AFRICA. No. 5 (1892).

PAPERS

RELATIVE TO THE

SUPPRESSION OF SLAVE-RAIDING

IN

NYASSALAND.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.
June 1892.

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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[C.—6699.] *Price* 4½*d.*

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Papers relative to the Suppression of Slave-raiding in Nyassaland.

No. 1.

Commissioner Johnston to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 6, 1892.)

(Extract.) *The Residency, Zomba, November* 24, 1891.

I HAVE the honour to lay before your Lordship a Report of the measures which I have taken to suppress the Slave Trade in British Central Africa since my arrival at Tshilomo in the middle of last July.

In undertaking the proceedings against certain notable slave raiders and traders which are to be detailed in this despatch, I wish to point out that I have been prompted by two motives. In the first place, I bore in mind your Lordship's earnest injunction conveyed in my formal instructions "to suppress the Slave Trade by every legitimate means in my power." In the secondary aspect of the situation, I felt bound to make our Protectorate in Nyassaland a reality to the unfortunate mass of the people who are robbed, raided, and carried into captivity to satisfy the greed and lust of bloodshed prevailing among a few Chieftains of the Yao* race, these again being incessantly incited to engage in internecine war or slave-raiding forays by the Arab and Swahili slave-traders who travel between Nyassaland and the German and Portuguese littoral.

Wherever it was possible by means of peaceable and friendly negotiations to induce a Chieftain to renounce the Slave Trade I have used such means in preference to a recourse to force; and in this way a considerable number of the lesser Potentates of Nyassaland have been brought to agree to give up adjusting their internecine quarrels by resort to arms, to cease selling their subjects into slavery, and to close their territories to the passage of slaves and slave-traders. Their agreement, however, was in most cases a sullen one, and their eyes were turned instinctively to the nearest "big" Chief to see in what way he was dealt with. If he, too, accepted this distasteful gospel of peace and good-will towards men they were then ready enough to adhere to their own compacts, and even to be zealous [hoping reward] in carrying out the more active provisions thereof; but if the powerful Potentate—the champion man of war of the district—held aloof from the new Protectorate, massed his forces in the hill strongholds, and preserved a watchful or menacing attitude towards the Administration by ignoring or rejecting its proposals for a friendly understanding, then the little Chieftains began to relax in their good behaviour of a month's or week's duration, once more to capture and sell their neighbour's subjects, or to smuggle through their by-paths a coast-caravan, with its troop of slaves, bound for Kilwa, Ibo, or Quilimane.

Consequently, I soon realized—indeed, I knew before I returned to this country for the second time—that there were certain notabilities in Nyassaland who would require to be induced or compelled to give up the Slave Trade before our Protectorate could become a reality. Who these were, and how they have been dealt with, will be set forth in the accompanying Report.

I also forward a copy of an official Report addressed to me by Captain Cecil M. Maguire, dealing with our little campaign on Lake Nyassa and the Upper Shiré. My personal testimony to the gallantry and excellent behaviour of these Indian soldiers is given in the pages of my own Report, which I herewith submit to your Lordship's consideration, trusting that the proceedings it details may meet with your Lordship's approval.

* The invading "Ajawa" of Livingstone.

P.S.—List of inclosures in this despatch:—

1. Report on measures taken to suppress the Slave Trade in Nyassaland.
2. Messrs. Bowhill and Bradshaw's letter about Tshikumbu.
3. Letter of thanks from same.
4. Mr. Whyte's Report on Mount Milanji.
5. Letter from late Sultan of Zanzibar to Makanjira, with translation.

P.S. No. 2.—Just as I was completing the inclosed Report the sad news of Captain Maguire's death at Kisungah arrived. I have not, however, thought it necessary on that account to hold back the Report, or to modify it in consequence of this deplorable accident.

December 29, 1891.

Inclosure 1 in No. 1.

Report on Measures taken to suppress the Slave Trade in British Central Africa: July to December 1891.

ON the 16th July, 1891, I arrived at Tshilomo, a place at the junction of the River Ruo with the Shiré, which may be called the chief port of the Shiré highlands, since it is usually the farthest inland limit of all-year-round navigation on the part of the British gun-boats and commercial steamers plying between the Chinde mouth of the Zambesi and the British possessions in the interior. In commencing my administrative work as Her Majesty's Commissioner in the British Protectorate of Nyassaland, and in the extensive territories beyond,* which are placed under the Charter of the British South Africa Company, it was incumbent on me to take some decisive measures to check the Slave Trade and the misery and depopulation it caused in the regions of Central Africa now brought under British control. With this object in view, I resolved first to get rid of the Slave Trade in the southern half of Nyassaland, and bring that stretch of territory into an orderly and peaceful condition before extending my operations further afield.

The "big men" in this part of the Protectorate with whom it behoved me to deal, and whom I must either persuade or coerce into acceptance of an anti-Slave Trade policy and sufficient subservience to the new Administration as would put an end to further civil wars and inhumane practices, were the following:—

Makanjira and Kazembe, ruling on opposite coasts of the south end of Lake Nyassa;

The "Makandanji" clan of Chiefs (Tshindamba,† Zarafi, and Mkata) which dominates the country between the east bank of the Upper Shiré, Lake Pamalombwe, and the Portuguese boundary;

Mponda, the powerful Chief holding the Shiré where it leaves Lake Nyassa, and possessing a large tract of country along its western bank;

The Angoni Chief, Tshifisi, who dwells behind Mponda;

Tshingwalu-ngwalu and Msamara, Yao Chiefs along the western bank of the Upper Shiré, half-brothers and bitter haters of Mponda;

Liwonde, a Chief ruling an exceedingly rich tract of land along the east bank of the Upper Shiré;

Tshikusi, the great Angoni Chieftain dominating all the hill country between the west bank of the Shiré and the Portuguese frontier;

Kawinga, one of the most powerful of the Yao Chiefs, who dwells near the north-west corner of Lake Shirwa, and who commands a great slave route to the coast; and, lastly—

Tshikumbu, who, after being for some years a roving bandit living on the plunder of the Mission caravans between Blantyre and the Upper Shiré, at last settled down on Mount Milanji to a steady career of slave-trading.

To subdue these Potentates, if recalcitrant, I had at my command the following police force:—

Seventy-one Indian soldiers (from 32nd and 23rd Sikh Regiments, and the Haiderabad Lancers), commanded by Captain Cecil Maguire, of the 2nd Haiderabad

* These two divisions of the territories under British influence to the north of the Zambesi are included in the comprehensive designation of "British Central Africa."

† Formerly known by the name of Makandanji, which name he changed to Tshindamba on becoming a Mahommedan. The name, however, sticks to his country.

Lancers contingent; ten Swahili police (from out of the 120 recruited by permission of His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar).*

The cost of maintaining this police force is borne by the British South Africa Company. The armament was mainly furnished by the War Office, and consists of Snider rifles and a 7-pounder cannon.†

The first of the Chiefs to claim our attention was Tshikumbu, the last mentioned on my list.

This man had for some eight years past harassed and raided the A-mañanja (Wa-nyasa) tribes living on and round Mount Milanji. He and his brother Tshingomanji were intrusive Yaos from the north, and were aliens in the land who had simply imposed themselves as Chiefs in the territories once belonging to a Mañanja Ruler named Tshipoka. This man died a year or so back, and to prevent his country (formerly an extensive one, about the size of Surrey) from being wholly devoured by Tshikumbu and Tshingomanji, the chief men of Tshipoka's country and Tshipoka's heir asked Mr. Acting Consul Buchanan to summon a meeting on Mount Milanji in August 1890, and then and there on the 13th of that month made over in a document signed by them the whole sovereign rights of Tshipoka's country to the Queen.

Tshikumbu, however, did not cease his evil courses, though his brother, Tshingomanji, apparently contented himself with the territory he had carved out of Tshipoka's country, and settled down on it in peace. Europeans attempting to pass through Tshikumbu's town on their way to the coast were stopped, maltreated, and robbed by Tshikumbu. Mr. Buchanan in this way suffered at his hands on one occasion. Later on, and not very long ago, an Englishman named Pidder was seized by Tshikumbu (merely because he could not afford to pay the present demanded), flogged, and put in the stocks. Mr. Fred. Moir, of the African Lakes Company, got together a force of Europeans and natives and marched to the relief of Mr. Pidder. Tshikumbu stopped their approach for awhile by threatening to cut Mr. Pidder's head off. Fortunately, however, through the assistance of some friendly natives, Mr. Pidder succeeded in freeing himself and in escaping.

I should not, however, have moved so promptly against Tshikumbu had he not begun to threaten the lives of some English planters who had settled in or near his country by his permission.

I believed their position to be critical, so I dispatched on the 17th July (the day after my arrival at Tshilomo) Captain Cecil Maguire (commanding the Indian contingent of the British Central Africa Police) with fifty Indian soldiers, and Mr. Hugh C. Marshall (Police officer at the Ruo) to Tshikumbu's country to make inquiries into these complaints, and, if possible, arrive at an understanding with Tshikumbu on the question of slavery.

They reached Tshikumbu's town on the 21st July, but unfortunately found that Tshikumbu had made up his mind to fight, for the expeditionary party were received in a hostile manner and repeatedly attacked. Tshikumbu himself, after wounding a sick soldier (Tabha Singh, 32nd Pioneers) in the neck, managed to escape. The town, however, was captured, and subsequently Tshikumbu's forces were again defeated, and finally dispersed on the 22nd. The pursuit of Tshikumbu proving fruitless, Captain Maguire devoted himself to effecting a settlement of the country, which should prove peaceful and permanent. Tshikumbu's people were told that they might return to their towns and remain there unmolested if they abstained from all further hostile proceedings, which invitation they speedily accepted. A large number of slaves were found in Tshikumbu's chief town, and were informed by Captain Maguire that they were now free. Only three of them, however, were actually released by him and sent back to their homes in Tshipoka's country, the bulk of the slaves preferring to remain and settle in Tshikumbu's country on the assurance that they were now free.

Tshingomanji, Tshikumbu's brother, bore a fairly good character among the European settlers on Milanji, but unfortunately he had joined Tshikumbu, in a quite unprovoked manner, in attacking our forces on the 21st July. Consequently he had to be dealt with as an enemy. He fortunately stayed further hostile proceedings by surrendering himself unconditionally as a prisoner. He agreed to pay a fine of eight small tusks of ivory (about 50*l.* in value), and to come down to Tshiromo to give in his submission to me as Representative of Her Majesty. I subsequently reinstated him in his territory under certain conditions, which have been forwarded to your Lordship for sanction and approval, and I have further recognized him as sole Chief in Tshikumbu's stead over the little Yao Principality (carved out of Tshipoka's territory) on Milanji.

* The remainder of this force has been mainly employed in road-making, &c., under Captain Sclater, R.E.

† Since added to by a Maxim-gun from the British South Africa Company, and two 9-pounder cannons from the Arsenal at Woolwich.—H. H. J.

Captain Maguire was much helped in the final settlement of affairs in the Milanji district by Mr. Hugh C. Marshall and Dr. William Scott, of the Church of Scotland Mission. Unfortunately, in the second attack in Tshikumbu's town a house belonging to the Church of Scotland Mission was accidentally burnt, having been set fire to by some native allies of ours who did not know that it belonged to the Mission, the house not differing materially in appearance from a native dwelling, and not having been occupied for some time by a white man. My attention, however, having been drawn to the circumstance by the head of the Mission at Blantyre, I inquired into the matter, and eventually paid the Mission 15*l.** in compensation for the damage done.

As far as I can ascertain, there was but little loss on the enemy's side in the various skirmishes and attacks on Milanji. Only two dead bodies were seen. Tshikumbu, however, was severely wounded before he disappeared, and it is not known whether he recovered. He has never been heard of any more. On our side only one soldier was wounded (Tabha Sing, 32nd Pioneers). He was shot through the side of the neck, but soon recovered, and has since been on active service. But the fatigue, cold, and want of food (for unfortunately, the rear party leaving Tshilomo after the main body with most of the food supply took the wrong road, and did not reach Milanji) told severely on the health of the expeditionary party. Captain Maguire and Mr. Marshall both had severe attacks of fever, and one Sikh soldier (Juwala Singh, of the 32nd Pioneers) died about three weeks after the Milanji expedition from an affection of the heart, brought on, no doubt, by severe exertions in mountain-climbing. This, I am thankful to say, has hitherto been the only death which has occurred among the 218 negroes, white men, and Indians attached to my administration.

The results of Captain Maguire's expedition to Milanji has been entirely satisfactory. Tshikumbu has been heard of no more, and Tshingomanji's and Tshipoka's people have settled down quietly and industriously to their agricultural work. The Church of Scotland Mission has commenced rebuilding at Tshikumbu's old town, and, in addition, has applied for the lease of a site of land at the top of Milanji, on Government ground, where they can build a sanatorium in a climate which is that of the temperate regions all the year round. Other European settlers and coffee-planters have come to Milanji to acquire estates for the cultivation of coffee, and while encouraging the advent of European enterprise and capital to the utmost in these undeveloped lands, too long abandoned to the slave raids, devastations, and forest-burnings of internecine negro wars, I have taken ample precautions to safeguard native interests and to secure to the natives not only the land they now occupy, but sufficient reservations of territory to meet that increase in their population which will, I trust, be found to follow the establishment of peace and security for their persons and property.

I might add that Milanji Mountain is over 9,000 feet in height (approximately 9,300 feet), and is a great, broken plateau with nearly precipitous sides, except where the accumulated *débris* washed down by the numerous torrents has formed a kind of gently sloping rampart round the base. It is the highest land in South Central Africa between the Drakensberg Mountains of Natal and Rungwa, near the north end of Lake Nyassa, or, if Mount Rungwa prove, as it may, a few feet lower, then between Natal and Kilimanjaro. The mountain-mass or range of Milanji is about 12 miles long by the 8 miles broad, and is wholly within the limits of the British Protectorate. The plateau at the top is nearly 40 square miles in extent, has an average elevation of 6,000 feet, a temperate climate, and is admirably suited for the establishment of a European colony, the more so as, owing to the cold, it is without a single negro inhabitant, and is only visited at times by natives of Tshipoka's country, who go up there to obtain salt by the burning of certain grasses.

Mr. Alexander Whyte† was dispatched by me to examine the Fauna and Flora of Mount Milanji, and I append the Report with which he has furnished me.

Captain Sclater,‡ R.E., is now engaged in surveying Milanji, assisted by Mr. Henchman, C.E., and a road is being constructed thither from Tshiromo at the junction of the Ruo and the Shiré.

Having sufficiently dealt with Tshikumbu and stopped slave raiding in the Milanji district, I resolved to turn my attention to the slave raids in the vicinity of Lakes Nyassa and Shirwa. Here again it was the Yao Chiefs who did the slave raiding, though the evil was accentuated by the presence of Arab and Wa-swahili slave-traders;

* Deducted from the amount realized by Tshikumbu's and Tshingomanji's ivory (63*l.* 4*s.*).—H. H. J.

† A naturalist and scientific horticulturist, sent out at the expense of the British South Africa Company to work under my instructions, and to make a thorough investigation into the natural history of British Central Africa.

‡ Holding rank as Captain in the British Central Africa Police: Lieutenant in the Royal Engineers.

or ivory merchants wanting slave porters, who often prompted the raids and civil wars by which the slaves were obtained.

Mr. Acting Consul Buchanan in a despatch dated the 13th July, 1891, had brought to my notice that Makanjira, the most notorious slave-raider on Lake Nyassa was again in a state of maleficent activity, and was engaged in conjunction with his ally Kazembe, of Rifu, in raiding the south-west shore of Lake Nyassa. Against Makanjira also we had other grave causes of complaint. He had repeatedly seized and carried off boats from the Universities' Mission Stations on the east shore of the lake, and had on one occasion murdered a head boatman belonging to the Mission: all this without the slightest provocation whatsoever. Moreover, when in 1888 Acting Consul Buchanan and the Rev. W. P. Johnson had gone in the Mission steamer to see Makanjira, and had landed unsuspectingly at his town to have (as they thought) a friendly conference with him, he had stripped them naked (an Arab standing by tossed Mr. Johnson back his shirt), and had flogged Mr. Buchanan on the beach. Everything they possessed was taken from them, including a valuable gold watch of Mr. Buchanan's. Their lives were only spared under a heavy ransom, sent from the Mission steamer, and paid in cloth, beads, candles, soap, and paint for Makanjira's daughters.

Makanjira had ever since taken a high rank on the lake as having most outrageously insulted the Queen's Representative without receiving any punishment for his misdeeds from the British Government. He had therefore taken advantage of his supposed immunity (he thought we were afraid to tackle him) to ravage the south-western shores of the lake and carry off the people into slavery. My attention having been repeatedly called by members of the Universities Mission, Agents of the African Lakes Company, and latterly by Acting Consul Buchanan, to the barbarities Makanjira was perpetrating, I had at different times, to wit, the 2nd January, 1890, the 26th April, 1890, and the 19th July, 1891, written to Makanjira warning him that punishment would certainly be inflicted on him of an exemplary kind if he did not cease slave raiding and trading, restore to the Universities Mission their boats which he had stolen, and make amends by the payment of a fine of ten tusks of ivory, and the sending a written apology for the insult offered to Acting Consul Buchanan. To these letters no answers were received, except verbal messages of a defiant character, which may or may not have been the invention of intermediaries.

Whilst I was preparing at Zomba, in the month of September last, for an expedition against Makanjira, a deputation arrived from the Angoni Chief Tshikusi, or rather, I should explain, from Tshikusi's heir, for Tshikusi himself, the great Angoni Chief who was visited by Mr. Montagu Kerr in 1882, by Consul Hawes in 1886, and who had concluded a Treaty (placing himself under British protection) with Mr. Alfred Sharpe in 1890, was dead.* His son who had quietly succeeded him and had assumed the name of Tshikusi, wished to inform me of the fact and declare his allegiance to the Queen. He further sent to crave protection against Mponda, the powerful Yao Chief on the Upper Shiré, who had taken advantage of the interregnum in Angoni-land to make a raid across the borders, destroy six villages, and capture many people. Almost simultaneously there came in some of my Swahili police (whom I had sent to Lake Nyassa to report on what was going on), and these men brought me the news that war had broken out again between Mponda and the Makandanji clan for no other reason apparently than a desire to catch each other's people and sell them as slaves. So I decided to pause first of all at Mponda's and try to settle the quarrels of this Upper Shiré district before proceeding to Makanjira's.

I started from Zomba on the 30th September with Captain Cecil Maguire (Commandant of Indian contingent British Central Africa Police), Dr. Sorabji Boyce, the Parsi surgeon to the Indian contingent, and sixty-eight Sepoys, from the Haiderabad Lancers, and the 32nd and 23rd Sikh Pioneers. I also had with me ten of the Zanzibari police lent me by the Sultan of Zanzibar, and a few Makua from Mozambique. After five days spent in waiting for the arrival of two barges of the African Lakes' Company at Mpimbi (our Zomba 'port' on the Upper Shiré), we loaded the said barges with most of our baggage and a few of our men, and proceeded to march up the left (east) bank of the Shiré towards the lake. Passing through the rich, well-cultivated country of Liwonde, our reception was decidedly 'reserved;' and Liwonde's people would sell us no food, and often refused to give any information, or even return an answer when questioned about the road or the names of towns. The fact is, through Liwonde's land passes one of the great slave routes of Africa. From the Angoni countries west of the Shiré and Lake Nyassa, the Arab, Swahili, and Yao caravans proceed to Ibo, Angoche (Ngoshi), and

* He died in the beginning of August or end of July in the present year (1891).

Quilimane across the Shiré, viâ Liwonde's and Kawinga's countries, and thence round the north and south end of Lake Shirwa. Consequently Liwonde's country is full of evil-looking coast people and Arabs who have obtained considerable hold over the land, and are carrying on an industrious Mahommedan propaganda by teaching the people's children to read and write and recite the Koran. These men, it might be imagined, guessing that our presence in the country was inimical to their slave-trading, scowled on us as we went by, and probably only our well-armed, alert, little army of forty or fifty stalwart Sikhs and Panjabi Mahommedans prevented overt acts of malice on their part. I must, however, except from this denunciation one very worthy old Arab whom I have known ever since 1889, and who has always held aloof from the Slave Trade, Sherif Abu Bakr. This man was helpful to the British during the war at the north end of Nyassa, and his influence over Liwonde—in whose country he has made his home—is exerted emphatically in our favour. Abu Bakr alone came forward with friendly words and offerings of food, and he gave me then and afterwards much information about the Slave Trade. As a hint from him first set us on the track of a slave caravan at Mponda's which we subsequently succeeded in breaking up, I sent him a small present on my return to Zomba to encourage him in this co-operation with us.

Liwonde himself is by no means a bad character: indeed, if he were oftener sober he might be taken as a very good type of a native Chief. Unfortunately, although no foreign forms of alcohol ever penetrate the valley of the Upper Shiré, it is, as I have related in the Report of my journey of 1889-90, one of the most drunken parts of Africa. The people are for ever brewing a strong heady beer out of millet and maize, the well-known 'pombe,' and Liwonde indulges extravagantly in this drink, to such a degree, in fact, that he is rarely sober after the forenoon. This condition weakens his energy as a ruler, and he allows the Swahilis and Mahommedanized Yaos from Kawinga's town to dominate his country without attempting much resistance.

Beyond Liwonde's land we crossed a depopulated tract of beautiful, park-like country, then skirted the south-eastern shores of Lake Pamalombwe, and arrived within the country of Mkata, one of the Chiefs belonging to the Makandanji party or coalition which has been engaged in interminable wars with Mponda.

On passing the frontier of Mkata's country, which was marked by a belt of woodland, a number of rather impudent men armed with guns (Mkata's soldiers) bounced out of the brushwood and asked us rather imperatively to say where we were going. We told them "to the lake" and passed on through Mkata's villages without stopping till we came to the last town of his country which is called Likoro, and is situated near the north-east corner of Lake Pamalombwe. Here we rested for the night, and on the next day, after a quick march of 8 miles, found ourselves rather sooner than we expected on the east bank of the Upper Shiré (about 3 miles from Lake Nyassa) immediately opposite to Mponda's mile-long town.

Our arrival was an unwelcome surprise to Mponda. He had of course heard of Tshikusi's mission to Zomba, and as a counter-stroke to this move of the Angoni King in invoking British protection, he had mustered fourteen of Tshikusi's people, all who remained unsold in his possession, the rest having been bargained for to the slavers, and had beheaded them in the market-place of his town three days before our arrival.* Their heads were then stuck up on the posts of the stockade which was already decorated with perhaps 100 other bleached skulls of other Angoni or prisoners of war. This proceeding was undertaken to show Tshikusi how little Mponda cared for the white man. He then proceeded to muster his forces to meet our attack; he had obtained 400 men from the friendly Angoni Chief Tshikusi, living behind his territory, and he had written for aid to Makanjira. But mobilization of an African Chief's force is a very slow process, specially when the men are called together to fight with Europeans, and our march from Zomba had been so quick and silent that we had caught Mponda only half prepared, and here we were, camped on the opposite bank, only 400 yards from his town, and that 400 yards represented by the whole breadth of the River Shiré. Well might Mponda vacillate and change his policy every hour, consulting continually his Swahili soothsayers, trying to read an oracle in the entrails of sacrificed fowls, or with the Arab magic of "Raml" sand marked at random with dots and cyphers to produce figures from which a horoscope is drawn, decide "Yes or No? Shall I fight the white man or not?" Whilst he weighed the chances of war we were employing our time to the utmost advantage in fortifying our position, and in attempting to negotiate a peace between Mponda and Makandanji, besides approaching Mponda on the subject of reparation to the Angoni and cessation of slave-raiding and trading. In six days our position was

* The blood of these unfortunate creatures still stained the ground when Captain Maguire visited the town the day after we came.

admirably defended by a fort designed by Captain Maguire and constructed by the Indian soldiers, the Zanzibaris, and Makuas. This place to which they were good enough to attach my name was a circular redoubt with a diameter inside of 90 feet. The centre was occupied by a low circular house used as a provision store and a cooking place. Round this focus our tents were pitched; and on the side of the fort nearest the river was a magazine dug partly underground and protected by a strong platform of earth heaped over a stout wooden framework. On this platform, which was about 8 feet above the level of the fort, a sentry stationed night and day could look over an immense stretch of perfectly flat plain to the verge of Lake Nyassa. The fort was defended by a rampart of bamboos, inclined outward at a slight angle, and supporting about 3 feet of sand thrown up against it from the outside. Below the sand rampart was a counterscarp or level ledge, and below this again a deep ditch with perpendicular sides and 4 feet broad. Across the ditch there was a glacis of sand.

Meanwhile, Makandanji* assumed a hostile attitude somewhat sudddenly. I have since thought this must have arisen from pressure brought to bear on him by Makanjira, who had heard of our approach, and whose guilty conscience at once assumed that our object was to punish him. Makandanji suddenly forbade his people to sell us food, broke off negotiations for peace with Mponda, and asked us to leave the country. He took the further and more imprudent step of imprisoning two of our Swahili Police, whom we had sent with messages; or, to be quite exact, he first tied up one man, and then, when we sent another to inquire what this meant, he tied him up also.

Accordingly, determined to stop anything like the formation of a hostile league of Yao Chiefs round us, I decided to punish promptly Makandenji's unfriendly behaviour, and dispatched Captain Maguire with a force of forty-four Sepoys and ten Zanzibaris to effect the release of Njiwa and Mwaraba (the imprisoned men).

He started before dawn, and, by daybreak, he had entered Makandanji's town, having first repulsed the enemy, who opened fire on him before he could attempt negotiations. He succeeded in releasing the prisoners, and then, being once more attacked, he drove the enemy to the hills, and destroyed that part of the town from which they had fired on the troops, returning by noonday to Fort Johnston.

Meanwhile, a curious and thoroughly African proceeding had taken place. Mponda, as soon as he heard that we had started to take action against Makandanji, resolved to deal his old foe a crushing blow; so he gathered together all his canoes and rapidly ferried across the Shiré, above and below Fort Johnston, 2,000 armed men, namely, 1,700 Yaos and 400 Angoni (from his ally Tshifisi). This force met and assembled close to Fort Johnston, and, at first, we thought they had come to attack us at a disadvantage; but they merely waited till their numbers were complete, and then started off for the outlying villages belonging to Mtshiriko and Makandanji. Most of the men of these places had left their homes to fight us, and, therefore, Mponda's people gained an easy victory over them, and carried away the bulk of the women and children. It was a shocking sight to see these poor creatures in droves of twenty and thirty at a time being brought down to the river side by their captors to be conveyed across to Mponda's town. I counted over seventy crossing the river at Fort Johnston, but, we were told, there were many more, as, indeed, we afterwards discovered.

Mponda came across to our side of the river to congratulate his men. I sent out and remonstrated with him, demanding that these people should be released at once, and allowed to go back to their villages, saying that we fought with men, not with women and children, and that our only quarrel was with Makandanji (Tshindamba). Mponda was in a state of great perturbation. It was evident he had no control over his men, flushed with success, and that, at the same time, he was afraid to offend me. He said, "Give me three days, and I promise you all these people shall be returned. As soon as my men are drunk with pombe, I will take the slaves away and send them back to you to be returned to their villages." I was obliged to assent to this proposal, as I had only a handful of men with me to oppose Mponda's forces, and I hoped a little reflection would impel him to restore his captives.

Shortly after Mponda had left, Captain Maguire returned from Tshindamba's with the released Zanzibaris, and several hostages from Tshindamba, whom, after intrusting with messages to their Chief, advising him to come in and make peace, we released.

The result of this action against Tshindamba was, that he, Zarafi, Mkata, and the rest of the clan, all came into Fort Johnston, after a few days, and signed a Treaty of Peace with us, promising to give up the Slave Trade, and to support the Administration of the Protectorate in its efforts to maintain peace.

* This Chief is now known by the name of Tshindamba.

The three days elapsed, and I called on Mponda to fulfil his promise. But the time given for reflection had hardened his heart. Moreover, in this interval, the real source of all these slave raids and intestine wars had made itself manifest. A large caravan from Kilwa Kivinje had recently arrived in South Nyassaland, and had, first of all, "put up" with Makanjira. Then it passed along the south-east coast, and stayed for some days at Saidi Mwazungu's (Saidi Mwazungu was a half-caste Swahili Arab; Makanjira's chief adviser). Saidi Mwazungu had ferried them over to Mponda's coast in one of Makanjira's dhows, and had been caught in the act by the Universities Mission steamer, the "Charles Janson," which brought us the news. Captain Maguire, with thirty Sepoys, had travelled in the "Charles Janson" to the place where the caravan had landed, but was not in time to intercept it, though he found several slaves in the stocks ready for sale, and released them and brought them to Fort Johnston. Meantime, it was becoming apparent that our presence here was highly inopportune to all parties. Each Chief was desirous of selling all the people he could lay hands on to the Kilwa traders in return for cotton goods and gunpowder. Tshindamba, no doubt, regretted that he had ever called on us to mediate between him and Mponda, and he actually, as above stated, turned hostile to us in his impatience to get rid of our unwelcome presence. These Kilwa slave-traders were impudent rascals, who went about the streets of Mponda's town advising his people to fight us sooner than surrender their newly-captured slaves.

At the conclusion of the interval conceded to Mponda for the restitution of his captives, seeing no intention on his part of giving in, and further learning that he had ordered his people to sell us no food so that hunger might eventually oblige us to leave, I delivered an ultimatum, stating that if some slaves, at any rate, were not given up by 9 o'clock in the evening of the third day I should attack his town. In order to facilitate the return of the slaves in numbers and with celerity I dispatched a large steel barge of the African Lakes Company to Mponda's town at the decisive hour, 9 o'clock, to fetch over a consignment of the slaves. The boat, however, was not allowed to land. Mponda's people shouted out that they were ready to fight, and that Mponda had gone away to the mountains with his women and ivory. We waited still another hour, and as no better answer came but isolated shots began to be fired at the fort, I gave the order to bombard the town. Accordingly Captain Maguire wheeled the 7-pr. gun into position and fired two incendiary shells into where most of the enemy seemed collected. This set several houses on fire and greatly surprised the people. They shouted out that they wanted peace. We replied, saying that we would stop further action if they would send over their Headmen to treat with us, and to bring some of the slaves with them as a sign of their willingness to give in to our terms. We waited for another hour, but no one came; and it seemed that during this interval they had taken advantage of the armistice to evacuate the town and carry off their valuables. We fired shells, mostly incendiary, into various parts of the town, and set portions of it on fire. There was no response on the part of the enemy till the early morning, when, apparently, the warriors returned in force and commenced firing at us across the river. We therefore landed in two parties with fifty Sepoys and nine Zanzibaris, drove the enemy out of the town after two or three sharp tussles, and then burnt the whole town and destroyed the stockades as far as possible, so as to render it untenable.

Later on, on the afternoon of the second day of the war against Mponda, we visited his northern villages in two boats to try and detach their inhabitants from Mponda's policy, but we were only fired on for our pains, our chief opponents being the group of coastmen (Mdoka and his people) who have settled as slave-trade agents in Mponda's country. The next day (20th October) Captain Maguire led our expedition against this northern part of Mponda's country and routed these coastmen and captured a large quantity of rice which opportunely relieved our dread of famine; he also made eight prisoners.

On the 22nd October Mponda made overtures for peace. He came to an open space near his town, under the guns of the fort, and met Captain Maguire, who communicated to him my terms. He accepted them and forthwith handed over the bulk of the captives whom he had snatched from Tshindamba's villages, and who had been the immediate cause of the war. These we returned to their homes, an action which created a very favourable impression on Tshindamba's people, who, formerly so hostile, were now fast becoming our friends. Mponda also released sixty-three Angoni slaves whom he had intended to sell to the Kilwa traders. He informed Maguire that the remainder of his slaves had been sold to the Kilwa men, and that this caravan was hidden at a place called Maüni, in the hills, near the south-western gulf of Lake Nyassa. On the following day, however, Mponda found he had forty more slaves, which he released and sent over to Fort Johnston.

On the 24th October, Maguire having obtained a guide to Maüni, went there with fifty Sepoys and ten Zanzibaris. I give what happened in his own words:—

"We went first along the river [Shiré] to Matapwiri's village, where Mponda was, and told him we intended no hostilities against his people. We then went to the hills which we reached at daybreak. The hill refuge is very extensive and inaccessible, the only approach to it being a narrow winding path passing through granite boulders, some of them weighing many tons. At the very end of the road in a hollow amid the hills are two villages, in the last of which the slave-traders had their quarters. Though none of Mponda's people, who were present in hundreds, had shown any active hostility against us, they gave the alarm to the slave-traders who retired down an almost precipitous road leading towards Lake Nyassa. They were pursued by the Zanzibaris, supported by the Sepoys.

In all, seven were captured, and 165 slaves were found in Maüni. I put slave-sticks taken off women among the slaves on to the slave-traders necks, and marched back to Fort Johnston, arriving there at 3 P.M."

The slaves rescued from the caravan and released by Mponda amounted in all to 268, which, with two slaves freed by Captain Maguire at Matapwiri's on the 14th October, made a total of 270. The majority of these people were escorted back to their homes by detachments of the Zanzibari Police, or by Captain Maguire and the Sepoys. Twenty-two of them, however, who had come from a great distance—the Loangwa Valley, about 300 miles to the west—have for the present remained at Fort Johnston until a chance offers of their accompanying some European traveller going in that direction.

On the 25th October, Mponda came over to Fort Johnston and signed a Treaty abolishing the Slave Trade in his dominions. On this occasion he released fourteen more prisoners belonging to Tshindambo. He also paid an indemnity of ten tusks of ivory towards the expenses of the war.

Our relations with him and his people now rapidly improved. They commenced rebuilding their town, and brought quantities of food over to us for sale. Mponda himself, strange to say, affected to be not displeased at our bombardment of his town. He said to Maguire: "Now my people's ears are opened. Before they would not listen to me. In vain I told them 'the white man does not like the selling of slaves.' They would not listen. Now they know it is no use to resist the white man."

The fact was that before our coming Mponda's position was rather uncertain. He had but little control over his people, and his own tenure of power was menaced by rival and more legitimate claimants to the throne, besides the threatened attacks of the Angoni and the Makandanji clan. Our fort, therefore, and our alliance gave him a more secure position in the country. He has certainly ever since been remarkably friendly and helpful.

On the 27th October a message came from Makanjira to Mponda, telling him, in coarser language than I need employ, that he was without manhood in allowing himself to be beaten by the English; that he (Makanjira) would show him what war was shortly, as he would descend on him with his five dhows unless Mponda renewed the war with the English.

Unfortunately, the seven Kilwa slave-traders* whom Captain Maguire had captured had managed to break away from their guard one day when at the hard labour to which they were set, and, after eluding his shots, had escaped into the thick bush, and thence found their way to Makanjira's. It was partly my fault, because after the first few days I thought it cruel to keep them in the heavy slave-yoke, and allowed them to be more lightly fettered. They contrived during their work to fray the rope which bound them, and so made a desperate run for liberty. We afterwards learnt they had taken refuge with Makanjira.

Having settled matters sufficiently, therefore, at Fort Johnston, I determined to deal with Makanjira without further delay, as it was his repeated slave raids along the south-west shore of the lake which had more than anything else brought me up to Nyassa.

On the 28th October Captain Maguire and myself, forty-eight Sepoys, ten Zanzibaris, and ten Makua left Fort Johnston in the Lakes Company's steam-ship "Domira," towing a barge, to proceed to Makanjira's main town, which we reached at 4 P.M. on the 29th. Here negotiations were out of the question, for the steamer was fired on with cannon and muskets as soon as she approached the shore. I will leave the description of what then occurred to Captain Maguire, who, in his Report to me, writes as follows:—

"*October* 29.—Arrived off Makanjira's town at 4·30 P.M. This town has a population of over 6,000. It extends for over a mile along the shore of the bay facing

* Their names are: Ali-bin-Tshamba, Salimiui, Bwana Omari, Amiri, Majihiva, Mwinyi Tshande, Salimani, and their place of residence on the coast is Kilwa Kivinje.

north-west. A sandy bank of from 70 to 100 yards extends between the town and the lake, except on the east, where the shore is covered with reeds. The town contains the largest and best houses we have met with in this part of Africa. This is owing to the large number of slave-traders and foreigners connected with the trade settled there, as Makanjira's dhows give him the monopoly of the transport of slaves across the southern end of Lake Nyassa.

"On the arrival of the steamer large crowds of armed natives congregated on the shore and commenced dancing war dances and firing at the 'Domira.' I had great difficulty in effecting good practice with the 7-pr. from the ship. We were a good way out, and the steamer turned towards the coast very slowly, and then swung round very quickly; however, I succeeded in putting a few common shells into the town, and then set it on fire with incendiary shells in four different places. Mr. Johnston, with twenty rank and file and nine Zanzibaris and five Makua, went in the barge to effect a landing on the west side of the town, while I continued bombarding the east. When it became too dark to serve the gun, I followed Mr. Johnston in the 'Domira's' boat with six men. I found that the men had succeeded in burning part of the town under a heavy fire, but that they had been obliged to withdraw to the barge. The Sepoys told me that they had seen two guns in the town, so I ordered them to disembark again. At this time we were fired on from all directions, a Makua in the barge near Mr. Johnston was severely wounded in the neck. As soon as we landed I divided my force into three, sending one detachment to cover each flank, and directing the centre to march straight for the guns. At first I accompanied the left flank detachment, as the enemy appeared to be in greatest force opposite it, but subsequently I went to the centre party. We took the guns from under a sort of flag-staff in the town, on which, however, there was no flag. When returning from the town we found a new slave dhow on the stocks ready to launch. I had not sufficient force to launch her, so I had combustibles collected, and set her on fire. I then sent the men who had accompanied Mr. Johnston back to the barge, and began looking for the boat that had brought me, when I chanced to look at the dhow, and saw that it was no longer burning. I took the men who had remained with me, and returned to set it on fire again. This we succeeded in doing, though the enemy attacked us. While doing so one of them was shot within 14 yards of the dhow. When the dhow was thoroughly alight, I withdrew my men, and went on board the barge, as the boat had been sent back to the ship with the wounded Makua.

"This closed the operations for the night.

"*October* 30.—In the morning, it was apparent that but little real damage had been done to the town on the previous day, so I determined to continue bombarding the town while the Zanzibaris, protected by a party of Sepoys, landed and continued burning the town. I told Naik Badawa Singh, who commanded the party (two Naiks and sixteen privates), not to land if the enemy were present in force. The party was allowed to land, and the Zanzibaris had commenced firing some of the houses on the outskirts of the town, when an attack was made on the left front of the force by the enemy, supported by a gun. The Zanzibaris retired to the barge; the soldiers were obliged to retire in a north-west direction towards a sand bank which runs into the lake south and west of the town. As soon as I saw the unfavourable turn things had taken, I embarked in the steamer's boat with five men and some ammunition; under the circumstances, the only reinforcements at our disposal. When I came alongside the barge (which had been moved to the rear of the Sepoys), I found that Badawa Singh had just been brought there severely wounded. I did not stop at the barge, as it seemed a very nice question whether I should reach the shore in time to preserve the small force there from being routed. On nearing the shore I found that my men were drawn up behind a sand bank on the very edge of the lake, while the enemy, emboldened by success, was pressing onward in great force. I landed, issued ammunition to the men, and, as I found them too close together, I made them extend to the right. I then proceeded to the front to see whether the direction of my line was right. There were two large sand-pits immediately in front of me full of Yaos;* behind these was a large brake of reeds, also full of the enemy, who kept up a constant fire, in which the report of several rifles could be distinguished. As soon as I saw that my direction was right, I ordered my men to advance. They advanced, firing a volley, and rushed forward with a cheer. The Yaos in the sand-pits broke and fled in disorder, throwing those in rear of them in the reeds into confusion. They retired along the lake shore, exposing a flank to fire from the 'Domira,' which was run close into shore for the purpose. We were fired on from the first houses we came to in the town; when we had cleared them out we were no longer molested by the

* Wa-yao; *i.e.*, Makanjira's men.

enemy. We then proceeded due south, burning every house for a little over a mile, till we came to a river which forms the southern boundary of the town. Near it was a second dhow, which we burned. We were here reinforced by the rest of the men, who had waded ashore from the "Domira." I then returned to the starting-point, when I met Mr. Johnston and the Zanzibaris, who had destroyed many of the houses in the centre of the town. I told off a non-commissioned officer and nine men to assist the Zanzibaris in lighting the town, and formed my men in a line to advance from west to east, covering the demolition. A strong north wind was blowing, which favoured incendiary operations. The heat of the burning town became so intense that we had to leave it and take refuge in the reeds covering its eastern front. There we found a secluded creek, in which was a large dhow, which we stuffed with combustibles and burnt.

"Makanjira's town was completely destroyed, two guns were taken, and three slave dhows were burnt.

"Our losses were one Naik ('corporal') (Badawa Singh, 23rd Pioneers), one private (Hakim Singh, 32nd Pioneers), and one follower, all three severely wounded."*

When engaged in destroying the town I came upon Makanjira's house, a large building containing four apartments. Before setting fire to it I took away six cases containing letters. They were mostly in Arabic and Swahili, and had reference to the Slave Trade. As soon as I have a little leisure I will get the more interesting of them translated and sent to your Lordship. Meanwhile, I forward a document found in Makanjira's house. It is a letter of the late Sultan of Zanzibar (with a translation), written in July 1887. By this it will be seen how, even at that date, the Ruler of Zanzibar was loyally supporting us in an anti-Slave Trade policy in the interior.

On the 31st October we crossed over to Rifu, on the south-west coast of Nyassa, to deal with Kazembe, who, although a friend to the English, is a cousin of Makanjira's, and has aided him in most of his recent raids, especially a singularly cruel one on Mpemba and Ndindi.† Captain Maguire and myself went to Kazembe's town and invited him to a conference. He came, and, after a long palaver, admitted he had broken his Treaty of 1889 in following Makanjira in his raids, signed a fresh Treaty abolishing the Slave Trade, and agreed to pay a fine of ten tusks of ivory (of which six were paid before we left), part of which was to be sent to Mpemba to compensate him for his losses. We then showed him how he could help us by stopping and detaining the large slave caravans arriving on the south-west coast of Lake Nyassa. Kazembe seemed thoroughly willing to carry out our policy, but pleaded that in that case we should defend him against Makanjira's vengeance; that Makanjira had still two dhows left which ought to be destroyed by us if we wished to completely cripple his power. One of these dhows, he informed us, we should find at Saidi Mwazungu's town on the opposite coast, whither also had fled the seven slave-traders who had escaped from Fort Johnston.

Accordingly, we decided at once to start for Saidi Mwazungu's. We arrived off this place on the morning of the 2nd November. No dhow was there; it had evidently made off on seeing the steamer's smoke to some more secure refuge. What happened at Saidi Mwazungu's I give in an excerpt from Captain Maguire's Report:—

"*November* 2.—We heard that one of Makanjira's dhows was at Saidi Mwazungu's, a village nearly opposite Monkey Bay, so we visited it this morning. The water near the shore is so shallow that the barge had to stop some 400 yards from the village. There were no traces of the dhow. My interpreter went before me to ascertain the attitude of the villagers. He sent me word that the people were desirous to treat, so that I had better land, but only bring five or six soldiers with me in order not to alarm them. I took four Sepoys and a non-commissioned officer from the twenty on board the barge, and went ashore. I left my men on the beach and went by myself to the verandah of a large house some 20 yards off, where a crowd of natives had collected round my interpreter. When I arrived the crowd dispersed. There remained to converse with me a Zanzibari and an old Arab, who told me he came from Hodeidah, near Aden, and was employed as a dhow-maker by Makanjira. I thought it suspicious that all the other people had gone away when I came on the scene, as the custom in this part of Africa is for such negotiations to take place in public, so I sent my interpreter to call the rest of the people. A few seconds afterwards I heard three shots fired. I sprang from the verandah when my interpreter ran past me, and two shots were fired at me by the party who had fired at the interpreter. Almost immediately afterwards a bullet whizzed past my head fired by the Arab dhow-maker. I fired two shots at him with my revolver as he retreated, but missed him. I then rejoined my men on the

* All have since recovered.—H. H. J. *December 20th.*

† South-west shore of Lake Nyassa.

beach. The enemy were here so numerous and well placed that we had to hold our ground until the remainder of our party arrived from the boat. We then advanced, driving the enemy before us to the other side of the village, which we destroyed. We then returned to the shore, and saw that there was another village about a mile north of the one destroyed which was also composed for the most part of large foreign-built houses. We advanced along the shore against it. Two volleys were fired at us from a large brake of reeds that lay in front of our advance. We fired a couple of volleys into it, and advanced through it. It was so dense that we had to traverse it on our hands and knees. When we emerged at the other side we found that the enemy, who were in considerable force, had retired to a safe distance. The second village was then destroyed.

"We had one casualty during the day:—

"Private Prem Singh, 23rd Pioneers, who was severely wounded.

"We returned to Fort Johnston the same evening."

After remaining for seven days at Fort Johnston settling the affairs of Mponda's kingdom and arranging for leaving a garrison of twenty Sepoys, ten Zanzibaris, and fifty Makua in Fort Johnston, with an Indian Serjeant-Major in command, and my Swahili Headman, Kiougwe, intrusted with the construction of temporary barracks, we left for Zomba, following the course of the River Shiré. On our way we were enabled to come to very satisfactory arrangements about the suppression of the Slave Trade with the Chiefs Liwonde, Tshingwalu-ngwalu, and Msamara.

We reached Zomba on the 16th November, our wounded arriving three days afterwards.

Three days after our return I found that Kawinga, a powerful Chief dwelling on the north-west shore of Lake Shirwa, had been very active of late in the Slave Trade. Indeed, we had intercepted and freed a small convoy of slaves (eleven in number) at Mkata's, near Pamalombwe, on their way to Kawinga's, from the west bank of the Shiré, under charge of three of his men, who ran away at our approach; and besides this fact there were numerous complaints of his slave raiding among the A-Nyanja peoples dwelling on islands in Lake Shirwa. It was also reported that he was gathering together a slave caravan for the coast. In the preceding spring Kawinga was stated to have dispatched as many as 1,000 slaves to the sea-board. This number is probably an over-estimate, but it is certain that Kawinga has been one of the biggest slave-traders in Nyassaland. We had reason to believe that Kawinga would come to terms with us, as he had not long since concluded a Treaty which placed his territories under British protection. I therefore dispatched Mr. John Buchanan, C.M.G.,* with whom Kawinga had made the Treaty, to remonstrate with him on the subject of the Slave Trade, and to induce him to abandon it and sign an Agreement to do so. Mr. Buchanan was escorted by Captain Maguire and thirty Sepoys.

What occurred is so correctly and succinctly related by Dr. Henry Scott, M.B., of the Church of Scotland Mission at Domasi, that I cannot do better than give the account in his own words. [Dr. Scott was good enough to place his medical services on this occasion at the disposal of the Administration, our own surgeon, Dr. Boyce, being detained at Zomba with the men who had been wounded at Makanjira's.]

Extract from "Life and Work," the Blantyre Mission supplement for December, 1891:—

"An expedition under Captain Maguire set off lately to secure Kawinga's promise to renounce slavery. Camping several hours from that Chief's village they entered into negotiations with him, which resulted in his agreeing to speak with them the following day. In the afternoon, a Headman of Kawinga's, Tshe Mposa by name, came forward in a most friendly spirit and assured them that although Kawinga had failed to appear that day he certainly would present himself next morning. Again Kawinga was false to his promise. Captain Maguire, after delaying all the morning, advanced towards Kawinga's village. At this point a most unfortunate event took place. A large number of Tshe Mposa's men came along the hill side and threatened to interfere with Captain Maguire's advance. A long appeal made to them by Mr. Buchanan at considerable risk to his own safety was not enough to prevent the use of fire-arms; and once begun, firing did not cease till many were at least wounded. From the path where fighting began Captain Maguire's soldiers turned aside, rushed the hill in front of Tshe Mposa's, entered and burned down the village. This was done with but a handful of men, only some thirty Sikhs taking part in it, but of these thirty there were no fewer than six wounded. On their return Tshe Mbera's village was destroyed. This Headman

* Ex-Acting Consul for Nyassa. Collector of Customs for the Zomba district.

had long oppressed his neighbours by his slave-trading customs. Just two days before Captain Maguire had liberated two of his slaves, very cruelly tied in slave sticks. Dr. Henry E. Scott, who had been called to attend the wounded, arrived there just before dark. The most serious case was that of an Indian, who had lost much blood from a wounded wrist. After chloroform it was found the bullet had pierced the right wrist, splintered the end of one of the bones, and torn through the main artery. A troublesome hæmorrhage in a dusky light is a true source of anxiety, but ultimately the bleeding was controlled by ligatures. Two other men were wounded through the thigh, one in the knee, and one in the abdomen. Only after all the soldiers were dressed would Captain Maguire allow the doctor to examine his own wound. A bullet of slag had pierced him over the breast bone, and thence had glided off to the left, following for a short distance the course of a rib. By means of a bullet forceps it was got hold of and extracted. In the morning the whole body of men returned to Mlungusi."*

A severe punishment having been inflicted on Kawinga by the destruction of his villages, it was thought advisable to leave him a little time for reflection before renewing the war, especially as Captain Maguire's force had been selected rather as an escort than as a military expedition. Accordingly, Captain Maguire returned to Zomba, and, as had been foreseen, he was soon followed by messengers from Kawinga and Mposa asking for peace.

Peace was made on the condition of the abolition of the Slave Trade and the payment of a fine of five tusks of ivory and two oxen, which payment was promptly made by Kawinga. Hoping afterwards to show that we did not come here solely to punish evil-doers, but to help them to a better way of making a livelihood than by enslaving and selling one another, I distributed among Kawinga's Envoys a quantity of wheat, oats, and barley, and twelve different kinds of vegetable seeds, inviting them at the same time to go in industriously for agriculture.

I have made the same gifts to Mponda, Liwonde, and all the Chiefs on the Upper Shiré who have made friends with us.

The result of the past four months'† action against the slave-traders of South Nyassaland has been to arrest decisively—I hope beyond recovery—the Slave Traffic in South Nyassaland. It will soon become patent to the unscrupulous rascals of the East African Littoral, from Kilwa to Quilimane, that slave-trading in the Shiré Province is a dangerous and unprofitable pursuit, and that being so, they will either transfer their energies to other spheres of action, whence they will again be ejected, or give up the Slave Trade once and for all, and settle down to less nefarious pursuits. We have also brought all the powerful Yao Chiefs to accept British domination, except the irreconcilable Makanjira, who will probably remain an implacable, but, I hope, impotent, foe for the remainder of his days; but appearances tend to show that there will be important defections from his rule, and it is not unlikely that, in time, his own people may eject him from power when they find friendship with the English more profitable than enmity.

These satisfactory measures taken against the Slave Trade were, as will be patent to any one reading this Report, mainly dependent for success on the courage, energy, and untiring activity of Captain Cecil Maguire and of his gallant little force of Sepoys.

I would venture to hope that the approval of Her Majesty's Government may be conveyed in some way to Captain Maguire, of whose valuable co-operation I cannot speak too highly or gratefully.‡ I also cordially indorse the terms of praise which Captain Maguire, in his Official Report to me§ of the proceedings herein related, bestows on the Indian contingent of the British Central African Police.

He specially selects for honourable mention the names of the following men :—

Lance Naïk Badawa Singh (23rd Panjab Pioneers).
Sowar Kïfayat Khan (1st Haiderabad Contingent Lancers).
Sowar Salamat Ali Khan (1st H. C. Lancers).
Private Thola Singh (23rd Panjab Pioneers).
Private Bachan Singh (23rd Pioneers).
Sowar Warir Khan (2nd H. C. Lancers).
Sowar Mir Murad Ali (1st H. C. Lancers).
Private Hakim Singh (32nd Panjab Pioneers).
Sowat Kale Khan (2nd H. C. Lancers).

* Zomba.
† 16th July to 24th November.
‡ This recommendation, alas! comes too late.—H. H. J. 29*th December*.
§ Forwarded to the Commander-in-chief for India.

Private Lall Singh (23rd Pioneers).
Private Tabha Singh (23rd Pioneers).
Private Iagd Singh (32nd Pioneers).
Private Prem Singh (23rd Pioneers).

All these men have been wounded at different times, though I am glad to say they have most of them recovered from their wounds, and, with one exception, are not permanently disabled. That exception is Lall Singh, who has lost his right arm as the result of the wound inflicted in the attack on Kawinga's position.

I must also, in conclusion, say a word of praise for the section of the Zanzibari Police who accompanied us in these expeditions. They had not, of course, the discipline or military skill of the Sepoys, and their aim as marksmen leave much to be desired, but they were very useful as scouts and skirmishers. They were willing, obedient, and able to stand much fatigue, and there is, fortunately, an excellent feeling of comradeship sprung up between them and the Sepoys.

The Zanzibaris are also useful (having been recruited by the direct permission of His Highness the Sultan of Zanzibar) in showing to the Mahommedan Chiefs of Nyassa-land how completely at one with us the Sultan is in his desire to suppress the Slave Trade.

(Signed) H. H. JOHNSTON,
Her Majesty's Commissioner and Consul-General.

Zomba, November 24 (*December* 29), 1891.

Inclosure 2 in No. 1.

Messrs. Bradshaw and Bowhill to Commissioner Johnston.

Your Excellency, *Milanji, June* 27, 1891.

WE deem it our duty to inform you of the undermentioned circumstances. We bought the lands of the Chiefs Chicumba and Chingo-manji for goods amounting to the sum of 50*l.*, but on their expressing a wish for a further sum of 20*l.* to finish everything (as they expressed it), we gave them a note of hand for the goods, as we had not them with us, at the same time eliciting from them an assurance that with this payment all would be satisfactorily finished.

The purchase papers were carefully read out to the Chiefs by our Capitão, who speaks English well, and the Chiefs sent their Headmen to Mr. Buchanan, C.M.G., the Acting Consul, to confirm and certify to our purchase, which was duly done, and the papers are in our possession.

Meanwhile, on the arrival of the goods we had given a note of hand for, we sent them to the Chiefs, who scornfully refused them, and Chicumba told us that only fifteen times the amount would satisfy him. Knowing that he only meant to be extortionate, we showed him we had carried out our engagements to the letter, and it remained for him to do the same, but he refused to come to any terms, or listen to any reason unless we supplemented the goods as above mentioned.

On our trying to resume work he stopped our men, sent our labour away, and boycotted us in every way; finding ourselves so placed, we asked them to meet us, but every effort for adjustment proved fruitless.

On the 25th instant he sent a man covered with small-pox to our kitchen, and on our pushing him away he (the man) ran back to his Chief and told him we had beaten him. Chicumba came with a large armed force, would listen to no reason, stormed and raved, threatened to shoot our men, shoot the whites, burn down the houses, and, raging like a madman, defied us and all the white men. He gave orders again to stop our work, to sell nothing to us, and refused us leave to open out or build houses.

Chingomanji, a good Chief who is entirely under his brother's influence, sent us a warning message to be careful, as his brother meant to attack us. This Chief is really our friend, and expresses himself as quite content with our conduct towards him, but his brother, who is a noted slave-dealer and murderer, will neither come to terms himself or let his brother alone. His present hostile position means mischief, and it was only last year he acted similarly to Chipoka, killing his people and making slaves which he has now in his possession.

We inclose a letter from Mr. Brown who is on Chipoka's land, which will show your Excellency how disagreeable a neighbour he is to him as well. Mr. Brown also has been threatened.

The present attitude of Chicumba places us in an awkward position also, because we have asked several friends to join us in opening out the country, but who will, perhaps, draw back when they hear of our dangerous position.

We have some Mandala people here with guns as a guard, but so terror-stricken are the people that they may leave us alone at any moment.

We have placed all the facts truly before your Excellency, and can only add that we are willing and anxious to have our conduct investigated, as we are quite sure we have done everything to work amicably with the Chiefs.

We, in conclusion, think our lives and those we have with us in danger, and pray for your assistance and advice.

We are, &c.
(Signed) H. BLOOMFIELD BRADSHAW.
J. O. BOWHILL.

Inclosure 3 in No. 1.

Messrs. Bradshaw and Bowhill to Commissioner Johnston.

Your Excellency, *Milanji, July* 30, 1891.

WE have to offer you our sincere thanks for the prompt and decisive protection accorded to us from the Chief Chicumba.

We have, &c.
(Signed) H. BLOOMFIELD BRADSHAW.
J. O. BOWHILL.

Inclosure 4 in No. 1.

Mr. Whyte to Commissioner Johnston.

The Residency, Zomba, British Central Africa,
Sir, *November* 18, 1891.

HAVING returned from exploring and collecting specimens of the flora and fauna of the mountain and district of Milanji, I have now the honour to hand you my Report on the same.

Milanji is an isolated range of, for the most part, precipitous mountains, the main mass forming a huge natural fortress of weather-worn precipices, or very steep rocky ascents, sparsely clothed with vegetation. Many of its gullies and ravines are well wooded, and in some of them fine examples of grand African virgin forest are met with. The route by which I ascended the mountain from the plain, on the 20th October, led up from its south-east face, and at first zig-zagged over steep, grassy hills, down precipitous gorges, and across rocky streams, with beds of large water-worn granite boulders, which, when flooded, become impassible mountain torrents. Further on the ascent became more difficult, and I clambered over precipices, holdipg on by tufts of grass, roots, and scrub, which gave but slender support and scanty foot-hold. Once round these precipitous bluffs an interesting wooded gorge was entered, still steep and difficult, but with better foot-hold on the projecting rocks and tree-roots; and most welcome was the kindly shade after hours of toil in a burning sun, rendered doubly fierce by the reflection from the scorching hot rocks.

Here, too, an interesting change in the vegetation was at once perceptible, plants of the lower slopes being mostly replaced by species new to me, and in many instances approaching the flora of temperate climes, such as brambles and well known old forms of papilionaceous and composite plants. Ferns, too, became more numerous, and now and again we scrambled through perfect fairy dells of mosses, fern-fronds, selaginellas, and balsams, with miniature water-falls showering their life-giving spray on the little verdant glades, while overhead hoary lichens and bright festoons of elegant, long-tasselled lycopods hung from the moss-covered ancient-looking trees. Up and up we climbed the apparently endless ladder of roots and rocks. Then we passed through a dense thicket of bamboo, and again found ourselves confronted by an ugly barrier of precipitous cliffs, which were duly surmounted with the friendly aid of tufts of tussock-grass, which firmly adhered to the crevices of the rocks. Another hour's climb up a steep, grassy glen, brought us to the crest of the highest ridge, the sky-line of which we had so long sought to reach.

Here the scene spread out to view, and the climate were such, as fully to repay us for our day of weary toil. Looking westward, we saw mapped out beneath us the plateau or basin of Milanji, with its rolling hills of grassy sward, its clearly defined belts of dark green forest, and its numerous ravines and rivulets, all shaping their course towards the principnl valley of the plateau, through which the Lutshenya, the main stream, flows. The climate here was delightfully cool and bracing. During the forenoon, on the lower ridges of the mountains, at over 4,000 feet lower than this point, we had sweltered in a stifling heat of 106 degrees Fahrenheit in the shade; while here we revelled in a clear, dry, health-restoring atmosphere of 60 degrees Fahrenheit. From this ridge, which forms one of the amphitheatre of hills surrounding the plateau or crater-like basin of Milanji, a good idea of the mountain system is gained. Still looking towards the west, we have on the right hand the main peaks of the mountain, rising directly from the valley of the Lutshenya, which runs parallel with its southern base, the height of one of the two summit peaks having been calculated at 9,300 feet above sea-level. Across the table-land, in the distance, is the somewhat isolated and precipitous Tshambi range, which, with its own smaller plateau, is separated from Milanji table-land by the rocky valley and gorge of the Likabula River. To the front and to the left hand, we have a continuation of the rolling and grassy hills which encircle the plateau, and which are capped with rugged cliffs of scarped granite and gneiss rocks.

Altogether I spent two weeks on the plateau changing to three different sites, each distant from 5 to 7 miles from the other, and which enabled me to explore more thoroughly this new and interesting mountain country. Unfortunately, the rains and mists set in before I left, and, consequently, we had only nine good collecting days.

The flora of the mountain proved to be most interesting, the species met with being mostly distinct from those of the plain or even the lower slopes. But, under this heading, I must first attempt to give a short description of the cypresses—the most striking botanical feature of the plateau The remnant left of these fine conifers is confined to a few of the upper ravines and valleys the largest forest of them finding a comparatively secure habitat in the damp gorges of the Lutshenya valley. A few old scorched monarchs of the glen lead a precarious existence pretty well up the southern slopes of the main mountain, but unless steps are taken to protect them* these interesting relics of the past are doomed to speedy destruction. It is deplorable to witness the devastating effects of the annual bush fires, from which even this lofty and all but inaccessible retreat is not exempt. During the dry months of August and September these fires, originating from the villages on the lower slopes of the mountain, gradually creep up the precipitous cliffs from tuft to tuft of grass until at last they reach the grassy plateau. Once there, the work of destruction is rapid. The fire rages over the table-land and eats its way along the edges of the remaining belts of forest, thus annually scorching, if not burning, the bark and timber of the outside trees, and killing outright the young seedlings. In exceptionally dry seasons it appears that these fires have even penetrated some of the damp forests, and hundreds of giant cypresses lay prostrate and piled on each other in all stages of destruction, but generally consumed right through at the base of the tree. I measured several of these dead conifers, and one (by no means the largest to be met with) was 140 feet in length and 5½ feet in diameter at 6 feet from its base, and with a clear straight stem of 90 feet in length. The cones of this species of cypress (which may be new to science) are somewhat smaller than a chestnut of the same shape, *i.e.*, longer than broad, and open into four scales or segments, each having a spur-like knob at its apex, and covering five or six winged seeds. The foliage is of the usual juniper-like description, and the timber is of a dull reddish white colour, of excellent quality and easily worked. The bark on old trees is of great thickness, consisting of layers annually shed and renewed. I selected sections of this valuable timber tree, which I hope to send home with the other Milanji specimens by an early date. Seeds of it are put in nursery beds in the Residency experimental gardens at Zomba, and I trust the tree will thrive in its new habitat here. One or two other species of *cupressus* were met with, but of dwarf and scrubby growth.

Tree-ferns attain to a great size in the damp, shady forests of the plateau, and one I measured was 30 feet in height and 2 feet in diameter at its base. I hope to send home sections of them also.

Never before have I met with more gorgeous displays of wild flowers than those to be seen in some favoured nooks of these highlands. There we observed creamy-white and yellow helichrysums, mingling with purple and blue orchids and irises, and graceful snow-white anemonies, all blooming in wild profusion, and rearing their heads from

* Steps have been taken.—H. H. J.

a bed of bright green grassy sward—a floral carpet, which Nature alone can fashion. Altogether we procured several thousand specimens of dried plants of many species, and which, I trust, will be of benefit to science. Many of the trees had not come in flower, and the ferns had not matured their fronds and seeds. The grass lands also had been too recently burned to permit of many of the plants reaching the flowering stage.

The fauna of the plain around Milanji and of the plateau and mountain top I found to be equally interesting with the flora of the district. It necessarily proved more difficult, however, to procure anything like complete collections of the animals and birds, &c., in so short a space of time. The birds found in the "terai" of the mountain were, in a great measure, identical with the species composing the avifauna of the Zomba district. Those, on the other hand, collected on the plateau and mountain top I found to differ widely from the birds of Zomba, and many new forms were met with which are not found around the base of the Milanji range.

One fact struck me as being strange—the almost total absence of raptorial birds on the mountain. One would naturally have expected to find them numerous in a district surrounded with the best breeding haunts they could desire to have. The circumstance, I imagine, may be accounted for by the comparative paucity of animal life at so high an elevation, and the great abundance of prey on the vast plains surrounding the mountain. The birds, too, on the plateau, with very few exceptions, are arboreal in their habits, and the dense foliage of the virgin forests affords them a safe retreat from their enemies. Only a very few were found frequenting the grass lands—a small dark brown quail, a pipit, two grass warblers, a snipe (which was rare), and ubiquitous great-billed raven—by no means so numerous as on the plains. It being the spring time, and the nesting season, the songsters of the forest were briskly exerting their vocal powers, and some of them had sweet, melodious notes, more especially one of the three species of thrushes we collected, and which would seem to be peculiar to the Milanji range.

At the first camp our tent was pitched by the margin of one of the forest-clad ravines so characteristic of the plateau, in fact, under the spreading branches of a shady tree. Every morning, long before break of day, one of these thrushes regularly regaled us from the adjoining tree with his sweet, soft notes, very similar to, but not so powerful as those of the song-thrush of England. Later on, bulbuls, flycatchers, warblers, finches, and honey-birds chimed in with the chorus, and the woods became alive with the varied notes of many singing birds—the veritable voice of spring. Indeed, the well-known flippant generalization that in tropical countries, where brilliant colours are granted to birds and flowers, song has been denied to the one and fragrance to the other, is inapplicable to at least some of the mountain plateaux of Central Africa, and we found the statement equally erroneous as regards the favoured Island of Ceylon. In like manner, many of the flowers of the forests and plains of Africa and Ceylon, and, indeed, of most tropical countries, are richly endowed with fragrance, the perfumes in many cases being almost too overpowering.

Altogether we collected about 200 bird-skins at Milanji. Some of these I believe will prove new to science, and of interest in connection with the geographical distribution of birds.

Of mammals, we met with comparatively few, and, not having become sufficiently familiar with the habits of those new to us, we did not procure a great many species. Our native boys, too, and porters were quite inexperienced, and proved woefully uninterrested, and unobservant collectors. The average native cannot, for the life of him, conceive what interest the white man can have in hunting for insects and bottling reptiles. They evidently regarded me with considerable suspicion at first; looked on me as a sort of first cousin or near-akin to their village witch-doctor, and altogether uncanny. Of beasts of prey, we met with the leopard, the spotted hyena, the serval, and an ichneumon. Of rats, we procured four species on the "terai," and three on the plateau. An interesting little antelope—probably a *neotragus*—is confined to the rocky ridges of the higher ranges, and appears to be entirely chamois-like in its habits, as no trace of it was found on the grass land of the plateau. It is exceedingly shy and wary, and we failed to get within rifle-range of it. In the distance, on the sky-line, it looked about the size of a half-grown goat, of a dark-brown colour, with a white patch under the tail. Lions do not apparently frequent the plateau, but are common on the plains, where a good many species of the larger antelopes abound. Hippopotami are numerous in the River Ruo, which takes its rise in the Milanji range. Snakes of a good many species were met with on both the plains and plateau, and insect-life promised to be rife later on in the season.

An instance of a leopard killing its prey, otherwise than by springing on the head or neck, came to my notice, and may be worth recording. Mr. H. Brown had a full-

sized male donkey killed by some animal. It had been seized by the hind quarters, the flank torn open, disembowelled. and part of a hind leg eaten. Not even a scratch was to be seen on the head or neck, nor were the cervical vertebræ dislocated. We had a spring-gun set over the carcass, with the result that some animal who visited it the first night got shot, and went off wounded with, unfortunately, only a charge of No. 5 shot. The second night, a large female spotted hyena was secured, shot through the lungs, and, on the third night, a fine full-grown male leopard—the original depredator—was shot dead on the carcass, a No. 10 bullet having passed clean though its chest, smashing both lungs and heart. No. 5 shots were found under the skin of the shoulder, thereby proving that this was the same animal which had come for his supper the first night, and, without doubt, the leopard which had killed the donkey in the above most abnormal fashion.

In reference to the Milanji plateau as a sanatorium. I have no hesitation in saying that it contrasts favourably with some of the Indian and Ceylon hill stations—*e.g.*, Utakamund, on the Nilghery Hills, South India, or Newera Eliya, in the Central Province of Ceylon. The year is pretty equally divided into wet and dry months, the former being from November to May. The other six months are fine, clear, and bracing, the thermometer, at night, occasionally falling below freezing point in the months of May, June, and July. I found the air delightfully pure, balmy, and bracing during October, and a good idea of the temperature will be got from the register kept on the plateau, a copy of which I inclose. During the wet months, as at all mountain sanatoria in the tropics, it must be miserable and dreary. At Newera Eliya, in Ceylon, I have known a whole week to pass without a ray of sunshine; mist and rain, all the while, driving over the plain. The one great drawback to the establishing of a sanatorium at Milanji is the great difficulty in reaching it, and, in fact, it is, at present, quite beyond the reach of invalids. With good engineering, however, a road could be made, of fairly good gradient, viâ the Lutshenya valley, and which would also serve as an outlet for the valuable cypress timber, now lying useless and decaying in the forests.

The soil of the grass lands is of the same poor description as is generally found in tropical countries at a similar elevation, and which have been subjected to the same impoverishing effects of periodical fires. They are, consequently, unsuitable for cultivation, but would be admirably adapted for cattle- or sheep-runs, the prevailing grasses being more tender and nutritious than the strong rank herbage of the plains. The climate, too, would be all in favour of stock-rearing, as would also be the well-watered nature of the valleys.

As to the soil around the base of the mountain, I consider it specially well suited for the cultivation of coffee, and cacao would do well in many of the sheltered ravines along the courses of the rivers. The land generally is remarkably productive, and some gardens were pointed out to me from which the natives had reaped three crops of Indian corn and sorghum within twelve months. The total rainfall is not great, probably from 60 to 70 inches, but it would seem to be better distributed than at Zomba and other ranges in the Shiré highlands. Mr. Brown, the pioneer planter of the district, in charge of the African Lakes Company's property, informed me that during his one year's experience there had not been a single month without rain. On the plains, tobacco and cotton could be grown to an unlimited extent, and I have no doubt at a good profit when better means of transport are available. Many other minor tropical products could also be raised with advantage.

For the inclosed sketches, which I trust will help to give an idea of the plateau, I am indebted to Mr. Bowhill, who visited my camp on the mountain for a few days.

I have, &c.

(Signed) ALEXANDER WHYTE.

Annex to Inclosure 4.

Milanji Plateau.

Weather Report, 6,000 feet above sea-level.—14 days.

Date.		6 A.M.	12 A.M.	6 P.M.	Remarks.
		Degrees.	Degrees.	Degress.	
October	21	56	61	60	Calm, sunny. Wind slight, S.E.
"	22	56	62	61	Calm, sunny. Wind slight, N.E.
"	23	58	65	63	Stong wind at night. Thunder.
"	24	60	66	64	Calm.
"	25	59	68	63	No wind. Cloudy.
"	26	58	69	64	No wind. Calm. No clouds.
"	27	60	67	64	No wind. Calm. Cloudy.
"	28	61	66	62	Camp No. 2 at 12 A.M., 500 feet elevation above camp No. 1. Slight rain at 7 P.M.
"	29	59	70	58	Warm. Slight wind.
"	30	56	70	59	Camp No. 3 at 12 A.M., 300 feet elevation above camp No. 2. Very foggy all afternoon.
"	31	52	68	56	Thick mist all day. Slight rain evening.
November	1	54	66	54	Thick mist all day. Cold at night and morning.
"	2	53	70	59	Clear fine day. Camp No. 1 12 A.M.
"	3	56	76	64	Clear fine day. Camp No. 1. Very hot.
					Sunny, 9 days; rain, — days; misty, 3 days; cloudy, 2 days.

Maximum, 67·5 degrees. Minimum, 58·5 degrees. Mean temperature, 63 degrees.

Note.—Readings, camps Nos. 2 and 3, in tent; rest in cool, damp house. Temperature at 2,300 feet above sea on 5th November, 6 A.M., 76 degrees.

(Signed) A. WHYTE.

November 5, 1891.

Inclosure 5 in No. 1.

Translation of an Arabic Letter from the Sultan of Zanzibar.

To the neighbouring Sheikhs, Makanjira and Kaponda and Sharif Majid and Salim-bin-Nasir and the other Arabs residing in Tanganyika. May God keep them safe.

After this I inform you, through this letter of mine, that my friend Ali-bin-Surūr is going that side. I have sent him from my side to let you know the news which has reached me from my friend the Consul-General of the Queen for Zanzibar. I let you know that Englishmen are my friends and nearest of all men to me, their friendship for me, for my subjects, is more than I can describe. They are since long long years in Zanzibar, and since time past they have treated me with extreme kindness and good-will. They have always done things in my favour. Many of the respectable and honest men among my friends have lately arrived here, who brought me the most annoying news that amongst my subjects who are there, Mlozi, Kopakopa, and Salema are doing harm to Englishmen, and treating them, in Nyassa, such as they ought not to be treated. I ask you how such things happened to them from my subjects? I wish you to learn they are the nearest men to me in friendship and affection. I am astonished to see how you heard these things and did not forbid. You know that Englishmen are both my and their friends. I am sending Ali, who will explain to you and to them that you are to respect and look upon Englishmen as you respect me and look upon me. Whatever of their property has been lost, immediately try to find out and return to them, and always remain with them in peace, and be careful not to create any difficulty with them for the second time. This news has also come to me that all my subjects in Nyassa and Tanganyika are helping the Slave Trade and capturing them (slaves) for that purpose. This Trade is abolished and forbidden, so, if you continue to do this, you will be supposed to be against the Treaty formed between me and the friendly English Government. If you are obedient to me, do help Englishmen in everything, and if you will do against this you

will receive from me something which will harm you. If any of them will go out displeased from your territories I will not be pleased with you. I hope you will, acting upon my advise, be careful not to do anything like this in future. If you will listen to my advice and attend to my letter I shall be thankful to you.

May the peace of God rest upon you.

Written by order.

(Signed) 'ABDUL 'AZIZ-BIN-MOHAMMAD MADDA.

Dated 1st Dh'il Hajja, 1305 (*July* , 1887).

I declare that the foregoing is a true translation into English of the letter of Saïd Khalifa's, which is attached thereto.

(Signed) ABDUL HALIM 'ASIM,
Oriental Clerk to Her Majesty's Commissioner,
British Central Africa.

No. 2.

Commissioner Johnston to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received April* 6, 1892.)

(Extract.) *Blantyre, December* 26, 27, 1891.

I TELEGRAPHED to your Lordship two days ago the sad news of the death of Captain Cecil Maguire, commanding the Indian contingent of the British Central African Police force. This event, which has caused a profound sorrow throughout the Shiré Province, occurred as follows:—

After returning from the expedition against Kawinga, Captain Maguire was disposing himself to rest a few weeks at Zomba and cure the slight flesh wound which he had sustained in the engagement with Kawinga's men, when news arrived from the lake of a meditated attack on Fort Johnston by Makanjira.

Desiring to reinforce the garrison there and complete the defensive works, also to renew the supplies of ammunition, Captain Maguire insisted on starting at once and settling this business before Christmas. I let him go, urging on him, however, the greatest prudence and the avoidance of any further military operations till next year, when we expected reinforcements from India and the arrival of a second Indian officer. He promised me he would be careful of himself.

Everything went well with him up to the unlooked-for disaster. Chiefs from all directions came in with their adhesions to our Protectorate and anti-Slave Trade policy. One of these Chiefs, however, was the means, I trust unintentionally, of sending Maguire to his death. This man, Kazembe, the Sultan of Rifu, on the south-west shores of Lake Nyassa, wrote a letter informing us that he had stopped a huge slave caravan of Saidi Mwazungu's, one of Makanjira's leading men (a Swahili half-caste from Kilwa), and would hand it over to Maguire; but that in return for this Maguire must destroy two of Makanjira's dhows which were making ready to descend on Kazembe's coast to punish him for acting in concert with the English. Maguire, tempted by the double prospect of setting free 200 or 300 slaves and of striking a final blow at Makanjira by destroying his last two dhows, and thus effectually stopping his slave raids across the lake, resolved to carry off the matter by a rapid journey in the "Domira" to Kazembe's town. He took with him thirty Sepoys, the Parsee surgeon to the Indian contingent (Dr. Boyce), and six Zanzibaris.

Arrived at Kazembe's, he ascertained that the slave caravan was detained there; but he postponed the settlement of this business, because Kazembe advised him first to deal with Makanjira's dhows, and offered a guide to show where the dhows were hidden. Maguire took the guide and crossed the lake to Kisungule on the south-east coast, about 10 miles north of Makanjira's main town, which we had destroyed at the end of last October. Here the two dhows were visible, but the approach to the shore was most difficult, being a mazy channel between rocks and sand-banks. The wind, too, had sprung up, and with it the waves became alarmingly big; nevertheless, unwilling to leave the dhows and return unsuccessful to Kazembe, he decided to attempt their seizure, though the officers of the steamer and the doctor begged him not to run the risk of the boat being swamped.

Accordingly he attempted to land with his Sepoys and Zanzibaris in a barge called the "Eland," which the steamer was towing, but owing to the intervening shoals he left this barge in shallow water, stuck on a bank, and waded for some distance up to the

dhows, which were drawn up into shallow water. He was hotly attacked by Makanjiri's men, who seemed to be there in ambush prepared for his coming, and with stores of ammunition all ready. Nevertheless, Maguire burnt one dhow to the water's edge, and inflicted such damage to the other as to render her unfit for further use. Then seeing that a large force of Makanjiri's men* were streaming down on to the beach, he called off his men and waded out to where he had left the barge. But meantime this barge had been lifted off the sand-bank by the increasing storm and the heavy surf, and had been dashed literally in pieces on the rocks. Maguire then (and all this time under a perfect hail of bullets) signalled to the steamer to let down the small dingy. This they did, and although it was repeatedly swamped, it succeeded in conveying on board all the Sepoys, except three who had been killed. Maguire having seen all his surviving men safe on board, waded out to the steamer till he got into deep water and within 10 yards of the ship. Then, just as he raised himself by a supreme effort to grasp a rope thrown to him by MacEwan, the chief engineer of the steamer, a bullet struck him in the back of the head, or at the back of the neck, and he sank into the water dead. In striving, however, to find some means of getting out his body, the chief engineer, MacEwan, and eight Sepoys were more or less severely wounded, and compelled to desist in their efforts, the more so as the steamer now demanded all their attention; for, as if Nature herself were fighting on behalf of the slave-traders, the storm had now increased to such a violent gale, that the "Domira" was torn from her moorings and driven on a sand-bank close to the shore. At this juncture, too, the rope thrown out to Captain Maguire had got entangled round the propeller, and the engines would not work. No sooner was the vessel ashore in shallow water than a furious fusillade was directed on her by the enemy at very short range. With heroic efforts the Indians, directed by Mr. Urquhart, managed to rig up a screen of boxes and loads of cloth round the landward side of the ship, which sheltered them to some extent; and though night-fall brought no truce to their terrible sufferings, they were somewhat sheltered by the darkness, and could better the steamer's position. The next morning the fusillade was renewed with greater fury, and such of the enemy as were not armed with Winchester rifles proceeded to use the steel bolts of the shattered barge as charges for their guns.

Mr. Keiller, the captain of the "Domira," had been severely wounded in the head on the first day, and Mr. MacEwan (the chief engineer) in the side; Mr. Urquhart was wounded in the face and mouth the second day.

The steamer lay in this hideous predicament for six days, from the 15th December, the day of Captain Maguire's death, till Sunday the 20th. On the evening of the 16th the enemy proposed a truce, and when this was accepted, they immediately fired on the men who were striving to get the steamer off. On the morning of the 18th, however, their proposals for a truce were again renewed, and they sent off two men to treat. For sixty pieces of calico they agreed to send sixty men to work at getting the steamer off, but they insisted on two of the white men going first on shore to draw up some document to conclude peace.

This proposal was demurred to, but Dr. Boyce, the Parsee surgeon, was confident that no harm was meant, and volunteered to be one of the two messengers, MacEwan, the engineer, being selected as the other.

There was an additional reason which impelled what otherwise seems to us—calmly criticising it at a distance—an act of the greatest imprudence, this trusting themselves unarmed, and with only six unarmed followers, in the hands of these pitiless slave-traders.

But after the day of the storm, the waves had washed up Captain Maguire's body on to the beach (where it lay for five days exposed to the view of the unhappy people on the steamer) together with the bodies of three Sepoys.

Dr. Boyce had for Captain Maguire the strong personal regard and affection with which he inspired all of us who knew him. He yearned to give a becoming burial to his remains, and the wily wretches, Makanjira's Envoys, when he told them of his desire, lured him to his death by a promise that he should carry away Maguire's body. It was his one besetting thought during several days. He kept saying to the Swahilis and the Indians, "We must get the Captain's body."

Dr. Boyce, under the mild and timid manners of a Parsee, hid a brave soul. I had found this out on the previous campaign in which I had taken part, and on my return to Zomba I had asked him to accept a special honorarium from the Administration in acknowledgment of the courage he had displayed. I do not think he really counted the

* The officers on the steamer and the Zanzibaris say "about 2,000 or 3,000."

cost of recovering Maguire's body. He cared for him too deeply to calculate the risk he was running.

MacEwan and Boyce accordingly went on shore with three Swahili men and three steamer boys (natives of Nyassa); they passed out of sight of the steamer, and were led into a house. Here they were kept waiting for about an hour with negotiations. Then messengers were sent to Makanjira to ask for his answer. His answer was: "The white men and all their people are to be killed." Forthwith several men stepped forward and shot MacEwan in three places. Dr. Boyce, the Swahilis, and two steamer boys were all speared to death; one only survived, a steamer-boy named Kutsapa, who, though speared in two places while attempting to save MacEwan by pushing aside the guns aimed at him, managed to escape and hide in some thick reeds, where he lay concealed till a chance was afforded of his wading out to the steamer. He brought the information of the massacre, and further information was obtained from Kifayat Khan, Captain Maguire's orderly, who had gone on shore with them to look for his master's body, and who fortunately managed to return to the steamer, being on the beach when the massacre took place in the house; then the two wounded Europeans and the Indians and Swahilis knew that there was no hope for them but their own exertions. During the nights of the 18th, 19th, and part of the 20th they toiled unceasingly at working the steamer off by digging under her keel and laying out anchors. On the night of the 20th the steamer floated off the bank into deep water; they then very quickly got up steam, and at the same time prepared an incendiary shell for the 7-pounder gun, which Captain Maguire had placed on board. Just before leaving, the Indian gunners carefully took aim at a large village where Makanjira's men were holding an uproarious rejoicing, thinking that the steamer was their sure prey, and that it was only a question of days before her occupants were killed by famine* or starved into surrender. These hopes of theirs were noisily shouted out to the people on the steamer, and their fiendish rejoicings were at their height when suddenly an incendiary shell was cleverly landed in their midst, setting fire to the town, and scattering the enemy in confusion; after which the "Domira" steamed away to Livingstonia, where she arrived on the morning of the 22nd.

Of the conduct of the Sepoys, who, I might remind your Lordship, are men chosen from the 32nd and 23rd Sikh Pioneers, and from the Haiderabad Lancers, both Mr. Keiller and Mr. Urquhart speak in the highest terms. They were brave, patient, uncomplaining, and through all those horrors, undaunted; they laboured in the water to get the steamer off; the wounded dressed each other's wounds; they ate any food that was given to them, or none at all with equal cheerfulness; and throughout they bade the white men not despair. They said that if the worst came to the worst they would form a ring round the two remaining Englishmen, and die before they did. I really believe it was only their splendid behaviour which kept Messrs. Keiller and Urquhart from going out of their senses with agony of mind, fatigue, and wounds. Since their return to Fort Johnston (which the "Domira" reached on the 22nd), they have sent me a message not to be too much cast down, that they will keep all safe at Fort Johnston until I come, and are ready for any further action.†

This account has been drawn up by me from statements made to me verbally and in writing by Mr. Wm. Keiller, captain of the "Domira," A. Urquhart, second engineer of the "Domira," and Pita and Saburi,‡ two Zanzibari soldiers who formed part of the expedition, and who landed with Captain Maguire.

I received the first account of the disaster from the two Swahilis who arrived at Zomba on mid-day of the 24th December. My first action was to telegraph to your Lordship, to the Commander-in-chief in India (for someone to replace Maguire), and to the British South Africa Company. I then dispatched one of my two Indian clerks, a very experienced man, named Abdul Halim, to Fort Johnston, with a small reinforcement of men and stores. The next morning, Christmas-Day, I started for Blantyre, and reached it after twelve hours' travelling on foot and with a machilla (hammock). I was met on the way by Mr. Monteith Fotheringham, the manager of the African Lakes Company, and with this gentleman, on arrival at Blantyre, I arranged rapidly the sending of men to relieve Messrs. Keiller and Urquhart on the "Domira," that steamer having been left at Fort Johnston to the care of Mr. Bainbridge, the storekeeper.

I am returning to Zomba to-morrow (the 28th) to collect supplies, and I then go to Fort Johnston to take over the charge of the Indian garrison until an officer comes out from India.

* This was one of the most cruel features in their position; they had only about two days' food supply on board when the steamer got off.

† This message was brought me by two Swahili soldiers, who carried the bad news to Zomba.

‡ The written statements of these can be forwarded if required.

As will be shown in the Report accompanying my despatch of the 24th November, we have for the present crippled the Slave Trade in South Nyassaland; driven the slave-trading Yao Chief, Tshikumbu, from the Milanji district; we have destroyed two of Makanjira's strongholds and his five dhows; we have brought Kazembe, Mponda, Makandanji, Zarafi, Mkata, Tshikusi, Kawinga, and many other Chiefs, to terms either by hard fighting or by persuasion; we have released nearly 300 slaves, and have broken up two large slave caravans. Our position on the south end of Lake Nyassa, moreover, has been ably strengthened by Captain Maguire, who, in last October, built the fort with which he did me the honour to connect my name, and which, when sufficiently defended, is impregnable to an enemy not possessed of artillery. We have carried out these operations in three campaigns: the first conducted by Captain Maguire and myself during October and November against slave-trading Chiefs on the Upper Shiré and along the south coast of Lake Nyassa; the second by Captain Maguire and Mr. Buchanan against Kawinga, and the third by Captain Maguire on Lake Nyassa, in the African Lakes Company's steamer the "Domira."*

We started in July last with a force of seventy-one Indians. One of these died from the severe fatigue consequent on the Tshikumbu expedition, and three have been killed in this lamentable affair at Kisungule (Makanjira's). One man lost his right arm at the attack on Kawinga's town (Mposa's), and is permanently disabled, and three others, though progressing favourably, will be a long time recovering from severe wounds inflicted at the first attack on Makinjira.

This leaves me, then, at the present time, with an effective of only sixty-three men, of whom also ten are on the sick list with slight wounds, though fit for garrison duty. I have therefore telegraphed and written to the Commander-in-chief in India for permission to obtain at least ten more men from the Sikh or Masalman (Panjab) regiments to fill up the gaps in our little force. I shall confine my attention mainly to the maintenance of order and security along the great trade routes of Central Africa. This is the policy we have all along had in view. Neither Captain Maguire nor myself have gone out of our way to attack the Slave Trade. We have fought against it on land-routes, lake, and river, where the constant slave-raiding and trading threatened the security of our communications between one English Settlement and another, and between Nyassa and the Lower Shiré. Until Makanjira's power was crippled and his dhows destroyed there would be constant slave-raiding and fighting along the west shore of the lake among people who were our friends and who traded with us, and supplied us with wooding stations for the steamer's fuel. This end, though it has cost him his life, Captain Maguire has accomplished, and, until Makanjira can build fresh dhows, he will be unable to continue his profitable pursuit as a great slave transport agent on Lake Nyassa.

Coast caravans coming from Lindi and Kilwa to buy slaves in the devastated regions, west of Nyassa, will have no means of crossing the lake in safety with their merchandize. Makanjira can no longer ferry them across, and Fort Johnston, of Maguire's building, stops their journey overland round the south shore of the lake, and the Livingstonia Mountains and the British Settlements arrest them at the north end of Nyassa. Maguire has beyond all question dealt in five months a greater blow to the Central African Slave Trade than five years of our naval action on the coast could effect. The fact is that the bulk of the slaves for which Central Africa is ravaged is needed for the plantations and coast towns along the East African Littoral; the exportation of these slaves to Arabia, Persia, Asiatic Turkey, and Madagascar is only an occasional venture, lucky or unlucky, according to the vigilance of our cruizers and the astuteness of the slave-trader. I am able to state now with some precision that the regions along the middle course of the Loangwa River to the west of Lake Nyassa, furnish annually over 2,000 slaves which up to the present have been conveyed across the lake by Makanjira's and Kazembe's dhows, or brought round the south end of Nyassa through Mponda's country.

The only effectual ways of absolutely stopping the Nyassa Slave Trade is by maintaining a strong garrison at Fort Johnston (Mponda's), and by placing an armed steamer on the lake. The first means we owe to the generous philanthropy of the British South Africa Company. For the second we must look to the Imperial Government or to the nation at large for help.

The gift of money is the surest test of genuine philanthropy. If the British public really cares to abolish the Slave Traffic across Nyassa, it will promptly find the means for placing an armed steamer on the lake, able to cope with the dhows and boats, and lake-

* A little vessel of 70 tons burthen.

side towns of the slave-trading Yao Chieftains. If it does not, then in a few months, more dhows will be built, and the Slave Trade be reopened by Makanjira and others.

I cannot continue any longer the measures, which were only taken in an emergency, of diverting a commercial steamer like the "Domira" from her proper work in order to use her for fighting purposes for which she is utterly unfitted. This action completely hinders our trade and communications with North Nyassa, Tanganyika, and Moero, besides courting disasters such as that which forms the subject of this despatch. I shall therefore confine my efforts henceforth to checking the transit of slaves across the Shiré Province; and later, across the Tanganyika plateau. The waters of Lake Nyassa must be left open to the energies and expedients of Makanjira, Kazembe, and other Yao slave-traders until an armed steamer is placed at the disposal of the Administration.

I cannot close this despatch without a tribute to the memory of Captain Maguire, whose death has caused me more poignant sorrow, more bitter, unavailing regret than I have ever yet known. He was of great ability, great bravery, amiable, bright and uncomplaining; and of that rare type of soldier-administrator which is produced at its best by the training of British India. His age at the time of his death was only 33, and he gave promise of becoming a great and notable man. I could say much more about him, but it can be more suitably told at a future time. My grief, however, would be enhanced if I thought that through my present reticence, Maguire's great merits were unappreciated or unknown.

Inclosure in No. 2.

Statement made by Mr. Wm. K. Keiller as to Death of Captain Cecil Maguire, and other circumstances from the 15th to the 20th December, 1891.

THE following are particulars of Captain Maguire's expedition which unfortunately ended so disastrously.

We started from Fort Johnston on the afternoon of the 13th, reaching Monkey Bay the same evening. Next morning at 4 A.M. we left for and reached Rifu* at 9 A.M. Captain Maguire had Kazembe on board and had a long talk with him. After Kazembe had gone the Captain informed me that Kazembe had given him some valuable information relative to some of Makanjira's dhows, and which he meant to act upon. He at the same time informed me that he would like me to start early next morning for the other side and that there would be a man sent by Kazembe to guide us. We accordingly at 5 A.M. next morning started, and at a place about 10 miles north of Makanjira's proper saw two dhows on the beach. We made straight for the place. It proved to be a very dangerous place indeed abounding in shoals and stones. The Captain, although it was beginning to blow pretty brisk, and the doctor warned him as to the state of his health, decided to land with the barge. It proved a harder task than he anticipated, as the wind was blowing much stronger and right inland, the consequence being that all the soldiers had to leave the barge and go by water as the barge got stranded on stones. The barge I may now say never was of more use again. Makanjira used it afterwards for making bullets. The Captain on landing was attacked, but was able to hold his own up to a certain point. He burned one dhow and was beginning to destroy the other, when he was attacked in great force by Makanjira, who had come overland. There was no time for anything as it all came so quick. The steamer after great difficulty I got anchored to the north of the dhows so as to be ready for any emergency, but it was blowing so rough I was in fear every minute that she would be ashore. The Captain when he saw he was outnumbered made signs for me to get some of his men on board with the small boat, but the sea was far too rough, the boat being swamped two or three times, in fact we latterly lost it altogether. The Captain when he saw he was completely outnumbered tried to come on board with his men by water. It was while engaged thus that he unfortunately lost his life. I am almost certain he was shot in the back. I did not see him sink. Mr. MacEwan did. We now tried to get all on board who had swum out to steamer. All my energies had now to be concentrated on steamer which had commenced to drag her anchors, and also to the fact that the enemy were firing in great numbers upon us. The sea was something terrific, washing right over our bows. I asked Mr. MacEwan to slip the starboard anchor so as to allow me to get a chance to get out. This was done, and then after we got up the other anchor we found

* Rifu is in Kasembe's country.—H. H. J.

to our horror that the propeller would not work owing to a piece of rope having got twisted round the blade. I got anchor down again as quick as possible, but too late to be effective, as the steamer had by this time grounded. We got rope cut off and then tried to get steamer off, but all to no purpose, as all the time this was being done we were being subjected to a heavy fire from the enemy, our men's guns having got wet would not act at once, though in time we returned the fire from the steamer; they had this advantage over us however, and also were under cover. Mr. MacEwan was wounded in the side about 4 o'clock, and so was unable to render any assistance from that time. I myself was wounded very severely about one hour later, and was also rendered unfit to do more service that day or next. Mr. Urquhart* now had the whole responsibility upon himself. When he saw that it was useless to try to get off he had a strong boma† run round the whole steamer. It turned out a terrible night of rain and wind. The enemy kept up heavy fire the whole night and next day. It was only at night we could get working at steamer.

On Wednesday night they asked us to cease our fire as they desired peace, we did so, and had no sooner started to try and get steamer off than they commenced to fire with great fury again; in fact it was of so sudden a nature that had we not been half expecting it a great number of us would have been killed.

All Thursday the firing was kept up all day; Mr. Urquhart unfortunately got wounded, but not so seriously as to keep him off his duties.

At night they again asked for a flag of truce, as they wanted peace, but we did not believe it was genuine; however, as we were in such a sad fix, we decided to give them a chance to come to terms. Next morning (Friday, the 18th December, 1891) we hoisted a flag of truce, they doing the same. We then asked that two of their number should come on board and have a talk. It was decided that Dr. Boyce and Mr. MacEwan should conduct the same, as Mr. Urquhart and myself were bandaged about the face and hardly presentable; the upshot of the conference being that for sixty pieces of cloth they would supply people to get the steamer off. They also wanted two white men to go off. At first this was refused as it looked suspicious, but on all of us considering the matter well, also their talk and behaviour, it was thought quite safe enough for Dr. Boyce and Mr. MacEwan to go on shore. I wish to God we could have foreseen the result of our deliberations! At 5 P.M. we learned from a boy who escaped that they had killed them. Mr. Urquhart and myself now knew that we would get no help or pity from such wretches, and that they only thirsted after our blood. We therefore renewed our efforts to alter position of steamer, and succeeded partially, although accomplished under the most awkward and precarious circumstances.

On Sunday evening the same was done, but with the gratifying result that she floated. We left shortly after, and reached Livingstonia at 3 A.M. Monday morning. Mr. Urquhart and myself have had simply a cruel time of it; besides working day and night, we have had sick and wounded to attend to, although suffering ourselves much; our wood was reduced, and we had therefore to take up deck planking, &c.

The food supply was another difficulty; happily, I had some rice on board, which, with other things, proved a great boon to the Sepoys and others. The ship's stores and furnishings have suffered very seriously, cloth of all description being ruined, having been used for boma.

A great part of all our personal effects have also been lost through the same cause.

I subjoin a list of killed, &c.

Killed.

Captain Maguire drowned.
Dr. Boyce and Mr. MacEwan murdered on shore.
3 Sepoys drowned.
3 Swahili boys and 2 steamer boys murdered on shore. One steamer boy I think was shot on steamer.

Wounded.

8 Sepoys (one or two severely).
1 steamer boy.
Wm. Keiller.
A. Urquhart.

* Second engineer. The evidence of the other witnesses is that Mr. MacEwan was wounded earlier in the day.—H. H. J.

† A fence, bulwark.—H. H. J.

Lost

1 anchor and 8 fathoms of chain.
1 barge.
1 small boat.
1 wire rope spindle.
A quantity of provisions.
Sheeting, furnishing, &c.

Damaged.

W. Keiller's personal effects.
J. MacEwan's ditto.
A. Urquhart's ditto.
Awnings for steamer, ventilator, companion stanchions, and funnel damaged.

I certify that the foregoing Report is a true und correct statement of what took place.

(Signed) WILLIAM K. KEILLER,
In command of Steam-ship "Domira."

Witnesses:
(Signed) LOW MONTEITH FOTHERINGHAM,
Manager, African Lakes Company.
JOHN GIBBS,
Book-keeper, African Lakes Company.

Steam-ship "Domira," December 22, 1891.

No. 3.

Commissioner Johnston to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received April 6.)

My Lord, *Zomba, January* 1, 1892.

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith a statement made by Mr A. A. Urquhart, the second engineer of the steam-ship "Domira," relative to the recent sad catastrophe on Lake Nyassa, in which Captain Maguire, Dr. Boyce, and Mr. MacEwan, and three Sepoys lost their lives.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. H. JOHNSTON.

Inclosure in No. 3.

Mr. Urquhart to Commissioner Johnston.

Sir, *Blantyre, December* 28, 1891.

THE following is an account of what I actually saw transpire at Makanjira's:—

The steam-ship "Domira" left Rifu on Thursday, the 15th December, with Captain Maguire and his party, bound for the opposite side of Lake Nyassa, north of Makanjira's village, in order to capture some dhows that Captain Maguire had got information about.

On arriving at the east side the steamer sailed along the coast southward, when the dhows were seen on the beach at a very rocky part of the coast. Captain Maguire landed in barge with his soldiers. I noticed that they could not go in close to the beach, and that Captain Maguire and his men got into the water (which was waist-deep) and waded ashore. I also noticed that a brisk north wind was rising just before Captain Maguire landed, causing a good heavy swell on the lake, which latterly filled the barge with water, and thus cut off the only safe means of retreat. I noticed that Captain Maguire set fire to, and completely burned, one of the dhows. During the burning of dhows I heard volley-firing in the bush on shore, but could see no one except those engaged at the dhow. Mr. Keiller managed with difficulty to anchor not very far from the stones, and with a long rope and the small boat tried to afford a means of retreat to the now retreating soldiers. This means of retreat proved a failure, owing to the heavy seas swamping the boat, and also the new rope breaking several times. However, a few of the men were got on board, when I saw Makanjira's people on the

top of the embankment (high beach) close to the shore. Captain Maguire now took to the water, and tried to reach the steamer. I saw Mr. MacEwan helping a wounded soldier on board, and he was in the act of throwing a rope to the Captain, when I had to go below to start the engines. After the engines were going all right I came up to the top of the ladder, and asked MacEwan if Captain Maguire was on board. Mr MacEwan answered that he was drowned, and that he sank just before reaching the rope. At this point I just noticed the engine stop, and told MacEwan there must be something wrong with the propeller. He looked, and saw that the rope which he had thrown to Captain Maguire had got foul of the propeller. Two of the stokers got into the water and cut the rope. I again started the engines, but by this time the steamer had been driven on the sand. At the same time I got information that Mr. MacEwan was wounded. I remained in the stoke-hole driving the engines both ahead and astern, until I heard of Mr. Keiller being wounded. I then proceeded on deck, leaving the boiler and engine in charge of Tom (a native), and found the steamer almost lying parallel to the shore, and the soldiers on the fore-deck, with their beds up against the hand-rails, returning fire. It was now getting dark. I had the anchor carried out several times, at the same time going full speed ahead. But the force of the sea proved too strong. The firewood being now finished in the stoke-hole, my next consideration was to get some along from the fore-hold, which proved a difficult matter owing to the boys being exposed to a heavy fire which the enemy kept up. However, a boma was made along the side of the ship with firewood, provision boxes, trusses (bales) of calico, private boxes, (baggage), &c. By this means all on board were sheltered to a considerable extent. The making of the boma lasted all night under a heavy fire. Early next morning, Wednesday, the 16th, the lake being much more calm, another attempt was made to get the steamer off by steam and anchor, until I was wounded at 9 A.M., and consequently I don't know what transpired between 9 A.M. and 6 P.M., at which time I resumed duty again, working all night.

Thursday, 17th.—All attempts made to get the steamer off without being hurt, but failed again. Mr. Keiller decided to hoist the white flag next morning.

Friday, 18th.—The flag was hoisted, and the enemy stopped firing and hoisted another on shore. Dr. Boyce and Mr. MacEwan conducted the business on deck, and in the afternoon went ashore, with the sad result that they were killed.

Saturday, 18th, and *Sunday, 20th,* were spent in trying to get the steamer off, which floated on Sunday, 20th, at 8 P.M. As far as I could hear from below one shell (fired) was sent into the village, which caught on fire. With reference to the peace negotiations conducted on board by Mr. MacEwan and Dr. Boyce, I would state that I was down below while these were being carried on. I, however, saw through the port-hole Makanjira's men sitting close to the water's edge unarmed, and heard they had asked that two Yao-speaking boys be sent on shore to them; this was done. The boys returned with the following statement:

Makanjira did not want war; he wanted to be friends with the white man, who should, on their side, prove their friendship by sending off a piece of blue and white calico as a pledge. This was done, and the negotiators departed with the pledge ostensibly to lay the matter before Makanjira. Returning shortly after two of their number came on board the steamer. I saw a quantity of cloth going on shore, and was told by Dr. Boyce that it was given as payment for a number of men who were to come to haul off the steamer, the two negotiators going on shore with the calico. Two hours passed without anything happening.

The next incident was our being hailed from the shore by Makanjira's men, who stated that they wanted one of the white men to come on shore, giving no reason so far as I know. Mr. MacEwan for some time hesitated whether he should comply with their request, but on being reassured by Dr. Boyce, who offered to go with him, this step was taken, they being carried on shore on men's shoulders. They took with them a log of what had previously happened in order to add particulars of what transpired on shore.

MacEwan was the first to land, but both disappeared together into the bush, and were never again seen by us.

Some time after we heard the report of what seemed to me to be blank cartridges, and our people took them to mean an expression of joy on the part of Makanjira's people, and that negotiations had been peacefully concluded. Shortly after, on being asked by us what had become of the white men, they replied they were killed. After dark Kutsapa, *alias* Juma, came on board wounded with the following statement:

On the arrival of Mr. MacEwan and Dr. Boyce, messengers were sent to Makanjira, returning with a message that the white men were to be put to death.

Kutsapa states that the party was surrounded, MacEwan shot in several places, Dr. Boyce speared, Nalusa, a steamer boy, and three Swahilis shot.

With reference to the fate of Captain Maguire, I saw his body lying on the beach where it had been washed up by the sea. As far as we could tell, nothing would lead us to suppose that the Arabs intended any mutilation of the body; the bodies of the Sikhs lay on the beach close by that of Captain Maguire.

Dr. Boyce was particularly anxious to obtain the bodies of Captain Maguire and the Sikhs, hoping to persuade Makanjira to allow him to take them on board.

One point I wish to emphasize. As I happened to be viewing the shore with a glass through the port-hole, I saw Captain Maguire's orderly coming out of the bush, followed by several of Makanjira's people, and making straight for the spot where Maguire's body lay, and examining the dead bodies. This was while we supposed MacEwan and Dr. Boyce were conducting peace negotiations in the village. He subsequently came on board unhurt.

(Signed) ANGUS A. URQUHART,
Engineer, Steam-ship "Domira."

Witnesses:
(Signed) JOHN GIBBS,
Acting Manager, African Lakes Company.
W. A. MORGAN.

No. 4.

Commissioner Johnston to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received May 2.)

My Lord, *Zomba, February* 16, 1892.

AS I informed your Lordship by telegram, I returned to the Residency at Zomba on the 10th February last from Lake Nyassa.

I arrived at Fort Johnston (opposite Mponda's, and near the south-east end of Lake Nyassa) on the 8th January. I found the garrison there in good spirits, and prepared to resist any attack from Makanjira. I had been preceded a few days before by Mr. J. G. King (formerly in charge of the Lower Shiré district), Dr. Watson, Medical Officer to the Administration, and Mr. George Stevenson (now in charge of Lower Shiré district). I appointed Mr. King to be Collector of Revenues and Magistrate* for the Upper Shiré district to reside at Fort Johnston, and Dr. Watson also was transferred thither in place of the late Dr. Boyce.

Shortly before my own arrival Mr. Monteith Fotheringham, the Manager of the African Lakes Company, and an engineer and carpenter, had arrived at Fort Johnston, off which the steam-ship "Domira" was lying, and had proceeded to put that vessel into repair. The injuries the "Domira" had sustained in the stranding and warfare at Kisungule on Makanjira's coast were not serious, and on the 11th January she was able to start for the north end of Nyassa on her routine journeys. (She returned thence at the beginning of February, and is now being docked for her annual overhauling.)

When I had had time to take in the situation at the south end of Lake Nyassa, which had been brought about by the news of Captain Maguire's death reaching all the surrounding native Chiefs, I found, briefly, that Mponda, Jumbe, and Kazembe on Lake Nyassa remained friendly to us, but that we were threatened by a confederacy of the Yao Chiefs Zarafi, Likoro, Mkata, Makandanji, and Msamara, who had of late made common cause with Makanjira, secretly preparing to attack us even while they were making Treaties with us and protesting their friendship.

Makanjira, however, who should have stood at the head of this confederacy, had suffered such severe losses in the late attack on Kisungule, where, although we lost Captain Maguire and three Sepoys, and (by treachery) Mr. MacEwan and Dr. Boyce, our soldiers had, nevertheless—so Makanjira informed Mponda by letter—killed nearly 200 of his men and allies, including twelve Arab slave-traders from the coast, had burnt two more of his towns, and destroyed his last two dhows. Makanjira, therefore, had no heart to carry the war into the Englishmen's country, and urged the other members of the confederacy to have their turn at the white man. (In the weeks' fighting at Kisungule Zarafi lost eight men, Makandanji five, and Likoro five.)

Twice, it is reported, Zarafi sent 1,000 men to attack Fort Johnston, but on neither occasion did they venture within gun-shot. The confederacy therefore decided to "take

* He holds a Commission under the African Order in Council.

it out of" Mponda whilst they gathered up courage to attack us. They therefore raided his outlying villages and plantations, and carried off over sixty prisoners, whom they promptly sent away to the coast to be sold as slaves.

Mponda had, from the first inkling of the disaster, been heartily loyal to us. He had not only abstained from any hostile action and preserved a cold neutrality, which alone at that crisis would have been commendable, but he had immediately declared his active partizanship for the English; he sent over 300 men to assist in the defence of Fort Johnston, and—what was still more important at that juncture—he supplied the Indian garrison with large quantities of food so as to prevent any shortness of supplies happening until relief could arrive from the lower river. These services were really great, and should outweigh much that Mponda has done in the past and much that he may do in the future of a reprehensible nature. When it is remembered that in the middle of October last he had had his chief town bombarded and utterly destroyed, had been heavily fined and otherwise punished for his participation in the Slave Trade, it says much for his frank acceptance of our rule that when two months later Fort Johnston and the steam-ship "Domira" lay for a week at his mercy, he not only repelled the invitations of the Makanjira confederacy to join their league and drive the English once for all from Lake Nyassa, he not only refused, when wealth beyond his avaricious dreams was within his grasp, but he made common cause against the enemies of the new order of things, and afforded us active assistance instead of the passive neutrality which was the utmost we were entitled to expect.

He was soon made to suffer for his alliance with the English. Msamara, his rival and half-brother, attacked his territories on the west of the Shiré and carried off twenty prisoners, and Zarafi and Likoro raided his plantations on the east bank and captured forty of Mponda's villagers who were tilling their farms. These, as I have already mentioned, were sold into slavery. Mponda's enemies were threatening further attacks when the news of the arrival of numerous white men at Fort Johnston caused them to desist and retreat.

I was rather surprised at Msamara's treachery, because he had hitherto affected such friendliness for the English, and also because I had several of his Headmen in my keeping as hostages at Fort Johnston.

Msamara, I now ascertain, sent a deputation of his Counsellors to Fort Johnston to meet Captain Maguire prior to his setting out on the last expedition which proved so fatal. These men came to propose, amongst other things, that Maguire should attack Mponda again and hand his country over to Msamara.* Maguire naturally refused, but proposed instead a friendly arrangement of boundaries between the two conflicting parties, and for this purpose asked the deputation to await his return from Kazembe's at Fort Johnston. This they somewhat reluctantly did; but when the news of Maguire's death arrived they were about to take flight, when 'Ali Kiongwe,† my Swahili Headman, who had been left in charge of the fort, wisely retained them as hostages, for he had learnt that Msamara only awaited the return of these men to join Makanjira's confederacy against us. In fact, it became known that an arrangement had been made between Zarafi and Msamara for a joint attack on us and on Mponda. Msamara was to attack Mponda and so distract him from his helping us; Zarafi, simultaneously, was to attack Fort Johnston. The scheme, however, was happily baulked by Kiongwe's wise prevision. The retention of Msamara's envoys fettered his inimical action, and the alliance between Msamara and Zarafi produced nothing further than the capture of sixty of Mponda's people as above described.

These hostages of Msamara's being important people in his country, public opinion

* The late Mponda, a celebrated Yao conqueror known to Livingstone, invaded the Upper Shiré district in about 1858, and formed it into a powerful Mahommedan kingdom of considerable extent. He left numerous sons, of whom Msamara was one, the present Mponda being the eldest. The late Mponda's legal successor, according to the intricate Yao law, was his eldest sister's direct descendant, who is a little boy aged about 10. The present Mponda was appointed Regent by his late father during the child's minority. The incessant civil wars which have since prevailed have been the result of the attempts of the other brothers, led by Msamara, to snatch the Regency from the present Mponda.

† 'Ali Kiongwe is a notable man. He is a native of Zanzibar. When a lad of 16 he journeyed with an Arab caravan across Nyassaland to the Loangwa. When 18 years old he joined Stanley's caravan (in 1874), and with Stanley explored the Victoria Nyanza and descended the Congo. In 1879 he returned with Stanley to the Congo, where I first met him, in 1883, and where he served till the end of that year. In 1884 he went with me to Kilimanjaro as my Headman. In 1885 he worked for the Universities Mission. He then joined Count Teleki, and accompanied him throughout his remarkable East African journeys. After this he was engaged as Headman by the late Mr. Guy Dawnay, and for the manner in which he rescued the body of that unfortunate gentleman, his rings, and watch from the Masai he was rewarded by Mr. Dawnay's family with a gold watch and chain. In 1889 he accompanied me throughout my journeys in Nyassaland, to Tanganyika, &c. In the early part of 1890 he carried out an important political mission to the north end of Tanganyika, and in 1891 he returned with me to Nyassaland as native officer in the Zanzibari police.

compelled him to make some effort to release them. Accordingly, finding letters were of no avail, he crossed the river and came up to the vicinity of Fort Johnston with an armed following to protest his friendship, but to ask that the people retained as hostages might be given up. I declined to surrender them, however, until he restored the twenty people stolen from Mponda. Whilst we were talking I noticed, to my great surprise, in Msamara's train two of the slave-traders (Musa Salimini and Majileiva, locally known as "Kamwendo") whom Captain Maguire had captured in last October at Maüni, and who were sentenced to a term of imprisonment at Fort Johnston, but who afterwards eluded the Indian sentries and escaped. I pointed this out to Msamara and demanded their surrender. He demurred, and whilst I was sending for some police to arrest them, they made off to the river-side, got into canoes, and escaped. I therefore told Msamara that I should arrest him and confine him in the fort until the slave-traders were recaptured,* and the twenty people stolen from Mponda returned.

With some adroitness Msamara's people had been disarmed by Kiongwe, and the Swahili police and Msamara, seeing resistance useless, accompanied me to the fort, where he was given comfortable quarters and allowed to have his own attendants.

Meantime, I had been considering what action should be taken against our enemies. The Indian soldiers were very anxious to be led against Makanjira, but to march them 90 miles overland without porters or other means of conveyance to carry the field-gun, tents, ammunition, and food was impossible, especially in a country without roads and at this season marshy and covered with a dense jungle of grass. I had no means of conveyance by water, and, apart from these considerations, in order to lead a sufficient force against Makanjira I should have to denude Fort Johnston of nearly all its garrison; then, when our backs were turned, Zarafi and his allies would make a descent on the place and probably take it. I therefore thought it wiser first to deal with the enemies nearer at hand than Makanjira. I started with Messrs. King, Stevenson, Dr. Watson, and Corporal Hoare, R.E., for Zarafi's country, taking with me about thirty Sepoys and the same number of Zanzibari's. Mponda sent a number of his men to carry our loads, but they were uncertain allies, as they declined to penetrate far into Zarafi's country, and were constantly deserting. I occupied, without resistance, two of Zarafi's villages. At one of them, Mwinyi-Mtshande's, I built a fort in a very advantageous position on the lower slopes of the hill country, commanding the beautiful and fertile valley of the river which debouches into the lake at Makandanji's. This fort should control the road—a constant slave-caravan route—which passes from Makanjira's, viâ Makandanji's, through Zarafi's country to Kawinga's. From this fort we made several excursions, but nowhere would Zarafi meet us or show fight. He had, in fact, left his country and fled to the hills, beyond where it was futile to attempt to follow him without guides or porters.

Whilst at Mwinyi-Mtshande's, I sent an expedition of Zanzibari police and Mponda's people, together with a few Angoni, to reconnoitre Likoro's and Mkata's country along the east shore of Lake Pamalombwe. These men are vassals of Zarafi's, but they had been somewhat bolder in the war than he. Of late they had taken to firing on our boats and those of the Universities Mission as they went by.

The Zanzibaris drove Likoro's people out of their town with considerable loss to the enemy, and with one Angoni killed on our side, and one Zanzibari wounded. They penetrated into Mkata's country, but were eventually repulsed by large numbers of the enemy, though their retreat was effected without loss and in good order. Consequently, I saw that the bulk of the resistance was to be met with in that direction, and after completing the fort at Mwinyi-Mtshande's and leaving it sufficiently garrisoned, and with Corporal Hoare in charge, I proceeded against Likoro. By this time we had been joined by Captain Keane, R.N., of Her Majesty's ship "Herald," and Quartermaster Inge, who had volunteered for service on the Upper Shiré, and had come up in a boat from Matope bringing very welcome supplies of food. Captain Keane took command of the land party, and I proceeded with the Indian police by water. We arrived almost simultaneously at Likoro's, which we occupied without resistance, the natives running away at our approach. The next morning, however, an advance party under Messrs. King and Stevenson, who were cutting a road through the grass, was smartly attacked and one Zanzibari wounded. The enemy was driven from his cover, and we gradually pushed on to Mkata's country, the journey thither being beset with many difficulties owing to the extraordinary height and density of the herbage. In many places the grass rose above our heads, and we floundered in swamps or laboured through deep mud.

* They were ultimately caught by Mponda's people a fortnight afterwards and surrendered to me, and are now working out their sentence.

We took and destroyed five villages in all, and at only one place—a stockaded town belonging to Nasoro—a Swahili man man residing with Mkata, did we meet with much resistance. Here one of our native police—a Mambwe man—was shot dead, through the body.

From Nasoro's we sent out skirmishing parties, but the enemy showing no sign of existence we eventually returned to Likoro's, where a force under Quartermaster Inge was left for a while to harass the enemy should they attempt to return.

We then made our way back to Fort Johnston, Mr. King and myself going overland, and Captain Keane taking command of the boat party.

As regards Msamara, however, a disagreeable thing had happened just before I started for Likoro's.

After his detention in the fort he had informed Kiongwe that it was useless putting guards over him, as he could at any time escape if he chose owing to a powerful medicine he possessed which would render him invisible. This medicine, it appears, was a blackish powder contained in an antelope's horn which he wore around his waist. The contents, he told the Sepoy, were snuff, so no suspicion was attached to this horn; however, this was the medicine which was to render him invisible. He was to divest himself of all his clothes, swallow a pinch of this "snuff," and he would be able to walk about unseen. Accordingly, one day, the Indian guards were considerably surprised at seeing Msamara, quite naked, attempting to push past him. A prompt presentation of bayonets made him recoil, and he was induced to return to his house in the fort and resume his clothes. After this the horn of medicine was taken away from him and hung up in Kiongwe's house. A few days afterwards, however, it was taken down by Msamara's own attendants and smuggled back to him. Kiongwe again tried to take it away, but Msamara became so excited that I said he might wear it, as I imagined its potency to be purely imaginary, and thought that the first failure to escape would have shown Msamara the trumpery nature of the medicine-man's charm.

However, it appeared that he himself ascribed his non-success in rendering himself invisible to the insufficiency of the dose. One night, therefore, he must have taken, unobserved, a larger quantity, which had a fatal effect on him, for in the morning (at 6 A.M.) the guards found him dead and divested of his clothing. Dr. Watson was at once called, and Msamara's people were summoned. The doctor pronounced life to have been extinct for several hours, and the cause of death to be some poison affecting the action of the heart. On Msamara's right hand was found a sprinkling of the black powder from the horn. He had also gripped the right shoulder with the nails of his left hand as though contorted by some spasm. The doctor wished to make a *post mortem* examination, but Msamara's people strongly objected. They themselves expressed their conviction that their Chief had met his death by an overdose of the "strong medicine,"* and they asked leave to carry the body back at once to his own country, so that his people might see that Msamara had not met his death by violence. I acceded to their request, and they started in canoes and returned with their Chief's dead body to Msamara's town.

The two slave-traders who had daringly accompanied Msamara to the vicinity of Fort Johnston, and who had subsequently escaped, attempted to return to Msamara's town, but the people drove them away, saying that they had already brought enough trouble on the country. They were then captured by Mponda and handed over to me. Some idea of their cool confidence and daring may be gathered from the following recital of their proceedings since they escaped from Fort Johnston in October last:—

They first went to Saïdi Mwazungu's. Then when we attacked that place they fled to Zarafi's, and from there went to Msamara's. From Msamara's they visited Livingstonia, and captured the wife of one of the African Lakes Company's boatmen. This woman they brought back to Msamara's, and sold there to a Swahili man who lives in Kawinga's country. After this they assisted Msamara in his raid on Mponda's villages, and sold for him, or on their own account, the twenty captives thus obtained. The woman from Livingstonia, however, eventually escaped from Kawinga's country and made her way down to the Shiré. People came in pursuit of her, so she hid herself in the reeds. At that moment Captain Keane was coming past in the Lakes Company's boat on his journey up river. She cried out to him for assistance, and he took her into the boat. Then the people in pursuit came up and demanded her restoration, declaring that she was not a slave but a runaway wife. This, however, was abundantly disproved by her being recognized and identified by the Livingstonia boat boys. Finding their plea had broken down, therefore, the claimants hurriedly decamped, and Captain Keane

* Dr. Watson is now analyzing this. It appears to be made from the "strophanthus" seed.

brought the woman to Fort Johnston. There she immediately identified Majiliwa, or "Kamwendo" ("Little Leg"), as he is locally called, as her kidnapper at Livingstonia. Kamwendo did not deny the imputation. Other witnesses came forward from the "Domira" to identify the woman; among them her brother, who had been wounded in the disaster at Makanjira's. I therefore sent her back to Livingstonia and restored her to her husband. Her name is Tshiwamsinjiri.

The two slave-traders are now on their way to the Lower Shiré to work out their term of hard labour on the roads. What induced them to do anything so foolhardy as to accompany Msamara to my camp I cannot say. Perhaps they may have thought that since the death of Maguire and his interpreter no one would recognize them, especially as they had put off their white shirts and merely wore loin-cloths, or it may be that Msamara compelled them to come, perhaps half intending to offer them up in exchange for his hostages (all of whom, by-the-bye, have now been sent back to their country). At any rate, we have recaptured two out of the seven slave-traders whom Maguire caught at Maüni. The others have, by all accounts, returned to the coast at Kilwa Kivinje, where, it is to be hoped, the German authorities will look out for them. The names of the other five are: Ali-bin-Tshamba, Bwana 'Omari, Amiri, Mwitshande, and Salimani.

With regard to the other Chiefs on the southern half of Lake Nyassa and in Angoniland, I may mention that they all appear to be friendly and loyal to the British. I received from Tshikusi, of Angoniland, a present of a bull and a cow and four tusks of ivory, and the loan of twenty-five men. Tshifisi, another Angoni Chief, sent one ox, twenty-five goats, and six small tusks. Jumbe, the Sultan of Marimba, sent a present of fifty 50-lb. bags of good rice, and assisted my messengers who went to his town to buy sixty-six more bags. Mpemba sent five loads of Indian corn and one tusk. Kazembe's mother sent a large tusk of ivory weighing 46 lbs. The ivory in question has been sold and placed to the credit of the Administration.

Having satisfied myself that Fort Johnston was amply garrisoned and furnished with sufficient stores of ammunition to meet all present contingencies, and recognizing that further action against Makanjira was impossible until the dry season and the burning of the grass, I decided to return to Zomba, where it was urgently necessary to continue the settlement of the land claims and other matters of which my absence had delayed the solution. Captain Keane returned with me, leaving Quartermaster Inge at Fort Johnston,* where his services in connection with the guns and boats will be most valuable.

I have, &c.
(Signed) H. H. JOHNSTON.

No. 5.

Commissioner Johnston to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received May* 2.)

(Extract.) *Zomba, February* 20, 1892.

I DO not find myself able to come to a compromise about the Slave Trade. Domestic slavery I have not interfered with. I have said nothing on the subject. But the Slave Trade means the continual devastation of these wretched countries, and is utterly inconsistent with any form of British protection or administration. I am not necessarily referring to the slave-raids which go on in the distant west or in countries outside our boundaries, I mean the kidnapping and sale of people in the vicinity of Blantyre, on the banks of the Shiré, and above all on the shores of Lake Nyassa. Swahili slave-traders prowl round the very precincts of the Residency at Zomba with intent to inveigle Chiefs into selling their people or on the off-chance of picking up some unprotected woman or child in the bush.

Our plans, chiefly elaborated by the late Captain Maguire, for arresting slave-caravans in the Shiré district and at the south end of Lake Nyassa, have resulted in the release and return to their homes of between 300 and 400 people; and the destruction of five slave-dhows on the lake has naturally limited for a time the transport of slaves across Nyassa; but these actions are not pleasing by any means to the Arabs and Yaos, the Mahommedan element, in fact of Nyassaland.

I begin to despair of these Mahommedans. I have long hoped against knowledge that the Arabs and Arabized natives of Central Africa might come to see that there

* Of which Mr. King is in charge. The garrison of the two forts consists of Dr. Watson, Corporal Hoare, Quartermaster Inge, Kiongwe, 50 sepoys, 42 Zanzibaris, and 49 Makua.

were honest means of livelihood just as profitable as the Slave Trade; but whatever wavering there may have been during 1889 and 1890, when Major von Wissmann's stern treatment of slave-traders on the coast scared away for a while the slave caravans and deprived them of their market, in 1891 and at the present time there would seem to have been some obstacle removed from the slave-trader's path, and the transport of slaves from Nyassaland and Tanganyika has again locally assumed formidable dimensions. Since the month of October last we have checked the Trade between the south end of Lake Nyassa and the River Ruo, but at the cost of making all the Nyassaland Mahommedans consider the advisability of rising against us and driving the British away. Again and again I have striven to show the Arabs that the cultivation of ground-nuts, coffee, sugar, or the breeding of cattle or donkeys, would prove quite as lucrative as the Trade in Slaves, while these agricultural or pastoral pursuits would certainly be superior in comfort and safety. I have even hinted that the recently-captured people would be more profitably employed as cultivators in the Arab settlements of Central Africa than by being transported at great risk to an uncertain market on the coast. But I think there must be some inherent love of cruelty and rapine in their dispositions, as well as a great restlessness. They are not content to become colonists and settle down in Nyassaland, making their homes there. Their settlements are more like camps. The only apparent exception to this description is Jumbe's country, which certainly is something approaching to a settled, cultivated land. Yet even here there are disintegrating forces at work. Jumbe himself is becoming weary of the effort of controlling the turbulent Arabs and Mahommedan Yaos, whom he calls his Captains ("Akida"). When he dies there will be a great outbreak of the Slave Trade in that district.

I could afford to disregard Arab disapproval, and fearlessly continue the suppression of the Slave Trade; I could also complete the chastisement of Makanjira, keep Jumbe's people and the Karonga Arabs in order, if I had one thing—an armed steamer on Lake Nyassa, a vessel better fitted for attack and defence than the "Domira," and one which could transport easily a hundred men. With a ship like this I could steam from end to end of the lake in four days, could land a force of soldiers unexpectedly at any point, could police the waters of Nyassa and prevent the transport of slaves, or ivory which has not paid export duties; for it may be imagined that people who do not fear to trade in slaves do not much concern themselves with conforming to our Customs Regulations.

The steamer would fulfil many useful purposes for the Administration and the South Africa Company, besides policing the lake. It would be able to transport the administrative and commercial employés of the South Africa Company to and fro on the lake, convey stores to the various stations, and carry the mails; it could even accommodate at times other passengers, and might earn, in short, enough money to pay for all its working expenses, besides saving the Administration the present serious cost of relying for its transport on Lake Nyassa on the African Lakes Company.

Without placing a steamer on the lake, we can do little more towards stopping the Slave Trade on Lake Nyassa than by issuing strongly-worded expressions of our disapproval to the Arabs, which will scarcely stop the passage of dhows across the lake, or restrain the malcontent slave-traders from attacking Karonga or Bandawe.

No. 6.

Commissioner Johnston to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received May* 2.)

(Extract.) *Zomba, February* 25, 1892.

I REGRET to have to inform your Lordship that I have just received news of an unfavourable character from Fort Johnston.

Your Lordship will no doubt remember that I reported my return thence to Zomba after having, as I considered, satisfactorily settled present difficulties. I had left the fort well garrisoned and well supplied, and I placed Mr. King (formerly Collector of the Lower Shiré district) in charge. I gave Mr. King strict orders to remain only on the defensive, and to attempt no further action of an offensive kind against our enemies.

Nevertheless, for some reason not yet made evident—perhaps because our forces had just been increased by 100 Angoni warriors from Tshikusi—Mr. King suddenly decided to attack Zarafi's stronghold in the hills behind Fort Johnston. He took with him Quartermaster Inge, Dr. Watson, thirty-five Sepoys, about thirty Zanzibaris, a few Makua porters of our own, and a number of native porters, and the 100 Angoni; also a

7-pounder cannon. His journey to Zarafi's was practically unopposed, and he entered the town without resistance, but the town itself was little less than a trap. No sooner were they within its inclosure than the enemy swarmed on the heights above, and poured down a pitiless fire on our men. The native porters and Angoni all ran away. Mr. King and Dr. Watson were both wounded, five Sepoys and one Zanzibari were killed, and four more Indians slightly wounded. A retreat was decided on and carried out without further loss, except in the way of baggage and arms. Owing to the flight of the carriers, some boxes of Snider ammunition and the 7-pounder had to be abandoned, after the latter, ably worked by Quartermaster Inge, had served to cover the retreat.

These are the details which have been communicated to me up to the present time in letters from Dr. Watson and Quartermaster Inge, and I am unable at present to ascertain the reason of Mr. King's undertaking this expedition against my orders and without previous intimation to me. A Zanzibari bringing the letter states that some time after I left Zarafi descended from the hills and made another slave-raid. Whether this was the cause of Mr. King's attack on his stronghold or not I cannot say. Certainly it will need some very exceptional and critical conditior of affairs to exonerate Mr. King from blame for taking the offensive without my sanction.

I am now sending Captain Keane, R.N. (temporarily staying with me at Zomba), to the lake, to Fort Johnston, with reinforcements, and to take command and report to me on this ill-timed and lamentable affair. If necessary, I shall again proceed to Lake Nyassa myself, but I am exceedingly anxious to first finish my accounts (now very much overdue), and complete the settlement of the land question before again absenting myself from Zomba.

I am anxious to assure your Lordship that I am not pursuing a bellicose policy in attempting to suppress the Slave Trade along the River Shiré and on the south end of Lake Nyassa. I am not, that is to say, contemplating any Quixotic or expensive crusade against slavery throughout British Central Africa; but what I am forced to do is to put down slave-raiding and trading along our narrow and precious line of communications between the Shiré and Tanganyika, because if I allow these nefarious pursuits to continue, I am exposing this line of communication to constant and dangerous interruptions, and I am denying protection to those who have the fullest claims to our support since they obey our laws, follow our counsels, and contribute by a mild taxation towards the expenses of government.

No. 7.

Commissioner Johnston to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received .)

(Telegraphic.) *Zomba, March* 8, 1892.

I HAVE just received further news from Fort Johnston. The reason why Mr. King attacked Zarafi was because this latter, assisted by a large slave caravan from Kilwa, had once more begun making slave raids against the people of the Shiré district. But few Indians and one Zanzibari are reported killed. King was wounded and five others of our men.

Fort Johnston will be placed under the command of Captain Keane, whom I have dispatched thither. He has received strict orders not to take the offensive. Thirty-two men were killed on Zarafi's side, among whom were seven or eight of the Kilwa traders, Barghash, his Swahili Councillor, and Khamisi, his brother. Although he had driven back our troops, Zarafi has retired to the hills without having attempted to follow up his advantage.

Reports from Keane dated the 3rd March say that everything was satisfactory at Fort Johnston, and that loyalty of Mponda remains unshaken excepting at the south-eastern extremity of Lake Nyassa. There is no trouble anywhere else in the district; everywhere else there is peace, and trade is increasing.

No. 8.

Commissioner Johnston to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received May 2.)

(Telegraphic.) *Zomba, March 21, 1892.*

I HAVE received following from Fort Johnston:—

"Letter has been received from Zarafi asking for peace and promising to cease slave raiding. Mponda and Jumbe have addressed letters to leading Nyassa Arabs, in which they inform them that they have come to a definite decision to stand by the English. Three messengers have arrived at Zomba from Kazembe to announce that that Chief adheres to this policy. A new Chief has been elected by M'samara's people, who have begged me to grant him recognition and present him with a flag. I have done so, and he promises to keep the Treaty made with the late M'samara. Captain Keane states that people are once more settling on and building on the districts in the country of Mponda now that there is some security against slave raiding, and he reports very encouragingly on affairs on the Upper Shiré. The fact that Zarafi and Makanjira have exhausted their powder supplies and have dispatched caravans to buy more at Kilia and Quilimane is the chief cause of this favourable change.

No. 9.

Commissioner Johnston to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received May 2.)

(Telegraphic.) *Zomba, April 8, 1892.*

LETTERS from Captain Keane, dated the 27th March and 4th April, report very satisfactory state of things on Nyassa Lake; 3,000 men placed at his disposal by Angoni, Chief Tshifisi and Mponda. These irregular forces he dispatched against Zarafi and the Kilwa slave traders, who were forced with heavy loss to retire across the eastern frontier. The Magwangwara, in large numbers, at the same time made an attack on Makanjiras, and drove him from the shore of the lake.

Captain Keane speaks highly of the help which Mponda and Jumbe afforded him, and two of the Nyassa Arabs have contracted to supply the materials for building the Fort Johnston barracks.

Captain Sclater also is at Lake Nyassa, beginning the road which is to run to Zomba from Fort Johnston.

Dr. Watson and Mr. King have recovered, and resumed their work.

No. 10.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. Trench.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, May 3, 1892.*

WE learn by telegraph from Mr. Johnston from Nyassa that the hostile native Chiefs and all slave raiders are beaten, and having exhausted their ammunition are paralyzed.

He is afraid that they are trying to get more supplies from Kilwa.

You should press the German Government to telegraph, warning their local authorities, and instructing them to prevent these supplies being obtained.

No. 11.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Sir G. Petre.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, May 3, 1892.*

CONSUL-GENERAL JOHNSTON telegraphs from Nyassa that the hostile slave-raiders and native Chiefs have been defeated, and are paralyzed owing to the fact of their ammunition being exhausted.

He fears, however, that they may try to get a further supply from Quilimane.

I should wish you to press the Portuguese Government to telegraph warning their local authorities, and instructing them to prevent this supply being obtained.

No. 12.

Sir G. Petre to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received May 5.)

(Telegraphic.) *Lisbon, May 5, 1892, 11·30 A.M.*

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram of the 3rd instant, Senhor Costa Lobo informs me that telegraphic instructions were sent yesterday by the Minister of Marine to Mozambique, to the effect that the local authorities at Quilimane were to prevent the supply of ammunition to the Arabs of Nyassa.

No. 13.

The Marquis of Salisbury to Commissioner Johnston.

(Telegraphic.) *Foreign Office, May 7, 1892.*

THE Admiralty are now having constructed two small steamers for service on Lake Nyassa. It is feared that they cannot be taken up the Shiré before October, though they will be ready in July.

No. 14.

Sir E. Malet to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(Received May 16.)

My Lord, *Berlin, May 10, 1892.*

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram of the 3rd instant, I have the honour to inclose translation of a note, and of its inclosure, which I have received from the Imperial Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, giving the Regulations which are in force with regard to the importation of arms and ammunition into the German Protectorate in East Africa, and stating that special instructions have been sent by telegraph in order to insure their strict execution, in view of the danger of arms being supplied from Kilwa to the slave raiders in Nyassaland.

I have, &c.
(Signed) EDWARD B. MALET.

Inclosure 1 in No. 14.

Baron Marschall to Mr. Trench.

(Translation.)

M. le Chargé d'Affaires, *Foreign Office, Berlin, May 8, 1892.*

I HAVE the honour to inform you that, in accordance with your note of the 4th May, and with the desire of Lord Salisbury, I instructed the Imperial Governor of German East Africa on the same day by telegram to exercise a special supervision over the importation of arms into Kilwa in order to exclude any possibility of Arabs or indigenous slave-traders on Lake Nyassa obtaining supplies of ammunition through smugglers.

At the same time, I would observe that I cannot share the fears expressed by Mr. Johnston; for, according to the inclosed Regulation of the 1st December, 1891, the importation of fire-arms, ammunition, and powder is forbidden within the German Protectorate, and, moreover, the traffic in the afore-mentioned articles is entirely in the hands of the Imperial Government.

The Imperial Government considers that, to insure the strictest conformity to this Regulation is, in the interests of their own power, one of their most binding duties.

I avail, &c.
(Signed) MARSCHALL.

Inclosure 2 in No. 14.

Decree of the Imperial Governor of German East Africa respecting the Importation of Fire-arms of all kinds, and the Formalities to be Observed in connection therewith.

(Translation.)

§ 1. THE importation of fire-arms, ammunition, and gunpowder, of all kinds, as also the sale of the same, is reserved to the Imperial authorities.

§ 2. The European officials of the Imperial Government, and the European officers and non-commissioned officers of the Imperial Constabulary ("Schutztruppe"), are not subject to the provisions of § 1 in case they import the arms, &c., for their personal use.

§ 3. Permission to import fire-arms which fall under § 1 may be granted by the Governor for expeditions of all kinds into the interior. This permit, however, which must be applied for at the same time as the authorization to travel into the interior, will only be granted for the importation of muzzle-loaders and common gunpowder in case the Imperial authorities should not be in a position to supply the quantity of guns and powder required from their own stores.

§ 4. Individual Europeans may obtain permission from the German local authorities to import breech-loading guns for their personal defence or for sporting purposes.

§ 5. The permission granted by the Imperial authorities to import fire-arms of all kinds, &c., does not annul the obligation of paying the established customs duty on each article of this kind imported.

§ 6. Every gun, whether muzzle- or breech-loader, which is imported, must be stamped and entered in a register kept by the police authorities.

§ 7. Fire-arms which are found in the possession of natives in the German Protectorate will be at once stamped and registered.

§ 8. Only highly finished sporting and other weapons destined for Europeans are exempted from the stamping. These need only be entered in the register.

§ 9. No special charge is made for stamping and registering fire-arms.

§ 10. In the place of the guarantee demanded hitherto in ready-money, there will henceforth be a simple document of attestation in which the individual, *i.e.*, the leader of the expedition, promises in the name of his expedition not to allow any of the fire-arms which he takes with him to change hands without a special permission of the local German authorities. In the event of the non-fulfilment of this promise, a money fine to the amount of twice the value of the arms disposed of can be exacted. Further, the Imperial authorities are under no restriction, in individual cases, as to demanding a special guarantee in ready-money or its equivalent, and such as they consider suitable.

§ 11. Private individuals and missionaries who, being settled in the interior of the Protectorate and personally well known, no longer require a special permit from the Imperial authorities each time they travel into the interior, are also subject to the provisions of Article 10.

§ 12. Missions, plantation Companies, and similar establishments which desire to introduce a quantity of breech-loaders and ammunition for the protection of their station, can be granted a Customs exemption by the Imperial authorities, provided that these breech-loaders are of the same bore as those used by the protective force.

§ 13. Expeditions which merely traverse German territory, and whose actual destination is the neighbouring foreign Protectorate, are subject to the same Regulations as expeditions carrying on operations within the German territory.

§ 14. Contraventions of this Ordinance are punished by a fine not exceeding 3,000 rupees, or by imprisonment up to three months, or by either singly or in conjunction, as well as by forfeiture of the imported articles.

§ 15. All former Regulations or other Ordinances which do not agree with the above are hereby annulled.

§ 16. This Ordinance comes into force to-day.

(Signed) FREIHERR VON SODEN,
Imperial Governor.

Daressalam, December 1, 1891.

No. 15.

Commissioner Johnston to the Marquis of Salisbury.—(*Received May* 30.)

(Telegraphic.) *Zomba, May* 11, 1892.

NEWS received from Captain Keane, dated Fort Johnston, the 5th May, reporting arrival of many refugees from Makanjira, whom our Mangwangwara allies have attacked and beaten. Certain of these refugees witnessed the murder of MacEwan and Dr. Boyce. They also say that Makanjira is now without powder, and that unless the caravans which he has dispatched to Kilwa and Lindi, on the German coast-line, return with powder, he will not be able to withstand the Magwangwara much longer.

I would beg your Lordship to press German Government not to permit the purchase of gunpowder by caravans for Nyassa. Everywhere else on Lake Nyassa things are very much in our favour, and Jumbe and Mponda continue to give us effective support.

AFRICA. No. 5 (1892).

Papers relative to the Suppression of Slave-raiding in Nyassaland.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty. June 1892.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SONS.