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The Zanzibar Diary of John Studdy Leigh, Part I

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NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE ZANZIBAR DIARY OF JOHN STUDDY LEIGH, Part I

Edited by James S. Kirkman

Editor's Introduction

John Studdy Leigh was a young Englishman, twenty-one years of age, who went to East Africa in 1836 as an employee of Newman, Hunt and Christopher, a London merchant firm which was trying to make the fortune in East Africa which other firms were making in India and China. The venture was a failure and the firm ceased operations in the 1840s. However it was in great part due to their agent, R. B. Norsworthy, that a British consul resident in Zanzibar was appointed and the first steps taken that eventually led to the creation of British colonies in Kenya and Uganda.

Leigh's duties do not seem to have been very demanding. He seems to have had very little to do in Zanzibar, so that his attention to his surroundings was not unduly distracted by business affairs. Leigh does not give himself away. He had the prejudices and interests of a young man of the Protestant upper middle class in the 1830s. He had a cultivated and enquiring mind—there could have been few persons in East Africa who had heard of the Saint-Simonians. He could amuse himself, if not others, by playing the flute. Leigh states in the early part of his diary that his motive in accepting the appointment was his wish to see the world. His intellectual interests were accompanied by an extremely sociable disposition; when there was a choice between reading and social life of any kind, social life won. He was a personable young man and was probably regarded by his contemporaries as rather a joke.

Leigh was no Boswell, and he says nothing of the conversation of the small group of Englishmen—Robert Cogan, Dr. Howard, Robert Newman Hunt, William Sleeman, and Thorne—most of them older and more experienced than himself, with whom he spent his time. Apart from Hunt and Howard, they were in no sense close friends. The hope of making money and boredom with life in humdrum England had thrown them into surroundings for which they had no sympathy and not much more than a mild interest. They sought each other's company to ward off the weight of loneliness

when work was over or when there was little to do. It was a good example of the small, womanless “in-group” in an alien world that, fifty years later, Rudyard Kipling portrayed in many of his short stories. Of all this Leigh had no perception. He was too young, and his well-developed powers of observation were directed to the strange world around him. The company of his countrymen was a comfort which he could no more do without than the clothes he wore, but this was a fact which he did not recognize.

Zanzibar in the late 1830s was beginning to enjoy the boom conditions induced by the European, American, and Indian demand for African products: aromatic gums, cloves, gum copal, hides, ivory. The suppliers of these commodities were financed by Indian merchants who were reimbursed by the profits from the distribution of cotton goods, ironware, muskets, and the slave trade. All these operations were facilitated by the diplomatic skill of the ruler of Oman and Zanzibar, Sa‘id bin Sultan, incorrectly called by Europeans the Imam. At his accession in 1806 only Zanzibar, Mafia, Kilwa, and a few settlements dependent on Kilwa obeyed his commands. By the time of Leigh’s arrival at Zanzibar in August 1837, however, Sa‘id’s authority was acknowledged at Mombasa, Lamu, and many other settlements between Cape Delgado and Mogadishu.

The principal interest of the diary is Leigh’s account of journeys in the interior of Zanzibar and the seldom visited island of Pemba. When these islands are mentioned by the European travelers of the early nineteenth century, they are seen from the towns on their coasts. Leigh rode south to the home of the Mwenyi Mkuu, the ruler of the Hadimu people of Zanzibar, and to the old capital at Unguja Ukuu; on Pemba he went across the island to the ruins of the fortified palace known as Pujini. The account he gives of the Mwenyi Mkuu, Ahmad ibn Hassan al Alawi, agrees with what is known from other sources, but with some additions.¹ The trip to Oozi, or Uzi, is the first recorded visit to Unguja Ukuu: Unguja was the old name for Zanzibar. Today nothing remains and apparently there was not much to see in Leigh’s day. Sherds of Sassanian-Islamic glazed ware of the ninth and tenth century were found on the site by Neville Chittick.² There were of course no Portuguese inscriptions; the small Portuguese settlement in Zanzibar did not exist before the last quarter of the sixteenth century, and by that time Unguja Ukuu had

¹See J. M. Gray, *History of Zanzibar from the Middle Ages to 1856* (Oxford, 1962); C. R. Nicholls, *The Swahili Coast* (London, 1971).

²Neville Chittick, “Unguja Ukuu: The Earliest Imported Pottery,” *Azania*, 1 (1966), 61–62.

been replaced by the present capital.³ It is most unlikely that there were any Portuguese inscriptions on the island except in Zanzibar town. The only Portuguese inscription yet found in Zanzibar, probably from a wrecked vessel, is a broken tombstone found at Uroa in Chwaka Bay on the east coast.⁴ Leigh's account of Pujini is the first of this unique site with the exception of the raid of Duarte de Lemos in 1510.⁵ The site has never been excavated but was periodically cleared in the past by the British officials of the Zanzibar government.⁶ It is unlikely that it is older than the fourteenth or fifteenth century, and the ramparts may even have been built after the Portuguese raid since there are loopholes apparently for handguns. Sherds of Ming celadon and Ming blue and white of the late sixteenth century have been found in the ruins.

Leigh arrived in Zanzibar on 2 August 1837, a very sick man, leaving on September 15th for South Africa to recuperate. He did not return until 24 June 1838. He was then fully recovered, and apart from occasional headaches was in good health for the remainder of his time in East Africa. Leigh's second residence included a visit to Pemba and lasted until August 18th. His next voyage took him down the Mozambique Channel and included a visit to Mayotte in the Comoro Islands.⁷ He returned to Zanzibar on October 12th, leaving again after a two weeks' rest, this time to the north Somali Coast and Aden,⁸ arriving back on the island on 1 March 1839. Leigh stayed at Zanzibar until May 29th when he was transferred to Majunga in Madagascar where he remained, apart from visits to Quilimane and Mozambique, until he sailed for England on 17 February 1840.

Arriving in England on March 14th, Leigh kept up his diary until December 31, 1840.⁹ Little is known of his subsequent career.¹⁰ Leigh was alive in San Francisco in 1892 but nothing further is known of him. He was then seventy-six, old, poor, and discouraged, so perhaps there is not much more to be said.

³Gray, *Zanzibar*, 38–39.

⁴J. S. Kirkman, *Men and Monuments on the East African Coast* (London, 1964), 177.

⁵João de Barros, *Decadas da Asia* (Lisbon, 1776), iv, ii.

⁶The best descriptions are in F. B. Pearce, *Zanzibar* (London, 1920), 275–286; John Gray, "The Wadebuli and Wadiba," *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, 36 (1954), 22–42; Kirkman, *Men and Monuments*, 181–182.

⁷"Mayotta and the Comoro Islands," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 19 (1849), 7–17.

⁸J. S. Kirkman, "Aden after the Bombardment," *Arabian Studies* (Cambridge, 1975).

⁹Leigh's diary, in two volumes covering the years 1836–1840, is in the library of the well-known collector of Africana, Quentin Keynes.

¹⁰See Harold C. Marcus and Melvin E. Page, "John Studdy Leigh: First Footsteps in East Africa," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 3 (1972), 470–478.

The Zanzibar Diary of John Studdy Leigh¹¹*First Visit*

[2 August 1837] Arrived at Zanzibar where we found three of our vessels, Fox, Dove and Lark but not the Sandwich. The appearance of the town on approaching by the South channel is mean but on rounding a point it bears a much more favourable aspect. The fort and the new palace building standing conspicuous, aided by a few well-built white-washed houses with flat roofs.¹²

Landed near our agent Mr. Norsworthy's¹³ where I called. He offered me a bed in his house which I accepted for tomorrow. Afterwards to Mr Waters,¹⁴ the American consul, where I felt so unwell that I availed myself of his offer of a bed and slept there.

[3 Aug.] Went to Mr N's to stay. The house is built in the Arab style of a kind of mandrepore and porous stone, pretty solid. A narrow staircase of stone led up to a small open space, opening on which was the general receiving room without a door, and separate from the open space by a piece of canvas by way of a partition; only one window in the room and that close to the door and grated, as are the windows in the bedrooms which are numerous; walls bare and white washed ceiling formed of a number of small beams, plastered between; floor of stucco covered with mats.¹⁵ My hosts lunched at 1 and dined at 6.

[4 Aug.] Remained at Norsworthy's, very poorly all the time. Took some fumigatory baths recommended by Shea Abdallah.¹⁶

¹¹Leigh left England on 19 May 1836, arriving at Majunga, after calling at Quelimane, on 25 August 1836. On 10 September 1836, he sailed to Kilwa Kivinje, Kilwa Kisiwani, the southeast coast of Somalia, and the Seychelles before returning to Majunga on 27 December 1836. On 19 February 1837 he left Majunga for Vohémar and St. Mary's on the east coast of Madagascar and for Mahé on the Seychelles. From Mahé he sailed to Zanzibar.

Leigh's spelling, with its inconsistencies, has been retained, but the long phrases, divided by dashes, have been converted into sentences, and the punctuation rationalized.

¹²The fort was built by the Omani when they took Zanzibar following the fall of Fort Jesus, Mombasa, in 1698. It was constructed from the stones of the Portuguese church and houses and was of no great strength. Sa'id's palace was destroyed during the British bombardment of 1896 when Khalid ibn Barghash attempted to seize the sultanate.

¹³R. B. Norsworthy, agent for Newman Hunt and Christopher in Zanzibar, 1833–1837. Dismissed by Hunt, he subsequently set up on his own. He died in 1845. Much of the information on personalities and other matters listed in the notes is drawn from Norman R. Bennett and George E. Brooks, Jr., *New England Merchants in Africa: A History Through Documents, 1802–1865* (Boston, 1965); Gray, *Zanzibar*; Nicholls, *Swahili Coast*.

¹⁴Richard P. Waters, American consul and merchant in Zanzibar, 1837–1845. His close relations with Jairam Sewji ensured the success of his company.

¹⁵Contemporary houses survive at Lamu. See Usam Ghaidan, "The Stone Houses of Lamu," *Journal of the Architectural Association of Kenya* (May–June 1971).

¹⁶Abdullah bin Ali, one of Sa'id bin Sultan's interpreters and Leigh's principal informant.

[8 Aug.] Went out only twice for a short walk, being very weak.

[9 Aug.] Sandwich came in with Mr Hunt¹⁷ who called at N's and invited me onboard. Accordingly went in the afternoon to stay. Excellent accommodation. Fine yacht mounting 12 guns.

[10–26 Aug.] Remained onboard the Sandwich. Attacks of fever now and then. Went twice down to see the Imam at his place at M'tony¹⁸ about three miles from the town. The palace is in an unfinished state. We were received at the portico by the guard under arms, their uniform was like that of sepoys. We were ushered into a large hall surrounded by Arabs and Banians seated on chairs. In one corner at the top sat the Imam and on his right Seyd Kaled¹⁹ one of his sons. He came forward to meet us and shook hands graciously. We were then seated one (Mr Hunt was with me) on each side of him, and Mr N. explained himself thro' Capt. Hassan.²⁰ A cup of coffee was then handed to us but it was rendered bitter by cloves that there was no drinking it. This was succeeded by a glass of sherbet which was more to our taste. We took leave in about an hour, shaking hands with the Imam again at parting.

There were two large fires in one day which burnt down many homes, the covering being of cocoa-nut branches they spread very fast.

[27–31 Aug.] Went onshore again to stay having been appointed agent for the house and was better than usual for a few days which encouraged me to think that the fever was leaving me and that I might be able to remain.

Zanzibar town is in lat. 6° 9' S and long. 39° 9' E. It may contain about 70,000 Arabs and Soailees.²¹ The island produces cotton, coffee, sugar, cinnamon and cloves, the latter in abundance and very good. I visited the slave market once or twice. The slaves mostly

¹⁷Robert Newman Hunt, partner of Newman Hunt and Christopher, in Zanzibar 1837–1840.

¹⁸The palace at Mtoni, Sa'id's usual residence, was acquired in 1828 when he confiscated the properties of Salih bin Haramli al Abri, a wealthy Omani. Towards the end of the century it was abandoned and partially demolished. The central part, the *diwan* or hall where Sa'id received so many notable visitors, was later leased as a store for oil drums, a lack of historical sensitivity matched by public authorities in all parts of the world.

¹⁹Khalid bin Sa'id, the designated successor to his father at Zanzibar, served as governor during Sa'id's visits to Oman. He died in 1854.

²⁰Hassan bin Ibrahim had studied navigation and English in India, often serving as Sa'id's agent in dealings with Europeans. He became a wealthy trader and landowner.

²¹There are of course no bases for population estimates. The figure of 70,000 is clearly impossible. See Nicholls, *Swahili Coast*, 266, for estimates given by other observers. Leigh gives other figures in the entries for 25 June and 8 July 1838. A population of 100,000 for the island appears too high since the census of 1924 recorded only 186,000 inhabitants. About 17,000 free men and 50,000 slaves is a possible figure for the island; Zanzibar town is unlikely to have exceeded 10,000 permanent inhabitants.

females were placed in rows, generally daubed on the face with black and with a number of ornaments in their noses and ears, which do not much improve their appearance in the eyes of an European. Their sellers cried aloud their price, increasing them on any new offer. The Arabs went round examining them as they would cattle. [1–12 September 1837] Remained on shore but being attacked several times by fever, sickness and shivering. Mr H. proposes my going to the Cape for a few months to recruit; accordingly made my preparations to join the Fox.

[13 Sept.] Went onboard the Fox in the evening to sail tomorrow morning.

[14 Sept.] Detained. Mr H's despatches not being ready; spent the day onboard the Sandwich.

[15 Sept.] Left Zanzibar for Mozambique where the Fox completes her cargo.

(After spending a pleasant convalescence in the Cape, Leigh left South Africa on 3rd June 1838 and returned to duty in Zanzibar, calling at Mozambique on the way.)

Second Visit

[24 June 1838] Beat up the channel inside and anchored in the usual place at 10 o'clock, found all well. Dined and drank tea at the house and walked out towards the country. Onboard again at 9.

In conversation with Angelo²² he mentioned that the southern Galla are not as ferocious as the Northern and allow travellers to pass thro' their territories on paying a certain sum. They reach as far as the river Ozy where he has been.²³ The expedition sent from Zanzibar towards Lake Maravi do not approach nearer than 4 days journey from it.²⁴

[25 June] Fine with shower or two. Immediately after breakfast set out with Captain W.²⁵ down to M'toni, the Imam's place, 3 miles from the town, and near the beach to which there is a stone platform or jetty from the entrance. The vestibule was crowded with idlers

²²Henry C. Arc Angelo spent a decade in East Africa. See his letter of 29 May 1844 in *Colbourn's United Service Magazine* (1845), 127–129, and his "A Rough Sketch of the River Juba," *ibid.*, 278–283 (information supplied by N. R. Bennett).

²³The pastoral Galla during the seventeenth century overran the coast of Kenya. By 1638 they had reached as far south as Kilifi, thirty-seven miles north of Mombasa. The River Ozy is not the lower course of the Tana River, reaching the sea about 150 miles north of Mombasa.

²⁴The caravan of Umar Fumbe, sent out by Sa'id in 1837, returned in 1839. See entry of 11 April 1839, and Bennett and Brooks, *New England Merchants*, 209–210.

²⁵John G. Waters, brother of R. P. Waters, was captain of the *Tigris*, and a frequent visitor to Zanzibar.

and on the two or three steps leading up to the hall of audience divers pairs of sandals were laid, belonging to the numerous visitors then sitting with the Imam. They were as usual to the number of 40 or 50 sitting on chairs along the side walls, draped in the customary turbans and wrappers of cotton, some with round embossed shields or bucklers of rhinoceros hide and the majority with swords. The Imam himself was seated on a chair on a level with the rest in the right corner at the upper end of the hall with Said Kaled his second son and the son of the late governor of Zanzibar of the blood royal on his right. He shook hands and received us with great affability, motioning me to a seat on his left and we conversed for some time on various subjects thro' the medium of an interpreter Abdullah. He was anxious to learn the latest news from England. The hall is paved with squares of marble and lofty, destitute of ornament with the exception of an English painting of the battle of Navarino and another suspended on the walls.²⁶

On leaving his presence we went to see a schooner he is building close to the palace. It has its stern turned towards Mecca in which direction they always place the vessel they build.²⁷ She was on a parallel with the shore and to be launched would have to be laid on her side and towed down to the water by a great number of men. The workmen employed on her only received 4 pence for three days for their labor. They lay but few timbers before they commence with the planking and the others afterwards.

Abdallah. By what I could learn from him the history of Zanzibar is as follows. Formerly the island was populated by the Muahadibo,²⁸ who were dispossessed of it 50 years before the conquest by the Portuguese, by a people from Schiraz. When the Portuguese were driven from the other places on the East coast north of Cape Delgado, the inhabitants on Zanzibar also shook off the yoke of a century and a half since; but being still fearful of the power of the Portuguese, their chiefs delivered it at the same time into the hands of the Imam of Muscat, and Seid Said now received an annual tribute of about \$8000 from the Muahadibo who are in number

²⁶In another account, Gray, *Zanzibar*, 205, states that the picture represented a battle between American and British ships in which the latter were getting the worst of it.

²⁷This practice is not general in Arabia, but it has been reported from India, and Sa'id's workers may have been under Indian direction. See the late eighteenth-century account of Parsons quoted in *Bombay Presidency Gazeteer*, XV.11, 141. See also Leigh's entry of 30 March 1839. The vessel concerned is probably the 10-gun schooner *Nasiri*, the only vessel of Sa'id's fleet built in Zanzibar.

²⁸The Hadimu, the indigenous inhabitants of Zanzibar.

about 10,000.²⁹ Their king or chief Muinhe Meu³⁰ received \$250 which is called a turban for collecting it, besides which he has extensive property in land. Zanzibar contains about 100,000 inhabitants, of which 1000 are Arabs, 2000 to 5000 Soailese, 10,000 Muahadibo, 400 Banyans and the remainder free blacks from Comoro, Johanna, Madagascar etc, and slaves who form the bulk of the population. It is difficult to calculate the number of persons in the town itself, as there is scarcely a street which is straight for 50 yards. The number of dows which arrive in the N.E. monsoon (about 110 in the anchorage at once) to return in the S.W., having on board on an average about 50 men each, materially diminish or increase the population as when here they all live onshore.³¹

On the N.E. of the island the Portuguese buried some treasure some time since leaving inscriptions on the trees to show where it was to be found. Accordingly some has been dug up but there is said to be yet some remaining which from the Arabs not understanding the inscriptions has not yet been found. An Arab found \$2000 there not long ago which was taken by the Imam. The place is called Tchawa.³²

In the intervals of conversation with his Highness this morning he was dictating decisions on causes brought before him to one of his ministers.

The Imam has here now the Shorham, the Piedmontese, Rathmani and Sultan frigates besides 2 at Muscat, 1 corvette and 2 brigs and the Prince Regent yacht which I understand he is anxious to get rid of, having no occasion for her services.³³

The Imam it is said is afraid to return to Muscat, the sons of the brother whom he killed being much in favor with the nation. Halil his eldest son is a bold fellow and some time since told his Father that if he did not give him a province he would win one with his sword. It is generally believed that Zanzibar will fall into the hands of white men

²⁹Leigh's information here and under the entry of 30 June 1838 agrees with the Shirazi tradition found in Arab and Portuguese versions of the history of Kilwa. G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, *The East African Coast* (Oxford, 1962).

³⁰The Mwenyi Mkuu.

³¹Known as Manga Arabs, these visitors, slave traders and kidnappers, caused much disorder during their annual stopovers in Zanzibar.

³²There are many stories of buried treasure in Zanzibar and Pemba, but only the findings of two hoards of coins have been recorded. One, found at Uroa near Chwaka Bay, contained 2000 copper coins of Kilwa and Kilwa type of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. The other contained 176 Chinese cash dating from the seventh to the end of the thirteenth century. Kirkman, *Men and Monuments*, 177. Tchawa may be Chwaka.

³³The ships were: *Shah Alam*, *Piedmontese*, *Rahmani*, *Sultana*. The *Prince Regent*, a present from the British government, was later sold to an Indian prince.

at the Imam's death. He himself says that he merely governs for the English sovereign as the epoch assigned for the duration of Mahometan power ceased some 50 years since.³⁴

Mr Hunt was presented with a fine Arabian by His Highness a short time since which threw him by running the first time he mounted and nearly killed him. Having offered him to me to ride I got on him and mastered him after his attempting by every means in his power to throw me.

[26 June] Fine. Rode about 4 miles into the island, the trees afforded a shade nearly the whole way, principally cocoa-nut and mango with some cashew nut, not much ground cultivated but here and there patches of cassada and calavances, the path lined in some places with palma christi;³⁵ herds of very small humped oxen and cows, driving towards the town; negroes with bananas, plantains etc. on their heads; ground divided into hill and dale, some very pretty little valleys, no animals and few birds to be seen. Horse in returning reared in the waters of the creek which was half up the saddle.

[27 June] Rain all day.

[28 June] Rain and fine. Took a walk some distance in —[sic]

[29 June] Fine. Botanizing etc. Accompanied Thorne and Howard³⁶ to see some civet-cats kept by an Arab for the purpose of extracting the perfume. They were enclosed to the number of twelve in wooden cages and appeared extremely fierce and of large size. The civet is obtained every ten days by scraping the bag with a spoon. They made a hoarse grumbling noise.³⁷

[30 June] Fine. Rode past the Imam's palace at Mtoni. The country very beautiful, probably too luxuriant a vegetation.

Abdullah. The Muahadibo came originally from the mainland and speak nearly the same language as the Soailees who come from Lamo, Patta and the Ozy etc. The Arabs call all the country between the Dundas Islands and the M'jao the Soailese country.³⁸

³⁴Leigh is mistaken concerning Hilal. He had been left nominally in charge of Muscat when Sa'id first came to East Africa in 1828. He was made prisoner in an insurrection and replaced by another brother Thuwain. Later he was brought to Zanzibar. He died in exile in 1851. Sa'id was not afraid to live in Oman, preferring to remain in Zanzibar unless crises called him to Arabia.

³⁵Cassada is cassava; calavances are chick-peas; palma christi is the castor-oil plant.

³⁶Thorne, Newman Hunt's secretary, was Leigh's constant companion; he succeeded Norsworthy as agent in Zanzibar. Howard, a doctor, accompanied Hunt in the *Sandwich*.

³⁷The breeding of civet cats on Pate is mentioned by Rezende in 1634. Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, 181. In Cairo the Arabs scented their beards with musk. E. W. Lane, *Modern Egyptians* (London, 1836), Note 2.

³⁸Lamu and Pate are towns on islands in the Lamu archipelago; Ozi is the name given to the Tana River area on the mainland south of the archipelago. The Dundas Islands are located along the coast north of Lamu, extending nearly as far as Kismayu. By M'jao Leigh

These were the original possessors of the ports taken by the Portuguese and not the Arabs who however drove the Portuguese from them. Zanzibar was not conquered by the people from Schiraz who were Persian but was given up to them in consequence of their munificence. Three brothers came from thence, one of whom went to Keelwa, another to Johanna and the third remained at Zanzibar where he displayed his riches and made considerable presents which occasioned the Muahadibo who before this had no chief, every village being governed by its headman, to present him with the government of the island. He married a Muahadibo girl and by her had a daughter who on his death became governor. She married the chief of a tribe called Lealawe from Aden (The Arabs call all that part of Arabia 'Ushire') who was the ancestor of the Muinhe mcu.³⁹

Mombaca on being evacuated by the Portuguese was governed for sometime by a dependent of the Imam of Muscat, Seif ben Sultan, but on his race failing, Ali ben Othman, then governor refused to acknowledge the authority of Seid Saied's ancestor and from that time till last year when Mombaca was taken the Arabs have been engaged in unceasing warfare with the Imam. Nearly all the people of Mombaca have been sent prisoners to Muscat to be divided amongst the tribes but some have fled to the Wannekahs who are now hostile to all Arabs.⁴⁰

[1 July 1838] Sunday. Beautiful weather. The tide setting to the S. to-day. Remained onboard till 1/2 past 12.

Walked thro' the streets and on the S. side of the town along the beach, had a chase after a wild civet cat.

[2 July] Fine. After dinner walked along the beach to the S. of the

presumably means the country of the Yao in the hinterland behind the southern part of the sultan's coastal dominions.

³⁹The Alawi (Le'alawi) were Arabs, descendants of the Prophet, who settled at many places on the East African coast, notably in the Comoro Islands and at Vumba where they became the ruling families. One of them, Abdulla, was the ruler in the second half of the seventeenth century of Otondo, a state on the mainland opposite Zanzibar. He married Fatuma, the Shirazi ruler of Zanzibar, and was an ancestor of the Mwenyi Mkuu. Ushire is Shihir in the Republic of South Arabia.

⁴⁰Earlier in the year between twenty-five and thirty Mazrui leaders were seized in Fort Jesus and put on board the sultan's brig *Curlew*. Some were thrown overboard on the way to Oman; others died there in prison of starvation. The surviving Mazrui fled to Gazi, south of Mombasa, becoming a minor thorn to the Omani coastal government. The expedition mentioned in the entry of 1 April 1839 was sent to protect Tanga against a force from Gazi sent by Khasa binti Ahmad, sister of the ex-governor of Mombasa. The Mijikenda (Nyika) were not hostile to the Arabs. In the past they had supported the Mazrui, but they became weary of their family quarrels, and were also deterred from opposition to Sa'id by his ability to blockade Mombasa.

town with my large Nfland dog Wolf and Thorne and Howard. Passing thro' the streets before reaching the beach, the people collected in crowds to follow the dog, never having before seen one of such size. The exclamations of surprise uttered as he came in view were very amusing, the 'hehs' and 'ahs' were the most common. Some called out 'here is a lion,' others a 'tiger sheep' etc, but all agreed in getting out of his way. The dog however was as much frightened as they were by the noise they made. We went to the spot where we yesterday saw the civet cat and after beating the bushes for sometime we saw him stealing off round a point, after which we lost sight of him.

At 10 o'clock guided by Abdulla ben Ale nearly all the party went to see a dance or ngoma given by a man of the name of Massoud in a room kept by subscription. On entering we found ourselves in an apartment about 30 feet by ten lighted by a single lamp similar to the Roman sepulchral ones,⁴¹ affixed to the mud wall. The musicians beating 3 tom-toms were to the right across the room, and we were accommodated with chairs opposite to them. In a short time the ladies all black made their appearance, their woolly heads stuck all over with jessamine blossoms, a wrapper from the chest downwards, bracelets of beads on the arms and legs and with buffalo horns in their hands. A few of them took up their position behind the musicians but the majority went overhead on the spars laid across the walls where they remained with their legs hanging down. The place gradually became crowded to excess and to the sound of the horns played by the females, the tomtom (by the males) and a trumpet-like instrument, the giver of the dance and a friend performed in the space of 7 feet square which was left for the purpose. Their dancing merely consisted in different attitudes, stalking silently round after each other and now and then bending low in salutation of the company and particularly of ourselves. The dress of the principal was as usual a cotton shirt and turban round his waist and another cotton garment pendent from it, but from under each side of his Arab cap protruded a bunch of grass. After they had performed for sometime one of the tomtoms was beaten over each of their heads in praise of their performance and then such a noise commenced as it would be impossible for person not a hearer to conceive. The horns, the tomtoms, the voices of the women joined in forming one hideous tremendous hubbub. The former were both played and beaten with sticks by the women who all stood up. The scene consequent on it

⁴¹An open shell-shaped earthenware lamp with spouts, a form going back in the Levant to the Middle Bronze Age; they are found on all sites and in all periods on the East African coast.

would be utterly inimitable on paper. The movement of the arms of the women raised above their heads and of their bodies to keep time with them, which was done both above and below, i.e. on the rafters and ground floor. The compressed mass of men who crowded into the space and went round and round in different attitudes, some with drawn swords, constituted a scene altogether indescribable. After this had ceased 2 performers now and then came forward and at the close of their dance, the scene just mentioned was renewed. Abdallah and Shea Abdallah brother of the late Sultan of Johanna were amongst the dancers; one would have thought they knew better. The former dressed himself in a loose flowing white robe with wide sleeves.

There was also a fellow dressed in a hat and soldier's feather, a coat and white trousers and a cotton frock to his knees. Altogether it was one of the most barbarous scenes I ever witnessed. However this simple people seemed to enjoy themselves amazingly but half the dancers never smiled during their task.

Cooped up as we were and deafened by the tremendous uproar worse than the confusion of Babel we were glad to retire but with aching heads and almost stifled with the heat and smell. They kept it up all night.

At 4 o'clock tomorrow morning a circumcision is to take place at which they feast and dance.

[3 July] Fine and very warm. In the afternoon walked with Thorne through the very narrow and dirty streets; the greater part of the houses forming which are on the ground floor formed with mud, thatched with palm branches. Before most of them is a patch of raised ground or balcony on which provisions are displayed for sale, consisting of pieces of sharks' flesh dried as also other fish, fruits such as bananas, oranges, papais etc., betel nuts, mahogo or cassada, sweet potatoes etc. as well as beads and other small articles, but there are shops for hardware etc. Here and there you stumble on a blacksmith's forge, the bellows for which are formed of two goat-skins, the air from the opening and pressing of which passed thro' one aperture as each is used alternately. In one place 2 camels or dromedaries (one hump) blindfold were employed in turning a machine for pressing oil from the simsim pods, while two others were standing by to relieve them.

On emerging from the town we fell upon a pottery where numbers of earthenware vessels were hardening in fire in which none but women were employed. We then crossed at low water a creek which when the tide is up nearly forms an island of the town. The plain is covered in many places when water reaches it with a plant like

samphire.⁴² The lanes in this direction were very pretty and bordered by neatly clipped fences. We went into the enclosure of a shamba or country house belonging to a Banyan where there were a great many of the small humped cattle peculiar to Zanzibar and Pemba.

[4 July] Fine. A terrible headache all day and did not leave the house.

[5 July] Fine. Preparations for starting tomorrow on an excursion to the south end of the island.

[6 July] Onshore by 7. After breakfast started fully equipped for an excursion to the lands of Mwene mchu, chief of the Muahadimo, on asses forming a cavalcade of 5 Europeans and 10 Arabs, Soailese etc. mounted and several on foot. The asses we found to be active and hardy and carried us without flagging. They were of a small breed. Mwene mchu himself could not go with us being ill but he sent his head-slave to whom he delegated all his authority to provide us with every necessary. Like most hirelings this man abused the trust placed in him and obliged several poor fellows, dependents on Mwene mchu, to return home with bundles of coir rope and fowls which they were going to sell in the towns, pretending that they were necessary for us. There were no weapons offensive or defensive amongst us with the exception of a fowling piece which I carried, as there is nothing whatever to be apprehended from the inhabitants of the island who altho' of different races are uniformly a quiet and inoffensive set.

There was a heavy dew when we set off but this was soon dried by a powerful sun. The path in most places was only sufficiently broad for one of us at a time. It lay at first in an E. by S.E. and afterwards a S. Easterly direction, fenced now and then by hedges of a thorny plant called 'mpira' from which coutchou is extracted. Mangoes, huts, cocoa-nut trees, interspersed with plots of cassada, ground calavances, Guinea corn, bananas etc. Country generally level or gently undulated. For the first two or three miles well-wooded, but afterwards plains covered with long grass intervened, affording good shelter to wild hares, guinea fowl and civet-cats which abound as well as other small animals. Soil, light sandy loam, now and then brown earth with but a slight mixture of sand. No stone but coral rock protruding with sharp points from the surface. Here and there in the trees were logs of wood perforated for bee hives and from which the bees were swarming. The Guinea corn which appears to grow well in a stony soil was very high, say 9 or 10 feet and nearly ripe. Some was already pulled up by the roots and laid on the ground to

⁴²*Salicornia herbacea*, an aromatic plant with fleshy leaves used in pickles.

dry, previous to cutting off the ears. In one place the paddy had been cut; some negroes were observed gleaning the fallen ears. Passed the head of a deep bay where mangroves as usual abounded and reached a shamba or country house belonging to Mwene mchu's people at 1/2 past 3. (We tiffed at Bunja, a shamba belonging to an Arab.) From here the donkeys were led and we walked down to a bay which we had to cross in a small dhow, passing by the ruins of a Portuguese house and church, the four walls of which were standing. Close to it are two small enclosures of stone with outlets the use of which we could not conjecture.⁴³ The Portuguese have left inscriptions on their buildings in other parts of the island but here we searched for them in vain. To get into the dhow we had to go thro' some mangroves in which however there was a passage, and as the water was some 3 feet deep and muddy we were carried on bedsteads raised on men's shoulders. On the mangroves we found numbers of small and beautiful land shells. The bay was about 1/2 mile across and running in a N.E. direction and very shallow. On the other side were an immense number of cranes of different colors, curlew and gulls. Half an hour's walk over a very rough ground brought us to Oozy, Mwene mchu's town, a pretty considerable assemblage of huts, the only building of stone being a mosque of small size, like a barn. The huts were very prettily situated amongst clumps of cocoa-nut and mango trees beside which the areca or betel-nut tree rose with its slender stem and handsome tuft. Everything appeared neat and clean about the place. The spaces between the huts being swept probably on the occasion of our coming. In the vicinity were some sweet potatoes also cultivated with a great degree of neatness and fenced with the shrub producing castor-oil. All the women ran away on our approach, few having before seen a white man but by the men we were treated with the greatest civility.

Oozy is an island at high water being connected with Zanzibar only by a mangrove swamp. This and a great deal of the land in the neighbourhood is termed Ungouia Ocu or Higher Zanzibar.⁴⁴ We walked to the other side after our arrival.

We reached Oozy at 6 and after the above mentioned walk betook ourselves to rest in a hut, the door of which was extremely low, built of mud and thatched with palm branches, each on a *quitanda* or

⁴³It is most unlikely that there was a Portuguese settlement at Oozi, the site of the old capital, Unguja Ukuu. The small enclosures of stone with openings are probably cemeteries. Similar enclosures, with low walls, are to be seen at al Famau, near the mouth of Mkunumbi Creek on the mainland south of Lamu, and at other sites.

⁴⁴Unguja Ukuu is better translated as Great Zanzibar. Ukuu has the meaning of superior. The principal street of old Mombasa is called Ndia Kuu, which can be exactly translated High Street or Main Street.

bedstead, pushed a little from the wall to prevent centipedes and other reptiles crawling on them. After an uncomfortable night we rose at 6 and retracing our steps went to the shore of the bay we had crossed yesterday which was now dry. Here we commenced a search for shells amongst the coral reefs and small cowries were abundant but there were not many shells of other species. The polyps and other marine substances were extremely beautiful. Under two or three large stones I found snakes of about a foot in length and different colors.

The rocks along the whole extent of shore were undermined by the waves and projected many feet presenting an extremely singular appearance when viewed in a straight line like the section of a tunnel. The tide having risen very rapidly we returned to the point from which we started on a small dow, pointed at each end, sharp bottomed and fastened with rope made from the husk of the cocoa-nut; the sail was a square mat.⁴⁵

The butterflies here are very beautiful but not abundant, and other insects are scarce, not one mosquito did we see, greatly to our satisfaction. Some large spiders were the only insects that annoyed us.

In the afternoon hearing that there were wild boars in the neighbourhood we set out to look for one. Being the only one who carried a gun I followed my guide under the brushwood almost on my hands and knees for some distance when I heard a grunt near me, a rustling amongst the bushes, but I didn't see the animal. I then thought it time to return to the party having however seen an enormous *buyo* tree at least 80 feet in circumference, formed of a great number of trunks growing together.⁴⁶ A large monkey was leaping from branch to branch and some green parrots chattering amongst the leaves. I saw few other birds. The *buyo* tree had a hole in the side showing the hollow of the trunk in which was a beehive. These trees produce very large pods used by the natives as buckets to draw their water.

We continued our walk under the trees, the other side of the island, near which we saw a great number of monkeys jumping from tree to tree taking enormous leaps to get out of our reach. Here was also an old simple-looking man who pretended to be a fortune-teller. He strewed a small board with sand and Mr H. wishing to try him asked when the vessel he was expecting should arrive. After writing the sense on the sand and making various figures he replied that she

⁴⁵ A type of sewn boat known as *mtepe*. See the illustration in M. Guillain, *Documents sur l'histoire, la géographie et le commerce de l'Afrique orientale* (Paris, 1856), II, 52.

⁴⁶ *Adansonia digitata*, the baobab or calabash tree.

would be here on the 1st or 2nd next month, which as they calculated by moons will be in about a fortnight. A consideration was given to him and we returned to our hut near which we met with another conjurer who was rather more modest than the first, and on the same question being put to him said that the sand might make a mistake but that he would give an answer to the best of his ability. And this was that she would arrive on a Sunday this month, bring a large cargo and have a very rich man on board. This was a singular coincidence with what was foretold Mr H. by one at the town who told him that he had a brother who would come in her.

Mwene's men told Mr H. that he had 15,000 subjects, each of whom paid Seid Sayed 1/2 dollar a month. His place is about 20 miles distant from Zanzibar town.

[8 July] Sunday. After another uncomfortable night, breakfasted on our usual fare of chicken, eggs, tea, and biscuits and set out to return to Zanzibar, walked to the edge of the reef and embarked in a large dhow but without a deck. It rained hard till we got on board and we were drenched but there we changed. With proper precautions I think no danger is to be apprehended here. We passed a great number of islands amongst which were Kwaly, Chumve, Miwe, Namembe, Mahua, Pungume, Groue, Primoue, a perfect archipelago, and reached the town in 5 hours.⁴⁷

Found that the house had had a narrow escape, that next to it having been burnt in our absence.

My shooting jacket fell down when I took it off and out of the pocket crawled a small snake to my amazement; when it got in I know not. I do not think it was venomous, Angelo having been bitten by one like it but without feeling any bad effect from it. It was killed immediately.

[9 July] Fine. Walked in the evening to the outskirts.

[10 July] Fine. In a house near us preparations were making for a wedding between a young Arab and a daughter of the governor of Pangani.⁴⁸ The bridegroom presents his bride with a sum of money (in this instance \$200) and she receives presents from her father.⁴⁹ For a week previous to the wedding, rice and meat are sent by the bride's friends to their acquaintances who also assemble to feast in the house. We received today a large dish of rice, prepared with raisins, spices etc. and a boiled leg of goat. A large party of Arabs

⁴⁷Kwaly is usually written Kwale, Chumve as Chumbe, and Groue as Nguwu.

⁴⁸A settlement on the mainland near Tanga.

⁴⁹Maria Theresa dollars, the most acceptable coins on the coast; \$100 were worth 214 rupees. Nicholls, *Swahili Coast*, 364.

were assembled near the house in a circle, each with his long sword, which he shook with a tremulous motion, and many of them with bucklers of rhinoceros-hide. Two of them now and then jumped into the middle of the ring and jumped about with great agility, clashing their swords together, and then retiring, and an old man also armed paraded round, reciting the history of the wars of his tribe. He stopped now and then, uttering a loud shriek to which all responded in chorus. During this which lasted about an hour women and slaves at the top of the bride's house were sprinkling them with rice and ground cocoa-nut. The bridegroom is to come to the lady on Friday. This being the 4th day of preparation, a week is the usual time.

[11 July] Fine. The Arab dancing was continued near us.

[12 July] Fine. The women at the bride's house continued making a great noise the whole day singing in chorus on top of the house.

Captain Butler,⁵⁰ owner of a small schooner from the Seychelles arrived today from the country where he had been trying to make sugar and succeeded. The Imam has a sugar plantation 20 miles distant. The negroes working on it are subject to the same disorder as chimney sweeps.⁵¹

[13 July] Fine. Walked with Thorne and Capt. Waters. The dancing and singing for the wedding continued.

[14 July] Fine. High water, landing very bad, beach being covered with filth and heaps of rubbish and stones to be surmounted before getting into the street. This is the case nearly all along the shore with the exception of the species of wharf at the customs house.

A floor is being added to a house opposite ours, the ground floor of which has been finished sometime and used as a store. The materials of the walls, the coral or madrepor found in the island and mortar not cemented with hair, so that it is not very durable and the houses soon crumble. Women slaves were employed in carrying up the mortar, and men were building.

[15 July] Sunday. Gloomy the greater part of the day. On getting on deck after breakfast we found the vessels and customs-house with flags flying to notify the approach of a vessel. We were all on the *quivive* supposing it to be one of ours but it proved to be the Curlew, schooner-of-war belonging to his Highness from Bombay, who took the Mombas chiefs in irons to Bender Abbas, and a cargo of cloves and other articles to Bombay. The former sold for 18 rupees for 42 lbs., a Surat *maun*. Mr Sleeman,⁵² the master, brought news that

⁵⁰He assisted Sa'id on his sugar plantations.

⁵¹Apparently they suffered from a form of silicosis.

⁵²William Sleeman, a former Royal Navy captain.

Captain Cogan⁵³ was on his way out in a steamer sent by the Queen to negotiate a treaty with the Imam, also the Russians had come near Bushire and English troops had been sent up to oppose them.⁵⁴

Accompanied Howard to see one of his patients Salem ben Saleh, a relation of Seid Seid's and another sick man living with him. We were admitted into a walled space, lined with huts for slaves and other purposes and in which were planted a few vines, pomegranates, fig and orange trees, everything neater than usual. The house was like the others, partitioned into small rooms, piazzas etc. The invalid was lying in one of them on a *quitanda* or bedstead, the foot of which was higher than the head, and he was a miserable object, nothing but skin and bone. The shelves were covered with china and ornamented glass ware, and the walls with looking glasses, swords and guns and other weapons. On the floor was a small square Turkey carpet, surmounted by a thin mattress on which Abdallah our interpreter and Salem ben Saleh seated themselves. We were accommodated with chairs. After some conversation between Howard and the invalid we departed.

With Mr H. and Howard to Jiram's⁵⁵ the Banian who farms the duties, also on a sick bed. His stay on which has been prolonged by his faith in fortune tellers who prognosticate to him when he is to [be] well or ill and frequently render the people really ill. He had a quantity of ivory under his bed, the ruling passion strong in sickness.

To the palace building, marble floor, rooms for concubines, halls of audience, open spaces, carved wood-work, baths etc., gallery, fine wood, winches smeared with ghee, carved windows, Indian workmen.

With T. and H. into the country, a long walk.

Dreadful headache.

[16 July] Sun partially clouded the greater part of the day and weather pleasant. Mr. H., H., T. and myself sailed down to Mtone after breakfast in the two boats with the intention of visiting His Highness' Shamba or country house.⁵⁶ We found three horses and a mule standing ready and saddled for us provided by His Highness

⁵³Robert Cogan, formerly of the Bombay Marine, took Sa'id's ship *Liverpool* to England in 1837; he returned with the treaty in 1839. Later he had unsuccessful commercial interests in sugar and guano; he left Zanzibar in 1847.

⁵⁴The treaty dealt with commercial matters and provided for the appointment of a British consul. The Russians never approached Bushire, although they had encouraged the Persian government to attack Herat.

⁵⁵Jairam Sewji of Kutch, one of the wealthiest men in Zanzibar, farmed the customs from 1834 to 1853.

⁵⁶Probably Kizimbani where the first cloves in Zanzibar had been planted around 1818 by Salih bin Haramli al Abri.

with whom we took coffee and sherbet. The horses, Arabian, in very bad condition. Two Arabs were sent with us to show the way and we started from the palace at 1/4 past 9., reaching the shamba at 1/2 past 10. The distance being about 5 miles in a N. Easterly direction. The road at first along the sands till it turned in and proceeded by a broad path, generally smooth lined with fences of croton bushes. The valleys were very beautiful but the vegetation is too rank. The highest land we ascended and which appears to be as high as any in the island is about 300 to 400 feet in height.

His Highness country house is a square building in a walled enclosure in which are a few vines and nutmeg trees, the fruit on the last was nearly ripe. There is a court in the middle which the apartments, 5 in number, 4 small and one larger surround and underneath are empty vaults or passages level with the ground and open. The dining room is ornamented with mirrors and glass and china ware. Here we were served with a dinner sent from the palace, consisting of a whole sheep boiled or stewed to rags, curds, sweets of different kinds, rice-bread, sherbet and bananas, no vegetables and everything greasy but in abundance. We dined alone and after us the Arabs who accompanied us and the steward of the estate fell to and demolished the remainder. They eat enormously.

The principal article cultivated is cloves of which there are nearly 300,000 trees old and young and just planted. They are placed in rows so as to admit a fresh current of air, and generally on an inclined plain. But the trees are mostly suffered to waste their strength in the lower branches instead of being cut close to the trunk to the height of six or seven feet which would occasion a larger crop of fruit above. The young ones are planted alternately with plantains which afford a shade and moisture to the tender shoots. The soil appears to be clayey. They are only now beginning to get ripe enough to be picked. The usual time is in August to September and some as late as October but they pick them here too soon before they are ripe. Cloves require moisture, therefore the earth is banked up near the roots to retain it. The bottom of the valleys in the raining season are [sic] covered with water and navigated in canoes. The cloves are picked on stands of wood ten or twelve feet high and dried on mats on flat pieces of ground for the purpose. Among the trees were some very enormous spiders, the eggs of which were wrapped in a covering of the color and texture of silk.

Besides the cloves there were some cocoa-nut trees (most of them however had been cut down to make room for the cloves) and a little paddy. The tents of the slaves employed on the estates were surrounded with papoys, bananas and custard apple trees.

We set out on our return at 1/2 past 3 and passed thro' some shambas lately bought by the Imam from his subjects for the purpose of planting with cloves. On one of them are some immature trees. From the top of a hill which was bare of trees we had a beautiful view of the town, Mtone and the numerous islands. We crossed several streams of clear water. The road as usual lined with patches of ground sown and planted with calavances, manioc, paddy etc.

Again saw His Highness on our return to tell him how we liked our excursion. All the party with the exception of myself walked home from Mtone but I went on board the Sandwich in a boat.

On the top of His Highness' country house is an octagonal platform roofed with wood where His Highness retires after meals and from which there is a beautiful view of the whole estate.

[17 July] Fine. Rode on the sands towards the Southward in the evening. Met Hamees who told me that the Mjao arrive at Keelwa at the end of August and leave it in about three weeks.⁵⁷ Three or four dollars worth of presents to the chiefs of each village would ensure a safe passage and a good reception on the road to the lake. Mr. N lent me a chart to copy which he had formed from the representations of persons who have visited it.

Preparations for starting for Pemba tomorrow.

[18 July] Fine. Started at 1 for Pemba with the wind aft. His Highness hoisted the flag at Mtone as we passed. We continued our course at a short distance from the shore till about 4 when being near the North end of the island and near Tumbat where there is anchorage the Captain tried for soundings in order to find a place to anchor but it was 9 o'clock before he succeeded.⁵⁸ In the meantime we were disappointed of going ashore here which we had anticipated. There was a great uproar today at the town in consequence of one of the judges having put Selim, the American consul's servant, into prison for having as alleged defrauded another servant whom Mr Waters discharged of a dollar of his wages. For this insult to the flag and flagrant violation of the treaty existing between the United States and the Imam, Mr. Waters swore vengeance dire and altho' an order was immy [sic] given for Selim's liberation he would not

⁵⁷The Yao were then one of the principal groups engaged in the trade between the interior and the coast. Kilwa was once one of the largest, if not the largest town on the Swahili coast. Leigh had noticed on his visit to Kilwa that it was being superceded by Kilwa Kisiwani, fifteen miles up the coast.

⁵⁸Tumbatu is an island off the north-west coast of Zanzibar; the Tumbatu also occupied territory on the main island. It appears never to have been part of the dominions of the Shirazi sultan of Zanzibar.

accept it and said he would allow him to remain there till the arrival of an American frigate shortly expected.

[Leigh and his party reached Pemba on the following day.]

[19 July] Fine. The wind being light the greater part of the day we did not get on as fast as we could wish and it was 4 o'clock when we came to an anchor at Pemba in Port Chak-chak in 10 fathoms.⁵⁹ The island from hence appeared to be much wooded and the tongue of land which runs to the westward being covered here and there with tall palms and other trees was very picturesque. Mesal Island the shore of which appears steep is some little distance from the end of this. Two or three dows were sailing out to the northward as we entered.

At half past 4 I myself went straight onshore from the vessel accompanied by Shea Abdullah as interpreter. We landed at a small opening in the mangroves which line the shore on the long tongue; after proceeding a short way we came to a paddy field where the paddy was nearly ripe and 5 feet high. Two men were there but when they saw us they ran away at full speed leaving a large calf tied which, when we passed it, rushed out to the end of the rope which confined it at Roper, one of the boat's crew, and broke the rope nearly overturning him. The trees we saw most numerous were a species of palm tree called in Madagascar *morcandane*, in Soailee *mvumo*, which produced a fruit but it is no use; here it grows to a great height. There was also another species the *nda* of which their mats are made; in Zanzibar it is called *oquindo*, and *mtondo* a hard wood which is made into beams and masts for dows.⁶⁰ The paddy fields extended for some distance along the shore. Having sent Shea Abdullah and his black servant in front we succeeded in getting an old native as a guide. This man was a descendent of the original possessors of the island. We followed him along a plain perfectly flat on which were herded in neatly fenced enclosures a number of calves. The soil was light and sandy. The prospect was lovely. On some of the trees were perched several birds of the vulture species apparently; mangoes, *mzabarao* and cashew nut trees were numerous.⁶¹ The plain was terminated by hills of slight elevation covered with cocoa-nut trees, bananas etc. The tongue of land is

⁵⁹Chake Chake was one of the principal settlements on Pemba. The *Sandwich* anchored some way from the town, probably on the north side of the peninsula of Ras Mkumbuu in the bay, called Port Cockburn, where there would be protection from the south-west monsoon.

⁶⁰*Mvumo* is the *Borassus flabillifora*, the Palmyra palm which is tapped for toddy. *Nda/oquindo*, actually *mkindu*, *Phoenix reclinata*, the wild *mtondo* is the *Calophyllum inophyllum*, a large tree with fruit, rich in medicinal oil. The trunk is used for masts of dhows.

⁶¹*Mzambarao* is the *Syzygium jambolanum*, the Java plum tree, with edible fruit like a damson.

very narrow but every nick is apparently cultivated. Our guide led us up to a village called Ndagoni (the peninsula is called Mchangany) where there were a number of well-constructed huts.⁶² We succeeded in getting 40 cocoa-nuts for which we paid a 1/4 dollar; the usual price is 200, but these people always make a point of cheating the white man. We saw the sea on the other side from this village. When the cows came in from their pastures we got some milk and then passing through a field of ground-peas returned on-board.

Pemba is between 4° 52' and 5° 30' south latitude and 39° 53' and 39° 48' east longitude. Shea Abdullah. Pemba was originally possessed by the same race as the Muahadimo and shared the fate of Mombas till it was taken from Mouborouk, 15 years since by Seid Sayed.⁶³ Seid Sayed murdered his uncle 35 years since and took Lamu and Patta about 25 years ago.

[20 July] Fine. After an early breakfast went on the point shelling but found few. Messrs H. and T. went up to the town and I onshore by myself where we landed yesterday.

[21 July] Fine. Messrs H. T. and H. and myself walked over to Port Cockburn, shelling but found few. The people pestered us by going wherever we went. A small bullock was purchased for ½ dollar.

[22 July] Sunday. Set out up to the town of Chak-chak in 2 boats. Scenery very beautiful, water very smooth, shore mostly lined with mangroves. An hour rowing and sailing took us to the foot of the hill on which the fort, built by the Mombasans stands. Dows are built in a small dock at the bottom. We ascended to the house of Dunjee, a Banyan and afterwards to the fort. The Governor a venerable Arab was seated outside on a stone bench surrounded by his sons, all middle-aged men. He sent with us his sons to take a walk and we passed through the town which is not very extensive. It is difficult to ascertain the number of inhabitants. The whole island is said to contain nearly 100,000.⁶⁴ The houses (there were none here of stone) were much cleaner and better constructed than those of the same class at Zanzibar. The path after leaving the town overlooked some very beautiful valleys of sugar cane, etc. We stopped at a sugar mill belonging to the Governor but here only sugar enough is made for his own consumption, as is the case with all the rest who have

⁶²Ndagoni is a large village on a flat-topped hill, possibly the site of a much older settlement. Coins of the Roman Emperor Constantine I (306–337) in the Zanzibar Museum are said to have come from the Ndagoni area.

⁶³Mbarak bin Ahmad al Mazrui made two unsuccessful attempts, in 1822 and 1823, to recover Chake Chake and Pemba from the Omani.

⁶⁴This figure seems too high. If Zanzibar had 70,000 inhabitants, Pemba had about 50,000.

them, instead of making enough for the consumption of the island. It is imported from Bombay and Mauritius, also lately from Batavia, in His Highness' vessel. We had some sugar cane and cocoa-nuts here. The soil was very black. We could not see the sea on the other side of the island. On our return the Governor presented us with 4 bullocks and plenty of fruit, and we then sat down to an Arab dinner. After we had done the boats' crews were sent for to do the same. We were most hospitably treated. Bombax trees.⁶⁵ Got back at ½ past 6. [23 July] Fine. Started at 8 in both boats, T., H. and myself in the jolly boat to Mesal Island and Mr H. and the Captain to one to the northwards. We landed on a reef at low water and remained there until the water began to flow, collecting some pretty good shells, returning on board by 1. After dinner went onshore at the usual place.

[24 July] Fine. Left at 8 in the jolly boat (Mr. H., H., J. and myself) for Chak-chak, the tide was ebbing fast and we had to walk some distance on the mud. Called first at Dunjee's where we stayed but a few minutes, as our intention was to reach the other side of the island in time for shelling, it being low water at 12, but courtesy required our calling on the Governor previous to starting. He was seated under a sort of shed apart from the Fort and there we remained, Mr. H. not being able to persuade him to allow us to go on our expedition to the other side till we had taken something to eat, much to our annoyance. As however he persisted in it, we were obliged to acquiesce, so as not to offend him, completely damping all our hopes of success. We were then ushered up as before into his old apartment where a large dish of rice and curry, fowls and rice-bread were set before us of which we found ourselves obliged, *malgre nous*, to partake without knives or forks, spoons being the only utensils on the table besides plates, no salt. Having thus been unreasonably retarded, we set out at a qtr past ten, guided by an Arab sent by the Governor, and went up hill and down dale, following each other in line, the path being only wide enough for one. Our course lay through fields of paddy mostly but sometimes through jungle. Many *morcandane* trees, some few tamarinds, fruit trees surrounded the huts. Crossed the rive Goozomoiáne on a beam about forty feet in length with the sharp edge of one of the corners uppermost and very slippery, however a long spar formed a kind of balustrade to hold by. The people in some places were cutting the paddy, only taking off the ears. At 1 we reached the other side of the island, our course

⁶⁵*Eriodendron anfractuosum*, the silk-cotton or kapok tree. The cotton is used for stuffing cushions.

being so far from straight (the island being only 2 to 3 miles across from the head of the creek near the town) that we had taken 2½ hours to accomplish it. We reached a cove, the only one for some miles, the cliffs overhanging some feet all along the east coast, beyond which is a terrific line of breakers. Having arrived so late we could get no shells, but it appeared to be a good place for them. After resting there an hour we returned and again were regaled at the Governor's in the same way. We had travelled not less than 20 miles there and back, the name of the place we reached is Mcomani. Got on board again by 7.⁶⁶

[25 July] Showery. Again on-shore on the point at low water, shelling. The beach here consists of black mud and sand, with here and there, causeways of blocks of flattish coral under which the larger cowries, small murices, horse conches and other small shells were generally found. The large murices, spiders and money cowries adhering-to and half buried amongst the seaweed on the mud. The sea-wings with their smaller ends sunk deep in the mud.

The natives lay down fishing baskets, somewhat similar to those in which lobsters are caught and here and there fishing stakes. Today they had been beforehand with us with the shells and brought for sale a great number of spiders and murices, asking high prices for them.

In the evening some of the party went on shore and shot a widgeon.

[26 July] Fine. After breakfast T., H., and myself went on-shore, H. and myself with guns to look for teal. There was much swamp and marshy ground where the natives told us they abounded. I separated from the others and went through paddy where the water was knee-deep but saw none. H. shot a curlew or ibis, black gold and green. T. was about to pick him up when a native seized the bird and claimed a quarter of a dollar for it, which put T. in a great rage. They found some very beautiful shells of quite a new species. In the afternoon they and Mr. H. went on shore again and shot a couple of teal, I remained on-board.

[27 July] Fine. Started at 8 in the gig with Mr. H. and T. for Chak-Chak, the tide ebbing. The head of the bay is divided into islands of mangrove trees the roots of which are covered at high water; they are several feet above ground. Passed a number of large kingfishers and a crane or two, all very tame, having no doubt been undisturbed by firearms for a considerable period. It would be rather difficult for a

⁶⁶There are no rivers in Pemba. I have been unable to check the names of the two streams mentioned. Mcomani is a common place name.

person unacquainted with the navigation of the channels between these islands to find his way through the intricate labyrinth up to the town. Our object in coming up now was to take leave of the Governor, previous to our departure, and to walk to a Portuguese ruin, said to exist at a short distance from the town and on which it was reported there was an inscription. We got up just in time to avoid being left on a shoal by the tide and proceeded forthwith to Dunjee's, a Banyan, who has been putting some hundreds of Pemba hides on board the Sandwich at the rate of \$4 per corja of 20. They are very small not averaging more than 5 to 6 lbs. each. Some beeswax was offered today to Mr. T. for \$4 per frazileh or 35 lbs. No very great quantity however could be got here.

We found Dunjee seated as usual cross-legged on a *quitanda* or bedstead on the stoop outside his mud hut, dressed only from the waist downwards, which was tied round with a cotton garment falling to the calf. It is particularly disgusting to see these men, nearly naked as they are, of a color not much darker than ours but extremely sallow. Their heads are shaved with the exception of a round tuft on the crown from the middle of which the hair is suffered to grow long. This is their indoor costume. When out they wear a cotton surtout besides their lower garment and on their heads a tiara of red stuff with a protuberance in front similar to a rhinoceros horn in miniature. The Banyans transact the greater part of the business both here and at Zanzibar, the Arabs generally considering it beneath them to work, besides their not having heads for business. Thus it is that the customs are farmed by Banyans who also usurp nearly all the trades on the opposite main. Dunjee produced 5 or 6 watches for us to put in order, he being ignorant how to wind them up properly; likewise a clock of American manufacture rather too frail a machine to be placed in a Banyan's house, the greater part of which is generally blocked with goods.

From Dunjee's we proceeded to the old Governor's who having perceived that we were offended the other day by his superfluous civilities had not prepared anything for us before our expedition but promised us a repast on our return from it, in which was showed a delicacy we should not have expected. He was seated just within the fort, which is constructed of very weak materials like all Arab edifices. A single discharge of its own cannon would in all probability shake the walls to pieces. It is of a square figure with two round and two square towers at the corners which are thatched with cocoa-nut branches. The gates are of a very hard wood and thick with knobs of iron; in one of the folding doors, a smaller one 3 feet by

18 inches was cut. By this we were admitted into the vestibule, the walls of which were hung with matchlocks and a few flint-locks, muskets and two large drums. An open court was beyond this with a few bananas planted in it which extended to the towers.⁶⁷

The same guide, Ben Nasser, who accompanied us the other day was sent with us by the Governor. Our course was now generally S. E. up hill and down dale thro' paddy fields in some of which the natives were cutting it, *morcandane* trees and many other wild forest shrubs etc., few birds and no animals. The first stopping place was our guide's house which he showed us with great complacency. It was however a very neat and clean habitation, surrounded by mango trees, bananas, papai trees etc. He brought out some coconuts, oranges of rather bitter flavour, sugar cane and a dish of green rice which is flattened out and then dried, very palatable. After partaking of these we proceeded, now and then crossing a brook of clear water and once a pretty river, the Quima, over which a cocoa-nut tree was thrown as a bridge. It was then low water and the bridge was then suspended 6 or 7 feet above the surface of the water, but on our return, the tide having risen, it touched the underside of the tree and would soon cover it. On each side of this river was a mangrove swamp but of small extent. On the other side was a plain on which some of the very small cattle of these islands were grazing. Near it was a large pond covered with teal. At the extremity was a thick and tangled extent of bush into which we followed our guide and the several idlers who had accompanied us, when suddenly found ourselves midst ruins of great solidity. The walls were very thick; they covered a great extent of ground, how much we could not see, the bush was so thick. There was a staircase of stone and lime, niches in many of the walls, like those in which Catholics place their saints, windows, arches, pillars of the same material, small stones and plaster etc. We could not determine what people had built this town, for town undoubtedly it was. The pillars had the appearance of those in the Arab mosques and there was a deep well in the neighbourhood which is also their usual concomitant. Some of the people from the vicinity said it was built by the tribe from Schiraz, indeed it had every appearance of being of anterior date to the Portuguese. They also said that there was a tunnel close by in which canoes might come up to the fort which had existed. There were

⁶⁷The fort was built by the Mazrui governor of Pemba at some time after 1741, the year the Mazrui took possession of the island. Part of it was demolished when a hospital was built, but the perimeter around the remainder was restored; it was used as a barracks for police.

evidently walls to the town and outside some tokens of a moat. We heard the sea close to us and were informed that there is a bay on the other side with a sufficient depth of water to float large vessels. Unfortunately we had not time to explore the ruins further or to go to the beach.⁶⁸

On our return we stopped at the shamba of an old Arab, who on our passing by before, had most hospitably invited us to do so, and were served with curried rice in a large bowl. There were no spoons but small pieces of the leaf of the *mduma* were placed before us to be used as such. They were very ingeniously but simply constructed. We three eat out of the same dish with these primitive spoons, sitting on a *quitanda* on each side of another of the same height, placed in the middle. Next time, Shea Abdullah our guide, and the others all dipped their hands into a similar dish which had the further seasoning of some curds and butter. Their mode of disposing of the rice was to roll it into a large ball in their hands, then opening their mouths to their utmost extent stuffed them in, cutting off any grains which might remain outside with their fingers and wiping them on the *quitanda*. A similar dish was placed before the boys of the house who crammed it in as fast as they could. We observed near this a species of aloe called *mchungue*, from the fibres of which twine for fishing is made.⁶⁹ On reaching the fort after our fatiguing walk of about 18 miles,⁷⁰ having occupied 4½ hours in walking to the ruins and back exclusive of stoppages, we were ushered up as usual and made another meal on curried rice and fowl, and then after the sailors had demolished the remainder, we took our leave, thanking the Governor for his real hospitality. We reached the Sandwich at ½ past 8.

[28 July] Calm the greater part of the day and fine. Cleaning shells; the mode we have adopted as most likely to preserve their colors is to bury them in sand till they rot and then wash them clean in salt water, scrubbing them afterwards with a small brush and soap and fresh water. The cockles and other bivalves are generally in a state to clean in 2 or 3 days but univalves take a fortnight or three weeks to rot with the exception of harps and a few others.

Mr. H. being desirous of making experiments with the fruit of the *myumo* tree to find out whether it is from it that palm oil is made, T. and H. went on shore to fell a tree to get at the fruit. This they did

⁶⁸This is the site known as Pujimi.

⁶⁹*Mduma*, or *Hyphaene thebaica*, the doum palm. *Mchungue*, probably *Mkonge*, *Sansevieria* *spp.* It is not an aloe; the fiber is used for making bow-strings. Personal communication, C. Kabuye and P. Bally.

⁷⁰The actual distance covered could not have been more than about fourteen miles.

without any opposition being offered by the natives; the only use they make of it being, that they throw it in a heap into a hole where each fruit puts forth a root at the ends of this is a bulb which they eat. They throw them in together for the convenience of digging up the roots at once. The tree they felled was 75 feet in height up to the bottom of the leaves and in a cluster of these was a small green frog, a wonderful height for such an animal to be found. They brought on board a great quantity of the fruit and some of the leaves for brooms. The latter are fan-shaped and from the young ones good hats might be made. The fall of such an enormous tree they said was magnificent, the noise thereof resounded far and wide.

Preparations for returning to Zanzibar tomorrow.

[29 July] Sunday. Mr. H., T. and H. went onshore early to cut down another palm tree, which measured 85 feet in height to the bottom of the branches.

[On the 29th the party returned to Zanzibar.]

At 10 A.M. sailed with a favorable slant from S.S.E. for Zanzibar. There was a strong current against us for some way to the southward of Pemba but we made head against it and it gradually lessened in force. We never lost sight of land, the land of Zanzibar rising as that of Pemba sunk, and having always Fungales mountains⁷¹ and the high land of Pangany on the main in view. We also saw the island of Maqewy. Anchored at ½ past 1 near Bubooboo. [30 July] Rain till 8. Fine afterwards. Wind Southerly. Beat up to our anchorage at Zanzibar by 12. Found all well. The Rolha⁷² gone, Butler's schooner the Voyageur sailed to-day, he ill of fever. The Kite arrived on the 28th from Mozambique etc. Captain Newbery⁷³ had landed on Lathom's Island⁷⁴ and got some eggs and birds. Raphael⁷⁵ at Mozambique had sailed for Rios leaving his creditors. [31 July] Fine. Had one of the narrowest escapes I ever met with. At ½ past 4 P.M. I mounted Mr H's horse, a fiery Arab, to take a quiet ride for the sake of exercise. He went very quietly thro' the streets to the creek to the North of the town but on entering on this (it was low water) he was startled by the shouts of some scoundrels who had collected there and set off full gallop. It being beyond my power to keep him in, he scoured over the plain at a tremendous rate, leaping

⁷¹The range north-west of Tanga.

⁷²A brig owned by Pingree, Waters, and West; it was a frequent visitor to the coast. Bennett and Brooks, *New England Merchants*, 207 and ff.

⁷³Master of the *Kite*, belonging to Newman Hunt and Christopher, the vessel on which Leigh made most of his trips.

⁷⁴Latham Island, to the south-east of Zanzibar.

⁷⁵Rafael Antonio de Carvalho, a Mozambique merchant.

several small brooks. I at last managed to turn him but, on getting his head in another direction, off he set again and entering the town, turned every corner he came at full speed, at the imminent risk of knocking me off at each corner. The streets being mostly not more than about 5 feet in width, and the rafters of the huts stretching out to some distance from the roofs, I was struck by them several times, but having an Arab saddle today, I held by the high pommel and was not thrown. The streets were very crowded and it was most fortunate that I knocked no one down. I was calling as loud as I could the whole time for them to get out of the way. After traversing a large portion of the town in this way, he again made for the beach and I succeeded at last in bringing him up against a wall and dismounted immediately and then led him home. If I had not had the Arab saddle I should undoubtedly have been thrown, my saddle (an English one) I fortunately did not use, it having been shattered by an Arab to whom Mr. C. lent it in my absence which I had rather resented but was now thankful for. He had not been rode for 10 days which on mounting I was not aware of.

[1 August 1837] Fine. Cleaning shells before dinner, a bad plan to allow the bivalves to remain too long in fine sand as they lose their color.

Went out for a walk at 5, fell in with Shea Abdullah etc. and accompanied him to his house, where I saw his wife, an Arab lady of about 25, with the smallest feet and hands in proportion to her height, which was rather taller than the usual standard, I ever saw. She had no mask on and was dressed in a flowing robe, edged with gold and silver lace. On his marriage with her he made her presents to the value of about 70 dollars and she brought him two houses as a dowry.

From thence to the house of a former wife of his, a Comoro lady and a first cousin; by her he had two sons but leaving her for a year, she wrote to tell him that if he would return immediately she would continue to be his wife but if not she would marry some one else. He gave her permission to do so in writing and a few presents. She gave him a document in return and thus the divorce was effected. She came over here afterwards with her mother and they support themselves by making rope and mats. They are relatives of the royal family of Johanna.⁷⁶

Shea Abdullah. The priests here are paid by the Imam. They are chosen by him for their superior learning. The two chief priests are judges and receive each 15 dollars a month or £36 a year. There are

⁷⁶Anjouan, one of the Comoro Islands.

many books on religious subjects besides the Koran, written at different times for the improvement and instruction of the people by the priests.

The Imam has no ministers but a priest, who advises him how to act, is generally with him; however he follows his advice or not as he pleases.

Law is administered by two judges. If an Arab or other free man kill another, the Imam orders him to be put to death unless the relations consent to receive a sum of money as an expiation of the offence. If an Arab kill a slave belonging to another he pays the full value of the slave and is imprisoned for a few months in irons where he is supported by his friends. If he kill his own slave he undergoes the same punishment. If a slave kill an Arab he is tortured to death and his master is either put to death or a sum of money is demanded of him by the relations of the murdered man; the price by the Koran to be paid in camels which here are valued. Theft and other offences are punished by imprisonment in irons for different periods. Arson is punished by imprisonment and payment of the premises and goods consumed. If the money is not forthcoming, the incendiary is imprisoned for life.

At one of the houses I visited I saw a female slave with large scars on her bosom and shoulders. On enquiry I found that they were made purposely, cashew-nut oil having been first employed to blister the parts which were then cut.

[2 Aug.] Fine. Onshore before breakfast. Walked towards the market, very crowded and every vender vociferating the prices of the articles for sale (mostly cassada root, millet, oranges, sweet potatoes and calavances) as loud as he could.

[3 Aug.] Fine. Sandwich sailed with Mr H. and H. for Chumle, a small island south of this, on a shelling expedition. I came onshore and took up my quarters there for a few days.

[4 Aug.] Fine. Walked to the beach to the Southward in the evening. Fine moonlight night.

[5 Aug.] Sunday. Fine. After dinner walked to the Southwards, stopped at a shamba, where I was well entertained by an Arab schoolmaster. He had a fine shamba well-cultivated and a few clove trees.

[6 Aug.] Fine. A dow arrived from Johanna by which news was brought that the wreck of a vessel had been found at Juan de Nova⁷⁷ in the Mozambique channel and that two kegs of dollars and one of

⁷⁷A small island, normally uninhabited, in the Mozambique Channel. Leigh visited it in December 1836, April 1837, and September 1838.

doubloons had been got from her, besides a quantity of goods. There being one of our vessels missing, it struck us at first that it was her but though she was to bring money, the dollars would most likely be enclosed in boxes and not in kegs. None of the crew were found, nor was it known to what nation she belonged, mostly likely however a Portuguese or Brazilian slaver.

[7 Aug.] Fine. Walked towards the Southward with T.

[8 Aug.] Fine with the exception of a shower or two. Walked to the Southward with Mr Waters and T.

[9 Aug.] Fine. Sandwich arrived from Chumle and I returned onboard to sleep.

[10 Aug.] Showery. Walked to the Northward of the town with T.

[11 Aug.] Fine. Walked with T. thro' the town, met Hamees who told us the vessel lost on Juan de Nova was a ship and full of cargo, 30 men had been found dead on the island.

[12 Aug.] Sunday. Fine. The weather is much cooler in the S.W. monsoon than in the N.E.

After dinner a black ran up stairs to say that a brig was in sight near Chumle. Everyone was on the *qui vive* expecting it to be one of ours and on mounting the roof several declared that the flag at her foretop was the chequered white and blue flag, the signal of the house. Mr H. and C. started to the point immy [sic] but we shortly afterwards discovered her to be a French corvette. Having made a signal for the Sandwich's gig, T. and I went off towards her but she was going too fast thro' the water for us to approach her. She appeared to be extremely short of hands. On finding that we could not get onboard, we sailed back to the house.

Walked down to the Customs House with Mr H. and H. where Abjee (the brother of Jeram, the banyan who contracts for the duties of all His Highness' dominions) told us that she was the *Prévoyante* from Bourbon and St Mary's with a number of the settlers from the latter place onboard. Thence to Hadji Moorsheed's,⁷⁸ so called from having been to Mecca, and one of His Highness' men of business. He has been onboard and repeated the information we had just received.

Returning went up to look at the door of the new palace, put up yesterday. At the moment the folding doors which are each made of one plank of very hard wood and studded with large brass knobs, [sic] a bullock was killed by direction of Moheddeen,⁷⁹ the chief

⁷⁸An Arab merchant who often worked as commercial agent to Sa'id bin Sultan.

⁷⁹Muhyi al-Din, a Swahili from Lamu, became *Kadhi* of the Swahili of Zanzibar and one of Sa'id's most trusted advisers. He later gave the Arab history of Kilwa to John Kirk.

priest and judge in order to insure longevity to the building. A verse from the Koran was also carved on the wooden architrave.

[13 Aug.] Fine. Mons. Guillain,⁸⁰ Captain of la Prévoyante, called at the house. I met him last year at Mahé where the corvette had come to be repaired, having struck on Providence reef. He is a St. Simonian.⁸¹

[14 Aug.] Fine. Onboard Kite all day taking the remains [sic]. In the evening called on Hadji Moorsheed with Mr H. It was about dusk and we found him employed in praying, performing the usual number of genuflections etc.; we took seats until he had done.

[15 Aug.] Fine. A shower or two early. Preparations for going in the Kite.

[16 Aug.] Fine. Preparations for starting tomorrow. Spent a short time with Mr Waters in the evening.

[17 Aug.] Fine. Several huts near the fort burnt down in a few minutes. At Mr Waters for a short time in the evening. Received my letter of instructions from Mr H. and took leave, intending to start tomorrow at 8.

[18 Aug.] Fine. Breakfasted onboard the Sandwich and then went off in her boat to the French corvette, la Prévoyante, where I met several officers I knew at Mahé, where the corvette was being repaired when I was there last year. They told me that Mr Jallier, commandant of St Mary's was dead.

Detained thro' Shea Abdallah, the interpreter, being sued for debt by some Banyans who however released him at T's request.

Leigh's next voyage took him to Mozambique, Juan de Nova, Mayotte, and Dalrymple Bay, Madagascar. He returned to Zanzibar on 13th October 1838, and his description of that third visit will appear in the next issue of this journal.

⁸⁰A French naval officer. He was the author of two of the most valuable accounts of nineteenth century East Africa: *Documents sur l'histoire, la géographie et la commerce de la partie occidentale de Madagascar* (Paris, 1845) and *Documents sur l'histoire, la géographie et la commerce de l'Afrique orientale* (Paris, 1856).

⁸¹"An advocate of the socialist system propounded by the Comte de Saint Simon (1760-1825) who advocated state control of all property and a distribution of the produce according to individual vocation and capacity." *Oxford Dictionary*.