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The Zanzibar Diary of John Studdy Leigh, Part II

Author(s): John Studdy Leigh and James S. Kirkman

Source: *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (1980), pp. 492-507

Published by: [Boston University African Studies Center](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/218953>

Accessed: 28-06-2015 20:38 UTC

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## NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

### THE ZANZIBAR DIARY OF JOHN STUDDY LEIGH, PART II

*Edited by James S. Kirkman*

#### Editor's Note

John Studdy Leigh was a young Englishman who went to East Africa in the late 1830s as an employee of Newman, Hunt and Christopher, a London merchant firm. Leigh's account of his first two visits to Zanzibar appears in *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 13, 2 (1980).

#### The Zanzibar Diary of John Studdy Leigh, Part II

##### *Third Visit*

[13 October 1838] Got under way at daybreak and with a light breeze sailed up to the usual anchorage opposite to the town by ½ past 10 a.m.

Found the Sandwich, the Swallow (arrived 1st Sept.), the Wm and Henry and Waverley (Americans) from Bombay.<sup>82</sup>

Met at the house Senhor Hassanclaver, alias Texugo, lately arrived from Mozambique. He was D. Miguel's confidential secretary and being taken with Sir John Campbell in the Queen, was in prison 5 years and transported to Mozambique whence he escaped in the Wilmot Horton to go to England.<sup>83</sup> Walked with him on the beach and in the country to the Southwards.

<sup>82</sup>For the *William and Henry* and *Waverley*, see Bennett and Brooks, *New England Merchants*, 209.

<sup>83</sup>Dom Miguel was pretender to the Portuguese crown. John Campbell had served in the Peninsular War in the Portuguese army, remaining in Portugal after the end of the war. He was a supporter of Miguel.

[14 Oct.] Sunday. Showery till 3 o'clock. Remained onshore all day. Walked with Messrs. H.H. and T. to the Southwards of the town, returned by the bridge over the creek which is now finished but of very weak materials.

[15 Oct.] Fine. Busily employed writing, etc. the greater part of the day. Went with T. and H. to Esau's to look at some precious stones said to be at his shop. We were all taken in in purchasing them. To Captain Hassan's and the Customs house; part of the Wm. Henry's cargo landing, at very low prices, bales extremely badly packed.

A rocket let off by H. on the beach frightened the people very much.

[16 Oct.] Fine. Visited Mr. Waters, Hadji Moorshead and Captain Hassan with Mr H. who went off to the Sandwich at 2 and sailed at 3. At a place near Hadji Moorshead's we saw an Arab who spends the whole of his time in making and drinking coffee and smoking.

Walked in the evening with Messrs T. and Texugo into the country to the Southwards and back by the bridge.

[17 Oct.] Fine. Business the greater part of the day. Walked in the evening with Messrs T., Texugo, Waters and 5 other Americans over the bridge, a large party of Europeans for Zanzibar.

[18 Oct.] Fine. Business the greater part of the day. Walked in the evening with T. across the bridge and called on Mrs. Shea Abdallah, Abdallah bin Ali and Bibi Seid.

[19 Oct.] Fine. Business at home all day. Walked in the evening through the town with Messrs T. and T.

[20 Oct.] Fine. Over the bridge with Messrs T. and T. in the evening.

[21 Oct.] Sunday. In doors till 5, a solitary walk thro' town.

[22 Oct.] Showery, In doors writing etc. till the evening. Called with 2 Messrs, T. and T., on Mrs Shea etc.

[23 Oct.] Fine. Fever prevented my doing anything during the day. This being the change of the monsoons, every one feels it more or less, at least the strangers.

[24 Oct.] Rain the greater part of the day. Preparations for sailing.

[25 Oct.] Fine. Intended sailing at noon but was detained. Drank tea at Mr Waters and slept onboard.

[26 Oct.] Put to sea at daybreak, route towards Aden on a voyage mostly of discovery. In the evening we were near Pemba.

*[Leigh's "voyage of discovery" included visits to Alula, Maraia, Wurbi, Berbera and Ziara on the north coast of Somalia. He was also able to include a stay, purely social, at the newly captured*

*port of Aden.*<sup>84</sup> *He left Aden on 2nd March and arrived back in Zanzibar on 16th March 1839.*]

*Fourth Visit*

[15 March 1839] Fine. Lost sight of Pemba, made Zanzibar and about four came up with the North end of it. Passed Tumbat Point Ossowamembe (spelt Ooswamemby) which signifies Curlew Point. Here there is good anchorage and less water than is marked. Run along the land which in the evening was glittering with lights moving on the beach to attract the fish. The frogs were heard croaking loudly even at the distance we were from the shore, more than a mile. At ½ past 9 came to an anchor off Bubooboo in 7½ fathoms, it not being sufficiently light to run up to the town through the numerous shoals.

[16 March] Fine. At daybreak got under weigh and ran up to the town anchoring opposite to it at 7 A.M. No vessels had arrived from England since my departure, doubt entertained of the safety of at least one. The anchorage was crowded with dows from India, etc., come here at the end of the N.E. monsoon to return between the middle and close of the S.W. The town crowded, at least an addition of 15,000 persons to its population during the season.

Visited Messrs Waters, E. Campbell and Sleeman and engaged a house for garbling the gums in the Kite and for sleeping in.<sup>85</sup>

Found that Mr. Vendriés,<sup>86</sup> my host at the Seychelles, had come here for the purpose of forming a sugar plantation, had caught the fever and died. Shea Abdullah also dead and the Cotama lost.

The Monomwezi have come down to the coast in numbers and with much ivory.<sup>87</sup> They arrived about 20 days since and remain about two months. The people at Tanga have rebelled against the Imam and he had sent some vessels with Bedouins to quell them.<sup>88</sup> Hamees has a command in the expedition.

Rode on Mr T.'s mule with Mr W. on his horse about six miles

<sup>84</sup>Kirkman, "Aden."

<sup>85</sup>Garbling, derived from the late Latin *crebillare* (*crebillum*, sieve), means to remove the garble or refuse. *Oxford Dictionary*. The word also exists in Arabic and is one of the many commercial terms of universal currency originating among the traders of the Mediterranean.

<sup>86</sup>A Frenchman from Bourbon who had visited Zanzibar in 1821; he returned in 1838.

<sup>87</sup>The Nyamwezi of central Tanzania. They were pioneers in the trade between the coast and interior.

<sup>88</sup>See note 35, above.

into the country, the sight of which was extremely refreshing after the barren looking land about Burbera and Aden and the expanse of the ocean.

Cargoes for three vessels in the stores and none to take them.  
[17 March] Sunday. Onboard til 12, dined at the house, accompanied Mr T. to see a sick child and afterwards called at Bibi Seid's, saw her grand daughter, the prettiest Arab girl I have met, being white; she suffered herself to be seen by us without a mask, thence to Abdullah ben Ali's, saw his new married bride who had a streak of black paint down her nose.

Walked across the bridge and thro' Seid Suliman's grounds.

Yesterday a man came round beating a horn with a stick calling on all persons to pay their debts under pain of being imprisoned. He is sent by the Muine mcu, king of the Muahadimo and Soailese. This is done twice a year.

[18 March] Fine. Was kept awake till 4 A.M. by the carpenter and cook who were almost raving mad in consequence of having drank a large quantity of toddy. They used the most blasphemous language which I shuddered to listen to and wished to kill each other. They were at last bound and the latter gagged with a belaying pin as he would not be silent. Today they deserted, being released from the fort, where Captain N. had put them.

Onshore to breakfast and during the day attended the discharge of the myrrh at the Co. house and removed some furniture etc. to Mahomet ben Nasser's, part of whose I have hired, caused it to be whitewashed etc.

Sold some iron and delivered it to Ismael.

Walked with Messrs T. and Sleeman, called at Kimball's etc.

Played whist at the house in the evening.

[19 March] Onshore to breakfast. Receiving gum and delivering iron.

Landed my baggage and took it up to my headquarters at Mahomet ben Nasser's.

Played brag for love in the evening.<sup>89</sup>

[20 March] Prepared for garbling before breakfast. Afterwards engaged twenty men and set them to garble the olibanum<sup>90</sup> with Djuma, an Arab, to superintend them. Garbling till sunset. Tea at house, left at 10.

<sup>89</sup>Brag is a card game like poker.

<sup>90</sup>An aromatic resin used as incense. This consignment had been bought by Leigh in Somalia. J. S. Kirkman, "John Studdy Leigh in Somalia," *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 8, 3 (1975).

[21 March] Garbling olibanum during the day, excepting at meals when I went to the house.

Called at Bibi Seid's, having been sent for by her granddaughter who made me a present of a stained mat made by herself and sister and I sat a short time with her.

In the evening, flute, backgammon etc.

[22 March] Garbling all day. Went into my old landlord's *sanctum sanctorum*, where he was teaching some of his young slaves to read. He told me that his wives and concubines are the only ones in Zanzibar who either read or pray but that I do not believe. The old man is a Hadji, having been to Mecca.

[23 March] Garbling, etc. Rode on Mr Water's horse which I borrowed across the bridge with T. on his mule. Visited Abdullah and his wives in the evening.

Playing at single sticks with N., got a blow on the nose which cut it severely.

[24 March] Sunday. In the evening went into the country for a walk, called at Soleman ben Amur's shamba where his lady gave me some fruit; she was unmasked.

[25 March] Garbling all day, excepting at meals at the house.

Whist at my house in the evening with Sleeman and Kimball and T.

[26 March] Garbling etc. Flute in the evening.

[27 March] Garbling etc. Built up a shed for the garblers on the top of the house.

[28 March] Garbling. Taring cases etc. Flute and backgammon.

[29 March] Garbling. Walked across the bridge in the evening.

[30 March] Garbling etc. Hard work all day; olibanum turning out rather bad, having been heated in the hold and run into an inseperable mass.

[31 March] Sunday. After breakfast rode done to Mtone on T.'s mule. His Highness was superintending the launching of a brig built by him. About a hundred men were hauling her sideways on some square spars by means of blocks but they worked very slowly and did not accomplish it today. They have no idea of cradles. H.H. received me very graciously and lent me a horse during my stay here.

Walked in the evening to the same shamba as before.

[1 April 1839] Garbling olibanum the greater part of the day, Hamees, Sleeman, Mahomet ben Aman<sup>91</sup> etc., came to visit me, the

<sup>91</sup>An Arab from Basra, also called Ahmad bin Naaman. He represented Sa'id in America in 1839 and in Bourbon in 1843. He died in 1859.

former just returned from an expedition sent by His Highness against some rebels at Tanga near Mobas, whom they defeated. The victorious troops made a tremendous noise this evening parading the town with trumpets, firing muskets etc.

A large fleet of dows came in from the North-west.

[2 April] Getting up, was told that a vessel was in sight at Chumby which turned out to be the Gazelle from London in 112 days, sailed 8th December. Went onboard with T., received two letters and many papers.

Called at Waters' and Sleeman's and took a walk with the latter to the Southward of the town.

[3 April] Garbling. Writing to my Father, the house etc. till 10.

[4 April] Garbling etc. till 4. Rode with Mr Waters as far as Hafik ben Abdallah's shamba on the road to Chumby, returning at dusk.

[5 April] Garbling all day, putting olibanum in cases, etc. Called at Abdallah's in the evening with T.

[6 April] Garbling. An American bark came in from New York, having onboard a consul for Bombay.<sup>92</sup>

In the evening went down to Sleeman's to go with him on a short shooting excursion but after having waited for him an hour and he did not come, I set out alone for the ponds of bulrushes and shot a teal.

Played whist at my house with S., Cross, Kimball<sup>93</sup> and Captain Hellyer.

[7 April] Sunday. At home till 1. In the evening took a ride on a donkey into the country with S. and Captain H.

My old landlord came in, after I had returned for the night, and conversed for sometime. The conversation all on his side. He told me that Seid Sayed is not Imam. He having refused to take that sacred title because he would then be obliged to conform strictly to the tenets of his religion. He exclaimed much against the system of taking duties by Mahometans as contrary to the Koran and even expressed a wish that the English would take possession of Zanzibar as they would then be free from the oppression which they suffer from the Sultan.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>92</sup>The *Archibald Gracie* of New York. Bennett and Brooks, *New England Merchants*, 210–211, 223.

<sup>93</sup>Eldridge G. Kimball, supercargo of the American brig *Rolla*.

<sup>94</sup>The rule on customs is correct according to Islamic doctrine, but in practice was "more honoured in the breach than the observance." The Ibadhi imamate is elective and it is likely that Sa'id, like his father, jibbed at this aspect of it. There was always a price to pay for popular acclaim.

He also broached some rather extraordinary ideas, affirming that the Arabs know much more of medicine than Europeans and that they are much better marksmen, in illustration of which he related several anecdotes.

[8 April] Garbling etc. all day. In the evening a small bag of new rice came from Seid Hamoud. It is the custom to send presents of it to one's friends.

[9 April] Garbling, etc. Rain the greater part of the day.

[10 April] Garbling etc. Rain all day, in torrents. The rainy season commenced in earnest. Everything looking very dismal.

[11 April] Garbling. Fine generally, now and then a shower.

The mode of selling a shamba or farm here is rather singular. A delal or broker goes round the town with a portion of every fruit-tree on the place intended to be sold, i.e., of a cocoa-nut tree he takes a strip of the leaf, of an orange-tree a twig, etc. A person who wishes to buy it makes his offer after counting the number of leaves, twigs, etc., and then the delal proceeds on his rounds to mention the price offered and trying to find a higher bidder, if not the purchase is concluded.

Sleeman called, had some conversation with him on the subject of going to Lake Maravi or Nassa, called by other tribes Uyoa. Almost made up my mind to attempt it in company with an expedition about to set out in three months for its neighborhood under H. Highnesses' auspices. S. also wishes to go.

Dyuma Fumbe, the leader of the last expedition which started 20 months since also called, having just returned. He had been not within fifteen days' journey of it but had taken forty one days to reach the country where he went to trade.

People of many nations come to Zanzibar. Two Turks from Constantinople called to-day, the other day, one from Tunis, in their national costume. They had been to India.

At  $\frac{1}{4}$  past 5 started to the ponds with my gun for the sake of exercise. Being rather late I had not the good fortune to shoot anything tho' I saw two couple of ducks or teal.

Played a rubber at the house, returning at 9.

[12 April] Garbling, etc. Showers but generally fine in the afternoon.

Walked over the bridge alone in the evening intending to meet T. etc. coming back but did not.

Played backgammon and draughts with T. and Co.

Had a present from Mwana or Bibi Haroos today of some guavas. She is Bibi Seid's grand daughter and the best looking Arab

girl I have seen, probably thro' not having had a view of others without their masks.

[13 April] Garbling etc. Rain till noon. Among Mr. Vendrié's effects were found today some boxes with spring images which caused a great deal of amusement amongst the Arabs, as well as a magic lantern which though a poor one occasioned a great deal of laughter, they never having seen anything of the sort before.

Rode the horse H.H. lent me, with Mr Waters on his, towards Choomby, everything very green, vegetation luxuriant, the paddy high but mahogo or cassada not yet risen much. My horse showed some Arab blood in him and was in his paces as pleasant a horse for riding as any I have surmounted.

Played draughts etc. with C.

[14 April] Sunday. Fine generally. Breakfasted at the house. At home till ½ past 12. At the house till ½ past 3.

With T. to Bibi Seid's. The entrance a long narrow passage leading to a small court where two female slaves were pounding Indian corn softened with water in wooden mortars. A filthy stone staircase led to the upper apartment where in one, roofed with cocoa-nut leaves were Bibi Nadasa, Bibi Seid's daughter and her two daughters, Mwana Haroos and Bibiasha, surrounded by several female slaves. The young ladies, dressed as usual in a frock and trousers of printed cotton, a blue cloth on their heads and wooden sandals on their pretty little feet but without masks, were occupied in mat making whilst their mother was mixing some rose-leaves and other flowers and herbs. The room did not bear much resemblance to an English drawing-room. The plastered floor was here and there an inch deep in water of which puddles were formed, a number of pigeons were congregated over head, and the whole bore an appearance of great filth which Mwana Haroos' beauty could scarcely counterbalance. She as well as her sister allowed their ankle bangles of massive silver to be taken off and examined. They are most clumsy, unsightly ornaments and equally unsuited to an English taste with the golden sprigs stuck through the cartilage of the nose. The best feature in an Arab girl's face is the eye which is generally large, dark and bright and overhung by long eyelashes which in these two specimens of Arab beauty had lost none of their attractions. Happening to show a five franc piece I had accidentally in my pocket it was begged of me so coaxingly by Bibiasha that I could not resist her request. She said she would make a finger ring of it. Foreign coin is frequently used for this purpose. (I mean all but Spanish and German dollars.) I have seen ladies with every finger

adorned in this way, a sixpenny piece on the little finger, a shilling on the next and so on. Some are obliged to be content with farthings and other copper coins.<sup>95</sup> Mwana Haroos was so jealous of my having given one to her sister and none to her that she would not shake hands with me on my departure.

It is quite contrary to Arab etiquette for anyone to see their women unmasked but these ladies have laid aside some of their prejudices in our favor. There is no male Arab living in the house. Bibi Seid being a relation of His Highness; that is considered sufficient protection.

Proceeded to S.'s but not finding him at home walked back to the market where as usual at that hour a number of slaves were exposed for sale. The purchasers to view their paces threw a stick to some distance that they might walk to pick it up. It was rather an animated though a disgusting scene. The different costumes of Arabs, Banyans, Turkish soldiers (Beloochis) etc. formed a moving tableaux. Besides slaves the dalals or brokers were hawking their wares.

Walked back thro' the street inhabited by Banyans almost exclusively, it is one of the dirtiest in the town. Here large quantities of ivory were being purchased and sold. Met Hamad ben Abdallah, Hadji Moorshead etc.

Went to Abdallah ben Ali's saw his lady and himself and mother. Though broad daylight he was in bed with a light burning in the room and the place most insufferably hot. The wet weather we have had is sensibly affecting the whites. They all complain a little more or less of head aches, etc.

[15 April] Fine. Garbling etc. In the afternoon rode down to Mr W.'s on T.'s mule, expecting that he would accompany me but not finding him rode alone towards Choomby.

Played whist with T., S. and K., at 11 accompanied Sleeman to his house where I remained half an hour and then returned.

[16 April] Fine generally. Garbling etc. Played whist at my house with Messrs Parker (Amer. Consul Bombay),<sup>96</sup> Botsford,<sup>97</sup> Kimball, Sleeman, Captain Segur, retiring at 11 when I accompanied them to their boat.

<sup>95</sup>Several of these rings were found in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century levels in Fort Jesus, Mombasa. J. S. Kirkman, *Fort Jesus: A Portuguese Fortress on the East African Coast* (Oxford, 1974), 162.

<sup>96</sup>Philomen S. Parker, also agent of Scoville and Britton of New York, subsequently acted for Waters in Zanzibar. He died in 1840.

<sup>97</sup>Edgar Botsford, supercargo of the *Archibald Gracie*.

[17 April] Showery, Garbling etc. In the evening with T. to Seid Suleiman's a cousin of His Highness, to set going a sugar mill sent out for him by the Gazelle.

[18 April] Showery and fine. Garbling etc. Rode in the evening with Mr Botsford a mile or two in the country.

Played whist till 10.

[19 April] Fine. Garbling etc. Walked in the evening with Messrs Parker, Botsford, K., T. and Captain N.

Played whist.

[20 April] Fine. Garbling etc. Playing flute and in the evening reading Denham's travels.<sup>98</sup>

[21 April] Sunday. At home till 12. In the afternoon called at Sleeman's and conversed on the lake. We agreed to meet tomorrow to settle something about it.

Walked with S., P., B., Captain S. and Mr. Newcombe by the banyans' houses. On our return by the bridge called in at Abdallah's with Messrs B. and P. and saw his wife.

[22 April] Fine. All the morning at Mr. W.'s watching the Taptie which was onshore near Choomby and making purchases.<sup>99</sup>

In the afternoon with Captain S. and Mr S. to the island opposite to Mtony where we shot a few sea birds, returned onboard the Archibald Gracie where S. and I remained till 11 playing chess and whist.

[22 April] Rainy generally. At the house till 3. Dined at Mr W.'s with T., P., B., S., K. and Captain Rabins, no wine; Mr W. being one of the Temperance Society but sherbet. After dinner had some pistol-shooting in the yard. A short walk but obliged to return on account of the rain.

Played flute with S. in the evening.

[24 April] Cloudy but little rain. One of my first visitors this morning was a large scorpion which I caught on a towel.

Garbling etc. At home till one. It having been mentioned at dinner that an expedition was onboard the Taptie for the "Lake" I resolved on going down to learn the truth of this and rowed down to the Taptie in the Kite's boat. Captain Cogan received me very kindly and asked me to dine there which I did. There was no truth to the rumor I heard, with the exception that Captain Harris was soon

<sup>98</sup>*Narrative of Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa in the Years 1822-1823 and 1824* (London, 1826), by Denham, Clapperton, and Oudney.

<sup>99</sup>The Indian Navy brig *Taptie*.

to start on an excursion into the Galla country instead of to the "Lake."

I mentioned to Captain Cogan my intention to proceed in that direction which he very much approved of and offered to assist me in any way, I could think of, even to write to the Bombay Geographical Society to supply me with instruments. He stated that Sheikh Ali ben Nasser,<sup>100</sup> H.H.'s ambassador to England, was considered there the most enlightened orientalist that had visited it.

Captain Cogan arrived here yesterday in the Taptie as Plenipotentiary from H.B.M. to the Imam.

Was landed at 8 at the Palace and walked up with Cross in 40 minutes.

Saw K. home with T. and called at S.'s, stayed there sometime conversing on the "Lake" after which he accompanied me home. [25 April] Fine. Garbling etc. At ½ past 2 rode down to Mtony to dine with His Highness according to an invitation from him thro' Captain Cogan. It was quite a dinner of ceremony, only Captain C., Messrs Gordon and Buckler of the Taptie and myself. H.H. sat at a corner of the table but without eating anything and Seid Kaled in a corner of the hall and we were scarcely able to eat thro' the continual conversation kept up. There was a whole roast sheep at the top and another at the bottom of the table, four or five large pillaus and altogether upwards of 30 dishes, more than sufficient for the Taptie's crew. After dinner at which Captain C. mentioned to the Imam my intention of proceeding to the interior, Captain C., and the rest of the party took a short walk and we then adjourned to tea onboard the Prince Regent where Captain C. is living. Rode up at 9.

[26 April] Fine. Garbling etc. Mr Graham came up and I accompanied him and Captain C. about the town.

[27 April] Fine. Garbling etc. Rode on a Cutch horse with Messrs Parker and Botsford, the latter on mine, the former on Mr Waters' horse.

[28 April] Sunday. Rode in the evening over the bridge with Mr T. Got a kick from the mule.

[29 April] Fine. Garbling etc. Walked with Messrs G., G. and B. in the evening thro' the slave market.

[30 April] At 4 A.M. I was awakened by one of my servants rushing into my room calling out "Fire, fire," so unexpected an

<sup>100</sup>He visited England in 1837 and 1842. Later, governor of Mombasa, he was killed at Siyu in 1841.

alarm startled me not a little and I jumped out of bed in haste. Fortunately the danger was not so great as I at first imagined, the fire being at the other end of the town near the point. I however dressed in a hurried manner and made all speed to the scene of destruction to render any assistance that might be of avail. As I approached the smoke and ashes were almost suffocating and it was with difficulty that I could proceed. However succeeded in reaching Kimball's house which was within fifty yards of those burning. Here I had a splendid view of the whole from the flat roof tho' flames rose to an awful height but as soon as they met with no thatched roofs to leeward to continue their progress they subsided and seeing that there was no further danger I returned.

Garbling etc. To Water's with T. etc. to the scene of the fire. There appeared to have been from 70 to 80 houses destroyed but no lives lost.

Whist at the house in the evening.

[1 May 1839] Fine. Went with T. to Jeram's, Abderrasool's etc. about some ivory. Passed through Banyans' street about noon, their cows were moving along the street receiving a pittance of boiled rice from each.

To W.'s made some more purchases for the expedition.

After dinner to visit Abdallah's two wives.

At 5 took a solitary ride over the bridge.

At 9 with T. to a ngoma where we were much amused with the moving scene, men and women as usual going round in very extraordinary attitudes.

[2 May] Started at 8 with T., for H. H.'s shamba to meet Captain Cogan and the officers of the Taptie. We breakfasted on some mutton and sweets sent out by H. H. and then walked to some shambas in the neighborhood, Seid Hamoud's and Hamiad ben Abdallah's. At the latter's, we saw his lady a very pretty woman, almost white, and the shamba altogether was the best laid out of any I have seen.

At 4 we started on our return passing by H. H.'s other shamba. Some of the party were mounted on donkeys and met with some laughable adventures.

We dined onboard the Prince Regent at 7 with Captain Cogan and returned at 9.

[3 May] Garbling etc. Messrs Graham and Buckler and Captain Cogan came up in the evening and we accompanied them to the ngoma.

[4 May] Fine. Garbling etc. Bargaining at Mr. W.'s. Short walk

with T. in the evening. Tapties with me the greater part of the day. [5 May] Sunday. At home till 1, when Messrs Sleeman and Newcombe called and I with T. accompanied them on board the A. Gracie to dine.

At 5 returned onshore and took a short ride.

At 10 left the house for mine, commenced reading and had fallen asleep when I was roused by a roaring noise at some distance, looked out and found that it was another fire on the South side of the town. I immediately hastened there but not being able to render any assistance I could only look on. There were some fifty or sixty houses unroofed but their interiors little damaged. Mr. Sleeman's house was in jeopardy.

[6 May] Fine. Garbling etc. Dined on board the Taptie at 6 with T., returned at 12, called at Sleeman's.

[7 May] Fine. Went onboard the Taptie to see Graham before she sailed which she did at one. Lunched with Captain Cogan onboard the Prince Regent and walked up from Mtony at 4.

[8 May] Rainy. Garbling. Short ride in the evening with T. and Captain N.

Whist at the house.

[9 May] Torrents of rain. Garbling etc.

[10 May] Torrents of rain. Every one feeling unwell. Garbling etc. In the evening Snr Neri<sup>101</sup> came onshore from the *Imprehendedor de Suez* which came in to-day, and slept at the house.

[11 May] Rainy. Sometimes the rain fell as if a waterspout had burst. Accompanied Snr. Neri to Captain Cogan's, Waters' etc.

Dined at Captain Cogan's and returned at 12.

[12 May] Sunday. Rainy. At home till 2 Captain Cogan came up to my house for a short time.

A ride in the afternoon with T. and Captain N., got wet.

Called at Sleeman's at 9.

[13 May] Fine. Garbling etc. With Snrs. Neri and Moller to Waters and Captain Cogan's.

In the afternoon rode with Captain Cogan to the south of the town.

Cards in the evening at the house, accompanied the Portuguese to the beach where they took leave of me.

[14 May] Fine. Writing letters all day for the *Gazelle*.

Called at Sleeman's in the evening, heard the screams of an

<sup>101</sup>Jose Ignacio Neri, a Mozambique merchant.

unfortunate girl undergoing a flagellation. S. said he had heard three this evening. I thought the Arabs treated their slaves better.

By the late wet weather nearly all the Europeans are suffering from pains all over the body, particularly in the limbs, myself amongst the number, occasioned by cold and damp.

[15 May] Showery. The men employed in garbling, etc.

Went down to Waters today to pay Parker for some articles I purchased for my expedition to the Lake, saw the Rolla come in. Brought Parker up to my house and paid him. Then Turner came up from T.'s to say that he wished to speak to me. There I learnt the death of Mr Soper, Newman and Co.'s agent at Majunga and there being a large quantity of goods and produce remaining there, and nobody there to take charge of them, I find myself obliged to go down there. Thus doing away altogether with my expedition at least for this year. The Gazelle will take me down and the Kite will follow with my gums, to go in her afterwards to Quilimance.

All the letters I wrote yesterday to my friends stating my intentions are thus of no use.

Putting Gum Arabic in cases from 4 till 6.

Backgammon with T. and draughts with Cross. Home at 10.

[16 May] Fine. Sending cases of gum onboard Kite, then garbling gum Arabic.

Rode with Captain Sagory over the bridge.

Dine with T. and C. at Captain Cogan's, whence we returned at 11.

[17 May] Fine. Men employed garbling Gum Arabic and sending cases to the Custom-house to be shipped.

Rode in the evening to the Southward of the town with Captain Cogan, T. and Cross as far as a large point I had never before visited.

Backgammon with Botsford and Parker.

[18 May] Fine. with a few showers. Men employed garbling Myrrh, dispatching cases to Custom-house and to ship.

Rode across the bridge in the afternoon alone.

[19 May] Sunday. Rain till 10, fine afterwards. At the house till 3. Called at Bibi Seid's to give Bibi Haroos and Bibi Aitcha two silk handkerchiefs in return for a mat they had sent me to receive a present in return. The marriage of the former I am afraid will not take place before I go as I wish to see the ceremony.

Mounted our steeds, T., C. and myself, called on Captain C. who joined us and rode out towards Shea Abdallah's shamba not far from the centre of the island, whence we saw the sea on the other

side. The scenery was very beautiful, verdant vales, undulating hills, foliage of various and beautiful tints. On the way near Seid Suleiman's we saw a circumcisional procession. A number of women marched as usual, beating horns, their faces plentifully besmeared with a yellow powder composed of various ingredients which by no means increased their beauty. In the centre of the crowd were borne the presents to be made the youth on whom the operation was to be performed. They proceeded in this way through the town shouting and making discordant noises.

Called at Sleeman's after supper.

My landlord came in and as usual crossquestioned me on the Christian tenets and on several sciences, particularly that of astronomy.

The Sultana, H.H.'s frigate, came in yesterday from Madagascar where she had been to trade for whatever she could get. The principal article she brought back was female slaves which the queen had sold to the supercargo. They were her own subjects. She has adopted an extraordinary and most revolting way to recruit her finances.<sup>102</sup>

[20 May] Showery and fine. Men employed garbling myrrh etc.

A short ride across the bridge with T. and Captain N.

[21 May] Fine. Men garbling and shipping Myrrh.

Rode in the afternoon to the Southward with Captain C. and C.

[22 May] Fine. Men garbling myrrh, shipping cases etc.

Rode over the bridge in the evening towards Mtony with Captain C. and T.

T., C. and myself dined at Captain C.'s.

[23 May] Fine. Men garbling Myrrh, shipping etc. Rode with Captain Cogan to the southward, saw a sword dance near Abdarasool's on occasion of a circumcision.

Called at Sleeman's in the evening.

[24 May] Fine. Men garbling Myrrh, packing Gum Arabic, etc.

Rode from 5 till 6 with Captain C. over the bridge and back by the plains, and afterwards walked with him to the slave market, Customs house, etc.

Making out Kite papers etc.

At 12 T. and I accompanied by Magui<sup>103</sup> went to a dance in a house near Abdarasool's.

<sup>102</sup>Queen Ranovolana, widow of Radama I.

<sup>103</sup>Magui bin Sayed, a Mombasa Arab or Swahili, Leigh's interpreter, accompanied him to the north Somali coast. He spoke French but not, unfortunately, Somali.

[25 May] Fine. Men garbling Myrrh Arabic and Mastic. Sending olibanum and cases of Myrrh to the house etc.

T. and the three Captains with Sleeman went a long way into the island. Sleeman came to the house for the first time since his quarrel with Cormack.

Walked down with S. to his house in the evening.

[26 May] Sunday. Packing up to start on Tuesday till 2, dinner at the house, Sleeman there.

Walked down to Sleeman's with T. at night.

[27 May] Fine. Sending cases of Myrrh, bags etc. to the house, previous to starting. Paid and discharged most of my men.

Sleeman called and I called on him in the evening.

Walked to Waters to take leave.

Went with Thorn to Mahomet ben Aman's and then over the bridge by moonlight.

[28 May] Fine. Dispatching various articles to the house. At 10 rode down to Mtony to pay my respects to H.H. previous to starting. Took him down a double-barrelled fowling piece as a present. He was not looking well and after a short conversation through Captain Hassan and Mahomet ben Aman I took my leave.

Sent my horse onboard the Gazelle besides other portions of my baggage.

Dined with T. and C. at Captain C.'s and retired at 11.

[29 May] Fine. Settled accounts at the house and at ½ past 10 got under weigh in the Gazelle for Majunga at the same time as the Kite.

C. accompanied us out as far as Chumby and returned in the Hawk's boat.

We soon passed the Kite and in the evening she was almost hull down, beating out at the South end; the Gazelle, one of the fastest vessels I have sailed in.

At dusk dropped anchor underlee of a small island called in the chart "Kisuwen ungoovany hoy" between Choomby and Kwaly.

[30 May] Fine. Blowing fresh from S.S.W. with a very heavy sea. Stood to the Eastward close hauled, no sign of the Kite after we got under weigh. She anchored off Choomby.

[31 May] Blowing fresh with heavy sea. Standing out to the Eastward to get out of the strength of the Northerly current.