are beaten upon occasion by their masters there is no doubt, and flogging is still the universal and only effectual punishment inflicted by the Native Tribunal for theft and other offences. But I think it would be most unfair to accept such a statement as that in this letter as indicating that exceptional cruelties are practised on slaves in Zanzibar. Such inquiries as I have made would point to a contrary conclusion, and tend to show that, as a general rule, their slaves are very well treated by the Arab masters of Zanzibar, as indeed it is their interest so to treat them. Moreover, it is getting well known that cases of ill-treatment have a way of being heard of at the Agency, with the result that they are immediately laid before the Sultan.

I may here quote a case which came under my individual experience, of a girl who was brought round to the Agency by one of the Vice-Consuls who had detected the master in the act of administering a beating. I gave orders that she was to be taken at once to lay her complaint before the Sultan, but this she absolutely declined to do, flinging herself on the ground, and clinging to the railings when the guards attempted to lead her away. To avoid a scene, she was kept through the day until she became calmer, but did nothing but cry and beg to be allowed to return home. In the evening I questioned her and asked how she could want to return to her master if he had beaten her: her answer was that he was a good master to her, and that she had quite deserved it.

I have frequently inquired of the officers of Her Majesty's cruisers, who have great opportunities for visiting the Pemba plantations, their experience of the way they are treated there, and their verdict is generally a favourable one, except in the case of

one or two owners, who are reputed to work their men too hard. Pemba is, however, unpopular with the slave population of Zanzibar, who prefer the neighbourhood of the city, where they feel that they are within reach of redress if they should appeal for it.

As regards the town slaves of Zanzibar, I think no one can fail to be struck with the gaiety and lightness of heart that characterizes this population. A gloomy face is the exception, certainly among the women, and no one who has assisted at their dancing and singing clubs would come away with the impression that the yoke of servitude oppressed them.

The work they have to do is not onerous for the most part, and that done, there is no interference with their liberty of action. Those not actually employed in the family circle of the master engage in any employment which offers, many of them going as domestic servants into other families, the only obligation then remaining towards their owners being the payment to them of a certain proportion of the monthly wages. In return for this the master is under the obligation of caring for them when sick, and providing for them when too old to work. There exists, therefore, a tie of mutual self-interest, which long association has frequently moulded into one of affection.

When the slave is liberated by the free act of the master, the strong tie existing between them is not broken; the slave almost invariably remains a member of the household, and such female slaves are frequently married as legitimate wives by the owner or his sons. It is probably not generally known how frequent these voluntary emancipations are. During the last five months before my departure from Zanzibar, 700 were registered at the Government Registration Department, and many more must be added which have not been registered. This should go far to prove the harmonious relations generally subsisting between master and slaves. On the other hand, where a slave has been sold or given away, or where he has been liberated by *force majeure*, the tie is absolutely broken, and the slave has nothing to look for from the former master. Consequently, cases are not unfrequent, where Europeans have obtained the liberation of a slave, of the latter bringing back the free paper, with the observation that he would rather not have it, for who then, he pertinently asks, will look after me when I am sick, and provide for me when I am old?

Another fact which may be quoted as illustrating that domestic slavery, as it has been described, is not dreaded by the natives of the interior, is that after the recent plague among the cattle, and consequent distress, a number of women came down to the coast and offered themselves as slaves.

Slaves, again, are not unfrequently owners of slaves, and the freed slaves especially are ambitious of such ownership.

The above observations are not written with any desire of seeking a sanction or encouraging the maintenance of the odious institution of slavery, to the speedy and total extinction of which no one can look forward more eagerly than myself, but rather because it appears to me a great question, apart from the other grave considerations which speak for the desirability of doing nothing rashly with regard to emancipation, how far the state of these creatures, whose lives are, apparently, bright and contented under the only conditions they have known, separated as they have been since infancy from all other associations, would be ameliorated by a sudden severance of the tie which unites them to the families with whom they have lived, and by being suddenly thrown upon their own resources in a world which they are not yet equipped to battle with. And I have found that the same doubt exists in the minds of many missionaries of long experience on the spot.

The advocates of immediate abolition admit themselves that a temporary period of depression and difficulty would be inevitable, but this is to them of no weight in comparison with the attainment of the object in view. Can the same object not be attained more satisfactorily to all concerned by the more gradual process, without causing any social or economic disturbance?

The question was originally raised, I gather, in consequence of a supposed recrudescence of the Slave Trade, but, as I have had the honour to point out to your Lordship, it does not appear that there are any valid grounds for this presumption. The statistics of many years would rather show that the cases brought annually into Her Majesty Court out of all the thousands of dhows searched grow fewer and fewer, and what I have recently seen described as the "*almost daily experience of our cruisers*," reduces itself when calmly investigated to some eight or ten cases a-year. If the only supposition upon which such a theory is based be the capture of 200 slaves in one month by Her Majesty's ship "*Philomel*," I need only point out that these captures,

all made during the particular month when the favourable state of the monsoon makes sailings for the north most frequent, represent more than half the total captures for the year, and, further, that a third of the number were found on board a dhow sailing under French colours, a category which has seldom entered into our Slave Trading statistics.

It is, in my opinion, a matter for regret that hitherto there have been no signs of a probable extension of British agricultural enterprise, either on the part of individuals or of Land Companies, to Zanzibar or the coast, in spite of the favourable conditions under which estates might be acquired, and the great demand for food-stuffs on the African coast. It is true that the Protectorate is still very young, but the German sphere offers a marked contrast, many plantations having been started with fair promise of success. Those who are most interested in the vital problem of the abolition of slavery do not, perhaps, altogether realize the value of practical experiment in this direction. Such private initiative would greatly assist the authorities in their efforts to introduce Indian labour under the Emigration Acts, which the Indian Government have now practically sanctioned the extension of to Zanzibar.

In conclusion, I would submit once more that the foregoing observations are not in any way directed against such endeavours as may be found feasible to mitigate the lot of the domestic slave, and provide for his gradual liberation from the disabilities under which he labours.

The introduction of other labour than slave labour into Zanzibar would doubtless make it far easier to bring about this desirable end. There is, besides, the possibility of introducing a system of gradual and voluntary redemption by purchase, which would be immensely accelerated by the introduction of free labour from abroad. The attempt to introduce an unconditional measure of redemption not long ago produced a very menacing opposition. Since then British influence has undoubtedly gained ground, and continues to do so, but I do not feel satisfied that a revival of the attempt would yet be wholly free from danger.

Taking all these facts and views into consideration, it would surely appear that until a more thorough control and a more powerful administration has been instituted, the sounder policy would be to begin by establishing another kind of labour, which will gradually take the place of domestic slave labour, destined, in any case, under present conditions, to cease automatically within a comparatively short time, to insure if possible, by co-operation with the German authorities, a stricter surveillance of certain outlets which experience has indicated, and to aim at securing those powers of taxation for Zanzibar which would enable her to maintain a coastguard service, with the addition of certain European officers to the land and water police, rather than to attempt prematurely to bring about a wholesale revolution in the present territorial, economic, and social system of this portion of Africa, the far-reaching consequences of which, in the country's present undeveloped condition, it is impossible to foresee.

I have, &c.
(Signed) RENNELL RODD.

No. 9.

Memorandum by Consul Smith on Slavery in East Africa.

SINCE June 1873 it has been contrary both to the municipal law of Zanzibar and to its international engagements to transport slaves by sea against their will. All slaves, therefore, who have been brought against their will to Zanzibar or Pemba within the last twenty years are illegally in slavery. Since April 1876 it has been contrary to the municipal law of Zanzibar to bring slaves from the interior to the coast. All slaves, therefore, now on the coast who have been brought there against their will within the last seventeen years are illegally in slavery. Other slaves illegally in slavery are those entitled to their freedom under subsequent Decrees. These are children of slave parents born after the 1st January, 1890; slaves held by persons who have been freed by British authority, or by persons who have been otherwise freed since the 1st August, 1890; slaves who, after the 1st August, 1890, have passed by inheritance in any way other than from father to son; and, lastly, slaves who are held by the husband or wife of a British-protected person; and the

only slaves now lawfully held in slavery are those who do not come into any of the above categories.

The slaves now lawfully held may roughly be classed as follows:—

(a.) Slaves who had been introduced into the islands before June 1873, or brought to the coast before April 1876.

(b.) Those born of lawfully held slave parents in Zanzibar dominions before the 1st January, 1890.

(c.) Those who have come into the dominions of their own will.

Class (c) is obviously very small. It probably only comprises the followers and concubines of rich men.

Class (b) is also very small. It is a matter of observation that slave couples are generally childless, and infant mortality is sure to be very high. Guided by these considerations, my judgment is that, of the slaves now in the Zanzibar dominions, not more than about 3 per cent. belong to this class.

The slaves belonging to Class (a) are also probably very few in numbers. The shortness of human life in East Africa is a painful fact impossible to contest. The inhabitants who are the least likely to enjoy length of days are the slaves, who often come with impaired constitutions, and are, as a rule, little cared for. Those employed as "hamals" (porters) in the town of Zanzibar, and as agricultural slaves in Pemba, certainly have a very short term of life. Other slaves are probably better off, but, in the absence of statistics of any kind, it is impossible to know accurately the probable length of life of a slave in captivity. Captain Lugard in his book quotes and adopts as "proved fairly conclusively" the statement of an authority, whom he does not name, that the length of life of slaves in captivity rarely exceeds eleven years. Such a statement is bound to be based on a guess, and its value depends on the reliance that can be placed on the judgment of the person who made it. However, as we have to deal with periods of seventeen and twenty years, it is not necessary to scrutinize too closely Captain Lugard's assumption. It is, I think, quite certain that after these periods not more than 4 or 5 per cent. survive from those lawfully held at the time of the Sultan's Decrees of 1873 and 1876.

As a net result of the foregoing considerations, I should estimate that of the persons now in slavery in Zanzibar dominions not more than 5 to 10 per cent.* of the whole are lawfully held. All the other slaves now in servitude have been introduced from time to time in contravention of law, and, as regards the islands, in contravention of Treaty also. It is hard to say that those who have been illegally introduced have not good right to their freedom. Nothing has ever been done by the Sultan or by Her Majesty's Government to condone past breaches of law or of Treaty. Indeed, it is rather the contrary course that has been pursued. Seyyid Ali, in his Decree of August 1890, expressly confirmed all previous Decrees, whether they had been enforced or not. The present Sultan on his accession also bound himself in much the same sense. As regards Her Majesty's Government, in one instance at least (see Sir John Kirk's despatch of the 14th March, 1885) the reigning Sultan was warned in the clearest terms, with the subsequent approval of Lord Granville, the then Secretary of State, that Her Majesty's Government claimed the right to require the liberation of all slaves introduced into the islands since 1873.

I have shown, I hope, that all the slaves now held in Zanzibar dominions, with the exception of a fraction not exceeding one-tenth, are illegally held, and are, therefore, entitled to their freedom, unless it be considered that the lapse of a certain number of years makes good the title of a master to an illegally imported slave. Such a theory, however, involves the sacrifice of our claim that a slave has rights. For, looked at from the slave's point of view, it would seem that the longer he has been wronged, the stronger his claim to be righted.

Captain Lugard, in his book "Rise of our East African Empire," makes a suggestion which appears to be at least worthy of very serious consideration. He proposes the establishment of what he calls "permissive freedom," a measure which has often been proposed before under the name of "abolition of the status of slavery." The proposal is that the Sultan should issue a Decree similar to the Indian Act No. 5 of 1843. This Act provides that no public officer shall sell any person as a slave in execution of a Decree of a Court; that no rights arising out of property in a slave shall be enforced by any Court; that no person may be deprived of his possessions on

* The arithmetic of this is open to criticism, for it is implied that there are now the same number of slaves in the dominion as in 1873. There are probably many fewer, but for my argument the estimate given is sufficiently near.

the grounds that he is a slave, and that any act which would be penal if done to a free man shall be equally an offence if done to a slave. The result of such an enactment would be that those who are now slaves would, in the eye of the law, become free men, and that no claims based on the relationship of slave to master could be enforced by law.

According to theory, the slave would at once begin to enjoy his new rights as a free man, and slavery would be at an end. Such was, I believe, what actually happened in India. Though this success is encouraging, it does not follow that the Act would be immediately efficacious under the different circumstances of the Zanzibar dominions, where obvious difficulties beset its introduction and execution. I will now consider these difficulties in turn, at the same time endeavouring to suggest means by which they may be overcome.

The objections which may be urged against the immediate issue of such a Decree are these:—

- (a.) It would be of no effect except in places where British influence is made to prevail by the presence of a British official.
- (b.) It would be likely to cause disturbances by irritating owners of slaves.
- (c.) Certain slaves lawfully held would be taken from their masters.
- (d.) The conditions under which labour is obtained would be suddenly changed, and it is feared by many that employers would in consequence find it difficult to obtain labourers.

With regard to the question of the enforcement of the Decree and to the disturbances which its enactment might cause. The authority of the Sultan of Zanzibar, though strong and unrestrained in his immediate neighbourhood, has always been weak and undeveloped in the remoter parts of his dominions. This is because hardly any native official can be relied on to do his duty if it is against his own interests or sympathies. Even when he cannot avoid the execution of a positive order, he can always frustrate its intention by delays, and by permitting a warning to reach the persons who will be affected by it. In such a condition of society it is evident that the proposed Decree would be ineffective, except where the Sultan's power is strong, or where a British official is able to exert an effective influence. This means that the Decree if issued, without measures being taken to insure its observance, would be inoperative except within 2 or 3 miles of Zanzibar town, and perhaps within a similar distance from the mainland stations where British officials are established.

The Decree abolishing slavery in the Benadir ports was issued seventeen years ago. It has remained absolutely without effect. The other later Decrees about slavery and the Slave Trade have very rarely been enforced by native officials, except when obliged to do so by a British official or by the Sultan. It will be seen, then, that, unless the power of the Central Government is made to be felt in the outlying parts, there will be little chance of the proposed Decree taking effect in them.

On the mainland, where the Company are administering, cramped by the want of money, and, perhaps, with the sense of responsibility impaired by the expectation of being bought out, I fear that cheapness comes before efficiency. An immediate development of the power of the Government cannot therefore be hoped for, and, with the best will in the world, the Company's officers would find it impossible to put the proposed Decree in force except in their immediate neighbourhood. Any attempt to do so might provoke difficulties with the natives greater than they could deal with. Although, then, I am sure that abolition of the status of slavery on the mainland would be a just measure which ought to be imposed at the earliest possible moment, I am bound to add that it would seem very doubtful wisdom to introduce it just at the moment when a change in the manner of government is under discussion. But as soon as an Administration is established which seems likely to be permanent, I think that it should lose no time in taking action on the lines proposed by Captain Lugard.

In the islands, however, the circumstances are different. For one thing this country has greater cause for complaint. We have to claim reparation for twenty years' constant infractions of Treaty, whereas on the mainland we should be pressing for reparation on behalf of Zanibar subjects injured by breaches of their own municipal law, committed many of them when Zanzibar was an independent State. Corresponding to the greater strength of our right to demand abolition on the islands, we find a greater power of making it effective when granted. The islands are so small that, though there might be considerable excitement felt by the slave-owners, they would at the same time see that any idea of resisting the naval force which we could at once assemble to support the Sultan would be absurd. As regards the enforcement

of the Decree in the remoter parts of the islands, I am of opinion that very much could be effected by the simple measure of keeping a Consular officer constantly travelling in the islands for the first year after its promulgation. This officer could visit every village in both islands in a two months' tour. He would befriend and protect any slave who might complain to him that he was not allowed to benefit by the Decree, and would bring to the notice of the Sultan any errors committed by the local officials. With such a simple law to be carried out, and such simple facts to determine, his task should be an easy one.

I think, then, that with such a strong right to press for the Decree, and with such good hopes of making it effective, we ought to lose no time in calling for its enactment.

The time for the enactment of the proposed Decree must, however, in a measure depend upon the policy adopted with regard to the slaves now lawfully held by their masters. To exclude them from the benefits of the Decree would, I submit, be out of the question. Endless difficulties would be put in the way of the execution of the Decree, because every master would attempt to prove that all his slaves were lawfully held; and, again, the survival of slavery in any form would, I think, hinder the influx of free labour from the coast. The slaves lawfully held do not at the most exceed 10 per cent. of the whole body of slaves. The question to be decided will be whether or not compensation should be paid to the owners of these slaves.

Lord Granville, writing to Sir J. Kirk on the 21st April, 1884, described the abolition of slavery in the islands, presumably without compensation, as a measure which would be equitable and fair, because the number of slaves then legally held bore such a small proportion to the total number held in slavery. In the ten years which have elapsed since this argument was used it has lost none of its force, but has doubled it. On the other hand, it may be pointed out that the amount of compensation which would be required has become much smaller. I should estimate the total number* of slaves lawfully held in the islands be between 4,000 and 7,500. Probably the sum of 10*l.* might be taken as an average value of a slave for rough calculations. It would appear, then, that a sum of money which might be as much as 75,000*l.*, or as little as 40,000*l.*, would be required if it is decided that the owners of lawfully held slaves should be compensated. If the money can be obtained, I submit that the payment of compensation would be very politic. Besides, in some small measure, helping the land-owners in a difficult moment, it would prove our desire to be strictly just. Even the smaller of the above sums is far beyond what Zanzibar could pay out of current revenues, and in the present condition of its finances it is doubtful whether it would be possible or wise to provide it by a loan. If the sum of money now invested in the British funds became available, the amount required for compensation might very properly be provided out of that. But if this sum of money is not liberated, the amount might perhaps be borrowed by Zanzibar under a British guarantee, or, indeed, it might be given as an act of liberality on the part of this country. We should be requited by seeing the attainment of an object for which we have worked for half a century or more.

If it be determined to pay compensation, it will be necessary to ascertain as accurately as possible the numbers of the slaves who are lawfully held. It will be easier to do this before the Decree is known of, and I have thought out a plan for obtaining a close approximation. I will not, however, trouble your Lordship with the plan unless it is likely to be wanted. But if no compensation is to be paid, I would submit that there is no good reason for delay, and that the Decree should issue at once.

With regard to the apprehension that labour will cease to be obtainable. There are many who say that if all the slaves are freed they will do no work, and consider this to be a sufficient reason against abolition. With regard to the commonly believed laziness of natives, I can only say that I have often used the labour of natives, and do not think them unwilling to work. Natives, both free men and slaves, have worked under my eye as sailors, as cultivators, and as caravan porters, and certainly my experience does not lead me to think that all the slaves will sit idle as soon as

* I estimate the total population at 150,000. Of these, I suppose that one-half, or 75,000, are slaves. If, as I suppose, about 5 to 10 per cent. of these are lawfully held, we have as lawful slaves a number between 4,000 and 7,500. Of course, I have nothing better than my judgment to go on, for no one has ever made detailed estimates of the population. The estimate of 200,000 for the population found in books was made about eighty years ago by Captain Smee, of the Indian navy.

freed.* On the contrary, I think that by far the greater numbers will wish for employment, so that when the Decree comes into force the slaves, who are now doing all kinds of work, will be still available, and the masters will be able to agree with them for the continuance of their services. There will be the same number of labourers in the country; the difference will be that their labour will be voluntary, and the masters will have to pay wages. Some slaves will no doubt migrate or refuse to work, but any difficulty about obtaining labour should be purely temporary, for now that permission has been given for the enlistment of coolies in India, it should be possible to organize a system by which labourers shall be brought to Zanzibar for engagement by any land-owner who requires hands and can pay them.

As soon as slavery in the islands is known to be a thing of the past, free natives may be expected to come to the islands from Usambara, Shimba, the Uмба district, and Giriama in search of food and wages, and these immigrants will probably settle for good where they find security, and what to them are luxuries. But while slavery continues in any degree men will be deterred from such immigration by the fear of being kidnapped or sold. As Sir John Kirk has pointed out,† “the two systems of slave and free labour will never blend.” It will be seen, therefore, that abolition of the status of slavery would bring the benefit of a natural immigration of free labour from the coast, an advantage which is rendered impossible if a system of “gradual extinction” is preferred. Under a system of free immigration, land-owners would be better off than they are now. Slavery does not provide them with enough labour. It rather stops the supply.

The real difficulty to land-owners would, I fear, be the payment of wages to the free labourers, for many of them are much embarrassed in circumstances. But, sooner or later, this difficulty seems inevitable. There is no reason to suppose that later on it will be less acute.

I should add, before closing, that if slavery is abolished in the islands and not on the mainland, it will be necessary to guard against the development of a slave traffic from the islands to the coast.

To sum up: I have endeavoured to show that though, owing to passing circumstances unconnected with the inherent right and wrong of the matter, it does not seem advisable to make great changes in the law in the mainland dominions at the present moment, yet that in the islands it will be not only just but beneficial to bring the institution of slavery to an end without delay, and that this can be done without any apprehension.

(Signed) C. S. SMITH.

Riverbank, Putney, January 4, 1894.

No. 10.

Admiralty to Foreign Office.—(Received March 1.)

Sir,

Admiralty, February 26, 1894.

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to send you herewith, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, copy of a letter from the Commander-in-chief on the East Indies Station, dated the 29th ultimo, with copies of inclosures, reporting on the Slave Trade during the year 1893.

I am, &c.

(Signed) EVAN MACGREGOR.

* I have heard of three attempts to cultivate land in Zanzibar by free labour. In each case loss has resulted, I understand, but in each case it may be traced to causes other than the laziness of freed slaves. The first case is that of the Universities' Mission; but there the making of gain has not been the first object. The second case was an experiment made by myself. I knew nothing of farming, and made the experiment chiefly as an amusement. I could give little time to it, and the experiment only lasted a few months. The third case is the plantation of General Mathews. I do not know if the General knows more of farming than I did, or whether he had confidence in the integrity of his overseer. I am sure, however, that he was far too busy to give the eye of a master to his experiment. And, lastly, it should not be forgotten that with cloves at their present price losses are said to be suffered even by owners of slaves.

† See his despatch of November 22, 1884. “Slave Trade No. 1 (1885).”

Inclosure 1 in No. 10.

Rear-Admiral Kennedy to Admiralty.

Sir, "Boadicea," at Trincomalee, January 29, 1894.

IN keeping with Article 6 of the General Instructions for the Suppression of the Slave Trade, I have the honour to report, for their Lordships' information, that during the year 1893 scarcely any reports as to the Slave Trade Traffic by sea have come to my knowledge.

2. In my Report for the previous year, I stated it as my opinion that the Traffic in Slaves by sea had of recent years decreased in a marked degree, and which I mainly attribute to the repressive measures adopted of late by His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar at the instigation of Her Majesty's Government. Also, to the unceasing exertions of Her Majesty's ships on the East Coast of Africa.

3. The ground of operations has also been curtailed by the late revision of the station under my command, whereby the main centre of the Slave Trade on the East Coast of Africa was detached and added to the Cape Station.

4. Attached hereto are copies of the half-yearly Reports to the 31st December, 1893, of the officers commanding the Aden and Persian Gulf Divisions of the station, by which their Lordships will observe that little or no Traffic in Slaves has come to the knowledge of naval officers in those waters—now the only parts of the station where the Slave Trade is at all likely to exist. The Reports to the 30th June, 1893, were practically blank.

5. The case of two fugitive slaves who were received on board Her Majesty's ship "Sphinx" on the 29th August, and liberated, was reported at the time. I do not attach much importance to this incident in connection with the general question of the Slave Trade Traffic at the present time, as the two fugitives had by their statement been in the employment of their then master for over three years, the master said the period was much longer.

6. Commander Streeten was directed by me to call at Merbat last October on his voyage in the "Brisk" to Bombay from Aden, and reported that he had received information of the existence of the Traffic, which it was stated was carried on during the south-west monsoon (March to June) on the southern shore of Arabia by dhows coming from the coast of Africa.

7. On the other hand, as a kind of offset against this hearsay evidence, Commander Dare, of Her Majesty's ship "Lapwing," reported that whilst in this very locality at the end of April, and at the season during which the Traffic was reported by Commander Streeten's informant to be carried on, he took advantage of the opportunity (he was then engaged searching for traces of the missing pilgrim-steamer "Khiva," burnt on the coast of Arabia) of overhauling the dhows he fell in with coming both from Zanzibar and the Red Sea, but that no traces of slaves or preparations for carrying them were found.

8. Commander Gray, of Her Majesty's ship "Pigeon," as will be observed by his Report (inclosed herewith), also took the opportunity of communicating with dhows on his way in October last from Colombo to Aden, when crossing the trade route from Mozambique and Zanzibar to the Arabian coast and Persian Gulf, but found no traces of slaves.

9. I am consequently glad to be able to report to their Lordships my belief that the Traffic in Slaves by sea (and most probably by land also) within the limits of the station under my command has greatly diminished, and is steadily on the decrease—due, no doubt, to the unceasing efforts of the British and other European Governments in the suppression of the Traffic, and to the general march of civilization in what formerly used to be unfrequented parts of the globe.

10. In conclusion, I can assure their Lordships that I shall not fail to issue instructions to the Officers Commanding Her Majesty's ships on the station under my command to continue to use every endeavour to discover traces of, and put a stop to, this most objectionable Trade.

I have, &c.
(Signed) W. R. KENNEDY.

Inclosure 2 in No. 10.

*Lieutenant-Commander Gray to Rear-Admiral Kennedy.**"Pigeon," at Aden, January 1, 1894.*

NO cruising has been carried out by the boats of this ship during her stay on the division, and no information of any slaves being run has been received.

On the way from Colombo three dhows were communicated with, but there were no signs of slaves on board. They were from Mozambique for Bombay, and were at the time over 700 miles off the only chart possessed by the three.

(Signed) S. W. A. H. GRAY.

Inclosure 3 in No. 10.

Commander Pelly to Rear-Admiral Kennedy.

Sir,

"Sphinx," at Bombay, January 1, 1894.

I HAVE the honour to report that nothing noteworthy has transpired during the last six months in the Slave Trade with the exception of the receipt on board of two fugitive slaves, specially reported to you in my letter of the 1st September, 1893.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. H. PELLY.

No. 11.

The Earl of Kimberley to Mr. A. Hardinge.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, May 5, 1894.

AN important part of your duties will be connected with questions relating to the Slave Trade and to slavery. On these questions you will look for guidance to the Act of Brussels. A careful study of that Act is essential, as in Zanzibar special responsibility devolves upon Great Britain in consequence of the obligations imposed by it on Powers exercising Protectorates in Africa. You should bear in mind that under its XCVIth Article all stipulations of Treaties previously concluded between the Signatory Powers which are contrary to its provisions are repealed, but you should remember that caution must be exercised in the application of the provisions of this Article, as there may be—and, indeed, has already been—divergence of opinion as to the extent to which certain Treaty stipulations are overridden by the Act. In cases, therefore, in which you are in doubt, or in which measures adopted by you are opposed by foreign Representatives, you should ask for instructions.

You will concert with Her Majesty's naval officers the adoption of measures for the suppression of attempts to revive the sea-borne traffic in slaves to Zanzibar and Pemba, which has been reduced to such small dimensions as, if not totally extinct, to be on the verge of extinction.

As regards slavery, you should insist on the faithful execution of the measures which have been taken for its gradual abolition.

I inclose, for facility of reference, a copy of the Agreement entered into on the 13th September, 1889, between Sultan Khalifa and Sir Gerald Portal, in which His Highness engaged that all persons entering his dominions after the 1st day of November of that year should be free, and that all children should be free-born after the 1st January, 1890. I also inclose copy of the Decree of the 1st August, 1890,* and of the later explanatory Decree of the 20th of the same month, which, while confirming the previous arrangement, prohibited, under severe penalties, all traffic in slaves of any description, pronounced the immediate liberation of all slaves of owners dying without lawful children, and of slaves proved to have been ill-treated; and declared certain classes of persons incapable of holding slaves. It will be your duty to recommend any further measures which may seem to you feasible for facilitating the total abolition of slavery, without injustice to the Mahomedan owners. With this object, you should give special attention to the encouragement of the acquisition

* See "Africa No. 1 (1890-91)."

of property by Europeans, which, by promoting the organization of a system of free labour, by immigration or other means, would lessen the danger of a failure of the supply of labour when slave labour is no longer available.

Your work, as to both the Slave Trade and slavery, will be facilitated by the co-operation of the International Office which has been established at Zanzibar under the Brussels Act. The contemplated creation of a Vice-Consular post at Pemba should prove of great utility.

Inclosure 1 in No. 11.

Agreement.

AGREEMENT between His Highness Seyyid Khalifa-bin-Saïd, Sultan of Zanzibar, and Gerald H. Portal, Acting Consul-General of England.

HIS Highness the Sultan above named hereby grants to England and Germany, and to their Representatives and naval officers, a permanent delegation of the right of search of the dhows, boats, canoes, and other vessels belonging to His Highness' subjects in his territorial waters.

2. In view of, and in continuation of, the existing Treaties, His Highness Seyyid Khalifa-bin-Saïd agrees, and will forthwith decree, that all persons who shall enter his dominions after the 1st day of November, 1889, shall be free, but slaves freed in this manner shall remain the subjects of His Highness.

3. His Highness the Sultan also agrees that all children born in his dominions after the 1st day of January, 1890, shall be free, but it is understood that they shall remain the subjects of the Sultan if their parents are his subjects.

4. On the other hand, it is understood that, in consideration of the above-quoted undertakings, the blockade now being carried on by the English fleet shall be raised without delay.

This Agreement is final, and is binding equally on all heirs and successors of the above-named Sultan and on the Representatives of Her Majesty's Government, but is subject to the approval and acceptance of the Government of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India.

In faith whereof Seyyid Khalifa-bin-Saïd, Sultan of Zanzibar, and Gerald Herbert Portal, Acting Consul-General of England, have signed this document and affixed their seals.

Done at Zanzibar this 13th day of September, 1889.

(Arab seal.)

Sultan's signature.

(Signed)

GERALD H. PORTAL.

(Consular stamp.)

Inclosure 2 in No. 11.

Proclamation.

(Translation.)

From Seyyid Ali-bin-Saïd-bin-Sultan.

BE it known to all men our subjects with reference to what I wrote on the 15th El Haj (1st August, 1890), 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 Kathi to purchase his freedom, his master shall not be forced to take the money.

(Signed)

SEYYID ALI-BIN-SAÏD.

Zanzibar, 3 Moharrem, 1308 (August 20, 1890).

No. 12.

The Earl of Kimberley to Mr. Hardinge.

(Extract.)

Foreign Office, November 27, 1894.

IT seems to me to be expedient to take into immediate consideration the status of slavery as now existing in the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, and the question whether some fresh steps cannot be taken towards its speedy extinction.

That question, as you are aware, is one which has constantly occupied the attention of Her Majesty's Government, and in the instructions which were given to you on the 5th May last you were desired to insist on the faithful execution of the measures which have already been resolved upon for the purpose of the gradual abolition of slavery in the Sultan's dominions, and to recommend any further measures which might seem to you feasible for facilitating and accelerating this object, without injustice to the Mahommedan owners.

The general rule of policy followed by this country has been to use all legitimate means, even at considerable sacrifice, for complete and prompt suppression of slavery and the Slave Trade, but in countries, such as Zanzibar, where the institution of domestic slavery has grown up with and forms part of the social life of the inhabitants, to resort only to such measures for its abolition as being gradual in their operation, may effect the change without unnecessary disturbance.

But it seems worthy of consideration whether the time has not come when the measures which were adopted for the purpose with signal success in India fifty years ago might not be applied to the Sultan's dominions.

The Act of the 7th April, 1843, was a measure which, in the words of the late Sir Bartle Frere, "was carried out in India without ultimate injury to the tens of millions of Mahommedan British subjects who were specially affected by it, and without leaving behind in the minds of those so affected any permanent feeling of grievance."

The basis of that Act was the principle that every individual must be regarded as equally free in the eye of the law. After its passage no cognizance was taken by the Courts of any rights alleged to arise out of the holding or possession of slaves. The accompanying Parliamentary Papers,* relating to the status of slavery in Egypt, contain useful information on this subject. It will be seen that while the introduction of such an enactment was held by Sir E. Baring to be inexpedient in Egypt for political reasons, he had no doubt as to the effect which it would have on the institution of slavery.

The political circumstances in Zanzibar at the present moment give reason to hope that the adoption of the policy of the Indian Act in that island and Pemba would not entail the consequences which were to be apprehended in the event of its application to Egypt. On the other hand, it does not seem improbable that it might cause a dislocation of the labour market, and consequently affect the cultivation of the clove plantations, from which much of the revenue of Zanzibar is derived. It would also necessitate the creation of Courts in the Island of Pemba, where a Vice-Consulate is about to be established, to which persons affected by the Act could have recourse, and the formation of a police force in that island.

The combined result might be to cause at first a serious diminution in the revenues of the Protectorate, while adding considerably to its expenditure, and thus to give legitimate ground for an appeal to Her Majesty's Government to assist the Sultan by a grant in aid.

I have to request you to take the points dealt with in this despatch into your early consideration, and to furnish me with a report upon them, which, with the material already at their command, will enable Her Majesty's Government to come to a decision as to the expediency of taking any step in the direction which I have indicated.

* "Slave Trade No. 2 (1884)"; "Africa No. 4 (1887)."

Mr. A. Hardinge to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received March 27.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, February 26, 1895.

I HAVE carefully studied the contents of your Lordship's despatch of the 27th November last, in which you direct me, in connection with the refusal of the German authorities to permit the searching of dhows under the German flag in Zanzibar territorial waters, to report whether some fresh steps could not be taken, such, for instance, as the introduction of the Indian Act of 1843, to put an end to the status of slavery in Pemba and Zanzibar, and thus destroy the chief incentive to the Slave Trade with these islands.

I have discussed the question in all its bearings with Sir Lloyd Mathews, whose long experience in this country makes his opinion on it specially valuable and authoritative, and I shall now endeavour to lay before your Lordship, as fully and as clearly as possible, the conclusions at which I have arrived.

I may state at the outset that, although I do not feel able to recommend the immediate abolition, whether by the introduction of the Indian Act or by any other sweeping measure, of the legal status of slavery, I believe that it would be perfectly easy to devise a few very simple measures which would stop the importation of fresh slaves into these islands. I would, however, strongly urge, in the interests of the solvency of this Protectorate, that if the steps which I shall suggest are taken, some measures may be simultaneously adopted for gradually introducing Chinese or Indian coolie labour (as has been done in Mauritius, the Seychelles, and elsewhere), so that when the period of transition is completed, and negro labourers are no longer available, Asiatics may at once take their place. It would also be very desirable that the German Government should be appealed to to carry out similar measures in German East Africa, as, so long as the Germans continue to maintain slavery in their territory, we shall, when we abolish it here, be placed in many ways, which I shall endeavour to describe, in a position of great disadvantage as compared with them.

I propose, so that your Lordship may have all the facts before you, to describe (*a*) what is really meant by the "legal status of slavery;" (*b*) the effect which would be produced by the application of the Indian Act to Zanzibar and Pemba; (*c*) the relation of the legal status of slavery, and of the institution of domestic servitude generally to the Slave Trade; and (*d*) the measures, short of actual and immediate abolition, which might be safely adopted for destroying the trade so far as these two islands are concerned, and thus putting an end to the servile status.

I.

The institution of domestic slavery is, whatever liberal and Europeanized Mahomedans may profess to the contrary, a fundamental principle of the social system of Islam. The Mahommedan religion has no doubt mitigated the hardships of the slave's lot, and imposed checks on the despotism of the master, but, within certain well-defined limits, it has emphatically recognized the latter's rights over his slave, and I have no hesitation in saying that every real Mahommedan in his heart regards interference with these rights as not only unwarrantable, but sacrilegious. He submits to it, as he at one time submitted, in Hindoo States, to the prohibition of cow-killing, or, as he would probably submit, if we imposed it, to the prohibition of polygamy, but he would regard all three forms of interference much in the same light as both vexatious and irrational in themselves, and as contrary to the Law of God.

While, therefore, Mahommedan Sovereigns and Governments, under pressure from a strong and dreaded European Power, may profess to make enactments for discouraging domestic slavery, their secret sympathies and convictions will always be opposed to their own measures, and the Mahommedan population, sometimes even including the slaves themselves, to which it is sought to apply them, will passively, if not actively, combine to render them inoperative. These measures affect not only the field of industry, but, what appeals to a much larger class, the whole family life, and the relation of the sexes, as sanctioned by the Divine authority of the Koran, and generally accepted by Mahommedan public opinion. I lay stress on this fact, because it helps to explain the slow, practical effects in all really Mahommedan countries, such for instance as Zanzibar, of anti-slavery legislation, however theoretically sweeping.

In Zanzibar as in other Moslem countries the institution of slavery rests upon the "Sheria," or religious law, which is here, unlike that of Turkey and Egypt, the secular and municipal law also. This law has been modified in practice (1) by local custom, and (2) by the arbitrary Edicts of despotic Rulers issued under foreign pressure, and which, whilst condemned by native public opinion as illegal and contrary to the faith, and evaded whenever possible, have been enforced from time to time in a greater or less degree by the physical power of the infidel.

The following are the legal disabilities which the Mahommedan religion and law (and the two are in Zanzibar, save for the exceptions mentioned above, identical) impose upon the slave:—

(a.) He cannot own, or acquire, or dispose of private property without the permission of his master.

(b.) He cannot give evidence in a Court of Justice, nor, without his master's sanction, take an oath.

(c.) He cannot, without the sanction of his master, contract a legal marriage, nor, according to most of the doctors, even with the permission of his master, have more than two wives at the same time.

(d.) He cannot sue his master before a Court of law, unless severely ill-treated by the latter. In case of such ill-treatment the Cadi may and ought to warn the master that if the complaint is repeated, and proved genuine, he will forfeit his slave. Should the slave sue his master a second time, and the charge of cruelty be established, the Cadi may order the slave to be valued and sold, and the purchase-money to be paid to the master.

(e.) He cannot sue any other person, whether free or slave, without his master's consent; with it, he is free to do so.

(f.) He cannot, without his master's permission, engage in trade, undertake a journey, or even make the pilgrimage to Mecca, nor in general claim any legal or civil right, except through and with his master's sanction.

(g.) There is no legal limitation to his master's power of punishing him, and, theoretically, I believe that he might put him to death without himself being held guilty of murder, or of any more serious offence than cruelty.

The principle of the Mosaic law which made it penal to scourge a slave to death, if he died under the lash, but not if he survived it one day (Exodus xxi, 20), on the ground that the slave was "his master's money," and his loss a sufficient penalty in itself, would appear to have been followed to a still harsher and more logical conclusion by the Mahommedan jurists; but, in practice, I imagine that in most Moslem countries, even without European pressure, the equity of the Ruler would be allowed to correct the injustice of the law, and that the severe, though not the capital, punishment of a master proved to have recklessly killed his slave would commend itself to the popular sense of right.*

A master may imprison his slave for a short term, and may give him nineteen strokes at a time as a punishment for an offence without being held guilty, by the usage of Zanzibar, of cruelty. To beat him without cause, or to inflict a really cruel beating with cause, would justify the Cadi, if complained to by the slave, and if the cruelty had been repeated twice, in ordering his master to sell him. The Ibadhis, I believe, allow the punishments which a master may inflict without committing cruelty to be somewhat more severe than is the case among the Sunnis.

(h.) Save the general prohibition described above of ill-treatment or cruelty, there is no legal limitation to the amount or nature of the work which a master may impose on his slave, whether the latter be a man, woman, or a child.

These disabilities are mitigated as follows: (a) by custom, (b) by the arbitrary power of the Sultan.

(a.) In practice slaves do hold property of their own, and are allowed by their masters to dispose of it. It is quite a common thing for a slave to have slaves of his own, and to treat the produce of their labour as his personal property. In practice, moreover, the slave is always allowed to labour two days in the week (Thursday and

* In Zanzibar usage, sanctioned by the Cadis, obliged the master to pay to the "beitel-mal," or public treasury, a sum equal to half the blood-money which would have been required for the murder of a freeman, and to be kept in prison at the Sultan's pleasure; but cases of the killing of a slave by his owner were, I believe, of rare occurrence. Barghash once imprisoned a master for six months for castrating two slaves who had ravished his daughter, on the ground that, although their crime deserved severe punishment, it was for the Sultan, not the master, to inflict it. If a slave is killed by a freeman, not his master, the law obliges the latter to pay the blood-money to the owner, though some jurists say that the owner may refuse to take it, and may insist on the killer being put to death. The killing of one slave by another slave is a capital offence.

Friday), or at least one day (Friday) for himself and his family alone, and what he earns on those days is regarded by local custom as exclusively his. He is also permitted to retain a small proportion of what he earns while working for his master, and once every six months he is entitled to new clothing (one shirt or white cotton gown for a man, two pieces of cloth for a woman). If his master gives him neither board, lodging, nor clothing beyond the regular half-yearly allowance mentioned above he is entitled to half his earnings, or (taking an average) 2 dollars or 2½ dollars a-month. Should his master refuse it him he can be summoned on the slave's complaint by the Cadi, and ordered to pay the slave and, in the event of his persisting in his refusal, he can be imprisoned, not, however, be it noted, for harshness to his slave, but for contempt of the Cadi's order. If the slave gets no pay he is entitled to a portion of a room, a bed, and any food left over from his master's meals or cooked by the slaves of the house, or, in place of food, to 2 annas a-day out of his earnings. If he is invalided, custom obliges the master to provide for him. Only last week I freed a slave on the ground of cruelty on the part of his master, who had turned him adrift when unfit, on account of a bad leg, to work, and who then, as soon as his leg was healed, seized and forced him to return to labour. All these relaxations and indulgences are, strictly speaking, conventional rather than legal, but they have become so stereotyped by custom that the Courts consider themselves justified in regarding a refusal to grant them as technically equivalent to cruelty. I have always myself so considered them, and have several times on that ground given their freedom to slaves who complained that they had been without reason withheld.

(b.) The Sultan, by the exercise of his authority as Hakim, or temporal Ruler, prohibits the sale of slaves. In a case of "cruelty," therefore, the slave has to be liberated without the compensation which the letter of the law gives the master. This procedure being, however, contrary to the Sheria, a Cadi would not apply it himself, but would send the parties to His Highness.

I will now proceed to describe the means by which a slave can acquire his freedom (a) by the law and (b) by the usage and positive Edicts of the Sultans, which have modified it.

According to Mahommedan law, no authority whatever, except his master, can free a slave.

There are, so far as I know, only three exceptions to this rule:—*

1. After the death of a master, two witnesses, being men of good repute, declare before a Cadi that they heard the deceased verbally pronounce the slave to be free. The Cadi can then free him without reference to the claims of the heirs. Some of the jurists of the Ibadhi sect, to which the Sultan and the Zanzibar Arabs, as distinct from the Swahilis, belong, doubt the lawfulness of such manumission on mere hearsay evidence. I may observe, indeed, that the general doctrines of this sect are much less favourable to the rights of the slave than those of orthodox Mahommedanism, with which they are occasionally in conflict on points of the law of slavery, and that emancipation among the Ibadhis is a good deal rarer than among Sunnis.

2. A concubine who bears her master a child, if not actually freed by him on its birth, becomes *ipso facto* a free woman at his death, and cannot even during his lifetime be sold. This form of emancipation, which is known to the law as "istilad," is, of course, dependent on the master recognizing the child, which in most Mahommedan countries he is not strictly bound to do, even though he may believe it to be his; in Zanzibar he usually so recognizes it, but the "mustallida," or "umm-el-walad," as the mother is called, does not necessarily acquire absolute freedom till after the master's death. The latter cannot sell her, but he may lawfully continue, without marrying, to cohabit with her so long as she is a slave, unless he should give her in marriage to another man, in which case she must be divorced before he can again have intercourse with her. I should add that a slave concubine, not being an "umm-el-walad," cannot, if married with her master's consent, and not divorced by her husband, be sold, but her master may compel her to work for him. Her children, even if her husband is a freeman, are slaves, and their master may make them work for him, but, like their mother, they cannot be sold. According to the Ibadhis, though the master cannot sell a concubine by whom he has had a child, her immunity ceases at his death, and she can be offered for sale by his children, born of wives,

* Throughout this despatch, in speaking of Mahommedan law I must be understood, where the contrary is not specified, to mean orthodox Sunni law, like that of Turkey and Egypt. The vast majority of the inhabitants of Zanzibar, outside the dominant class, are Sunnis of the Shafei sect. The slaves, though circumcised and nominal Moslems, are practically, many of them, little better than heathens; but even in Ibadhi households they are reckoned as Sunnis, being usually admitted to Islam by a Sunni fellow slave, and thus following the sect of their spiritual father. The Ibadhis, who look on their own sect as an Arab and aristocratical one, rather scorn, I fancy, to admit slaves to it.

who inherit her as their property, and who can usually insure her being bought by her own children, the latter, though not heirs, being free. This cruel practice was prohibited for a time by Seyyid Barghash, who was himself the son of a slave, but his prohibition had, of course, no legal force.

3. A person committing certain specified sins, such as breaking the Ramadan fast, killing another Mahommedan accidentally and unintentionally ("katl-el-hatta"), and divorcing his wife by "zihar" (e.g., by saying to her, "thou art to me as my mother's or sister's back," for which he must perform "kafarah," or expiation, before resuming conjugal rights), may be ordered by the Cadi to manumit a slave, or to feed a certain number of poor persons as "tahrir," or atonement.

Exclusive of these peculiar modes of emancipation, there are three forms by which a master can manumit:—

1. "Atak," the verbal grant of immediate and unconditional freedom.
2. "Tadbir," a promise of freedom contingent on the master's death, and revocable by him at pleasure at any time before it, but otherwise conferring freedom immediately the master dies, not only on the slave himself, but on all his children born subsequent to the promise; and
3. "Kitabah," a written agreement to free the slave on certain conditions, such as the payment in instalments of a ransom, pending the completion of which the slave, under the title of "mukaltib," enjoys a certain amount of personal freedom, but cannot by himself perform any valid legal or civil act.

Of these three modes of manumission, I believe "tadbir" to be the commonest in Zanzibar at present; "kitabah" is, I am told, a good deal rarer.

It should be remembered, in this connection, that the emancipation of slaves is a very meritorious act in the eyes of the Mahommedan religion, and that it has always been common for devout Moslems to purchase them with this specific object, a bequest of money for this purpose by will (called "curbah," or a pious gift) being considered peculiarly commendable.

It is a tradition that the Prophet once exclaimed: "Whosoever shall free a Moslem slave God will free every member of his body, limb by limb, from the fire of hell."

The emancipation by a stranger, such as a British Consul or other authority, of slaves purchased with this religious intention, is therefore strongly resented by their owners, as depriving them of the merits of their contemplated act, and defrauding them, so to speak, of an investment in the world to come.

To sum up, whilst the Mahommedan law generally encourages emancipation, it requires, with a very few exceptions, that it should be the master's own free and spontaneous act.

At Zanzibar, however, the principles described above, although theoretically immutable, have been undermined by the operation of modern non-Mahommedan legislation, such as the Treaty between Seyyid Barghash and Her Majesty forbidding the introduction of any slaves by sea, the Decree of Seyyid Khalifa giving freedom to all slaves entering his territory after a certain date, that of Seyyid Ali prohibiting the sale and purchase of slaves, or their acquisition by any means save direct inheritance, and the Articles in the Brussels Act permitting and directing emancipation by a variety of authorities unknown to the Sacred Law.

Thus both the Sultan and I myself habitually free slaves in the exercise, so to speak, of our prerogative. His Highness, I believe, keeps within the letter of the law, by ordering the master in every case to free the slave himself, thus maintaining the fiction of a voluntary act, since no Arab or Swahili Hampden would ever be found to insist on legal rights, in the face of a Royal command. I of course simply grant papers of freedom, without regard either to the letter or to the spirit of the law.

It is indeed very doubtful whether emancipation granted, even by a master, under compulsion, could be regarded as legally valid in the native Courts. They would certainly not recognize emancipation by myself or the Brussels Act, and, as far as they dared (and they are very timid when dealing with the Sultan), they would, if appealed to, hardly be able to help pronouncing it invalid.

Suppose, for instance, a slave freed by me contrary to the Sheria were to bring an action against his former master, and that the latter were to plead that the emancipation was illegal, and that the plaintiff was still a slave, and therefore could not sue him, the Cadi would, according to strict law, be obliged to dismiss the case, and would probably do so, if he fancied it would go no further; but if the slave were shrewd enough to threaten him with the Sultan's anger for ignoring one of his Decrees, he would most likely discover some pretext for referring the dispute to His Highness, and thus shifting on to the shoulders of the latter the responsibility of breaking the Sacred Law. One convenient

and rather interesting loophole for the Cadis of the Ibadhi sect is the doctrine of "takiah," or pious hypocrisy, which permits a man to commit an action forbidden by God, if necessary, to save himself, so long as he abhors it in his heart. Thus the chief Ibadhi Cadi here once told me, in reply to a question which I had put to him, that it would not be sinful for him to eat pork, if commanded by a tyrant to do so on pain of punishment, and when I cited to him the examples of Daniel and other saints who had been flung to lions rather than violate God's commands to please Kings, he ingenuously remarked that these holy men, being endowed with the gift of prophecy, were enabled to foretell beforehand that God would not allow the lions to do them any harm.

"We, however," he added, "have no assurance, if the Sultan should put us in the fort, for applying the Divine Law without fear of man, that Allah would send an angel to release us." It is probable that the Sultans themselves, in signing and enforcing all these Edicts against the Moslem laws of slavery, in order to conciliate mighty infidel powers, have found, and will continue to find, much comfort in this pleasant and useful doctrine of "takiah."

The grounds on which slaves are now freed by the Sultan and myself are twofold: (1) illegal purchase or importation, and (2) cruelty. It frequently happens that slaves come here with complaints of one kind or another (many are sent by the English missionaries, to whom they go even in greater numbers than to Her Majesty's Agency, and who always send them on to myself), and that it transpires on inquiry that they have either been imported since the Decree of Seyyid Khalifa, or changed masters by sale, gift, or bequest, since the Decree of Seyyid Ali—both of which, owing to real or pretended ignorance, are, I regret to say, constantly disobeyed.* Complaints of cruelty are a good deal more frequent; but many of the cases brought before me are purely frivolous, and often amount merely to a blow or to a mild castigation with the stick for impertinence, laziness, assaults on other slaves, or some equally trifling matter. Once, for instance, a concubine complained to me that her master had brought home a second slave girl, and wanted either to be emancipated herself, or to be given, if her rival were not instantly dismissed, a separate house to live in with her children. On her master's agreeing to this she objected, because the house was in the country and not in town, and she ultimately carried her point, and drove the rival concubine from the field. When, however, any case of real cruelty comes to my notice, and the slave shows either marks of severe beating, or of having been insufficiently fed, or been made to work when physically unfit, or complains of the withholding of any of the customary indulgences, I either free him myself if he belongs to the mainland, or send him, if a native of Zanzibar, to the Sultan, with a request that he may be freed, and his master punished according to the merits of the case; and His Highness has hitherto in every instance most readily carried out my wishes. I should add that the same procedure is followed in the case of slaves sold or imported contrary to the Sultan's Decree; and, further, that since 1890, under the agreement between Seyyid Khalifa and Sir Gerald Portal of the 13th September, 1889, all persons, whatever their origin, born in Pemba and Zanzibar, are born free. I have not so far insisted on this last measure, for it, at present, only affects very young children; and there is always the obvious danger that some owners (I trust not very many) might reply that, if these children are not their slaves, they are under no obligation to maintain or assist their slave mothers in maintaining them. Such a contention would, of course, be most inhuman, and quite opposed to the Mahommedan religion; but it might not be easy for the Sultan or myself to appeal to the Mahommedan law in this respect, after having ourselves disregarded it in so many others. The question as to how these children's rights shall be asserted, and what compensation, if any, shall be assigned to their present masters for providing for them till they grow up, will, however, become more pressing every year. My own inclination would be, whilst treating them in every other respect (civil rights, &c.) as absolute freemen, to apprentice them for a term of years—seven, ten, or any other reasonable period—after the age of (say) 15, to their parents' master, and thus make them pay back in useful labour the cost of their maintenance during childhood.

II.

Such being the theory and practice of the existing law respecting slavery, I now propose to discuss the probable effect of the application to Pemba and Zanzibar (the

* I use the expression "real ignorance," for although the Decree of Seyyid Ali is generally known to have been published, some natives undoubtedly imagine, from an incorrect recollection of facts, that it was afterwards cancelled, or has become obsolete with the death of its author. Seyyid Khalifa's Decree of 1889 was, I believe, only partially published, the Article about the freedom of children born after 1890 being suppressed.

mainland, I understand, your Lordship would not now propose to touch) of the India Act of 1843; and before going further, it may be as well that I should state what, as far as I have been able to ascertain, are the relative proportions of the free and slave populations in the two islands. My figures are, of course, conjectural; but Sir L. W. Mathews, to whom I am indebted for them, has arrived at them by as careful a computation as is possible in a country where, owing to Mahomedan objections to "numbering the people," no census has ever yet been taken.

His calculation is roughly as follows:—

Zanzibar and Pemba—							
Europeans (including Americans) and Eurasians (excluding Goanese) ..							200
Indians and other non-Arab Asiatics .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	7,500
Arabs (pure) .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	4,000
Swahilis (free-born) .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	30,000
Freed slaves .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	27,000
Slaves .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	140,000
							208,700
	Total	..	..	..	..	..	208,700

In Seyyid Barghash's time, that Prince estimated the population of Zanzibar at 300,000 and that of Pemba at 100,000, but of this total number about two-thirds, or 266,000, were slaves. As it is generally believed that the various measures directed in and since Barghash's reign against the importation and sale of slaves, combined with the fact that, as your Lordship is aware, they have few children, have during the last fifteen or twenty years reduced the slave population by about one-half, and as there has been, so far as can be seen, little change in the numbers of the free population, these estimates would seem to harmonize fairly well with one another.

We have thus a population of some 140,000 slaves working for about 60,000 free inhabitants. What effect would be produced on the relations of these two classes by the introduction of an Act making them equal before the law, and abolishing the legal subordination of one to the other?

Some time would no doubt at first elapse before the existence of the new law was generally known, or its real nature and meaning generally understood. Much, of course, would depend upon the manner in which it was promulgated. If ostentatiously and ceremoniously proclaimed by the Sultan in full Durbar its contents would very soon become public property, and would produce throughout all classes great excitement and ferment, but not, I believe, if proper precautions were taken, any disturbances of a serious nature. If, on the other hand (as I presume was done in India), it were merely published in the official Gazette or posted on the walls of Government buildings, it would probably create little attention, and only begin to be felt when some twenty or thirty slaves, who came here with the usual complaints, had been freed by me, not, as formerly, on the grounds either of cruelty or illegal acquisition, but simply because their servile status was no longer one known to the law.

I am not myself yet sufficiently acquainted with the condition and habits of the slave population to express any personal opinion as to the numbers who would take advantage of their freedom; but Sir L. Mathews is of opinion that as soon as the change in the law was generally known, three-fourths of the whole body of slaves would abandon their work, and that, after a very few months, the great majority of the clove and other plantations would go out of cultivation, and the owners, already heavily in debt to Indian traders and unable to find a purchaser for their lands, which would have been rendered entirely worthless, would, with few exceptions, become bankrupt. He considers that about one-quarter of the present slaves might remain as free domestics with masters who had previously treated them well; and it seems only reasonable to suppose that a certain proportion might, from force of habit, disinclination (if old and infirm) for change, and the apathy and want of enterprise begotten of their natural laziness, remain living from hand to mouth on the plantations, and do work from time to time in a fitful way for their old owners whenever pressed by temporary want. Of the Arab land-owners, as many as could do so would he thinks leave either for Muscat or for the German coast, where some of the principal Zanzibar Arabs have estates, and where the maintenance by the German Government of a mild system of domestic slavery would permit such of them as had been able to save anything from the wreck to cultivate on, of course; greatly reduced incomes.

Sir L. Mathews estimates that about half the Swahili middle and lower class population would abandon Zanzibar and Pemba and migrate to German territory, where, under certain restrictions, they could buy slaves and concubines, and employ slave labour without Government interference. It must be remembered that nearly every

free householder, in however humble a position, is also a slave-holder, and is quite unaccustomed to the idea of employing free servants or workmen, whose wages, indeed, would be far beyond his means, and who, if he were very poor, would probably not remain with him. He prefers, if a small trader, peasant, or artisan, to keep a slave of his own, who will help him to cook and eat his frugal meal, watch his dwelling and tools while he is absent, if he lives in the country, till or aid him in tilling his field, and, if a woman, share his bed without the claims and pretensions of a wife, till he tires of her, and either gives her her freedom, or perhaps bestows her, as part of a trade or private bargain, in marriage.

Of course, if the German Government could be induced to abolish slavery at the same time as ourselves, this migration from Zanzibar to German territory would have no reason for taking place; but if they continue to maintain it, and we put an end to it here, they will naturally attract at our expense such small native capital and industry as these islands possess by the offer of more favourable conditions for its development. This danger, if it can be called a danger, must, however, I think, in any case arise, for slavery appears likely to die a natural death by the operation of existing laws rather more rapidly in Zanzibar than in German East Africa, and the coolie labour which will save the plantations will not meet the household needs of the middle and lower classes. It may be hoped that the latter will gradually adjust themselves to an inevitable change, if it operates gradually and not suddenly. Many of them have had to do so already, as, if their one or two slaves run away or die, the Sultan's Decrees forbid them to replace them.

I have, so far, only quoted Sir L. Mathews as to the probable effects of the "Indian Act," but every other European in Zanzibar whom I have ever talked to on the subject agrees with him, and I should imagine that even the missionaries, who are naturally and rightly anxious for the extinction of a system so repugnant as slavery to the humane spirit of the Gospel, would admit that it ought to be accompanied, if the material interests of Zanzibar are to be considered, by the introduction of non-negro labour. The French Consul, for example, was speaking to me the other day about the late M. Cottoni's estate in Pemba, which I had visited when in that island, and which he has just put up for sale. I asked him if he thought it would get another French purchaser. "Of course not," he said, "no European would be so foolish as to buy land in these islands, which, being forbidden to own slaves, he could not cultivate." The Governor of German East Africa is equally emphatic. In a Report by Mr. Gosselin on the German Colonies (Foreign Office Miscellaneous Series, No. 346 of 1894, p. 41), he is described as informing his Government that "any general measure for abolishing slavery is at present out of the question, as it would inevitably entail the economic ruin of the Colony. Agriculture depends chiefly on slave labour, and were the slaves emancipated, the land would go out of cultivation. He is," says Mr. Gosselin, "of opinion that there is no need for a sudden abolition of slavery, which exists in its very mildest form in East Africa, and that emancipation is not even wished for by the slaves themselves." This last assertion may seem to contradict those preceding it as to the ruin which would follow abolition, since, if the slaves are so contented, why, it may be asked, should they hasten to leave their work? What, however, Baron von Schele, I imagine, really means, and what I believe to be true both as regards Zanzibar and German East Africa, is simply this: that although there is on the part of the slaves, as a class, no deep or strong wish for emancipation, they would not, if it were offered them, be able to withstand the temptations of freedom. They may be compared to children in a schoolroom, who, without regarding the lessons set them as a special hardship, would, nevertheless, not remain at their books if suddenly told by their teacher that those who wished to were free to go and play.* Baron von Schele further notices the difficulty of getting the natives to understand time contracts, "the negro serving just as long as he feels inclined, and then running away." I may say that the opinions expressed by his Excellency on the slavery question, in the Report from which I have just quoted, entirely coincide with his own language to myself, and with that of every German official with whom I have spoken respecting it in German East Africa.

Perhaps, however, the best evidence that these fears are not chimerical is to be found, not in any general theories, but in the practical experience of the few persons who have attempted to make land pay, or even cover the expenses of cultivation in Zanzibar with

* Count Tolstoi, the celebrated Christian anarchist philosopher, once started on his estates in Russia a school based on the principle that the amount and direction of the studies should depend entirely on the will of the children themselves. His great personal influence insured him a surprising success; but from time to time his pupils tumultuously voted against having any lessons at all, and he was forced to admit that the educational results were rather irregular. Agriculture with free negro labour *only* would be probably very much like education at Tolstoi's school. The negro, in East Africa at least, is little more than a grown-up child.

free negro labour: Sir L. Mathews has himself tried the experiment on an estate belonging to him at Koani, in the central and richest part of this island. He started with exceptional advantages, his own thorough knowledge of and sympathy with his native labourers, and the prestige which he derived from his position as the Sultan's chief Minister, and which, in view of the vast powers of punishing and imprisoning the disobedient which it carried in the native mind, gave him an authority over them such as no other European could have wielded, and almost as great as that of an owner over his slaves. His treatment of his labourers was very liberal, but he was quite unable to keep even half of them at work. "At Koani," he writes, in a letter which is before me, "I distributed seventy freed slaves over my shamba, and gave them daily food, clothing, and wives, and as much land as they could cultivate. After their first harvest, I found that many more could support themselves. I then made an agreement with them that instead of charging rent for their farms (or taking a part of their produce in lieu of rent) they should work for me every other day unpaid, and that on their days I would pay them daily wages, while during the clove season, when daily labour was requisite for picking cloves, I would pay them daily until the season ended. Out of seventy, thirty fulfilled the engagement, forty, who were lazy and drunkards, left me; of these, some are now roaming about the island, others working, as the fit and hunger take them, as labourers in the town. The barrack's prison is often their resting-place. Slaves cannot be reckoned on as regular workers except when under the strict supervision of their Arab masters."

I will only mention one more fact, which, if not absolutely conclusive, is, I venture to think, a very significant and instructive one. A large proportion of the estates belonging to native proprietors throughout Zanzibar and Pemba are mortgaged, and have been so for many years past, to British Indians, chiefly Bani and Khoja traders. These men often find it a difficult matter, owing to the increasing embarrassments of the proprietors as the supply of slaves diminishes, to obtain the interest on their advances; yet they none of them foreclose. And the reason that they do not is simple: they are shrewd men of business, and they know, and will tell any one who asks them, that inasmuch as being British subjects they cannot own slaves, the lands which they would thus acquire would, to them, be practically worthless.

Sir L. Mathews estimates the loss which would accrue to the State from the application of the Indian Act at about two-thirds of the revenue from cloves, &c., or nearly one-third of the total revenue, while the increase of expenditure which it would entail would be about 7,000*l.* a-year.* It would be necessary to establish three Courts in Zanzibar and three in Pemba to see that the Act was not evaded, and for each Court he would allow an European inspector, a sub-inspector, and a force of fifty police, with a central office at Zanzibar itself.

The following are his figures:—

							£
Chief Inspector (English)	..	..	..	..	..	..	200
Assistant ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	150
50 Police and N.C.O.'s	..	..	..	..	..	..	652
Uniforms, &c.	..	..	..	..	..	..	50
Incidental expenses ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	48
							1,100
Five other Courts on same basis	..	..	..	..	..	..	5,500
Central Office ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	270
							6,870
							6,870

It would also be necessary to have barracks for the men, coastguard stations, and six boats.

I should say that, at the same time, it would be necessary to increase the ordinary police force to meet the increase of crime and disorder which would result (a) from the pauperization of a large number of the poorer freemen; (b) from the influx into Zanzibar city of large numbers of idle freed slaves, living not by any regular employment, but from hand to mouth on what, in slang parlance, would be called "odd jobs," whenever they

* The present revenue of Zanzibar is, say, roughly, 70,000*l.* a-year; its absolutely necessary expenditure 60,000*l.* The destruction of the clove plantation would mean, in average years, a loss of 20,000*l.*; the new expenses necessary to enforce abolition would mean a permanent charge of from 7,000*l.* to 8,000*l.* This would entail, even with the utmost economy and the abandonment of the mainland, a deficit, for a good many years, till new sources of revenue were created, of 17,000*l.* a-year; or if slavery died a natural death, and no coolie labour took its place, of about 10,000*l.* a-year. The estimated revenue from cloves this year was 300,000 rupees, or 16,000*l.*; last year, a good one, it was twice that amount or 32,000*l.*; so that the average estimate of 20,000*l.* is rather below than above the mark.

happened to want enough pice to satisfy their very primitive and simple needs, and probably often robbing and stealing; (c) from the increase of public vice certain to ensue from the sudden throwing on to the street of numerous concubines, whose ruined owners could no longer maintain their former harems, and who, having been given their freedom, would easily be seduced into following strangers, and drift, being incapable of work, into living by prostitution; and (d) from the temporary demoralization of all classes, which scarcely ever fails, in all countries, to accompany any sudden and unsettling dislocation of social conditions. Sir L. Mathews indeed fears, to quote a letter which he has written to me, "that if slaves were generally emancipated without first taking strong measures for the protection of life, in Pemba many of them would rise against their former masters, and murders would take place in isolated parts of Zanzibar." This happened, so he tells me, in Johanna. I should not venture, with my short experience, to say that his fears were idle, and they may be warranted by the fact that in Pemba, far away from European supervision, the evils of slavery have weighed, and, I am afraid, still do so, more cruelly on the slaves than in Zanzibar; but whether the danger is a serious one or not, it would be prudent, and indeed necessary, to provide for it.

Another item of expenditure, which I hardly think it would be just not to allow for, would be the allotment of a certain sum as compensation to such owners as lost their *lawful* slaves. The Arabs have always been led to believe that, although slavery must, sooner or later, be uprooted, the justice of the British Government would respect existing vested rights, and that slaves lawfully inherited or acquired by them would not, so long as they treated them humanely, be taken away from them by any retrospective enactment. Sir John Kirk, I see, suggests that no compensation should be given, on the ground that the majority of the slaves now in the islands may be shown by a process of circumstantial reasoning to have been illegally imported, but even if this were proved, there would still be a minority of owners who, having come into possession of their slaves in various manners hitherto recognized by us as lawful, or, at least, tolerable, should, I think, receive their fair value. I should suggest that every owner who could prove that a slave was not held by him illegally, *i.e.*, contrary to the Treaty or Sultan's Decrees, should be paid a sum to be calculated by the Slave Court on his actual present value as a labourer. Believing as I do, with all deference to so high an authority, that a much greater number of slaves than Sir John Kirk seems to suppose are lawfully held, I should anticipate that the total amount to be paid in compensation would be considerable; but I feel sure that Her Majesty's Government would rather make, if it were necessary, a pecuniary sacrifice than do anything which might weaken in the minds of the natives their firm belief in the justice of British rule.

It may be argued by optimists that the picture which I have drawn is over-charged, and that none of these difficulties or evils attended the application of the Act of 1843 in India itself, though it affected, as Sir Bartle Frere observes, some tens of millions of Mahomedans. It is possible that my keen sense of the danger of the experiment here may have led me unconsciously to exaggerate it, and I certainly do not know enough about the conditions of Moslem slavery in India to venture any positive expression of opinion upon that side of the argument; but I should at first sight be inclined to suspect that the social conditions of India and Zanzibar were so different as to render any parallel between them misleading. In India, I believe, as in Egypt at the present day, the great mass of the population, the workers on whom the wealth of the land depends, were in 1843, as at present, both personally free and by habit and necessity laborious, whilst the vast majority of slaves were household domestics of various classes, ranging from the concubines, pages, pipe-bearers, and eunuchs of the Great Rajahs and Nobles to the personal servants of the well-to-do middle-class Moslem. I should conjecture that a large proportion of these slaves, those at any rate who lived in the Palaces of the native Princes and aristocracy, were not only well off and well contented with their lot, but inclined to look down on the poorer freemen. Such was certainly the case with the so-called "Mameluks" or "white slaves" in Egypt, from whom the "Circassian Pasha" class of to-day chiefly descend, and who, though legally slaves bought in Georgia or in the markets of Constantinople, were in reality an oppressive ruling oligarchy. It is certain that, if the status of slavery were abolished in Egypt to-morrow, however much the Mahomedans might cry out, as in their present temper they doubtless would, that religion was being attacked by the English, and whatever temporary inconvenience might be occasioned to a certain number of families of the higher and middle classes, the revenue would not be perceptibly diminished, or the labour in the fields affected. And, speaking of course without personal knowledge, I should say that the conditions of India in this respect in 1843 were in all likelihood not widely different, that the Indian peasants, whether ryots or holding under Zemindars, were hardly touched by the change at all, and that while many

of the former slaves remained as free domestics with their old masters, a large number, especially in great households, never even attempted to claim their freedom. If we take Sir Bartle Frere's figures of over 10,000,000 Mahomedan slave-holders, allowing on an average two slaves to each, and if we calculate the total population of India at 200,000,000, this would make the slaves only one-tenth of the whole. How different is such a condition from that in Zanzibar, where the slaves are more than twice as numerous as the free inhabitants, and where the labour, which if left to themselves they have no special incentive to perform, is the main source of the national revenue!

III.

I now come to the question of the relation of domestic slavery to the Slave Trade. Sir Lloyd Mathews tells me he estimates the number of the slaves now imported into Pemba and Zanzibar at 1,000, or at most 1,500, yearly, of whom nearly 1,000 are probably raw slaves, and the number of slaves exported or stolen at about 500 yearly. The pilgrims returning from Mecca, which, with its annual world's fair for all Moslems free from any European supervision, is now, perhaps, the chief slave mart of the world, and will have, sooner or later, to be thrown open if any serious endeavour is to be made to stamp out the remains of the Slave Trade, only bring back about fifty a-year, but the pilgrimage itself from Zanzibar is much smaller than it was in the time of Seyyid Barghash, who encouraged and assisted it in every way, and not more than a few hundreds annually, if as many, from the whole Swahili coast, now perform it. Of the slaves and freed slaves now living in the islands, Sir Lloyd Mathews thinks that about 6,000 or 7,000 were imported before the Treaty of 1873, but he says it is impossible to estimate by mere general calculation the proportion of those born in the islands to those unlawfully imported since the Treaty, especially in view of the absolutely unknown number who have died or run away during the last twenty years.* Nothing but a careful examination of each plantation could give any idea of this, and even then the utter ignorance of the slaves, and the loose, inaccurate mental habits of the Arabs themselves, would deprive their information, assuming it not to be deliberately misleading, of any real statistical value. All that can be said for certain is that the number of slaves now brought across in dhows is much less than in former years, as the danger from men-of-war, and especially from the wholesome severity of the German authorities on the coast, affords a too powerful deterrent. The slaves are far more frequently, I believe, smuggled across from the mainland, two or three at a time, in small fishing-boats, which fly no flag, and attract little attention. They run into some small creek or inlet, far away from Zanzibar town, and the slaves are then landed, under cover of the darkness, and distributed through the inland villages and plantations. I had a 'bad' case of this kind before me only a week ago, in which a boy from Unyamwezi had been kidnapped with two others (respecting whom I am making inquiries) under the very eyes of the German authorities at Bagamoyo, brought across in a small boat, such as I have described above, to Mangipani, a coast village about 15 miles north of Zanzibar, and then taken inland across country and sold at Uzini, one of the chief agricultural centres of the island; and I believe cases of this kind are now far more habitual than any large importation by dhows. This traffic would probably still go on, though, of course, in smaller proportions, even if the Indian Act were applied here, and the legal status of slavery abolished. It is true that a slave so imported could at any moment claim his freedom, but so he can at present; the purchase of slaves of whatever description is illegal, and the buyers know that the slave has only to run to this Agency to claim his freedom; yet they buy, and would in many cases go on buying even if the legal status were abolished, speculating partly on the ignorance of the slave, partly on the prospect of his being satisfied with his lot, partly on the chance of their being able to finally prevent his coming to Zanzibar, even if he should take it into his head to do so, and partly on the assistance of every other native in combining with them to defeat the law. Of course, the uncertainty and risk attending the purchase would depreciate, and has already depreciated, the value of slaves, and if the legal status of slavery is abolished, and the clove plantations consequently put an end to, there will, no doubt, be a much smaller demand for

* In Barghash's reign there were 266,000 slaves. Allowing for 35 children for each 100 slaves, this would give us about 55,000 slaves born since then, plus 7,000 imported before the Treaty of 1873, *i.e.*, a total of 62,000 slaves lawfully held, leaving about 78,000 introduced contrary to the Treaty since 1873, or on an average nearly 4,000 per annum. This does not allow either for deaths or births among the younger generation of slaves. If we allow, as Sir Lloyd Mathews estimates, 35 children to every 100 slaves, and therefore about 10 or 11 children to every 35 slaves, the second generation of slaves born since 1873 would amount to about 15,000 or 18,000. But it cannot be too carefully borne in mind that all such calculations are mere guess-work.

them than formerly. They will still, however, probably, continue to be imported in driblets, as concubines, household servants, or labourers on small farms, and will continue to be bought as such. The Courts of Law, so long as they are Mahomedan and administer the Sheria, will, no doubt, not assist, but cannot be asked to actively interfere to prevent these transactions, though the new English Courts proposed by Sir Lloyd Mathews may do much to stop them; but slave-dealing is so ingrained in the whole life and habits of this people, is so completely part of their nature, that, whatever public measures may be taken to stamp it out, it will linger on surreptitiously for many years.

IV.

Lastly, I would propose to consider, in view of the state of things described above, what measures can be advantageously adopted under present circumstances for finally extinguishing slavery and the Slave Trade in and with these islands.

Your Lordship will have inferred from what I have had the honour to submit above that I earnestly deprecate the application at the present moment of the Indian Act, or of any general measure of immediate abolition. I do so on two grounds: (1) because of its effect on the financial position of the Sultanate, and (2) because I consider that the instruments at present in our hands are quite sufficient, if properly used, to bring about the rapid disappearance of the servile status, a consummation which, however, would make it desirable, from a Zanzibar point of view, that some scheme for introducing coolie labour should be simultaneously set on foot. The present moment, indeed, seems peculiarly unsuitable for any step in the direction of wholesale abolition. The Sultan is about to pay down 200,000*l.* (a large sum for Zanzibar) to resume possession of the Concession now held by the Imperial British East Africa Company, and is also, at the invitation of Her Majesty's Government, to assume new and extensive responsibilities for the territories forming part of the British sphere of influence in the interior. To do this efficiently the Zanzibar Government will have to strain its resources to the utmost, and the initial expenses of the first few years, while the new Administration is being organized, and before it yields anything in the shape of returns proportionate to its cost, will be considerable. If it is called upon at the same time to sacrifice over a third of its present revenue, and to borrow or appeal for aid to Her Majesty's Government to establish Slave Courts, increase its police force, and incur other indefinite expenses, all idea of extending its authority on the mainland must be abandoned, and its whole energies concentrated on the difficult task of averting bankruptcy from the islands.

What can, however, be done is this: (a) the existing Decrees can continue to be enforced, and an increasing number of slaves freed every year. I am constantly freeing them, and so is the Sultan at my suggestion and at that of Sir Lloyd Mathews, when evasions of the Decrees are, as frequently happens, brought before us; (b) some system of registration might be devised which would enable us to become acquainted with the exact numbers of the slave population at present in the islands, and thus to check fresh importations. The introduction of such a system would be unpopular, and would be open to certain objections, one of which would be its expense, but I should propose to connect it with a further organization, that (c) of a really efficient coastguard. I would divide Zanzibar into four coastguard districts (Zanzibar proper, Kokotoni, Ohuaka, and Kizimkazi), and Pemba into three (Kishi-Kashi, Chaki Chaki, or east coast, and Kisungu), each under an English retired warrant or petty officer, who would have, say, fifty Askaris under him, and would patrol the whole coast of his district with the object of preventing the smuggling in either of slaves or of any other contraband merchandize. Allowing 800*l.* or 900*l.* a-year for each of these coastguard districts and staff, there would be a charge on the Zanzibar Exchequer of from 5,000*l.* to 6,000*l.* a-year, which, as being incurred in deference to the wishes and general Slave Trade policy of Her Majesty's Government, might be covered, either wholly or in part, by a grant-in-aid from Imperial funds. Such a coastguard service would, I believe, especially if the penalties for raw slave-trading were made a good deal severer (the Germans hang for it, but perhaps it would be hardly fair to ask a Mahomedan Prince to do that, and I would suggest imprisonment for life), absolutely stop the import into the islands, and, combined with the application of existing Decrees, practically put an end in about ten or fifteen years, probably less, to the status of slavery, except of course in the form of "concubinage," which, so long as we permit polygamy and the harem system, must continue to flourish, and still does so, in spite of the Act of 1843, in India itself. A further precaution might be to make it penal for a British or Zanzibar subject to transfer his dhow to the subject of a foreign Power without previous registration before a British Consular officer, who might if he thought fit refuse it. This would prevent numerous

British and Zanzibar dhows owned by Indians all along the German coast from being sold, as now constantly happens, to natives under German protection, and thus escaping search under the German flag. The German authorities at Dar-es-Salaam, &c., might not recognize this enactment in German territory, nor could we, of course, enforce it there, but we could punish the Indian seller on his coming to Zanzibar, and, as a matter of fact, a large number of those Indians are only the agents of rich merchants living here, who could be made responsible for their acts.

If, however, these measures, or any of them, are adopted, and the extinction of slavery, already inevitable, is thereby hastened, as probably will be the case, by several years, I would again most respectfully urge on Her Majesty's Government the importance of losing no time during the breathing space still left to us in introducing coolie labour into these islands. Indeed, had your Lordship not raised the whole question, and had no fresh efforts against slavery been considered necessary, I should still have earnestly pressed for the adoption of some such measure, and even before receiving your despatch under reply, I had frequently, with a view to the future, discussed with Sir Lloyd Mathews and Mr. Berkeley the best means of importing coolies. They could begin by being employed by the Government on public works, State lands, &c., and once their introduction was seen to be assured, Europeans and Indians might recover confidence and begin to buy up native estates. If they filled the labour market with sufficient rapidity to spread over and take root in the island, and to step without any abrupt break entailing temporary loss of revenue (if only for six months or a year) into the place of the present slave population, the legal status might then safely be abolished, even before it had died a natural death.

I must apologize for the very great length of this Report, and for the numerous digressions into which it has led me, but the question with which it deals is of such vital importance to the Protectorate that I have felt bound to go into it very fully, even at the risk of appearing tedious.

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

No. 14.

Mr. A. Hardinge to the Earl of Kimberley.—(Received April 5.)

My Lord,

Zanzibar, March 13, 1895.

THE telegraphic report of the views expressed in the House of Commons in favour of the immediate abolition of slavery in these islands, even if it were necessary to make up the deficit in their revenues by means of a grant from Imperial funds, leads me to add to my despatch of the 26th ultimo a few remarks as to the probable amount which Parliament might be asked to provide.

In that despatch I dwelt chiefly on the loss of revenue which would accrue to Zanzibar from the almost complete destruction of her agriculture, and from the necessary reduction of the tax on such cloves as still remained. But I ought, perhaps, also to call attention to the indirect effect which would be produced upon the revenue by the blow which abolition will inflict upon the trade of the Protectorate.

In the first place, the great decrease in our exports must produce, not necessarily an exactly corresponding, but still a marked decrease in our imports. In addition to the loss of about two-thirds of our clove export, we shall lose a corresponding amount in copra, though, as the latter is not subject to any duty or produce tax, the effect on the revenue will be, comparatively speaking, unfelt. Last year we exported 108,321 bales of copra, representing 1,034,755 rupees. Mr. Strickland, of the Custom-house, informs me that, in his opinion, abolition will entail a reduction of this amount by just about two-thirds, and that all our other agricultural products will be similarly affected. This diminution of our purchasing power, combined with the consequent falling-off of the business done by the British and other foreign merchants, must tell in a variety of ways, though it may be difficult to estimate to what actual amount, on the income of the State. The actual loss of revenue will not be as considerable as it would have been had Zanzibar not been made a free port. Assuming, for the sake of argument, that we lose only about one-third of our present imports, as a consequence of a loss of two-thirds of our exports; this would mean a yearly loss in direct duty of about 2,000*l.*, and in indirect taxes on imports, such as wharfage, declaration stamps, of about 1,100*l.* A more serious effect of the rise in price of labour, and difficulty of obtaining it, will be that landing charges will be doubled, which will practically

amount to a 4 or 5 per cent. duty on all goods landed at Zanzibar, and will very considerably impair the benefit derived by trade from the establishment of the free port. All lighterage, loading, and coaling operations will suffer. These operations are at present performed by two classes of slaves, the "hamals" (or, as the natives here call them, "hamalis") and "chakuzis." The hamals, of whom there are a few hundred in Zanzibar, are, like their namesakes in Constantinople and throughout the East, porters or carriers of heavy loads only, and are almost all held by two principal Arab land-owners, one of whom is a native of Makallah. The chakuzis, who are also called "vibarua," are much more numerous, and from 1,000 to 2,000 of them can usually be procured for work at short notice. They constitute, indeed, the whole of the large class of slaves who are not required for plantation labour or domestic service, and are free to work for themselves on condition that they bring every day a certain sum home to their master. The latter generally has little difficulty in ascertaining what wages or what labour is obtainable by them, and should he find that they bring back nothing, or not enough when he knows that they could get good pay, he will probably lock them up or administer a beating, as a punishment for their laziness.

As a rule, they can earn from the merchants, on an average throughout the whole year, from 16 to 20 pice a-day, or about 4*d.* or 5*d.* of our money (when business is active sometimes double that sum), of which the master gets a certain proportion, as described in my despatch of the 26th ultimo, and the knowledge that they must produce this amount every evening insures their hiring themselves out for work. Of course it sometimes happens that they cannot obtain employment, either because the market is overstocked or business slack; if so, their master must either free them or maintain them at his own expense until they can get work. A Swahili of the slave class, needing no coals or spirituous liquors or more than the very slightest clothing, can subsist on about 1*d.* a-day, and for one day's work he is now commonly paid (though of course he does not get all or nearly all of it himself) 4*d.* or 5*d.*, and sometimes even 10*d.* He would therefore if freed be able, especially in busy times when plenty of ships were in port, to command twice or three times that amount, *i.e.*, 1*s.* or 1*s.* 6*d.* a-day (on special occasions 2*s.* 6*d.*), which would keep him in idleness (since he never thinks of saving) for a fortnight or more at a time. Thus the merchants and employers of labour generally would have to pay twice or three times what they now do, and the propertied class would, in addition to the ruin of their estates, have to suffer from a general rise of prices. All the British and foreign business houses here would undoubtedly be seriously affected. I was discussing the prospect only yesterday with one of the most active and clear-headed of the English merchants here, who is himself so little of a pessimist that he believes negro labour might be ultimately relied upon. "I think," he said, "that after a year or two we should get on to our legs again, though of course we should suffer a certain permanent loss; but at first there can be no doubt that abolition would upset and indeed completely paralyze trade."

The precise effect of all this upon the Zanzibar revenue I cannot now venture to gauge, but that it would have an effect can hardly be doubted, and I would submit that it is an element in the question which should not be lost sight of in estimating the amount which Zanzibar may fairly apply for to Parliament in return for the abolition of domestic slavery.

Leaving this consideration, however, out of the question for the present, what actual tangible deficit may be expected from immediate emancipation? I believe the following estimate to be fairly trustworthy:—

(A.)—*Loss of Revenue.*

1. Actual loss on cloves, 18,000*l.* a-year.

This is taking the revenue from cloves at about 27,000*l.* (a good average), and assuming, in accordance with what seems to be the general anticipation here, a loss of about two-thirds. It must be borne in mind that at present the slaves, besides picking the cloves, cultivate the land on the clove plantations for their own maintenance, and thus keep the soil all round the clove trees clear of weeds and of a certain kind of grass which, if allowed to grow, would injure and indeed probably destroy them. Quite apart from the partial loss of the harvest, a temporary desertion of the plantations by the slaves, and the growth of weeds, &c., so rapid in

a tropical country where the land was no longer tilled and kept clean, would therefore entail the irreparable destruction of thousands of clove trees, from which their owners and the State now both derive an income.

2. Reduction of the tax on cloves actually cultivated.

If one-third of the plantations continued under cultivation an average revenue of 9,000*l.* a-year at the present rate of taxation would be obtained. But most experts are, I believe, of opinion that if the proprietors are to be prevented from simply cutting down their trees, the tax on these would have for a time to be reduced by half, hence a loss to the revenue of 4,500*l.* per annum.

3. Loss of duty on other agricultural products—chillies, simsim, tobacco, &c.

The duty at present collected on these (it is an import duty on country produce levied on entrance into the town of Zanzibar) would be about 2,000*l.* a-year; if two-thirds of it were lost the revenue would suffer to the amount of 1,300*l.*

4. The probable loss on duty on imports into Pemba and Zanzibar (outside the free port) would be about 1,750*l.*

5. The loss on wharfage dues and indirect taxes from decline of trade would be about 1,100*l.* per annum.

The total loss of direct revenue would therefore amount to about 26,500*l.* a-year.

(B.)—*New Expenditure.*

1. New Courts to enforce the abolition of slavery (Sir Lloyd Mathews' estimate), 6,870*l.*

2. Police and coastguards, 6,000*l.*

3. Compensation to Sultan.

Abolition would mean to His Highness the loss of about 6,000*l.* or 7,000*l.* a-year. It would be difficult for him, on his Civil List of 15,000*l.* a-year, part of which goes to relations, retainers, &c., to maintain his position. His allowance was, in fact, calculated on the assumption that he would have a certain margin of his own, derived from his private estates.

If his private revenues are suddenly destroyed or impaired by the action of Her Majesty's Government, it would seem only fair that we should insure him the means of maintaining his dignity as a Sovereign. It would, I think, be necessary, if the value of his estates is seriously depreciated by us, to increase his Civil List by at least 6,000*l.* a-year.

4. Custom-house, Public Works, and other Departments.

The cost of the labour employed by these Departments would at least be doubled. At present the Custom-house pays 400*l.* a-year to its workmen; it would have to pay 800*l.* in future.

The increase in the expenses of the Public Works Department would probably be about the same. The extra charge to Government on this head would probably be about 2,000*l.*

Allowing an extra 1,000*l.*, not an excessive sum, for incidental expenses, we get a total of 21,780*l.*, or, putting it at the lowest figure possible, 20,000*l.* in the form of new expenditure, without allowing for any indirect effect on the revenue of the temporary injury to trade.

We thus have a loss of revenue amounting to 26,000*l.*, and an increase of expenditure amounting to 20,000*l.* The average revenue of Zanzibar is from 70,000*l.* to 80,000*l.*, say 75,000*l.*, its average necessary expenditure from 60,000*l.* to 70,000*l.*, say 65,000*l.* a-year. I allow for a surplus of 10,000*l.*—a very large allowance if the islands are to be vigorously and efficiently administered, and improvements regularly carried out. This reduces the revenue from 75,000*l.* to 51,000*l.*, whilst increasing the expenditure from 65,000*l.* to 86,000*l.*, leaving, therefore, a deficit of 35,000*l.* a-year. This deficit, I believe, will be below rather than over the mark. Both Sir Lloyd Mathews and Mr. Strickland are disposed to put it a good deal higher.

There remains the compensation to be paid to the lawful owners of slaves, the determination of whose number would be one of the duties of the new Courts. It is, of course, very difficult, in the absence of any statistics, to say how many slaves are lawfully held; but if we take, for the sake of argument, an intentionally low figure, and assume that, of the 140,000 slaves now living, according to Sir Lloyd Mathews' calculations, in Zanzibar and Pemba, only one-third are legitimately held, we

should get a total of 46,666, or, say, 46,500 slaves whose owners might fairly ask us for compensation. Taking the average price of a slave at about 40 dollars, or 80 rupees (a designedly low estimate, for 50 dollars would be nearer the mark), the compensation to be paid to lawful owners would be about 200,000*l.* Mr. Consul Smith, who was a zealous abolitionist, and who held the doctrine, based on purely circumstantial reasoning, that only a trifling fraction of the slaves in the two islands were lawfully held, considered, I believe, that 100,000*l.* would be sufficient to satisfy the requirements of justice. I should personally be inclined to think that twice, or rather more than twice, his estimate would be a fairer computation. The friends of the native owners would, of course, make it a good deal higher. I have endeavoured, in the absence of any positive information, to strike a happy mean; but it is possible that a fuller inquiry might show that a much larger number of masters were entitled to demand compensation. The English merchant whom I quoted above, and who is well acquainted with the country and people, was of opinion that Sir Lloyd Mathews' estimate, given in my despatch of the 25th ultimo, of 62,000 lawfully held, to 78,000 held unlawfully, allowed for too few slaves of the former category. He considered that more than half the slaves now in Zanzibar (respecting Pemba he felt less positive) were lawfully held under the Treaties and Decrees.

In practice, however, many owners, when deprived of their slaves, would, whether we liked it or not, become a burden on the State. I am thinking not so much of the Arab planters, as of many members of the middle and lower classes. Take, for instance, the case of a small tradesman, with, say, two or three slaves; of these slaves, one, who may perhaps be a woman, and in that case probably a concubine, acts as cook and general servant in the house, the other two go out as labourers in the town, and bring back to their master each half-a-rupee, or in all one rupee a-day. On this rupee he feeds his family, and then (let us say he spends about 6*d.* or 1*s.* a-day for this purpose) has a few annas over to replenish his little stock-in-trade, and help him to carry on his business. To-morrow his slaves are freed, the little surplus on which he lived has vanished, and he and his children are beggars. It may be said that he ought to work himself for his support, but his habits and whole past have unfitted him for labour; he cannot change his method of living suddenly. His slaves are his livelihood, and their loss means ruin. This, indeed, applies in a greater or less degree to nearly every class of freeman in Zanzibar. I have sometimes asked natives, who complained of our anti-slavery legislation, why they did not employ free labour. "I myself," I have said, "pay my servants, why should you not do the same?" "Yes," they answer, "you are rich, you have a large salary of your own from the Sirkar; we have nothing apart from our slaves; if you take them away, you take away both our capital and our income, and when they are gone, where are we to find the money to pay our servants?"

Of course, if the small owner I have described should get compensation for his slaves, he may go across to the German coast, buy new ones and resume his old life there under something like its old conditions; but, if he gets none, and assuming that one-third only of these owners are compensated, and two-thirds of them ruined, the State cannot allow them to starve. In some form or another, whatever may be said by statisticians as to their unlawful tenure of their late slaves, relief must be found for them, and that relief must come somehow out of the revenue. I do not see how we can escape this conclusion, unless the philanthropy which is the honourable basis of our crusade against the evils of slavery is in practice to prove a cruel mockery.

It may of course be asked why, with all these difficulties in prospect, previous British Representatives at Zanzibar, whilst exerting themselves to abolish slavery, did not labour, at the same time, to provide against the dangers which their policy must sooner or later bring about. I can only suppose that they looked at the whole question, so long as Zanzibar was an independent foreign State, from a mainly outside English standpoint. Their business was to extirpate a system which, besides being contrary in itself to English conceptions of right, was the chief feeder of the gigantic curse of the Slave Trade; they left it to the Sultans to settle in their own way the problem to which the measures recommended or imposed by them would give rise. Now, however, that the establishment of the Protectorate has made these islands in a sense a portion of Her Majesty's Empire, and that their revenue and general welfare is a matter of direct concern to the British Government, the question has assumed a different aspect. We have, I would respectfully

suggest, not only to destroy, but to construct; not merely to sweep away old and barbarous institutions, but to make sure that we are building up, on these ruins, a better and more solid social fabric.

There are only two more points in connection with this question respecting which I would trouble your Lordship. The first is the visit, reported in my telegram of the 11th instant, of Mr. Donald Mackenzie to Zanzibar. That gentleman, as I had the honour to mention, is studying the whole slavery question for the Anti-Slavery Society and Society of Friends, and I have promised to afford him every possible assistance in doing so. I have had some general conversation with him already, and hope to see more of him when he returns from Pemba; but I have been pleased to find that he is fully alive to the importance both of the labour question and of the relation of the whole slavery problem to the social and religious life of our Mahomedan population here. I believe it would be well that the Report and suggestions which he will make to the Philanthropic Societies on whose behalf he is visiting these countries should be carefully considered before any further steps are taken with a view to immediate abolition.

Secondly, I would respectfully ask, at the request of Sir Lloyd Mathews, if immediate abolition is, notwithstanding our representations, decided on, that a sufficient naval force should be at hand here to prevent any possible disturbance. I do not, nor does Sir Lloyd, anticipate any popular rising, but there will probably be a certain amount of irritation and ferment among the natives, which a slight display of force would allay at once, but which, if unrestrained, might perhaps occasion some disorders. It must be remembered that the Zanzibar troops cannot, under such circumstances, be entirely relied on. Almost every common soldier owns a slave or two, and would be aggrieved by the proposed emancipation; at the time of Seyyid Ali's famous Decree of 1890, nearly half of them deserted, and offered to place their rifles at the disposal of the mutinous Arabs. But the landing of a small force of blue-jackets and marines, 300 or 400 at most, would, I believe, effectually silence any outburst of popular discontent.

I have made no allusion in this despatch to certain heavy initial expenses inseparable from the introduction of coolie labour, such, for instance (to take only two items), as the provision of Inspectors, and of the "barracks" which the coolies will require. The apportionment of these expenses between Her Majesty's Government and that of Zanzibar would, of course, form the subject of later and separate discussion; but although Zanzibar must sooner or later employ coolies, and therefore one day or another have to face these initial expenses, it would not be unfair for her to ask, if that day is hastened, and these expenses incurred by her at a moment when her resources are all required for the new functions assigned to her on the mainland, for some assistance under this head at the hands of the Protecting Power.

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

No. 15.

Admiralty to Foreign Office.—(Received April 10.)

Sir,

Admiralty, April 8, 1895.

I AM commanded by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to transmit, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the inclosed copy of a letter which they have received from the Commander-in-chief of Her Majesty's ships and vessels on the Cape of Good Hope Station, reporting on the Slave Trade for the year ended 31st December, 1894.

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

Inclosure in No. 15.

Rear-Admiral Bedford to Admiralty.

- Sir, "St. George," at Simonstown, March 9, 1895.
- WITH reference to Article 6 of the General Instructions for the Suppression of the Slave Trade, be pleased to lay before the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty the following Report for the year ending 31st December, 1894.
2. The provisions of the Brussels Act have been carried out.
 3. The duplicate reports of vessels searched and detained have been forwarded to you as they occurred, according to instructions.
 4. The ship blockade of Pemba has been maintained as far as practicable consistent with the various calls for other services made on the ships of this station.
 5. All reliable information obtained from various sources points to a great diminution in the incoming Slave Trade during the past year. This is partly due to the untiring efforts of the ships on the division, but also to the more efficient working of the military police, who patrol the shore, search suspected houses, and generally make it more difficult and hazardous for the Arab dealers.
 6. The registration of dhows is also better looked after, and great care taken to insure that they leave harbour with their papers and passenger-lists correct; this has had a very good effect.
 7. The vigilance of the German authorities and the severity with which they punish slave-dealers has seriously checked the Traffic in the territory under their jurisdiction.
 8. Small numbers are undoubtedly still run in canoes, but the fact that owners of plantations at Pemba complain that they cannot get sufficient slaves to pick the cloves shows that this does not succeed to any great extent.

I have, &c.
(Signed) FRED. G. D. BEDFORD.

CORRESPONDENCE respecting Slavery in Zanzibar.

*Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Com-
mand of Her Majesty. April 1895.*

LONDON :
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.