

EAST AFRICA: BRITISH AND EUROPEAN ATTEMPTS AT COLONIZATION, AND THE IMPACT THE STEAMSHIP HAD ON TRADING IN NYASALAND FROM LAKE NYASA TO THE INDIAN OCEAN, 1800-1900



By

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

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ABSTRACT: The primary intent of this research is to analyze and document the progression of European influence and domination in modern-day Malawi, and to explore the incident at Lake Nyasa. East Africa during the nineteenth century was a period of rapid growth, rising violence, and political unrest. The goal of this research is to understand the political, religious, and social climate that led to the suppression of the slave trade by Harry Johnston and Cecil Maguire. Most prior research focuses on West Africa or the perils of the slave trade. This research will show the movement east into Central and East Africa, and why Nyasaland was one of the most critical political territories in East Africa. Historians have done extensive research on the explorers who traversed Africa, the European slave trade, and African trade, but there has not been much research that ties everything together to show how interconnected Europe and Africa were during the nineteenth century. The final topic in this research, Captain Cecil Maguire and the incident on Lake Nyasa, does not seem to be researched at all. This lack of attention allows for an abundance of future research on the topic. This research draws mostly from the primary source material, including Parliamentary Papers, memoirs, published letters, and travel journals written by David Livingstone, H.M. Stanley, Mackinnon, Lugard, and Harry Johnston. The British Parliamentary Papers were the most consulted resource for this research. Letters and correspondence helped to complete the narrative.

The scholarship on this research has the potential of creating new and exciting areas of interest for nineteenth-century East Africa. Many cultures converged on the continent and left their imprint on

African culture, religion, politics, and lifestyle. African history must be preserved so that future generations can see how Europe changed global perceptions of Africa during the nineteenth century and how those who meant to exploit the people resources, and land, were quickly met with the resistance of others, like Cecil Maguire, who passionately pursued those who would oppress.

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**This thesis is dedicated to Captain Cecil Montgomery Maguire.
May you never be forgotten, and your story be heard.**

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INTRODUCTION TO THESIS:

New technology, specifically the steamship, created during the industrial revolution in Britain during the nineteenth century, made Nyasaland and Lake Nyasa the most crucial trade region for British East Africa and the British Protectorate by allowing access, via interior waterways, to the Indian Ocean trade routes.

Today Africa plays a vital role in global trade and the global economy because of the large amount of cheap land with potential for mass agricultural projects. A 2019 article in Bloomberg Businessweek titled, “One of Africa’s Most Fertile Lands Is Struggling to Feed Its Own People,” discusses how globalization has affected Africa.¹ Countries such as Jordan, Syria, Pakistan, Lebanon, and Yemen have purchased over 10,000 acres of land for mass farming projects that will send food and resources back to their respective territories.² The area, once cultivated by native people, has now become a market for foreign countries that seek political and agricultural gain in Africa. A Jordanian farmer, Abdelazim al-Jak is quoted as saying, “There is good soil and enough water to grow crops. It shouldn’t be a surprise that everyone wants it.”³ The apparent problem is the same issue that was present during the nineteenth century when foreign countries sought resources and land. As more foreign investors enter the country, less land, food, and resources are available to the native population. Some see the current crisis as a second Scramble for Africa, while others see the situation as mere globalization. Whatever the justification may be, the scenario is no different than it was in nineteenth-century Africa.

The continent of Africa had been explored and exploited since the late fifteenth century by Europeans who sought to trade with Africans for resources and human cargo. As demands for

¹ Peter Schwartzstein, “One of Africa’s Most Fertile Lands Is Struggling to Feed Its Own People,” Bloomberg.com, April 2, 2019. <https://www.bloomberg.com/features/2019-sudan-nile-land-farming>.

² Schwartzstein, “One of Africa’s Most Fertile Lands Is Struggling to Feed Its Own People.”

³ Schwartzstein, “One of Africa’s Most Fertile Lands Is Struggling to Feed Its Own People.”

labor in the American colonies and South America grew, the slave trade became a source of wealth and power for Europe. The Trans-Atlantic slave trade primarily focused on West Africa because of easy access to the coast as well as the inability of European sailing vessels to access the interior of Africa via the riverways. As new technology emerged in Britain, Europeans were able to lessen the burden of shipping goods using sailing vessels and experiment with steamships. The steamships, faster and lighter, allowed for quicker turnaround of consumer goods, and for ships to navigate the rough waters of Central and East Africa. To understand why East Africa, particularly Nyasaland and Lake Nyasa, were so crucial to the British, we must start with the steamship and how it enabled colonization and trade in the previously untouched region.

In 1953, Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher published a controversial thesis, *The Imperialism of Free Trade*, in which they summarize British interest in expansionism as not being the primary goal of the British Empire.⁴ They further postulate that informal governments such as the British Protectorate were the favored goal of the Empire, known as New Imperialism, because of the low cost to the government as well as convenience in authoritative control over the annexed territories. If the British Empire could maintain local governments away from the direct oversight and monitoring of Parliament, it would exclude intervention and financial responsibility by the British during skirmishes with local populations. Robinson and Gallagher saw the representation of protectorate governments as a way for the British Empire to maintain a presence in Imperial territories while relinquishing direct control or finances for the informal governments. Another book written by John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson in 1962, title *Africa and the Victorians: The Official Mind of Imperialism*, presented the British in Africa as being

⁴ John Gallagher, and Ronald Robinson, "The Imperialism of Free Trade," *The Economic History Review*, New Series, 6, no. 1 (1953): 1-15.

bystanders in a strategic push to secure the Indian Ocean rather than having any ambition in Africa. Africa, according to Gallagher and Robinson had too much instability to be the focus of British annexation or economic intrigue.⁵

An understanding of the progression from sailing vessel to steamship was presented to us in 1986 by James Cowden and John O.C. Duffy in their book, *The Elder Dempster Fleet History, 1852-1895*. This vital work uses data records to give an in-depth overview of over 600 vessels in the Elder Dempster Fleet.⁶ The authors also make great use of maps to show shipping routes, as well as give an essential background on the happenings during the voyages.⁷ Logbooks retell the types of goods shipped to Africa in 1850, and first-hand accounts add to the credibility of the author's claim.⁸ Though the book does a great job giving detailed reports on the company, specific reasons for why the company was trading in Africa, are neglected by the authors.

Daniel Headrick wrote in 1981, *The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century*. Headrick argues a broad area of reasons for steamships causing trade prices to fall. He emphasizes the role that technology had on colonial expansion because of the reduced production cost to build a steamship.⁹ He also argues that other

⁵ Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher, *Africa and the Victorians: The Official Mind of the Victorians* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1962).

⁶ James E. Cowden, and John O.C Duffy, *The Elder Dempster Fleet History, 1852-1895* (London: Mallet & Bell Publications, 1986), 500.

⁷ Cowden, and Duffy, *The Elder Dempster Fleet History, 1852-1895*, 511.

⁸ Cowden, and Duffy, *The Elder Dempster Fleet History, 1852-1895*, 517.

⁹ Daniel Headrick, *The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 100-15.

technology such as railways, weapons, and communications allowed for the penetration of Africa's interior, as well as the opening of new markets.¹⁰

Martin Lynn published the next most significant study on the topic of steamships in 1989 "*From Sail to Steam: The Impact of the Steamship Services on the British Palm Oil Trade with West Africa*" in the *Journal of African History*. Martin argues that the palm oil trade is the reason that steamships became critical in West Africa.¹¹ As more steamships replaced sailing vessels, export prices fell and caused the palm oil trade to suffer the greatest.¹² He further argues that steamships gave the British the ability to monopolize trade by forming trade companies that became governing bodies in Africa.¹³ The underlying point that Lynn presents is that colonization was able to happen because of drastic losses in export prices and the invention of the trading company.¹⁴

In 1990, Malcolm Falkus published *The Blue Funnel Legend: A History of the Ocean Steam Ship Company, 1865-1973*. Falkus focuses entirely on the steamship company built by Alfred Holt, which gambled on the steamships success as a means to ship goods quickly and thus cause sailing vessels to be obsolete. He argues that Holt is the reason why the steamship became

¹⁰ Headrick, *The Tools of Empire: Technology and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century*, 150-65.

¹¹ Martin Lynn, "From Sail to Steam: The Impact of the Steamship Services on the British Palm Oil Trade with West Africa, 1850-1890," *Journal of Africa History*, 30 (1989): 227.

¹² Lynn, "From Sail to Steam: The Impact of the Steamship Services on the British Palm Oil Trade with West Africa, 1850-1890," 230-5.

¹³ Lynn, "From Sail to Steam: The Impact of the Steamship Services on the British Palm Oil Trade with West Africa, 1850-1890," 240-1.

¹⁴ Lynn, "From Sail to Steam: The Impact of the Steamship Services on the British Palm Oil Trade with West Africa, 1850-1890," 242.

the premier type of boats used in the pursuit of trade with Africa.¹⁵ Holt revolutionized the steamship engine to be able to be strong enough to handle the open oceans, and light enough to navigate the winding, dangerous rivers through the interior of Africa. Falkus relies on shipping records to piece together the Blue Funnel lines voyages from Africa to the far East, and through Britain. The book, however, does not spend much time in the nineteenth century but expands on more prosperous years in the twentieth century.

The steamship allowed for more in-depth exploration of the interior and eastern regions of Africa. One of the most notable and well-recognized British explorers, David Livingstone, sent back reports of beautiful but dangerous lands. Many authors have written about David Livingstone, but Christopher Hibbert wrote one of the most comprehensive books in 2002, titled *The Life and African Explorations of Dr. David Livingstone*. Hibbert's book uses the diaries of Livingstone, as well as reports that Livingstone wrote to the British Parliament regarding his travels through Africa. Letters to colleagues and family to show a personal and intimate side of Dr. David Livingstone. The book is a thorough study into the life of David Livingstone using his own words to convey his feelings, thoughts, and emotions while he traversed the foreign land. Hibbert, however, does not interject any opinions or theories but merely lets Livingstone complete the story of his expeditions. This methodology is smart, but flawed, as there is nothing new to add to academic research.

In 2014, Paul Bayly published *David Livingstone, Africa's Greatest Explorer: The Man, the Missionary, and the Myth*. Bayly is unique because of his background in the Australian Special Forces, which allowed him to utilize his training and venture to Africa to kayak the

¹⁵ Malcolm Falkus, *The Blue Funnel Legend: A History of the Ocean Steamship Company, 1865-1973* (New York: Macmillan Academic and Professional Ltd., 1990), 1-5.

Zambezi River. Bayly's ability to experience first-hand the Zambezi River and the people who occupy the land give the story of David Livingstone a modern perspective. Bayly, also having a background in banking, unfortunately, has a difficult time interjecting any emotion into Livingstone's account, which was an essential trait of Livingstone. Bayly also names many places that Livingstone traveled but failed to provide any maps of the locations that he mentions. His shortcomings and long narrative are only a minor setback to the fantastic story of Livingstone. Bayly tries to discredit Livingstone's achievements by making him sound like he inflated some of his reports so that he could further his journey of singlehandedly defeating the slave trade and bringing Christianity to the native people.¹⁶

Livingstone's expedition, however, created a deep interest in Africa and became the most crucial topic in scholarship and politics, known as the Scramble for Africa, in Britain and Europe. It was, however, the Suez Canal that allowed for African colonization to begin in the first place by allowing passage through the Suez Canal and into the Indian Ocean. In 2014, Zachary Karabell published, *Parting the Desert: The Creation of the Suez Canal*. In his book, Karabell strategically outlines the inception of the Suez Canal, through to contemporary conflicts. He spends roughly one hundred pages discussing British control and the battles for the Suez Canal, where he sides with the Egyptians as revolutionaries and the British as brutal oppressors.¹⁷ What Karabell primarily writes a history that shows how the Ottomans could dominate the British and the French, particularly with the aid of Ferdinand Lesseps, who is

¹⁶ Paul Bayly, *David Livingstone, Africa's Greatest Explorer: The Man, the Missionary, and the Myth* (London: Fonthill Media, 2017), 250.

¹⁷ Zachary Karabell, *Parting the Desert: The Creation of the Suez Canal* (New York: Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2009), 92-101.

known as the father of the Suez Canal.¹⁸ Most works on the Suez Canal are engineering narratives that leave out any outside influence or outcome as a means of explaining the significance of the canal. Technology and engineering marvels opened East Africa for exploration, trade, and colonization by Europe. Published works, however, are few and mostly rely on Livingstone and Stanley's accounts to set up the narratives that stay within the slave trade. There are no recent works that have published on the heroes of the anti-slavery effort in East Africa such as Harry Hamilton Johnston or Captain Cecil Montgomery Maguire. Johnston's observations and writings are the only sources of information on the British Protectorate in Nyasaland and the surrounding region and include *British Central Africa: An Attempt to Give Some Account of a Portion of the Territories Under British Influence North of the Zambesi*.¹⁹

Building on the publications discussed above, this thesis turns to the captivating story of an unsung hero, Captain Cecil Maguire, to provide a new look at the British conquest of Nyasaland. This research used the accounts of four individuals who were involved in a battle on Lake Nyasa to reproduce the unfortunate events that led to action against slave-raiders along Lake Nyasa's coast, and the ultimate death of Captain Cecil Maguire. The importance of Nyasaland, as one of the last British colonies of the British Empire, serves as a study on how technology, the slave trade, and East Africa were the ultimate defining moments that led to the beginning of the end of the British Empire in Africa. Johnston and Maguire's stories are not widely known, and this research serves as a voice for those who fought the slave trade and opened an area of Africa intended to correct the wrongs of the British Empire while remaining

¹⁸ Karabell, *Parting the Desert: The Creation of the Suez Canal*, 5.

¹⁹ Harry Hamilton Johnston, *British Central Africa: An Attempt to Give Some Account of a Portion of the Territories Under British Influence North of the Zambesi* (London: Methuen & Company, 1898).

humble and out of the spotlight. Captain Cecil Maguire's story of bravery, humility, and courage is essential to British studies and the history of British East Africa.

Chapter 1 asserts that the invention of the steamship was the primary reason for British expansion into East Africa. Explorations into East and West Africa by M'Gregor Laird and William Mackinnon, aided by new technological breakthroughs for steamships created by Alfred Holt, as well as unprecedented engineering feats like the Suez Canal, allowed for easy access to trading routes on the Indian Ocean. The research presented is based on unique documents including M'Gregor Laird's, *Narrative of an Expedition into the Interior of Africa by the River Niger: In the Steam-vessels Quorra and Alburkah in 1832, 1833 and 1834*, 19th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers, and articles from the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

Chapter 2 argues that Britain's actions towards abolishing the slave trade were consistently interrupted by local British slave trading, as well as Arabic slave traders in East Africa. Original documents used in this research consist of, Slavery Abolition Act 1833, "The East African Slave-Trade." *The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine*, Correspondence between Kirk and H W Wylde, Head of the Slave Trade Department, Foreign Office, 1868-1886, Letters to Kirk from various correspondents such as Verney Lovett Cameron, Cecil Murphy, and Captain W F Prideaux, Acting Consul General at Zanzibar, 1873-1874 plus some letters to Mrs. Kirk from Sir Bartle Frere, 1873.

Chapter 3 explores the extent to which Henry Johnston and Cecil Maguire fought the slave trade in Nyasaland and Lake Nyasa, and is based on the following documents, "The Situation in Nyasaland" *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 14, No. 6 (1894), "The Death of Captain Maguire." *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 11, no. 6 (1892), and three first-hand accounts from House of Commons,

“Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland,” Sessional Papers, 1892, *Africa No.5*, Vol. 74. C. 6699.

Chapter 4 asserts that the accomplishments of Harry Johnston and Captain Cecil Maguire at Nyasaland and Lake Nyasa opened global trade by destroying the ability of the native slave raiders to trade along the coasts of Lake Nyasa. The chapter further claims that modernization rapidly took place within East Africa because the Zambesi and other disputed waterways were clear of dangers that previously prevented colonization and trade. The original documents such as 19th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers, Trade and Finance, “Reports from H.M. Diplomatic and Consular Officers (1908), “Parliamentary,” *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* (1903), and Hon. Allen F. Kidney, “The Agricultural Development of Nyasaland,” *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, 58 (1909).

In sum, the centrality of Africa to understanding the effects of globalization, trade, and cross-cultural assimilation cannot be overlooked in history or the contemporary world. Our economic system relies on stability in Africa. This thesis examines the dominant role of Britain as it established its hegemony in East Africa during the Scramble for Africa.

CHAPTER 1: NYASALAND AND THE LAKE CALLED LAKE

In 1660, King Charles II granted the Royal African Company of England a charter to trade in Africa. In 1697, William III renewed the charter so that the Royal African Company of England would be the private trading company of the King.¹ The Royal African Company was granted the right to trade along the West African Coast but made its way to East Africa and through Central Africa, where it procured goods for export and slave labor.² Though Arab traders in the eighth century were the earliest recorded slave traders in Africa, John Hawkins, an English sea captain, was one of the first to deport Africans by way of slavery to Britain.³ Hawkins was from a middle-class Devonshire family and traveled to Africa in hopes of trading goods with Spain.⁴ While trading with the Spaniards, Hawkins learned about a more lucrative and highly profitable business, the trading of human cargo.⁵ He became a great asset to Spain because he was familiar with the Guinea coast, and knew how to obtain human cargo from that location quickly. Hawkins saw slavery as a way to boost commercial enterprise and thus joined other European nations in their desire to expand into Africa.⁶ By the eighteenth century, the trade of goods and slaves out of Africa had become a profitable business for Europeans and Africans alike.

¹ “William III, 1697-8: An Act to settle the Trade to Africa. [Chapter XXVI. Rot. Parl. 9 Gul. III. p. 5. n. 2.],” in *Statutes of the Realm: Volume 7, 1695-1701*, ed. John Raithby (s.l: Great Britain Record Commission, 1820), 393-7.

² M. R. Froude, “How the Slave Trade Began,” *The Review of Reviews* (1893): 155.

³ Froude, “How the Slave Trade Began,” 155-56.

⁴ Froude, “How the Slave Trade Began,” 155.

⁵ Froude, “How the Slave Trade Began,” 155.

⁶ Froude, “How the Slave Trade Began,” 155.

Plantations in the Americas demanded slave labor, which created a lucrative business packing ships leaving Africa with metal, textiles, and human cargo.⁷ An account written in 1789, by a former slave, Olaudah Equiano, known as Gustavus Vassa, reported that the conditions on the slave ships were intolerable and loathsome.⁸ He describes the stench being so dangerous that if one remained too long, he would suffocate.⁹ He further describes being packed into the ship's cargo hold with no room to turn, which produced "copious perspirations, loathsome smells, and brought on sickness from which many died."¹⁰ Vassa recounts that the screams of the women and the groans of the dying created a scene of horror.¹¹ The situation, aggravated by the constant clanging of chains and tubs of filth, led to children falling ill.¹² As the slave trade became more lucrative, many Europeans began to speak out against it and called for the abolishment of human cargo.

In 1836, the Birmingham Emancipation Movement produced a list of punishments against slaves to show the mistreatment they were receiving.¹³ From April to June, special Magistrate E.D. Baynes had conducted 624 floggings of slaves as punishment for various

⁷ "The East African Slave-Trade—America's Duty," *The African Repository* Vol. 48 (1872): 277.

⁸ Olaudah Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano Or Gustavus Vassa, The African: Written by Himself* (London: Printed and sold by the author, 1789).

⁹ Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano Or Gustavus Vassa, The African: Written by Himself*.

¹⁰ Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano Or Gustavus Vassa, The African: Written by Himself*.

¹¹ Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano Or Gustavus Vassa, The African: Written by Himself*.

¹² Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano Or Gustavus Vassa, The African: Written by Himself*.

¹³ Birmingham Emancipation Movement, 12 September 1836. CO 137/222.

offenses.¹⁴ Special Magistrate Henry Moresby held 1,521 lashings and, as noted by the Movement, did not include “secret floggings, tortures, or robbery of the slave by their master.”¹⁵ In Britain, the slave trade centered in Bristol and Liverpool. Approximately 2.7 million slaves delivered by ships from Bristol and Liverpool traveled from Africa to the United States.¹⁶ In 1898, *The Anti-Slavery Reporter*, in regards to Bristol and Liverpool, quoted actor George F. Cooke, as saying, “I have not come here to be insulted by a set of wretches, every brick in whose infernal town is cemented with African blood!”¹⁷ In London, slave trading was frequent along the River Thames and the London Docks. Merchants created businesses out of the slave trade by producing manacles and irons for tethering.¹⁸ Businessmen like John Julius Angerstein, founder of Lloyd's of London, owned plantations in Granada, which used slaves to work the land and produce crops.¹⁹ More prominent businesses such as The East India Company provided timber and ships to trade in Africa as well as to bring back slaves.²⁰ Parliament faced a public outcry as more reports came in regarding the profiting of and treatment of slaves by British businesses and subjects within the British Empire. British society did not accept the slave trade, which was essential to British ideas. Eighteenth-Century abolitionists worked with former African slaves

¹⁴ Birmingham Emancipation Movement, 12 September 1836. CO 137/222.

¹⁵ Birmingham Emancipation Movement, 12 September 1836. CO 137/222.

¹⁶ “A.R.T. VIII, The History of the Rise, Progress, and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave-Trade by the British Parliament,” *The Annual Review and History of Literature* 7 (1808): 127-48.

¹⁷ “Liverpool and the Slave-Trade,” *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* (1898): 82.

¹⁸ “Slaves in London,” *The Leisure Hour: A Family Journal of Instruction and Recreation*, (1863): 133-134.

¹⁹ Sarah Palmer, “Estate of Beaulieu, Granada, John Julius Angerstein as trustee,” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online.

²⁰ Mapping the Legacy of Slavery in the London Docklands.

like Ignatius Sancho, who came to England in 1731 to publish his anti-slavery works.²¹ Sancho wrote, “I love England for its freedom and for the many blessings I enjoy. But the grand object of English navigators, indeed of all Christian navigators, is money- money- money”²² Sancho was pointing out that Britain's love of money was the driving force behind the need for slave labor. It was the insatiable thirst for exports and territory that brought about the British Empire, but Sancho questioned the price that was being paid by the people for the crown's lust of power. In 1806, Lord Grenville argued that trade was “contrary to the principles of justice, humanity, and sound policy.”²³ Abolitionists were striking at the heart of politics, humanity, and religion as a way to pull the general public into the debate over slavery. In 1785, English poet William Cowper wrote,

We have no slaves at home – Then why abroad? Slaves cannot breathe in England; if their lungs receive our air, that moment they are free. They touch our country, and their shackles fall. That's noble and bespeaks a nation proud. And jealous of the blessing. Spread it then, and let it circulate through every vein.²⁴

On 25 March 1807, the Abolition of the Slave Trade Act went into effect and made it illegal for British colonies to engage in the slave trade.²⁵ The Act, however, did not take care of the slaves held in bondage. It would not be until 1833 that the Slave Emancipation Act gave

²¹ “Intellect of Coloured Men: Hannibal, A.M.O. L'Islet Geoffrey, James Derham. Thomas Fuller, Bannaker, Francis Williams. Gustavus Vassa, Ignatius Sancho, Ignatius Sancho to Mr. Sterne, 1766, From Mr. Sterne to Ignatius Sancho, Toussaint L'Ouverture, Henry Boyd,” *The Anti-Slavery Record* (1837), 12.

²² “Intellect of Coloured Men: Hannibal, A.M.O. L'Islet Geoffrey, James Derham. Thomas Fuller, Bannaker, Francis Williams. Gustavus Vassa, Ignatius Sancho, Ignatius Sancho to Mr. Sterne, 1766, From Mr. Sterne to Ignatius Sancho, Toussaint L'Ouverture, Henry Boyd,” *The Anti-Slavery Record* (1837), 1, 12.

²³ Malcolm Lester, “Lord Grenville,” *The American Historical Review* 92 (1987): 127.

²⁴ “William Cowper and Slavery,” *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* (1900): 78-80.

²⁵ House of Commons Sessional Papers. *Slavery Abolition Bill 1807*; Clause proposed to be substituted for clause 53, (1807).

slaves throughout the British Empire freedom with the contingency of being a laborer.²⁶ Though the British Empire granted freedom, it did not stop the slave trade in Africa. Arab slave traders continued to be a problem for the British Empire as it began to correct the wrongs it had committed. The first half of the nineteenth century saw an influx of Arabic caravans that were traveling to the coast of East Africa and becoming very profitable in trade. The Arabic empire stretched from Oman on the Arabian Peninsula to Zanzibar and north to Somalia.²⁷ The vast amount of territory was problematic for the enforcement of British anti-slave laws. Richard D. Wolff, the author of *British Imperialism and the East African Slave Trade*, says, “Slaves were the essential commodity of this [Arabic] imperial economy.”²⁸ The Arabic settlements would not allow the British to disrupt their primary source of profit, nor would the native Chiefs who were becoming wealthy from selling members of other tribes. Slaves procured were brought to Zanzibar, Arabia, and Europeans, who were still involved in the slave trade. They were forced to work on Arab plantations and were used as an export commodity as well.²⁹

As Arabic slave traders and European nations rebelled against Britain's anti-slave laws, Parliament took on a sharp transition in behavior towards East Africa. Not only was the slave trade still prevailing, but it was hindering British colonization. British public perception saw East Africa as “savage” and “untamed,” which was counter to what the British government wanted

²⁶ “Slavery Abolition Act 1833; Section LXXIII,” 28 August 1833.

²⁷ Richard D. Wolff, “British Imperialism and the East African Slave Trade,” *Science & Society*, 36 (1972): 443-62.

²⁸ G.J., “The East African Slave-Trade,” *The Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine* 20 (1874): 510-20.

²⁹ “Supplying arms to African savages,” *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* (1890): 22.

for East Africa.³⁰ Also, private European companies in East Africa were increasingly interested in staking a claim in the region, which caused Britain to be suspicious of European powers. Interestingly, the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 caused significant economic ramifications as it opened world trade to the coast of Africa and gave the continuing problem of the slave trade a way to thrive without the knowledge of British patrols.

From 1884 to 1890, the British subjected the slave trade in East Africa to systematic attacks through economic means, which decimated the business and confronted slave traders with military force by using the West African Squadron to patrol the West African coast to the Congo.³¹ John Kirk, Consul-General of the British colonial administration, described embarrassment at the involvement of the British in the slave trade as well as the race to abolish the trade as “a disgrace.” He noted, “that no British company stepped in before this time to share the change of success.”³² Kirk's success in destroying the slave trade came from his methodical campaigns and cared not to alienate Arab-Swahili aristocracy “too much too quickly.”³³ Observers noticed that Kirk never made any “unwise attempts” to stop the slave trade, and because of this, he was able to gain and keep the respect of the Arab slave dealers while doing everything in his power to restrict and stop the slave trade.³⁴

³⁰ “Imperial Africa: The rise, progress, and future of the British possessions in Africa,” *The Edinburgh Review* (1898): 465-93.

³¹ “Cost of The West-African Slave-Trade Squadron,” *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* (1868):148-9.

³² Correspondence between Kirk and H.W. Wylde, Head of the Slave Trade Department, Foreign Office, 1868-1886.

³³ Correspondence between Kirk and H.W. Wylde, Head of the Slave Trade Department, Foreign Office, 1868-1886.

³⁴ Letters to Kirk from various correspondents such as Verney Lovett Cameron, Cecil Murphy, and Captain W F Prideaux, Acting Consul General at Zanzibar, 1873-1874 plus some letters to Mrs. Kirk from Sir Bartle Frere, 1873.

The British lived on a small island and were historically known as a nation of shopkeepers. According to Napoleon, they ruled the high seas, and they were intent on supporting “free trade” because trade provided the fuel to help the expanding imperial project.³⁵ Along with trade, thrilling accounts of the wealth of Africa fueled the print culture with hopes of easy money - that cash would, they hoped, come from Africa. The focus on Africa initially started in 1879 when King Leopold of Belgium commissioned Welsh journalist Henry Morton Stanley, to traverse the Congo and make treaties with the local chiefs along the way.³⁶ Stanley was born John Rowlands on 28 January 1841, in Denbighshire, to John Rowland and Elizabeth Parry.³⁷ Born out of wedlock to uninterested parents, Stanley spent most of his childhood shuffled between unenthusiastic relatives. At the age of five, Stanley became an inmate at the workhouse in St. Asaph in Wales.³⁸ At the age of fifteen, he left St. Asaph, and in 1859, he traveled to New Orleans, the United States, where he befriended a merchant by the name of Henry Hope Stanley.³⁹ Rowland later adopted the first and last name of Henry Hope Stanley to start new in the United States.⁴⁰ By 1867, now Henry Morton Stanley offered his services to James Gordon Bennet of the New York Herald.⁴¹ He gained a reputation as a special correspondent while traveling with the British expeditionary force who fought Tewodros II in

³⁵ “Free Trade and War,” *The Graphic*, 18 (1878): 362.

³⁶ “The autobiography of sir henry Morton Stanley G.C.B.” *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science, and Art* 109 (1910): 110-1.

³⁷ Henry Morton Stanley, *The Autobiography of Sir Henry Morton Stanley* (London: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 39.

³⁸ Stanley, *The Autobiography of Sir Henry Morton Stanley*, 13, 31, 35.

³⁹ *The Princeton Observer*, media sources biography on Henry Morton Stanley.

⁴⁰ *The Princeton Observer*, media sources biography on Henry Morton Stanley.

⁴¹ Stanley, *The Autobiography of Sir Henry Morton Stanley*, 228.

Ethiopia and later reported on the Spanish Civil War.⁴² In 1869 he was commissioned to find Dr. David Livingstone, who had been missing since 1866.⁴³ After successfully locating Livingstone, Stanley, in 1873, embarked on a journey through central and east Africa where he took up where Livingstone left off and searched for the elusive source of the Nile.⁴⁴ In 1874, while exploring Lake Victoria, he met with King Mutesa I of Buganda, which eventually led, in 1877, to the admission of Christian missionaries, and the British Protectorate in Uganda.⁴⁵ In 1878, Stanley published his journey in a book title, “*Through the Dark Continent*,” but was dismissed by British interests in developing the Congo region.⁴⁶ Stanley, disillusioned by the rejection of Britain, turned to Belgium's, King Leopold II, who conveyed his interest in Africa to Stanley as being noble.⁴⁷ Leopold, however, had a secret deal with France and planned for Stanley to organize the mercantile enterprise known as the Congo Free State.⁴⁸ Stanley had great success while exploring the Congo and managed to build a road from the lower Congo to Stanley Pool, where steamers launched on the upper river.⁴⁹ France, learning of Leopold's betrayal, rushed to the Congo and raised the French flag at Brazzaville in 1881, thus securing French domination in

⁴² Stanley, *The Autobiography of Sir Henry Morton Stanley*, 280.

⁴³ Stanley, *The Autobiography of Sir Henry Morton Stanley*, 285, 297.

⁴⁴ J. S. Keltie and Sir H. M. Stanley, *The Graphic* 69 (1904): 658.

⁴⁵ Keltie and Stanley, *The Graphic*, 658.

⁴⁶ Henry Morton Stanley, *Through the Dark Continent; Or, The Sources of the Nile: Around the Great Lakes of Equatorial Africa and Down the Livingstone River to the Atlantic Ocean* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, Rivington, 1878), 40-5.

⁴⁷ Stanley and his Expeditions, *London Journal* 11 (1911): 82.

⁴⁸ G. H. Fitzmaurich, “With The African International Association Up the Congo,” *The Field*, (1885): 120-1.

⁴⁹ “The Congo Free State,” *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 104 (1894): 233.

the region.⁵⁰ King Makoko of the Teke signed a treaty of protection with Pierre Svorgnan de Brazza, a French explorer that subjugated his lands to the French.⁵¹ The French occupation was enough to scare Italy into joining the Triple Alliance, forcing Germany, and a very reluctant Otto Von Bismark, to get involved in African affairs.⁵² Britain, seeing the Portuguese control of the coast of East Africa, and the French plans to move eastward towards Ethiopia, the Nile, and Suez Canal, felt threatened on its Egyptian front as well as the British Indian front. Land grabs became more prevalent as mistrust and fear between European nations festered out of control and led to a deterioration in the balance of power in Africa and Europe.

15 November 1884 to 26 February 1885 were critical years for Africa because these years marked the beginning of the “Scramble for Africa,” as the British called it.⁵³ As European powers converged on the continent and continued to compete for territory in Central and East Africa, the nations realized that valuable natural resources, previously overlooked because most of the attention had been on West African colonies, was readily available. Portugal proposed a conference with all the major European powers out of fear and jealousy that they would lose new territory in Central and East Africa to wealthy and powerful nations like Britain. On 15 November 1884, representatives from Germany, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, the United States of America, France, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Russia, Sweden, Norway, and Turkey met in Berlin at the invitation of German Chancellor Otto Von

⁵⁰ “The Congo Free State,” *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 104 (1894): 233.

⁵¹ “French Literature Review,” *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science, and Art* 68 (1889): 683-4.

⁵² General Act of the Berlin Conference on West Africa, 26 February 1885.

⁵³ Johnston, Consul, “The Scramble for Africa,” *The Review of Reviews* 1 (1890): 41.

Bismarck for what became known as the Berlin West Africa Conference.⁵⁴ The goal of the conference was simple, divide the land amongst the nations who were eager to colonize Central and East Africa and create borders to legitimize the political land grabs.⁵⁵ Of course, no African countries received an invitation to the conference, and representatives claimed that their actions were under international law even though consideration for most traditional African territorial borders did not receive attention. Representatives cut new boundaries and trade routes as irreparable damage to the unassuming continent became the goal of the conference.⁵⁶ After nearly four months of deliberations, the General Act of the Berlin Conference on West Africa, agreed upon and declared the Congo River basin neutral, denied Portugal's claim of exclusive control of the Congo estuary and guaranteed the independent Congo Free State to Great Britain, France, and Germany.⁵⁷ European nations in attendance agreed to free trade, the abolition of slavery, and the demise of the slave trade even though Portugal and France would continue to be heavily involved in the slave trade well into the nineteenth and early twentieth century.⁵⁸

In 1890 the Anglo-German Treaty, also known as the Heligoland-Zanzibar Treaty (1890), designated the borders of Lake Nyasa between Tanzania and Malawi.⁵⁹ As can be expected, Britain took control of the land most abundant in minerals, especially the territory rich in gold.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ General Act of the Berlin Conference on West Africa, 26 February 1885.

⁵⁵ General Act of the Berlin Conference on West Africa, 26 February 1885.

⁵⁶ General Act of the Berlin Conference on West Africa, 26 February 1885.

⁵⁷ "The Berlin Conference," *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science, and Art* (1880): 774.

⁵⁸ "The Berlin Conference," *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science, and Art* 49 (1880): 774.

⁵⁹ Charles W. Dilke, "The Conservative Foreign Policy," *Fortnightly Review* 51 (1892): 1-9.

⁶⁰ Dilke, "The Conservative Foreign Policy," 1-9.

Gold became the justification for further exploration beyond the vast continent of Africa known for majestic mountains, beautiful waterfalls, an abundance of wildlife, and a mixture of unique customs and cultures.⁶¹ The brutal Sahara Desert and the Congo are subjects of many historical writings because of their beauty and mystery. Harry Hamilton Johnston, the future Consul of Nyasaland described the region with great details. It comes as no surprise that a vast lake, Nyasa, the Yao word “Nyanja,” or simply, “lake,” located in modern-day Malawi would be the focus of British and European colonization in the nineteenth century.⁶² Lake Nyasa Nombo, or Lake Malawi, in modern times, is the fourth largest freshwater lake in the world by volume, and in Africa, ninth by area, and third by depth.⁶³ It encompasses an area of 11,429 square miles and is 360.4 miles in length and between 10 to 50 miles in width with its primary inflow being, Ruhuhu River, and expels at the Shire River.⁶⁴ Lake Nyasa boasts over 700 species of cichlids, which is the most per area than any other lake in the world.⁶⁵ Other wildlife includes Nile crocodiles, hippopotamus, monkeys, and African eagles. The Lake's clear water stays a warm 75 to 85 degrees Fahrenheit, and the deeper portions of the Lake remain around 72 degrees Fahrenheit.⁶⁶ Though the water remains relatively mild, oxygenation in the water is poor around 820 feet and therefore restricts fish and other organisms to the upper part of the Lake.⁶⁷

⁶¹ “Gold Seeking in South-East Africa,” *The Field*, (1870): 366.

⁶² H. H. Johnston, “Nyasaland and its Peoples,” *The Graphic* 42 (1890): 390, 392.

⁶³ Johnston, “Nyasaland and its Peoples,” 388.

⁶⁴ Johnston, “Nyasaland and its Peoples,” 388-388, 390, 392.

⁶⁵ “The Fauna of Lake Tanganyika,” *The Field* 107 (1906): 388.

⁶⁶ Lake Malawi National Park - UNESCO World Heritage Centre.

⁶⁷ Lake Malawi National Park - UNESCO World Heritage Centre.

In 1859 British explorer David Livingstone reached the Lake and named it Lake Nyasa and bestowed two nicknames, Lake of Stars, because of the light of the fisherman's lanterns glowing on the Lake, and Lake of Storms due to the lakes unpredictable weather.⁶⁸ From March to May, the Lake and surrounding area receive upwards of seventy-five inches of rainfall, causing the inflow rivers to swell and become impassable due to the swift rapids.⁶⁹ One of the most important rivers that feed into Lake Nyasa is the Zambezi.⁷⁰ The river flows through British Central Africa, but also through Portuguese and German territory as well, creating a complicated predicament for trade along the river and ultimately for Lake Nyasa.⁷¹ On 31 March 1894, Harry Hamilton Johnston, shortly after he achieved access to the River Niger with the deportation of a famous African chief, presented a report to Parliament which described the Zambezi River as navigable from Kabompo, located on the north side of the river, to Sesheke.⁷² As soon as Sesheke, then a small village was reached, the river then becomes perilous with rapids leading to the magnificent Victoria Falls, therefore leaving no other option to reach Lake Nyasa by boat.⁷³ The Shire River, however, is navigable by boats and canoes all year round and became an ideal spot for European settlement.⁷⁴ Water from the Zambezi flows into the Shire

⁶⁸ David Livingstone, "Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and its Tributaries; and of the Discovery of the Lakes Shirwa and Nyassa," *Examiner* No. 3017 (1865): 744-745.

⁶⁹ Livingstone, "Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi," 744-745.

⁷⁰ "Lake Malawi," *World Lakes Database*. International Lake Environment Committee Foundation.

⁷¹ Livingstone, "Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi." 750-55.

⁷² Harry Hamilton Johnston, *Handbook to British Central Africa* (Malawi: Rotary Club of Blantyre, 1985), 7.

⁷³ Johnston, *Handbook to British Central Africa*, 90.

⁷⁴ Johnston, *Handbook to British Central Africa*, 94.

and keeps the river fed even during the dry season and then extended to Lake Nyasa.⁷⁵ Though the Shire is ideal for settlement, a direct route to Lake Nyasa is hindered by sand bars that do not allow for boats to access the Lake from the river.⁷⁶ Along the banks of the mighty rivers, field investigators identified a region teeming with wildlife and plant life, which provided for the many tribes that relied on the natural resources to gather more than enough to feed, clothe, and provide for any necessities.⁷⁷

According to Livingstone, he found an abundance of flora in and around Lake Nyasa and the rivers that fed it.⁷⁸ The wild date palm (*Phoenix spinose*), the *Raphia*, fan palm, palmyra, and oil palm grew most abundantly on the mountains and the stream beds along the rivers leading to Lake Nyasa.⁷⁹ Most plants found at around 5,000 feet require the moisture of the rivers and lakes for growth. Wild dates, unlike cultivated dates, were little more than a strip of sweet fiber but provided sustenance to the villagers, and the *Raphia* used to make fronds, rafters, ladders, and “machilla” poles for housing.⁸⁰ A vital commodity, palm oil used to grease train engines and make soap for the hygiene conscious respectable Victorians, was highly sought after by the British as a commercial exploit because of the availability of the tree.⁸¹ The Parliamentary report from 1894 stated that the oil palm found in isolated patches along the north-west end of Lake

⁷⁵ Johnston, *Handbook to British Central Africa*, 22, 94.

⁷⁶ Johnston, *Handbook to British Central Africa*, 22, 90.

⁷⁷ Livingstone, “Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi,” 260-68.

⁷⁸ Livingstone, “Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi,” 269.

⁷⁹ Livingstone, “Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi,” 269-270.

⁸⁰ Johnston, *Handbook to British Central Africa*, 89.

⁸¹ Harry Hamilton Johnston, *British Central Africa: An Attempt to Give Some Account of a Portion of the Territories Under British Influence North of the Zambesi* (London: Methuen & Company, 1898), 213.

Nyasa became an abundant resource in the south and south-west end of Tanganyika.⁸² Another prized plant was bamboo, which provided for a sturdy building material that could be split in two to make water pipes as well as other raw materials.⁸³ British settlers noted that bamboo use in Central Africa was not utilized to its full potential, as had been seen in China, as there were many more “extraordinary” uses that were not employed.⁸⁴ Of all the plants that surround Lake Nyasa, reeds and rushes were the most prevalent of flora.⁸⁵ Canes, however, were seen more as a curse because of the large barbed seeds that “endeavor to insert themselves into the flesh.”⁸⁶ Aside from the problematic reeds, growing on land around Nyasa, observers remarked on the excellent grasslands that were ideal for feeding cattle, and they noted it resembled “the grass of English meadows.”⁸⁷ When Europeans arrived, they experimented with various types of grass when creating a homestead. One investigation conducted by the Buchanan Brothers in 1894 found that “dub” grass, imported from Ceylon, was particularly suitable for quick growth and much to the liking of the British because it resembled “a good English lawn.”⁸⁸

⁸² Johnston, *Handbook to British Central Africa*, 91.

⁸³ Johnston, *British Central Africa: An Attempt to Give Some Account of a Portion of the Territories Under British Influence North of the Zambesi*, 8,454-457.

⁸⁴ Johnston, *British Central Africa: An Attempt to Give Some Account of a Portion of the Territories Under British Influence North of the Zambesi*, 455-456.

⁸⁵ Johnston, *British Central Africa: An Attempt to Give Some Account of a Portion of the Territories Under British Influence North of the Zambesi*, 26.

⁸⁶ Johnston, *British Central Africa: An Attempt to Give Some Account of a Portion of the Territories Under British Influence North of the Zambesi*, 46.

⁸⁷ Johnston, *British Central Africa: An Attempt to Give Some Account of a Portion of the Territories Under British Influence North of the Zambesi*, 3.

⁸⁸ Johnston, *British Central Africa: An Attempt to Give Some Account of a Portion of the Territories Under British Influence North of the Zambesi*, 161.

As European settlers made their way into Nyasaland, it became apparent that the land was also rich in minerals, which could bring great wealth to the nation able to claim it. For example, iron ore was smelted continuously by native tribes and made into weapons and tools.⁸⁹ Coal, abundant on the north-west shore of Lake Nyasa, first found by Scottish Missionary Dr. John Kirk, had been used extensively on early steamers to circumnavigate the waters of Lake Nyasa.⁹⁰ More importantly, gold was known to be in the mountains to the south-west of Lake Nyasa and would become a source of conflict for the British, natives, Germans, and Portuguese as miners discovered more of the precious mineral.⁹¹ Nyasaland has a vibrant fauna that provides an ideal hunting ground. Britain's most valuable commercial animal was the African elephant, hunted for its ivory.⁹² The ivory trade was extensive and, in 1893 produced nineteen tons of ivory for exportation valued at approximately 18,252 pounds.⁹³ Most of the ivory originated from Central Luangwa Valley, where hunters reported that the elephants appeared to be “amazingly abundant.”⁹⁴ Although gamesmen hunted elephants all over Africa, these beasts grazed on the lands east of Lake Nyasa and into parts of Portuguese territory.⁹⁵ A report by Commander R.N. Keane stated that giant elephants killed in the Upper Shire provided enormous

⁸⁹ “East Central Africa,” *The Geographical Journal* No. 2234 (London: Royal Geographical Society, 1895): 41, 520.

⁹⁰ Johnston, *British Central Africa: An Attempt to Give Some Account of a Portion of the Territories Under British Influence North of the Zambesi*, 158.

⁹¹ Johnston, *British Central Africa: An Attempt to Give Some Account of a Portion of the Territories Under British Influence North of the Zambesi*, 165.

⁹² P. L. Sclater, “The African Elephant,” *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 21(1879): 139-40.

⁹³ Sclater, “The African Elephant,” 139-40.

⁹⁴ Sclater, “The African Elephant,” 139-40.

⁹⁵ Sclater, “The African Elephant,” 139-40.

amounts of ivory for the ivory trade and the existence of elephants compatible.⁹⁶ Questions remained as to how the two aims coexisted equally, however. A skeptical report in the House of Commons in 1893 suggested that elephants would become extinct if the ivory trade continued to progress in elephants killed.⁹⁷ The report also indicated that Europeans would only be allowed to shoot at an elephant if they obtained a license so that the elephant, ivory trade, and fundamental needs of the native people would all remain intact without harming the existence of the elephant.⁹⁸

Another animal, the rhinoceros, found to be suitable for hunting and export was hunted for its horns but only produced a small revenue, which led to questions of whether the worth of the horn outweighed the killing of the rhino. Interestingly, Commissioner Harry Johnston encouraged the “absolute destruction” of the hippopotamus, which was regarded by him as “the greatest pest of any animal found in Africa.”⁹⁹ Johnston was so adamant about the demise of the hippo that he called for the extermination of the animal and regarded the task as “much less easily accomplished than the elephant,” but more important because the hippo is quicker to breed than the elephant.¹⁰⁰ On the other hand, Johnston wrote that the giraffe, found in the central

⁹⁶ *Correspondence Relating to the Preservation of Wild Animals in Africa* (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1906).

⁹⁷ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Africa*, “Report by Sir A. Hardinge on the condition and progress of the East Africa protectorate from its establishment to the 20 July,” Vol. 60, C. 8683, (1897): 200.

⁹⁸ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Africa*, “Report by Sir A. Hardinge on the condition and progress of the East Africa protectorate from its establishment to the 20 July,” Vol. 60, C. 8683, (1897): 200.

⁹⁹ Johnston, *British Central Africa: An Attempt to Give Some Account of a Portion of the Territories Under British Influence North of the Zambesi*, 170-172.

¹⁰⁰ Johnston, *British Central Africa: An Attempt to Give Some Account of a Portion of the Territories Under British Influence North of the Zambesi*, 21, 165.

valley of Luangwa, was suitable for preservation, and he set a prohibition into effect in 1894 for the British Protectorate.¹⁰¹ British surveyors found that most of Africa's animals had a commercial value, and the preservation or extinction of the animal was decided based on monetary value. The British protectorate stated that since the big game was abundant, the exportation of animal hides was a valuable and profitable business for European colonization.¹⁰²

With new commercial exports of fruits, vegetables, lumber, minerals, and animals, Europeans needed a way to process all the raw materials quickly so that the goods could be transported back to Europe and turned for a profit.

¹⁰¹ Johnston, *British Central Africa: An Attempt to Give Some Account of a Portion of the Territories Under British Influence North of the Zambesi*, 298.

¹⁰² Johnston, *British Central Africa: An Attempt to Give Some Account of a Portion of the Territories Under British Influence North of the Zambesi*, 300.

CHAPTER 2: GROWTH, MODERNIZATION, AND GLOBALIZATION DURING THE PURSUIT OF AFRICA

The colonization of Africa happened during a time of European expansion and technological sophistication that was occurring, most notably in Britain. European interests in Africa created new problems with communication between governments and those colonizing the continent of Africa. The movement of supplies, as well as manpower to defend land and goods obtained during Europe's push into Africa, was severely lacking. New technology such as electricity, advances in medicine to counteract deadly diseases like malaria, and more reliable weapons such as modern rifles and cannons, became readily available. The most critical technology that came out of the nineteenth century for the colonization of Africa would be the steam-powered boat, introduced to African waters in 1830.¹ British explorer M'Gregor Laird used paddle steamers to cross the unpredictable waters of the Niger River.² Laird and his crew were unprepared for the harsh terrain and mosquito-borne illnesses, such as malaria. The journey to explore the Niger River was ambitious at best, but not well planned or executed. Laird's narrative, regarding the expedition, reveals his hopes of establishing commerce between Central Africa, via the Niger River and, in his words, to "open new enterprise and usefulness to those who labor for the amelioration of uncivilized man."³ He writes of his expedition that he hopes his journey may show that "anyone with common sense and common ability may ascend and descend the main artery of Africa with perfect safety."⁴

¹ M'Gregor Laird, *Narrative of an Expedition into the Interior of Africa by the River Niger: In the Steam-vessels Quorra and Alburkah in 1832, 1833 and 1834* (Gloucestershire: Nabu Press, 2011), 1-5.

² "Lander's New Expedition Along the Niger, 1834," *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* 112 (1853): 59.

³ "Lander's New Expedition Along the Niger, 1834," 59.

⁴ "Lander's New Expedition Along the Niger, 1834," 59.

Laird and his financial backers believed that by introducing commerce by way of the Niger, they would be saving the African continent from “the habitation of wild beasts and noxious reptiles, or of man in a condition more disgusting and degrading than either [animal or reptile].”⁵ He also was looking to further the message of Christianity to a nation whose religion “Characterized by violence and blood, by imparting to them the truths of Christianity, . . . which proclaims peace on earth and good-will towards man.”⁶ Laird initially planned to start in the upper part of the Niger River using a large vessel and a small steam-vessel to trade for palm-oil. After discussing the plan with his partner, Richard Lander, decided to use two steam-vessels, for the upper part of the river and meet two larger vessels, the *Quorra* and *Alburkah*, at the mouth of the river.⁷ Constructed to withstand a four thousand mile sea voyage, and then the journey on the Niger, a new type of steamship was required to be built before the trip could take place. The ship, made of wrought iron, was 70 feet on the waterline, 13 feet beam, a depth of 6 ½ feet, and a sixteen-horsepower engine.⁸ The owners of the shipbuilding company were heavily ridiculed for the new type of ship because they thought the boat would “shake the rivets out of the iron,” or being an iron vessel, would “bake the unhappy crew alive.”⁹ Laird, not deterred by the criticism, took his crew of forty to explore the Niger. The crew of the *Quorra* consisted of one captain, two mates, one purser, one medical gentlemen, one boatswain, one Carpenter, two Engineers, two

⁵ “Lander’s New Expedition Along the Niger, 1834,” 59.

⁶ “Lander’s New Expedition Along the Niger, 1834,” 60.

⁷ “Lander’s New Expedition Along the Niger, 1834,” 60.

⁸ “Experimental Trip of the Steamship President,” *The New World: A Weekly Family Journal of Popular Literature, Science, Art and News* 2 (1840): 178.

⁹ “Lander’s New Expedition Along the Niger, 1834,” *Chamber’s Edinburgh Journal*, 112 (1853): 59.

Firemen, two Stewards, one Cook, ten Seamen, and two Apprentices.¹⁰ The *Alburhak's* crew contained: one captain, one Mate, one Surgeon, one Engineer, two Firemen, one Steward, one Cook, and six Seamen.¹¹ The *Quorra*, armed with a twenty-four-pound swivel gun on the forward side, an eighteen-pound carronade, eight four-pound carriage guns on the main deck, and small arms for all of the crew.¹² The *Alburkah* fitted with one nine-pound swivel on the forward side and a swivel on her aft side.¹³

The beginning of the voyage ran into many complications before leaving Britain. While docked in Milford, Laird's ships were detained and forced to stay in the harbor until the 29 July 1832, setting Laird and the crew back ten days. So that they could employ a specialized engineer from the post-office packet, an engineer of the team was discharged at Milford before the journey began.¹⁴ Because steam-vessels were new, engineers who knew how to fix them were in great demand and required higher pay than engineers for other vessels.¹⁵ Laird writes in his book, *Narrative of an Expedition into the Interior of Africa by the River Niger in 1832, 1833, 1834* (1837), that the crew paid 16£ per month for men who would typically earn 30shilling per week.¹⁶ To further exacerbate Laird's annoyance at the slow pace of the journey, the steamers, in his words, "suddenly slackened into that of a quiet jog-trot."¹⁷ Finally reaching the upper Niger,

¹⁰ "The Quorra Expedition Richard Lander," *Christian Index* No. 747 (1833): 172.

¹¹ "The Quorra Expedition Richard Lander," *Christian Index* No. 747 (1833): 172.

¹² "The Quorra Expedition Richard Lander," *Christian Index* No. 747(1833):173.

¹³ "The Quorra Expedition Richard Lander," *Christian Index* No. 747 (1833):173.

¹⁴ Laird, *Narrative of an Expedition into the Interior of Africa*, 10.

¹⁵ Laird, *Narrative of an Expedition into the Interior of Africa*, 11.

¹⁶ Laird, *Narrative of an Expedition into the Interior of Africa*, 12.

¹⁷ Laird, *Narrative of an Expedition into the Interior of Africa*, 15.

Laird and his crew only experienced more hardship as crew members began to fall ill with malaria, and by the end of the voyage, all but nine of the original forty crew members had died.¹⁸

The steamers proved ineffective against the strong currents of the river. They grounded M'Gregor's boats for several weeks, causing the British government to be skeptical of the usefulness of paddle steamers in African waters as well as the intentions of those who sought to open African waters to trade. In 1842, the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* questioned Laird about his motives for wanting a "free migration of the sons of Africa from her land."¹⁹ Laird planned to petition Parliament to allow him to offer African people free passage to out of Africa to areas in the United States, Cuba, and the Caribbean. The destinations, however, were known for the slave trade, which caused suspicion from the Committee on the West African Coast.²⁰ The *Colonial Gazette* published the idea of free emigration, which meant, according to the philosophy presented by the gazette, that not only should African's be free to leave, but slave traders would be allowed to take as many individuals as they pleased from African soil.²¹ Interestingly, the writer of the article in the *Colonial Gazette*, as well as Laird, believed that by opening up emigration but promote the suppression of the slave trade would.²² His reasoning behind his theory was that with the suppression of the slave trade, the value of the slaves that were currently in possession would rise in prices as slaveholders would try to gain a profit before abandoning

¹⁸ Laird, *Narrative of an Expedition into the Interior of Africa*, 339.

¹⁹ "Anti-Slavery Reporter," *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter* 3 (1842): 60.

²⁰ "Anti-Slavery Reporter," *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter* 3 (1842): 60.

²¹ "Anti-Slavery Reporter," *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter* 3 (1842): 60.

²² "Mr. M'Gregor Laird and the Colonial Gazette," *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter* 3 (1842): 149.

the business entirely.²³ With fee emigration, Laird believed that a gradual decline in the slave trade would be more reasonable as the cost would equalize as the decline in the slave trade took place, rather than a sharp increase with the instantaneous suppression.²⁴ Laird's approach to setting up commerce in Africa by way of the Niger river was ideologically and ethically wrong, but his exploration of the Niger using steam-vessels was paramount in showing Britain the value of using the vessels to reach the interior of the African continent. By 1850 steamers were being utilized almost exclusively in West Africa by the African Steamship Company, who procured the British Governments West Africa mail contract.²⁵ The need for a lighter, faster, better-equipped boat was in high demand by European missionaries, explorers, and governments who were in a heated race to claim African territory. Luckily for the British, Alfred Holt would create a revolutionary new engine that would allow steamships to become the premier vessel of African exploration and trade.

In 1860, Alfred Holt created the high-powered-pressure-compound engine, which cut fuel consumption and allowed for extended journeys using steam power rather than wind and sails.²⁶ In 1851, at the age of 21, Alfred Holt finished an apprenticeship and had already shown promise as a railway engineer.²⁷ His plans, incidentally, fell through as the rail industry hit a depression

²³ "Mr. M'Gregor Laird and the Colonial Gazette," *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter* 3 (1842): 149-50.

²⁴"Mr. M'Gregor Laird and the Colonial Gazette," *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter* 3 (1842): 149.

²⁵ Hon. B. Frazier, "Mail Contract," *Journal of the African Repository* 43 (1867): 30.

²⁶ Falkus, *The Blue Funnel Legend*, 1.

²⁷ Duncan Haws and Stephen Rabson, *Merchant Fleets in Profile: Blue Funnel Line* (London: Shield Publications, 2002), 12.

around the same time that Holt was looking for work on the railways.²⁸ The lack of work led him to George Holt's shipping firm, Lamport and Holt, where he worked on a new type of steamship, the Orontes.²⁹ Because Holt was successful as an engineer about the steamship, he was able to secure a job as a manager and engineer of the Dumbarton Youth. Holt began to experiment with a new type of engine that would allow for higher boiler pressure, and an efficient and smaller compound steam engine, and the ability to hold a moderate amount of cargo while not giving up speed. The first ship that Holt experimented with was a merchant ship, the SS Agamemnon.³⁰ Built-in 1865, the vessel's primary purpose was trade between Britain and China.³¹ The ship measured 94.3 meters in length, 11.8 meters beam, 6.3 meters deep, and had a 300 horsepower engine that could reach a speed of 19 kilometers/hour, or 10 knots.³² On the way to China, the SS Agamemnon also stops at Mauritius, an island nation in the Indian Ocean that lies approximately 1,200 miles off the southeast coast of Africa.³³ On 19 April 1866, the Agamemnon completed the fastest recorded passage reaching Mauritius, Africa, in forty days and Singapore, in sixty days, while the round trip journey lasted on 65 days total.³⁴ At the time, the tea clipper, merchant sailing vessels designed for speed, were the primary vessel being used to make the trip to China. The Agamemnon, however, beat the fastest tea clipper by seventy-

²⁸ Falkus, *The Blue Funnel Legend*, 93.

²⁹ Haws and Rabson, *Merchant Fleets in Profile: Blue Funnel Line*, 13.

³⁰ Haws and Rabson, *Merchant Fleets in Profile: Blue Funnel Line*, 14.

³¹ Falkus, *The Blue Funnel Legend*, 1.

³² Falkus, *The Blue Funnel Legend*, 96.

³³ Falkus, *The Blue Funnel Legend*, 73.

³⁴ Falkus, *The Blue Funnel Legend*, 77.

seven days.³⁵ Holt's design not only achieved distance and fuel efficiency but created enough space to carry commercial cargo as well as enough coal for the journey. Henry Cottrell, a British trader who navigated the Nile in the early nineteenth century, recorded that the use of steamers, compared to sailing vessels, was much faster. The ships allowed traders to visit multiple ports with fresh goods, creating a surplus of goods that translated to an almost overnight "divorce" of sailing vessels used by the British in West Africa.³⁶ The rapid decline in sailing vessels and the reduced cost of steamships meant that ordinary entrepreneurs, rather than the wealthy elite could acquire ships. The ability for small business owners to build and use steamers would have a profound impact on the colonization of Africa as the British government would now have to seek out private companies.

The British and African Steam Navigation Company began operations in West Africa during 1869 until it was effectively taken over by Elder Dempster & Company in 1870.³⁷ Both companies worked to reduce and fix freight rates and coordinate shipping dates to give African trade a uniform template for imports and exports. The ability to trade along the coast caused prices in goods to drop dramatically. The price reduction, according to David Livingstone, was a predictable outcome. In 1873, Livingstone stated that before the introduction of the steamship, a few wealthy firms held a monopoly on the trading industry.³⁸ Though West African trade was

³⁵ Falkus, *The Blue Funnel Legend*, 77.

³⁶ Haws and Rabson, *Merchant Fleets in Profile: Blue Funnel Line*, 23.

³⁷ "Elder Dempster & CO.: Tribute to Late Lord Pirrie," *The Field* 143 (1924): 881.

³⁸ Justin D. Livingstone, "*Livingstone's Life & Expeditions*," Adrian S. Wisnicki and Megan Ward, eds. *Livingstone Online*. Adrian S. Wisnicki and Megan Ward, dirs. University of Maryland Libraries, 2015.

thriving, steamships would not reach East Africa until 1872 when Sir William Mackinnon would lend his ships to support the British in attacking slave ships.³⁹

Mackinnon was born 31 March 1823 in Campbellton, Argyll, where he would later be educated and learn the trade of a grocer.⁴⁰ He traveled to Glasgow, and was employed in a silk warehouse for a short time and ultimately found work at an office for a merchant who traded in Asia.⁴¹ In 1847, Mackinnon and an old schoolmate, Robert Mackenzie, traveled to India to trade along the coastline of the Bay of Bengal.⁴² The two formed, Mackinnon, Mackenzie & Co on 12 May 1856, and used the company to create other influential shipping lines like the British India Steam Navigation Company that came to fruition on 8 December 1862.⁴³ Beginning with a single steamer, Mackinnon formed a network of trade vessels that had the primary task of buying and selling goods around the coast of India, Burma, the Persian Gulf, and East Africa.⁴⁴ Mackinnon had been operating in the Indian Ocean and the East African shoreline when he attempted to intervene in the affairs of the Sultan of Zanzibar, Seyyid Barghash.⁴⁵

Mackinnon became heavily involved with anti-slave trade actions in 1870 and, by 1872, led a force against the sultan that culminated in a treaty against the slave trade and public outcry

³⁹ John Macinnes, *The Brave Sons of Skye* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1899), 95.

⁴⁰ Eveleen Myers, "William Mackinnon," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online.

⁴¹ Eveleen Myers, "William Mackinnon," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online.

⁴² Kenneth J. Panton, *Historical Dictionary of the British Empire* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 295.

⁴³ Michael Quentin Morton, "The British India Line in the Arabian Gulf, 1862-82," *Liwa Journal* 5 (2013): 40-63.

⁴⁴ J. Forbes Munro, *Maritime Enterprise, and Empire: Sir William Mackinnon and His Business Network, 1823-1893* (Rochester: The Boydell Press & Brewer Ltd.), 201.

⁴⁵ "Imperial British East Africa Company," *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 9 (1889): 137.

in Britain towards slavery in Africa.⁴⁶ By 1873, Mackinnon, Mackenzie & Co developed a mail service between Zanzibar and Aden gaining the trust of the sultan and establishing trade and influence in the area.⁴⁷ As Mackinnon's trading territory grew, the British government began to take notice of his accomplishments and sought to use his network to gain access to East Africa. Mackinnon and the Sultan opened contract negotiations to lease land along the coast of East Africa to Britain. Still, the talks fell through when the British government declined to finance the concession and lost what would become the German East African territory of Lake Nyasa, Tanganyika, and Victoria Nyasa.⁴⁸ Though the British left negotiations with the sultan, their ambitions of gaining access to East Africa had not subsided. In 1888, Mackinnon formed the Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEAC) and used it to fully support the British government in establishing influence in East Africa, stopping monopolies on trade, and ending the slave trade.⁴⁹ The IBEAC would later become what is known as the British East Africa Protectorate, which encompassed present-day Kenya from the Indian Ocean inland to the border of Uganda on the West.⁵⁰

Even though Mackinnon was successful in establishing trade with India and East Africa, he has been seen by some historians as a loose cannon with no real objective to his investments or his ports of call. British historian John S. Gailbraith (1916-2003) writes that Mackinnon had no real plan, but that he was simply an "aging man with Afro-mania" who sought recognition

⁴⁶ "Imperial British East Africa Company," *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 9 (1889): 137.

⁴⁷ "Imperial British East Africa Company," *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 9 (1889): 137.

⁴⁸ Mike Lowe, *Reluctant Imperialists Pt. 2* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2013), 66-67.

⁴⁹ "Imperial British East Africa Company," *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 9 (1889): 135.

⁵⁰ Vere-Hodge, Edward Reginald, *Imperial British East Africa Company* (London: Macmillan, 1960), 3,14,83.

overpower.⁵¹ Author Christopher Wrigley, however, saw Mackinnon's actions as more calculated and economically based rather than spontaneous and irrational. He argues that Mackinnon seems to have no real objective in East Africa because his investments were too spread out and varied, making his returns look more like a gamble than a well-thought strategy.⁵² Whatever Mackinnon's intentions may have been, he opened up East Africa for the use of the steamship by the British government into the interior of East Africa and the suppression of the slave trade. His irrational behavior and inconsistent investments paid off for Europeans by opening new business and exploration in an otherwise untapped gold mine of new resources. It wasn't just new technology that paved the way for European dominance during the colonization of Africa; advanced engineering created a god-like ability to shape the terrain, and meet the needs of rapidly emerging globalization. The Suez Canal would revolutionize engineering, travel, trade, and test political boundaries and dominance.

Formally opening on 17 November 1869, the Suez Canal, a human-made waterway that links the Mediterranean Sea to the Indian Ocean from the Red Sea, enabled a direct shipping route between Europe and Asia without having to travel around the African continent.⁵³ Officially, the first recorded vessel to enter the Suez Canal was the French Imperial Yacht, *L'Aigle*. Unofficially, however, on 16 November 1869, British Captain George Nares navigated the HMS Newport, a British Navy ship, to the front of the line before the ceremonial opening. In true British fashion, the British government reprimanded Nares, but later secretly applauded him

⁵¹ John S. Galbraith, *Mackinnon and East Africa 1878-1895: A Study in the 'New Imperialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 160.

⁵² J. Forbes Monroe, "Shipping Subsidies and Railway Guarantees: William Mackinnon, Eastern Africa, and the Indian Ocean, 1860-93," *The Journal of African History* 28 (1987): 209-30.

⁵³ Arnold Wilson, "The Suez Canal," *Royal Institute of International Affairs* 18 (1939): 380-95.

for “promoting the country’s regional interest.” The Suez Canal had a profound impact on worldwide trade as well as profit for Britain and was integral for the colonization of Africa. The canal not only created a direct route from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean but paved the way for increased shipping traffic and trade. In 1870, 489 ships carrying 436,609 tons of cargo passed through the canal to trade with Asia, and in as little as five years, the number of boats increased by 32.7% and cargo by 21.8%.⁵⁴ With the ease of access to major trading routes, it became apparent that the Suez Canal was not only crucial to shipping but government control.

In 1882 the Egyptian army began repairs of the dilapidated Fort Silsileh as the British Army nervously watched from the Alexandria Bay.⁵⁵ As progress on the Fort began to show signs of a possible military buildup, the British took preemptive action. On 10 July 1882, Admiral Beauchamp Seymour sent an ultimatum to surrender within 24 hours or be attacked.⁵⁶ Egyptian Colonel Urabi Pasha rejected the British attempts to halt construction on the Fort, and on the morning of 11 July 1882 came under attack by British ships.⁵⁷ The British, nervous that the Suez Canal would fall to the enemy, sent Navy warships to bombard Alexandria. Egyptians were furious at the British for the attack and declared war. Commander Wyatt Rawson of the British Army led the attack on two key positions, Kafr El Dawwar, and Tel-el-Kabir. After five intense weeks of battle, Urabi’s forces repelled British troops at Kafr El Dawwar, causing the

⁵⁴ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Suez Canal*, No.7 “Returns of shipping and tonnage: 1885, 1886, and 1887, [In continuation of Commercial No. 9: 1887],” 1888, Vol 90, C.5366, 94.727: 1-10.

⁵⁵“ART. I.-Military History of the Campaign of 1882 in Egypt,” *The Edinburgh Review*, 167 (1888): 289.

⁵⁶ “ART. I.-Military History of the Campaign of 1882 in Egypt,” *The Edinburgh Review* 167 (1888): 290.

⁵⁷ House of Lords Sessional Papers, *Egypt*, No. 519 “Correspondence Respecting the Affairs of Egypt,” 1882, Vol 25, 3391: 262.

British to abandon the march towards Cairo.⁵⁸ The second position, Tel-el-Kebir, was Urabi's primary stronghold. Here he had strategically placed his troops between Tel-el-Kebir and the Sweetwater Canal to cut access to Cairo.⁵⁹ Lieutenant General Garnet Wolseley marched his troops through the cover of darkness and arrived at Tel-el-Kabir at approximately 5:00 am on 13 September 1882.⁶⁰ The Highland Brigade, led by Major General Archibald Alison, was the first to encounter Egyptian forces and led the charge on defensive positions.⁶¹ The battle lasted only an hour, and British estimates show that fifty-seven of their own men and over two thousand Egyptian troops killed.⁶² The British then pursued the remaining Egyptian forces to Cairo, where they surrendered, and on 14 September 1882, Urabi was arrested by British forces, court-martialed, and exiled to Sri Lanka.⁶³ The previous ruler, Khedive Twafiq, was placed in power by the British, and permanent British control established.⁶⁴ On 29 October 1888, at the Convention of Constantinople, Britain, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Spain, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Russia, and the Ottoman Empire signed a treaty allowing all nations to use the Suez

⁵⁸ House of Lords Sessional Papers, *Egypt*, No. 519 "Correspondence Respecting the Affairs of Egypt," 1882, Vol 25, 3391: 262.

⁵⁹ "Arabi's Account of His Life and the Events of 1881-1882, As Told to Me, Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, in Arabic Yesterday, March 16th, 1903, at Sheykh Obeyd," *Secret History of the English Occupation in Egypt* (London: Chiswick Press, 1907), 494-495.

⁶⁰ Lieutenant-General Wolseley's appointment as Commander-in-Chief of the British army in Egypt. WO 33/40 no.119 (4 Aug 1882).

⁶¹ House of Lords Sessional Papers, *Egypt*, No. 519 "Correspondence Respecting the Affairs of Egypt," 1882, Vol 25, 3391: 265.

⁶² House of Lords Sessional Papers, *Egypt*, No. 519 "Correspondence Respecting the Affairs of Egypt," 1882, Vol 25, 3391: 266.

⁶³ House of Lords Sessional Papers, *Egypt*, No. 519 "Correspondence Respecting the Affairs of Egypt," 1882, Vol 25, 3391: 266.

⁶⁴ "Arabi's Account of His Life and the Events of 1881-1882, As Told to Me, Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, in Arabic Yesterday, March 16th, 1903, at Sheykh Obeyd." *Secret History of the English Occupation in Egypt* (London: Chiswick Press, 1907), 494-5.

Canal.⁶⁵ Having gained control of Egypt and more specifically the Suez Canal, Britain also gained control of formerly Egyptian held territories in South Sudan, thus opening up the interior of Africa for British colonization.

British Colonial Administrator Fredrick Lugard was the first to establish indirect rule in East Africa.⁶⁶ Frederick Lugard was born in India and educated in England, where he attended the Royal Military College at Sandhurst. After only a brief time in college, he joined the Norfolk Regiment and began a post in India.⁶⁷ In 1880, while serving in the British military, Lugard was involved in the British imperial advance, where he served as an officer in multiple campaigns fighting in Afghanistan, Sudan, and Burma.⁶⁸ Unfortunately, at the height of his military career, he was involved in an extramarital-affair that virtually destroyed his chances of moving up in the ranks of the British military.⁶⁹ After dealing with the loss of his reputation and his failed relationship, Lugard traveled to East Africa, where he became a mercenary and fought Arab slave raiders near Lake Nyasa until 1888 when he was severely wounded.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ House of Commons Sessional Papers. *Suez Canal*. No 2, "Convention between Great Britain, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Spain, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Russia, and Turkey, respecting the free navigation of the Suez Maritime Canal. Signed at Constantinople" 1888, Vol 87, C.5623:1-10.

⁶⁶ Joseph Elliot and Clarence Fry, "Frederick Lugard," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online.

⁶⁷ Joseph Elliot and Clarence Fry, "Frederick Lugard," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online.

⁶⁸ Margery Permham, Baron Lugard and John Dealtry Frederick, eds., *The Diaries of Lord Lugard* (London: Northwestern University Press, 1959), 18, 305, 313.

⁶⁹ Joseph Elliot and Clarence Fry, "Frederick Lugard," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online.

⁷⁰ Joseph Elliot and Clarence Fry, "Frederick Lugard," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online.

In August of 1890, he partnered with the Imperial British East Africa Company. He led a caravan to Buganda, where he helped negotiate a long-standing struggle between Animist, Muslims, Protestants, and Roman Catholics.⁷¹ British and French expansion into Buganda was the leading cause for the continuing conflict that put Protestant, Catholic, and Animist missionaries in danger. Being of Islamic conversion, the people of Buganda saw white, Christian, missionaries as a danger to their faith and their land.

Bishop James Hannington began his journey to Africa in 1882 when he left England for Uganda. When he first arrived, he was unsuccessful at reaching Buganda because of constant fevers that left him debilitated. He returned to England to recover and returned to Uganda in 1885.⁷² Attempting to approach Uganda from an alternate direction, Hannington passed through Mwangi's territory and found himself immediately surrounded by Mwangi's men.⁷³ Hannington's journal tells of his harrowing experience as he was dragged and beaten while being threatened with death.⁷⁴ He attempted to escape the chaos with no avail and taken by Mwangi's men to a hut used to display him as a trophy until his death on 29 October 1885.⁷⁵ In 1885, before Lugard's involvement, Mwangi had been paranoid of English and German invaders who were stealing his property and had an English Bishop by the name of James Hannington arrested so that he had a bargaining chip if the English sent troops.⁷⁶ Mwangi received word that British

⁷¹ William Joseph Smith, "The Trouble in Uganda." *The New Review* 7, No. 38 (1892): 92-104.

⁷² Charles D. Michael, *James Hannington; the merchant's son who was martyred for Africa* (London: Pickering & Inglis, 1928), 95.

⁷³ George Stodart, "James Hannington," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online.

⁷⁴ George Stodart, "James Hannington," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online.

⁷⁵ George Stodart, "James Hannington," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online.

⁷⁶ George Stodart, "James Hannington," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online.

travelers were heading towards Buganda and immediately ordered Hannington to be killed.⁷⁷

Reverend A.M. Mackay, another British missionary, reported that Hannington's final words were, "Go tell Mwanga I have purchased the road to Uganda with blood."⁷⁸

John Foxe's book, *Voices of the Martyrs: AD 33 to Today*, shares another perspective about Hannington's death through the narrative of Mwanga's advisor.⁷⁹ While traveling to the Kingdom of Buganda, Mwanga ordered Hannington to be speared.⁸⁰ His death was condemned by Mwanga's chief advisor, Joseph Mucosa Balikuddembe, one of the first Christian converts by British missionaries to Buganda.⁸¹ He urged peace between travelers and the Kingdom of Buganda, feeling that it was customary to give a condemned man the ability to defend himself against accusation while offering harsh criticism of Mwanga's actions.⁸² Balikuddembe believed that Hannington was a European traveler, a significant man who held a title, and most importantly, was killed outside of the kingdom because of Mwanga's superstitious beliefs.⁸³ His criticism of the king's decision did not go over well, which led to Mwanga having him beheaded

⁷⁷ George Stodart, "James Hannington," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online.

⁷⁸ J.W.H. Mackay, *A.M. Mackay: Pioneer Missionary of the Church Missionary Society Uganda* (Kessinger Publishing, 2010), 313.

⁷⁹ John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* was originally published in 1563. The book used for this citation is a reprint and update to John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* with added stories of modern-day martyrs. Bishop Hannington's account was found in the updated version of *Book of the Martyrs*. John Foxe, *Voices of the Martyrs: AD 33 to Today* (Camarillo: Salem Books, 2019), 236.

⁸⁰ Aylward Shorter, "Joseph Balikuddembe," *Dictionary of African Christian Biography*, Online.

⁸¹ Aylward Shorter, "Joseph Balikuddembe," *Dictionary of African Christian Biography*, Online.

⁸² Aylward Shorter, "Joseph Balikuddembe," *Dictionary of African Christian Biography*, Online.

⁸³ Foxe, *Voices of the Martyrs: AD 33 to Today*, 240.

for his betrayal.⁸⁴ Mwanga's rage continued, and on 3 June 1886, Mwanga had thirty-two men and boys burned at the stake. The oldest, Charles Lwanga, was the headman in Mwanga's household, and the youngest, thirteen-year-old, Kizito, a page boy, was said to have laughed and mocked Mwanga while burning alive.⁸⁵

After witnessing Mwanga's immense brutality, Mackay, in haste and desperation, wrote a letter to Colonel Euan-Smith on 28 February 1888, hoping to gain the sympathy from the British government by stressing his fear of death at the hands of Mwanga.⁸⁶ Between 24 January and 05 February, Mwanga received word that Germany and England had taken portions of his land. Out of anger, he had Mackay taken prisoner so that he "had someone to kill" if he received reports of English coming to avenge Bishop Hannington's death.⁸⁷ In an attempt to secure his remaining land, Mwanga was able to trade for 20,000 rounds of cartridges to repel anyone who might attempt to attack him.⁸⁸ It was at this time Frederick Lugard arrived in Buganda and began negotiations with Mwanga.

Because of his mastery in settling the conflict without violence, he was able to gain the allegiance of Mwanga, and on 26 December 1890, a treaty was signed granting the Imperial British East Africa Company power over revenue, trade and judicial authorities in Buganda.⁸⁹

⁸⁴ Foxe, *Voices of the Martyrs: AD 33 to Today*, 241.

⁸⁵ Foxe, *Voices of the Martyrs: AD 33 to Today*, 245.

⁸⁶ House of Lords Sessional Papers, *Accounts and Papers, Colonies and British Possessions* "The Rev. A.M. Mackay to Colonel Euan-Smith," 1888, Vol. 10, C. 5603, 25.

⁸⁷ House of Lords Sessional Papers, *Accounts and Papers, Colonies and British Possessions* "The Rev. A.M. Mackay to Colonel Euan-Smith," 1888, Vol. 10, C. 5603, 25.

⁸⁸ "ART. VI. -Captain Lugard in East Africa," *London Quarterly Review* 2 (1894): 330-7.

⁸⁹ "ART. VI. -Captain Lugard in East Africa." *London Quarterly Review*, 2 (1894): 335-40.

The agreement allowed Britain to connect a vital trade route that extended from Buganda and then south via the Songwe River to Lake Nyasa.⁹⁰

The Songwe River forms the border of Nyasaland (modern-day Malawi), and Tanzania. Because of its swift waters, the border is continually changed and caused land disputes. As early as 1886, Germany had been sending cruisers onto African waters to survey territory in East Africa.⁹¹ The first reported cruiser to sail into East Africa was the Herman Von Wissman, a Bismarck class corvette measuring, 82 meters, with a beam of 13.7 meters and a draft of 5.2 meters forward.⁹² The typical crew consisted of 18 officers and 386 enlisted men.⁹³ A single steam engine pushed one double-bladed screw propeller, with steam provided by four coal-fired boilers.⁹⁴ The ship's top speed was around 13.8 knots at 2,866 metric horsepower and armed with a fourteen 15 cm, 22-caliber, and two 30-caliber guns along with a revolver cannon.⁹⁵

⁹⁰ Gray and Peters, *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 290-7.

⁹¹ "Facilities to Slave-Traders in Central Africa." *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 14, No. 4 (1894): 234-7.

⁹² House of Lords Sessional Papers, *Reports on the administration of Rhodesia*, "The German steamer *Hedwig von Wissmann* is already launched and has been under steam. Although built and controlled by the German government this vessel, like her sister ship the *Hermann von Wissmann* on Lake Nyasa," (1889): 92.

⁹³ House of Lords Sessional Papers, *Reports on the administration of Rhodesia*, "The German steamer *Hedwig von Wissmann* is already launched and has been under steam. Although built and controlled by the German government this vessel, like her sister ship the *Hermann von Wissmann* on Lake Nyasa," (1889): 92.

⁹⁴ House of Lords Sessional Papers, *Reports on the administration of Rhodesia*, "The German steamer *Hedwig von Wissmann* is already launched and has been under steam. Although built and controlled by the German government this vessel, like her sister ship the *Hermann von Wissmann* on Lake Nyasa," (1889): 92.

⁹⁵ House of Lords Sessional Papers, *Reports on the administration of Rhodesia*, "The German steamer *Hedwig von Wissmann* is already launched and has been under steam. Although built and controlled by the German government this vessel, like her sister ship the *Hermann von Wissmann* on Lake Nyasa," (1889): 92.

The British were suspicious of the activity and knew that securing the territory around Nyasaland was imperative. Legitimization of British claims and German interests warranted the signing of the Heligoland-Zanzibar Treaty of 1890, which gave Germany the Heligoland Archipelago to control the Kiel Canal, and Britain gained Zanzibar, allowing for virtually uncontested control of east Africa and access to Lake Nyasa.⁹⁶ The treaty is significant because it gave Germany the power to claim Tanganyika as a German colony while promising to refrain from venturing further into British controlled Kenya.⁹⁷ Germans were not happy that the treaty appeared to lose or even abandon German claims in East Africa. What the people of Germany did not understand was that the agreement allowed for a strategic position directly across from British controlled Nyasaland along the Songwe River. The river was vital to the British, but also equally important to local tribes like the ‘Ngonde’ that traded goods with the British. The Ngonde, a matriarchal society that speaks Nyakyusa, which is part of the Bantu language, lived in the mountains of southern Tanzania and Northern Nyasaland and cultivated bananas to trade for weapons.⁹⁸ Their trading power was limited as their resources were minimal, but they were significant to the British as laborers for the ivory trade.⁹⁹ After establishing the British protectorate, the Ngonde chiefs were incorporated into British control and assimilated to

⁹⁶ Charles W. Dilke, “The Conservative Foreign Policy,” *Fortnightly Review* 301 (1892): 3-5.

⁹⁷ Beckett, Ernest W, “England and Germany in Africa,” *Fortnightly Review* 283 (1890): 119-164.

⁹⁸ *A Bibliography on the Nyakyusa-Ngonde People of Tanzania and Malawi* (New York: Institute of Nyakyusa-Ngonde Studies, 1995), 1-2.

⁹⁹ *A Bibliography on the Nyakyusa-Ngonde People of Tanzania and Malawi* (New York: Institute of Nyakyusa-Ngonde Studies, 1995), 5-9.

European influence.¹⁰⁰ With their territory secured, the British began a campaign to transform Nyasaland, and Lake Nyasa into a colonized land.

¹⁰⁰ *A Bibliography on the Nyakyusa-Ngonde People of Tanzania and Malawi* (New York: Institute of Nyakyusa-Ngonde Studies, 199), 11-17.

CHAPTER 3: SLAVE-RAIDING, SLAVE TRADING, AND THE LAKE NYASA INCIDENT

The strategic importance of trade routes in and out of East Africa through Lake Nyasa provides a curious amalgam of European dominance, Arabic influence, and African submission. British Central Africa Protectorate controlled the territory west of Lake Nyasa from North-East Rhodesia and cut through Portuguese controlled Mocambique or modern-day Mozambique. Portugal and Germany controlled the east side of the lake and allowed Arabic slave raiders to access trade routes by trading goods to the Europeans for guns and slaves.¹ Britain's Parliament and Protectorate authorities expected European nations not only to recognize but remain mindful of the political supremacy of British slave trade policies in British controlled territory, as well as the non-British controlled surrounding area.² The Sultan of Zanzibar, Sayyid Hamud Al-Busad V (r. 1893-1896), operated as the principal financier of the clove trade from Zanzibar's slave plantations, which were the island's main export.³ The nature of the goods that Al-Busad relied on for income depended heavily on the slave trade, which quickly turned people into a commodity, thus generating capital gains. Historically, the Sultan aligned himself with British rule for both profit and protection. During the reign of Sultan Sayyid Sir Barghash (r. 1870-1888), infrastructures such as piped water, paved roads, and professionally built buildings created in Zanzibar increased commerce and trade to an already thriving area. In 1890, Britain and Sayyid Barghash signed the Heligoland-Zanzibar treaty with Germany, making Zanzibar a

¹ Charles H. Allen, "Facilities to Slave-Traders in Central Africa," *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 14 (1894): 320-2.

² Charles H. Allen, "Facilities to Slave-Traders in Central Africa," *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 14 (1894): 320-2.

³ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Zanzibar*, "Diplomatic and Consular Reports on Trade and Finance," Vol 85. C.6650, (1892): 133.

British protectorate and establishing British anti-slave laws in the area.⁴ By 1897, to further the political interests of the sultanate, Barghash signed an agreement with Britain to prohibit the trade of slaves in the region.⁵

Despite efforts made from the time the *Abolition Act of 1833 to 1890*, Arabic immigrants to Zanzibar had already set up networks of extensive slave-raiding, slave-trading, and ivory trading in the interior of Zanzibar while expanding their network of slave trading along the coastline.⁶ In 1865 the British Consul at Zanzibar stated that Arabic society as a whole thrived on slavery and would never abandon the pursuit of slaves.⁷ Generations of Arabic people have relied on slaves, and as a people, cannot fathom what society without slaves would entail.⁸ Knowing the importance of slavery to the Arabic immigrants, the Sultan used his political position and geographical location to capitalize on the incoming Arab communities along with the Indian subjects of Great Britain who settled in the Sultan's domain. The thriving slave trade in Zanzibar confirmed a suspicion by the British that they were losing the foothold on business and political relations. As early as 1857, M. Davenport Hill, a British lawyer, was questioning the validity of Dr. Livingstone's claims regarding the effectiveness of British intervention in the

⁴ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Africa*, "Correspondence Respecting the Anglo-German Agreement Relative to Africa and Heligoland." No. 6. Vol. 51. C. 6046, (1890),

⁵ "The Abolition of Slavery in Zanzibar," *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 17, No. 2 (1897): 84-9.

⁶ C. Euan-Smith, "Zanzibar," *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 10 (1890): 290-2.

⁷ Benyan Saud Turki, "Sayyid Khalid Bin Barghash, Britain and the Throne of Zanzibar/Sayyid Khalid Bin Barghash, Gran Bretaña y El Trono De Zanzibar." *Anaquel De Estudios Árabes* (2010): 35-40.

⁸ Benyan Saud Turki, "Sayyid Khalid Bin Barghash, Britain and the Throne of Zanzibar/Sayyid Khalid Bin Barghash, Gran Bretaña y El Trono De Zanzibar." *Anaquel De Estudios Árabes* (2010): 40-53.

slave trade. Hill describes Britain's efforts in Africa as “an over-bustling housemaid with her duster, driving the object of [Britain's] hostility from one place to take refuge in another.”⁹

The threat of slave trading to British territories was more than an ethical dilemma; it was political and economic as well. Britain's reasons for involving the slave-trade acted as a catalyst for expansion into areas of East Africa by appealing to the local chiefs and indigenous people affected by slave raiders.¹⁰ Britain's impact on the slave trade was essential to abolition, but economic expansion was the real goal.¹¹ The British used the slave trade as a means to interrupt European and Arabic relations with the East African people by appealing to their safety and pledging British political and military backing. Treaties such as the previously mentioned Heligoland-Zanzibar treaty (1890) solidified allegiance while British law promulgated in East Africa.

A similar strategy, used in 1860 by Britain, after Zanzibar adamantly declared that Britain and France respect its independence, gave the British Government the upper hand in the turbulent region. The British Government wanted to maintain a balance of European power and grew increasingly suspicious of France's movements towards seizing the island and dominating the Indian Ocean trade.¹² France, on the other hand, recognized British missionaries as threats to their control in the greater Zanzibar area, which strained and enfeebled Anglo-French international relations in the area.¹³ Representatives from Britain and France met in Paris on 10

⁹ “Immediate Versus Gradual Emancipation,” *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 12 (1892): 76.

¹⁰ “Imperial Interest in East Africa,” *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 155 (1894): 860-862.

¹¹ “Imperial Interest in East Africa,” *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 155 (1894): 863-870.

¹² “The French in the Indian Ocean,” *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 2 (1882): 8-10.

¹³ J. S. Keltie, “British Interest in Africa,” *The Contemporary Review* 54 (1888): 115-25.

March 1862 and signed the Zanzibar Guaranty Treaty, which lasted twenty years.¹⁴ Because the treaty officially recognized the independence Zanzibar, the treaty had long lasting effects.

Suspicious of France explain Britain's political and economic stake in Zanzibar, as well as the urgency to stop slave trading in the area as the attention of European nations, focused on the tiny island as an essential ally and producer of goods. Britain knew that the Government who could secure Zanzibar under its flag would control East Africa and the trade routes of Nyasa.

By the late nineteenth century, Britain pursued slave-trading infractions aggressively as Arab-Swahili slave-trading came to a crisis point by mid-1880. One theory, proposed by David Livingstone in his report to Parliament, suggested that the only way to stop slave trading was to supplant it with legitimate commerce.¹⁵ Livingstone, a physician by trade, a missionary by faith, abolitionist, and explorer, had traversed much of Central, Southern, and East Africa. In 1852, He embarked on a journey to find a route from the upper Zambezi River to the mouth of the Indian Ocean.¹⁶ By 1856, he became the first European to cross the width of southern Africa, making him a national hero and is attributed to beginning the “Scramble for Africa.”¹⁷ Upon returning to Britain, Livingston spoke about the evils of slavery and worked closely with the abolition

¹⁴ J. A. Kieran, “The Origins of the Zanzibar Guarantee Treaty of 1862,” *Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue Canadienne Des Études Africaines* 2 (1968): 147-66.

¹⁵ David Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Research in South Africa, including a sketch of sixteen years residence in the interior of Africa and a journey from the Cape of Good Hope to Loanda on the West Coast; Thence across the Continent, Down to the River Zambesi, to the Eastern Ocean* (London: 1857), 251.

¹⁶ Charles Livingstone and David Livingstone, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and Its Tributaries: And of the Discovery of the Lakes Shirwa and Nyassa. 1858-1864* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1866), 18.

¹⁷ Livingstone and Livingstone, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and Its Tributaries*, 16.

movement to stop the slave trade in Africa.¹⁸ In 1858 he left for Africa once more but was recalled by the British Government after failing to deliver any useful or new information.¹⁹ While drifting down the Zambezi River on a steamboat, he recalls seeing the “bleached white and bloated” carcasses of slaves on the river banks.²⁰ The bodies of the women and children burned, and the bodies of the men thrown into the river.²¹ In disgust, he recounts another incident where he watched as two crocodiles fought over the body of a slave while shredding the body apart.²² He notes that on one occasion, he came to a slave-raiding camp that extended to both sides of the river where, once again, slave raiders were killing the men and throwing them into the river.²³ There were so many dead bodies in the river the steamer wheel of the boat on which Livingstone rode upon, became jammed with the dead bodies.²⁴ Livingstone knew the disturbing reality of the slave trade in East Africa, and it was painfully clear that the practice had reached a critical point by the later nineteenth century to which the British would have to respond with decisive and strategic determination. In Britain, there was confusion as to the actual situation in East Africa regarding slave-raiding along the coast of Zanzibar, specifically the

¹⁸ Livingstone and Livingstone, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and Its Tributaries*, 23-4.

¹⁹ Livingstone and Livingstone, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and Its Tributaries*, 20.

²⁰ “Dr. Livingstone's African Expedition: Effects of the Slave-trade a Panic, Drought and Famine, Thousands of Lives Lost,” *New York Times*, (1863): 2.

²¹ Livingstone and Livingstone, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and Its Tributaries*, 27-30.

²² Livingstone and Livingstone, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and Its Tributaries*, 30.

²³ Livingstone and Livingstone, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and Its Tributaries*, 30-33.

²⁴ Livingstone and Livingstone, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and Its Tributaries*, 25-33.

patrolled waters of Lake Nyasa. In 1890 reports came in that the British Commissioner to Zanzibar, Mr. Harry Johnston, possibly made contracts with porters from Zanzibar or third-party slave traders.²⁵

Harry Hamilton Johnston, born 12 June 1858 in London, was the oldest of twelve children and is described as a “short man with a high pitched voice.”²⁶ His ambitions were more significant than his opportunities, and given his height and tendency to speak in what some called a “whiny tone” he found his passion for public speaking and politics was nothing more than a dream.²⁷ Johnston's shortcomings did not deter him, however; a man of many talents he dabbled in botany, zoology, art, languages such as French and Portuguese, which he learned while attending night classes at King's College in London.²⁸ By 1882, Johnston had become an avid explorer and began traversing Africa, where he would meet the famous British explorer, H.M. Stanley.²⁹ Stanley instructed Johnston on how to collect samples more efficiently and document his findings more accurately.³⁰ He also helped Johnston make his way to Bolobo, where he learned about the culture and language of the Bantu people.³¹ Returning to England, Johnston spent his time writing books related to East Africa, which garnered him a well-

²⁵ House of Commons Hansards, *Nyasaland*, “Commons Sitting of Monday, 1st June 1891,” Vol. 353, C. 1357 (1891): 1460.

²⁶ Roland Oliver, “Harry Johnston,” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online.

²⁷ Roland Oliver, “Harry Johnston,” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online.

²⁸ Roland Oliver, “Harry Johnston,” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online.

²⁹ “Travels in Uganda.: Sir Harry Johnston's Travels and Discoveries in a Little-Known Land,” *New York Times* (1901): 2.

³⁰ Roland Oliver, “Harry Johnston”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Online.

³¹ “The Kilimanjaro Expedition: A Record of Scientific Exploration in Eastern Equatorial Africa,” *The Athenaeum* No. 3038 (1886): 95-96.

respected reputation as a seasoned traveler. His reputation and expertise led to an appointment by the Royal Geographical Society to lead an expedition to Mount Kilimanjaro in 1884.³²

By 1888 and 1889 the Colonial Office had appointed Johnston as consul in Mozambique. It is here that Johnston is heavily involved with British and African politics. His primary duty as consul was to increase British claims on behalf of Cecil Rhodes for the “From the Cape to Cairo,” railway. Secretly, however, the Colonial Office tasked him with making treaties with the African chiefs to counter the Portuguese suspected of trying to make treaties with the leaders as well.³³ In a chance meeting, Johnston became acquainted with Cecil Rhodes and made an agreement that Rhodes would finance Johnston's treaty-making.³⁴ To accomplish this, Johnston would transfer acquired land to the British South Africa Company.³⁵ Rhodes is one of the most influential people in East Africa during the latter part of the nineteenth century. He used his wealth, reputation, business influence, and personal feelings of white supremacy to exploit and oppress the people of British Central Africa, as well as promote an expansionist view. In 1880 Rhodes and a business partner, C.D. Rudd, started the De Beers Mining Company and invested £200,000 of capital, giving the company the most substantial investment in the mine and guaranteeing a monopoly on mining in Central Africa.³⁶ In 1889, Rhodes secured a charter for

³² Afrikander, “Mr. H.H. Johnston and the British South Africa Company,” *Fortnightly Review*, (1893): 293-296.

³³ Harry Johnston, “The Story of My Life.” *The Graphic* 108 (1923): 55.

³⁴ “Our Expansion in Central Africa,” *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art* 78 (1894): 549-550.

³⁵ Afrikander, “Mr. H.H. Johnston and the British South Africa Company,” *Fortnightly Review* 53 (1893): 293-296.

³⁶ J. Bucknall Smith, “Diamond Mining in South Africa.” *Strand Magazine: An Illustrated Monthly* 11 (1896): 346-54.

the British South Africa Company (BSAC) to govern from the Limpopo River to the great lakes of Central Africa, and later parts of the Zambezi, Kake Mweru, and Nyasaland.³⁷ The British Colonial Office granted Rhodes authority over Nyasaland because of the British presence of Scottish missionaries who were there helping to end the slave trade. The BSCA, however, used brutal tactics to enforce dominance over the native people in Matabeleland and Mashonaland and repelled two uprisings by the Ndebele and Shona tribes, one in 1893 to 1894 and another from 1896 to 1897.³⁸ The tribes felt threatened by the influx of white settlers who came to work the mines but ended up staying and taking over farms, Government, and land.

Johnston reluctantly granted Rhodes the land, which would become Rhodesia but was adamant about keeping the territory, which was Nyasaland since British missionaries already established themselves there.³⁹ From 1889 to 1890, Johnston was busy making treaties with the African Chiefs and trying desperately to finance his newly acquired protectorate.⁴⁰ By 1891 he was appointed commissioner and consul-general for the territories under British influence to the north of the Zambezi. Still, there was not a significant amount of supplies, soldiers, and communications provided by the British Government, and the situation became more detrimental to him as he faced daily threats from slave-raiders and an insurmountable deficit.⁴¹ Parliament

³⁷ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *British South Africa Company's Territories* "(I.) Charter of the British South Africa Company, October 29, 1889, (II.) Order in Council, May 9, 1891, (III.) Order in Council, July 18, 1894," Vol. 157. C. 8773 (1889).

³⁸ "The Matabele Campaign, 1896; being a Narrative of the Campaign in Suppressing the Native Rising in Matabeleland and Mashonaland." *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art* 84 (1897): 201.

³⁹ Afrikander, "Mr. H.H. Johnston and the British South Africa Company." *Fortnightly Review* 53 (1893): 293-296.

⁴⁰ Johnston, "The Story of My Life," 62.

⁴¹ "Serious News from Lake Nyassa," *The Scotsman* 12 (1889).

mostly ignored his pleas for additional support as the situation became increasingly more dangerous for Johnston and British subjects located in East Africa.

Parliament requested that proof of Harry Johnston's engagement with slaves and their contracts were limited to the commission of porters and the promise of freedom when the agreement was complete.⁴² However, Sir J. Fergusson offered a conflicting report that the Government does not have any contracts, and the stories are positive on the arrangements that have already settled.⁴³ The lack of detailed information coupled with the agonizing delay in communication between Britain and Johnston in East Africa caused an eventual breakdown in regional stability along the coastlines of Lake Nyasa. During a Commons Sitting on 28 April 1893, the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Sir Earl Grey, stated that despite reports of a massive slave trade revolt led by Abu Bakr, Johnston had responded with police reinforcements rapidly leaving no cause for anxiety⁴⁴ The reality was much more severe, and the frequent attacks and brutality of attacks that Johnston was facing were going unnoticed by Parliament. During this time of uncertainty, Johnston developed the idea of a protectorate government that would educate the people of Africa rather than exploits the people through economic means.⁴⁵ His form of Government was, like his authority in Nyasaland, looked at with great respect by Parliament, but ultimately ignored.

Marquis Salisbury only gave Johnston enough monetary aid to gather a meager force. The ranks contained seventy-one Indian soldiers from the 32nd and 23rd Sikh Regiments, as well

⁴²“The Hiring of Slaves by British Officials,” *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 12(1892): 12.

⁴³“The Hiring of Slaves by British Officials,” *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 12 (1892): 13-14.

⁴⁴ House of Commons Hansard Sessional Papers, *Nyasaland*, “Commons Sitting of Friday, 28th April 1893,” Vol. 11. C. 1496 (1894).

⁴⁵ Johnston, “The Story of My Life,” 62.

as The Hyderabad Lancers, commanded by a young and eager Captain Cecil Montgomery Maguire, ten Swahili police recruited by permission of the Sultan of Zanzibar, a few Snider rifles and 7-pounder cannon.⁴⁶ Consular Henry Johnston set out to suppress the slave trade along the coastlines of Lake Nyasa that continued to be the primary reason British Parliament questioned colonization in the area. The task of suppressing the slave trade was daunting. It drained the already strained supplies while also causing finances and soldiers to be rerouted to Nyasaland to police the lake and the surrounding territory. To make matters worse, the 23rd Sikh Regiments lost so many horses to malaria and tsetse fly that they had to return to India, taking 100 men with them.⁴⁷ Johnston knew he was going to have a difficult time convincing the African chiefs to break ties with the Arab slave-raiders mainly because warring tribes encompassed all of Nyasaland. In a report to Marquis Salisbury in 1891, Johnston wrote about his frustrations with policing the area while continuing to make treaties. Johnston believed there were so many chiefs who had a hatred of the surrounding tribes that it would be impossible to find a peaceful means of suppressing the slave trade. To the south of Lake Nyasa, Chiefs Makanjila and Kazemba ruled on opposite ends of the coast.⁴⁸ Makandanje ruled the east bank of the upper shire and the Portuguese boundary.⁴⁹ Along the west bank where the lake went out, Mponda held this critical and strategic territory.⁵⁰ The most potent chief, Kawinga, held the North-West corner of Lake

⁴⁶ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Slave Trade*, "Papers relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland," Vol. 511, C. 6699 (1892).

⁴⁷ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Slave Trade*, "Papers relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland," Vol. 511, C. 6699, (1892).

⁴⁸ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Slave Trade*, "Papers relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland," Vol. 511, C. 6699, (1892).

⁴⁹ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Slave Trade*, "Papers relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland," Vol. 511, C. 6699, (1892).

⁵⁰"Nyasaland and the Slave Traffic," *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 14 (1894): 281-282.

Shirwa and commanded a large slave-route to the coast of Lake Nyasa.⁵¹ All the chiefs mentioned by Johnston were Yao, and all were heavily involved in the slave trade on all sides of Lake Nyasa.⁵² Arab slavers also knew they had an advantage by staying along the eastern coastline, which was controlled by the Germans and Portuguese who, coincidentally, were fighting back against British occupation and expansion in Nyasaland as well as the abolishment of the slave trade through British law.⁵³ Because Johnston was isolated in Nyasaland and felt the central area of concern was the protectorate, he decided to inflict as much damage to the slave trade as possible with the financial and military backing he had. With his small policing force and limited soldiers, he began taking on the slave-traders village by village.

Captain Cecil Montgomery Maguire, commander of the Hyderabad Lancer's from India, became Johnston's go-to for military action as well as friend and companion. As soon as Captain Maguire arrived in Nyasaland in 1891, he began a series of assaults on Yao slave traders at the south end of the lake.⁵⁴ In July 1891, after an attack on British coffee planters near Mount Mulanje, Maguire and his Indian unit fought Chikunde's Yao and repelled his forces.⁵⁵ Soon after, Maguire led his troops along the north side of the Shire River and subsequently built Fort Johnston that would be the base of operations for attacks against Yao leaders.⁵⁶ The Fort led to the eventual decimation of Makandanji, Mponda, and Makanjira's slave-trading while intimidating the Yao leader Zarafi into submission and the signing of a treaty to stop the trading

⁵¹ "Nyasaland and the Slave Traffic," *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 14 (1894): 282-283.

⁵² "Nyasaland and the Slave Traffic," *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 14 (1894): 284-86.

⁵³ H. H. Johnston, "British Central Africa." *The Graphic* 41 (1) (1890): 732-733.

⁵⁴ "Nyasaland and the Slave Traffic," *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 14 (1894): 281.

⁵⁵ "Nyasaland and the Slave Traffic," *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 14 (1894): 282.

⁵⁶ "Nyasaland and the Slave Traffic," *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 14 (1894): 283.

of slaves as well as releasing slaves in their possession.⁵⁷ Reports in November & December of 1891 by the Anti-Slavery reporter showed that the total number of freed slaves due to the actions of Johnston and Maguire's slave raiding was 269 freed slaves.⁵⁸

The British media, along with Parliament, were frustrated at the lack of news coming in from Nyasaland. On 24 April 1888, a meeting was held at the Westminster Hotel in London to discuss East Africa. The Secretary of the Free Church of Scotland Foreign Mission Committee addressed the frustration of the British people who received "scraps" of news that "caused much anxiety to those who are interested in the development of that part of the British Empire."⁵⁹ Parliament shared the same skepticism towards Johnston's inability to send information for review quickly and brought the issue to the House of Commons on many occasions. The response in Parliament always came back the same, "no information beyond that already published."⁶⁰ Johnston had a good reason as to his disregard for sending updates to the media or the British Government. He and Cecil Maguire were very busy with the pursuit of slave-raiders and was systematically taking out slave-raiding chiefs one by one with military action.

Harry Johnston and Cecil Maguire had an exceptional relationship that he expresses in his letters to Marquis of Salisbury. In his own words, Johnston describes Maguire as his "adviser, right-hand man, and dear friend."⁶¹ In a letter to Cecil Maguire's mother, Johnston wrote, "I obliged myself [on many occasions] to check his enthusiasm because I set such store by him, that

⁵⁷"Nyasaland and the Slave Traffic," *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 14 (1894): 285.

⁵⁸"Capture of a Slave Caravan by Mr. Consul Johnston," *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 11 (1891): 267.

⁵⁹"East-Central, Africa," *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 8 (1888): 34-38.

⁶⁰"The Situation in Nyasaland," *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 14 (1894): 324.

⁶¹"The Death of Captain Maguire," *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 11 (1892):76.

sooner than lose him, I would almost let Slavery continue.⁶² Nonetheless, Maguire desired to defeat the slave trade quickly and decisively by launching attacks on slave trading villages as soon as reports came in. Johnston describes Maguire's passion for destroying the slave-trade as the “same enthusiasm which fired Livingstone and Gordon to oppose the slave-trade.”⁶³ Maguire was always ready to take on the warlords surrounding Nyasa and defeat the slave-raiders once and for all. Johnston, being a mentor figure to Maguire, urged him to be cautious in his pursuit and competent in his strategy against the chiefs because of their reputation of brutality against those who opposed them. Johnston didn't want to take any chances, but more importantly, he didn't want to lose one of his prized officers and friends.⁶⁴ Johnston wrote, “as long as I accompanied him on these expeditions against the Slave-traders, all went well, but I could not always be with him.⁶⁵ I was obliged to devote myself at times to administrative work.”⁶⁶ It was during one of Johnston's administrative absences that Captain Maguire received a letter from the Sultan of Rifu, Kazembe, informing him that a large slave caravan organized by one of Makinjira's leading men had been stopped and captured by Kazembe's men.⁶⁷ He agreed to hand over the captured slave caravan under the condition that Maguire personally leads his men to

⁶²“The Death of Captain Maguire,” *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 11 (1892):76.

⁶³“The Death of Captain Maguire,” *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 11 (1892):76.

⁶⁴“The Disaster on Lake Nyasa,” *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 12 (1892): 75-76.

⁶⁵“The Disaster on Lake Nyasa,” *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 12 (1892): 75-76.

⁶⁶“The Disaster on Lake Nyasa,” *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 12 (1892): 76.

⁶⁷ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Commissioner Johnston to the Marquis of Salisbury*-(Received April 6, 1891), “Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland,” No. 2. Vol. 74. C. 6699,(1892).

destroy two of Makanjira's dhows.⁶⁸ This small transport boat was getting ready to attack Kazembe for helping the British.⁶⁹ In haste, Maguire sent word to Johnston but failed to wait for a reply in fear that he might miss his chance at freeing the captured slaves.⁷⁰ Securing the “Domira,” a steamer on loan to Johnston by the African Lakes Company, thirty Sepoys, the Parsee surgeon to the Indian contingent, Dr. Boyce, and six Zanzibaris, the men set off to conduct an amphibious assault on Lake Nyasa to destroy Makinjira's operation.⁷¹

The following day at approximately 5:00 A.M., according to Johnston's account, the men arrived at Kazembe's village, where they attempted to retrieve the captured slave caravan.⁷² However, Kazembe only vaguely acknowledged that the caravan was detained there and insisted that he would not hand over anyone until Maguire satisfied his part of the deal.⁷³ Kazembe

⁶⁸ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Commissioner Johnston to the Marquis of Salisbury*-(Received April 6, 1891), “Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland,” No. 2. Vol. 74. C. 6699 (1892).

⁶⁹ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Commissioner Johnston to the Marquis of Salisbury*-(Received April 6, 1891), “Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland,” No. 2. Vol. 74. C. 6699 (1892).

⁷⁰ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Commissioner Johnston to the Marquis of Salisbury*-(Received April 6, 1891.) “Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland,” No. 2. Vol. 74. C. 6699 (1892).

⁷¹ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Commissioner Johnston to the Marquis of Salisbury*-(Received April 6, 1891), “Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland,” No. 2. Vol. 74. C. 6699, (1892).

⁷² House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Commissioner Johnston to the Marquis of Salisbury*-(Received April 6, 1891), “Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland,” No. 2. Vol. 74. C. 6699, (1892).

⁷³ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Commissioner Johnston to the Marquis of Salisbury*-(Received April 6, 1891), “Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland,” No. 2. Vol. 74. C. 6699, (1892).

offered his guide to show Maguire and his men the exact location of the hidden dhows.⁷⁴

Crossing Lake Nyasa to Kisungule, located on the south-east coast, two dhows were spotted in thick reeds along the coastline.⁷⁵ The path to the boats would be a difficult journey to Maguire's dismay. It stretched through a narrow channel between rocks and sand-banks to a coastline covered in thick reeds.⁷⁶ To further exacerbate the exceedingly unsettling task of destroying the boats, the wind began to pick up, and the waves were becoming bigger each moment.⁷⁷ Maguire, whether due to pride, duty, or stubbornness, refused to go back to Fort Johnston without successfully destroying the dhows and obtaining the promised caravan even though his officer's suspicious reluctances chary about the situation regarding Kazembe was made clear.⁷⁸ Maguire, in a daring move, headed to the shore on a barge with the Sepoys and Zanzibaris.⁷⁹

Unfortunately, due to the rocky landscape and the shallow water, the barge became stuck on a sand-bank leaving the men only one option; wade to the shoreline.⁸⁰

⁷⁴ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Commissioner Johnston to the Marquis of Salisbury*- (Received April 6, 1891), "Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland," No. 2. Vol. 74. C. 6699, (1892).

⁷⁵ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Commissioner Johnston to the Marquis of Salisbury*- (Received April 6th, 1892), "Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland," No. 2. Vol. 74. C. 6699, (1892).

⁷⁶ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Africa*, "Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland," No. 5, Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

⁷⁷ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Africa*, "Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland," No. 5, Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

⁷⁸ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Africa*, "Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland," No. 5, Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

⁷⁹ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Africa*, "Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland," No. 5, Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

⁸⁰ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Mr. Uruquhart to Commissioner Johnston*, "Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland," No. 3, Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

Upon reaching the shore, Maguire successfully set fire to the first dhow.⁸¹ Almost immediately, however, an ambush of over 2,000 of Makinjira's men began firing from all sides of the coast.⁸² Under the extreme circumstances, Captain Maguire held his composure and disabled the second dhow while directing his men to retreat.⁸³ The weather turned violent, and the metal barge used to land on the shore was driven against rocks and smashed.⁸⁴ Maguire signaled to the "*Domira*," also in immediate danger of grounding, to let down a dingy so that the Sepoys could get back to the boat.⁸⁵ Unfortunately, the exceedingly violent waves consistently swamped the little boat drowning three of the Sepoys, and leaving only three of the remaining men making it back to the steamer.⁸⁶ After seeing the surviving men board the steamer, Maguire waded out into the water to make his way back to the boat under heavy enemy fire.⁸⁷ Back

⁸¹ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Mr. Uruqhuart to Commissioner Johnston*, "Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland," No. 3, Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

⁸² House of Commons Sessional Papers, Statement Made by Mr. W.M. Keller as to the Death of Captain Cecil Maguire, and Other Circumstances from the 15th to the 20th of December, 1891. Inclosure in No. 2, "Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland," Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

⁸³ House of Commons Sessional Papers, Statement Made by Mr. W.M. Keller as to the Death of Captain Cecil Maguire, and Other Circumstances from the 15th to the 20th of December, 1891. Inclosure in No. 2, "Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland," Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

⁸⁴ House of Commons Sessional Papers, Statement Made by Mr. W.M. Keller as to the Death of Captain Cecil Maguire, and Other Circumstances from the 15th to the 20th of December, 1891. Inclosure in No. 2, "Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland," Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

⁸⁵ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Mr. Uruqhuart to Commissioner Johnston*, "Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland," No. 3, Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

⁸⁶ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Mr. Uruqhuart to Commissioner Johnston*, "Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland," No. 3, Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

⁸⁷ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Commissioner Johnston to the Marquis of Salisbury*, (Received April 6th, 1892), "Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland," No. 2. Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

aboard the “*Domira*,” Mr. MacEwan, the ship's first engineer, was helping the remaining Sikhs to get on board.⁸⁸ As bullets from the shore ricochet off the steel frame of the steamship, and the fierce storm continued to violently rocking the boat, MacEwan spotted Captain Maguire wading towards the vessel.⁸⁹ Unable to get close to Maguire, he threw a rope into the water, hoping that the Captain could grab hold and pull him to safety.⁹⁰ Maguire, struggling in the choppy water, reached his hand up with a “supreme effort” to retrieve the rope as MacEwan looked over the side of the boat and watched a bullet strike the back of Maguire's head.⁹¹ With that piercing blow, the swimmer sank beneath the waves as the crew looked on.⁹² MacEwan quickly gathered eight Sepoys to help him retrieve the body out of the water.⁹³ The immense gunfire, however, had severely injured MacEwan and the Sepoys, which defeated their efforts to get the body and forced them to focus on their ailing vessel.⁹⁴ The morale of the steamer crew quickly fell apart as

⁸⁸ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Africa*, “Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland,” No. 5, Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

⁸⁹ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Commissioner Johnston to the Marquis of Salisbury*, (Received April 6th, 1892), “Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland,” No. 2. Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

⁹⁰ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Africa*, “Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland,” No. 5, Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

⁹¹ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Commissioner Johnston to the Marquis of Salisbury*, (Received April 6th, 1892), “Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland,” No. 2. Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

⁹² House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Statement Made by Mr. W.M. Keller as to the Death of Captain Cecil Maguire, and Other Circumstances from the 15th to the 20th of December 1891*. Inclosure in No. 2, “Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland,” Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

⁹³ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Statement Made by Mr. W.M. Keller as to the Death of Captain Cecil Maguire, and Other Circumstances from the 15th to the 20th of December, 1891*. Inclosure in No. 2, “Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland,” Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

⁹⁴ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Africa*, “Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland,” No. 5, Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

the dead and injured began to outnumber those who were able to fight.⁹⁵ The endless gunfire from the shore constantly pounded the boat along with the raging water, which gave way to desperation and anxiety among the men on the steamer. Having withstood much of the storm, the “Dorima” began to weaken. In a bout of particularly violent waves, the vessel came loose from her mooring, grounded on a sand-bank, and was out of commission.⁹⁶ It was upon this most unfortunate disaster that the crew realized that the rope thrown to Captain Maguire had become entangled in the propeller of the ship rendering the engines unable to work.⁹⁷ Sometime during the night, the “*Domira*” drifted to shore and was again met with a fury of short-ranged enemy fire.⁹⁸ For six days, the crew, wounded and suffering, waited while the enemy, close by on the shore, continued to fire upon them.⁹⁹ On the first day of fighting, Mr. Keiller, the Captain of the steamer, was severely wounded in the head and Mr. MacEwan shot in the side; On the second

⁹⁵ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Commissioner Johnston to the Marquis of Salisbury*, (Received April 6th, 1892), “Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland,” No. 2. Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

⁹⁶ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Africa*, “Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland,” No. 5, Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

⁹⁷ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Africa*, “Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland,” No. 5, Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

⁹⁸ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Statement Made by Mr. W.M. Keller as to the Death of Captain Cecil Maguire, and Other Circumstances from the 15th to the 20th of December 1891*. Inclosure in No. 2, “Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland,” Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

⁹⁹ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Statement Made by Mr. W.M. Keller as to the Death of Captain Cecil Maguire, and Other Circumstances from the 15th to the 20th of December 1891*. Inclosure in No. 2, “Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland,” Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

day, Mr. Urhquat received a wound to the face and mouth, and the ship was running dangerously low on ammunition and supplies.¹⁰⁰

On the evening of 16 December 1891, Makinjira's men proposed a truce.¹⁰¹ Hesitantly, Mr. Keiller accepted and began to walk off the steamer. As soon as the men started to disembark, Makinjira's men opened fire on those trying to get to shore.¹⁰² Two days later, Makinjira proposed a second truce.¹⁰³ For sixty pieces of calico, Makinjira's men would send sixty men to help get the steamer off the sand-bar.¹⁰⁴ However, in return, they requested that two white men go on to the shore first so that they could decide on a peace document.¹⁰⁵ The proposal caused much debate with the remaining crew because of the previous duplicity misdirection. Dr. Boyce was the first to volunteer because he believed no harm could come to them in accepting the terms

¹⁰⁰ House of Commons Sessional Papers, Statement Made by Mr. W.M. Keller as to the Death of Captain Cecil Maguire, and Other Circumstances from the 15th to the 20th of December 1891. Inclosure in No. 2, "Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland," Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

¹⁰¹ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Commissioner Johnston to the Marquis of Salisbury*, (Received April 6th, 1892.), "Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland," No. 2. Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

¹⁰² House of Commons Sessional Papers, Statement Made by Mr. W.M. Keller as to the Death of Captain Cecil Maguire, and Other Circumstances from the 15th to the 20th of December 1891. Inclosure in No. 2, "Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland," Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

¹⁰³ House of Commons Sessional Papers, Statement Made by Mr. W.M. Keller as to the Death of Captain Cecil Maguire, and Other Circumstances from the 15th to the 20th of December 1891. Inclosure in No. 2, "Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland," Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

¹⁰⁴ House of Commons Sessional Papers, Statement Made by Mr. W.M. Keller as to the Death of Captain Cecil Maguire, and Other Circumstances from the 15th to the 20th of December 1891. Inclosure in No. 2, "Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland," Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

¹⁰⁵ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Commissioner Johnston to the Marquis of Salisbury*, (Received April 6th, 1892.), "Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland," No. 2. Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

even though Makinjira had deceived them during the first attempt.¹⁰⁶ Boyce had a personal interest in retrieving the body of Captain Maguire and the three Sepoys who had washed up on shore five days prior.¹⁰⁷ He had watched the body of his Captain lay in the sun for days while those on the coast looked on with no respect for the dead Captain.¹⁰⁸ Observers noted him as roaming about the ship, saying, “We must get Captain Maguire's body.”¹⁰⁹ MacEwan, Boyce, three Swahili men, and three native boys from Nyasa went ashore and were led to a house by Makinjira's men.¹¹⁰ Negotiations between the crew of the “*Domira*” and Makinjira's men lasted approximately an hour when finally, a messenger went to Makinjira for his answer.¹¹¹

Makinjira’s reply was unpleasant; “The white men and all their people are to be killed.”¹¹² As soon as the message to the steamer crew was delivered, several of Makinjira's men with spears

¹⁰⁶ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Africa*, “Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland,” No. 5, Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

¹⁰⁷ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Commissioner Johnston to the Marquis of Salisbury*, (Received April 6th, 1892.), “Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland,” No. 2, Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

¹⁰⁸ House of Commons Sessional Papers, Statement Made by Mr. W.M. Keller as to the Death of Captain Cecil Maguire, and Other Circumstances from the 15th to the 20th of December 1891. Inclosure in No. 2, “Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland,” Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

¹⁰⁹ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Africa*, “Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland,” No. 5, Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

¹¹⁰ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Africa*, “Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland,” No. 5, Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

¹¹¹ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Commissioner Johnston to the Marquis of Salisbury*, (Received April 6th, 1892.), “Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland,” No. 2, Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

¹¹² House of Commons Sessional Papers, Statement Made by Mr. W.M. Keller as to the Death of Captain Cecil Maguire, and Other Circumstances from the 15th to the 20th of December 1891. Inclosure in No. 2, “Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland,” Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

stepped forward and thrust their weapons into Mr. MacEwan.¹¹³ Meanwhile, Makinjira's men speared to death, Dr. Boyce, the Swahilis, and the two native Nyasa boys.¹¹⁴ The only survivor of the violence towards the crew, a boy, speared in two places named Kutsapa, managed to evade death by hiding in the thick reeds until he was able to return to the boat safely.¹¹⁵ Onboard the “*Domira*,” the survivors of the original crew who remained were two wounded Europeans, Indians, and Swahilis.¹¹⁶ Between 18 December and 20 December 1891, preparations were made by the crew to repair the ship, and on the night of 20 December, a successful steam caught as they drifted into deep water.¹¹⁷ While repairs to the vessel commenced, the crew was busy preparing an incendiary shell for the 7-pounder gun that Captain Maguire had placed on the ship.¹¹⁸ Back on shore, Makinjira's men were holding a glorious celebration over the defeat of

¹¹³ House of Commons Sessional Papers, Statement Made by Mr. W.M. Keller as to the Death of Captain Cecil Maguire, and Other Circumstances from the 15th to the 20th of December 1891. Inclosure in No. 2, “Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland,” Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

¹¹⁴ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Commissioner Johnston to the Marquis of Salisbury*, (Received April 6th, 1892.), “Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland,” No. 2. Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

¹¹⁵ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Africa*, “Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland,” No. 5, Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

¹¹⁶ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Africa*, “Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland,” No. 5, Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

¹¹⁷ House of Commons Sessional Papers, Statement Made by Mr. W.M. Keller as to the Death of Captain Cecil Maguire, and Other Circumstances from the 15th to the 20th of December 1891. Inclosure in No. 2, “Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland,” Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

¹¹⁸ House of Commons Sessional Papers, Statement Made by Mr. W.M. Keller as to the Death of Captain Cecil Maguire, and Other Circumstances from the 15th to the 20th of December 1891. Inclosure in No. 2, “Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland,” Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

the white man.¹¹⁹ They danced and became drunk while taunting the steamer, which they assumed would soon be overtaken by famine since the crew only had about two days' worth of food onboard.¹²⁰ Little did Makinjira's men know that while they danced, the Indian gunners aboard the "*Domira*" carefully took aim at the village and fired the incendiary round into the middle of the celebrating slave-raiders.¹²¹ The men of the village scattered in horrified confusion as the town burned to the ground.¹²² The "*Domira*," having revenged the death of their beloved Captain, quietly sailed away to Livingstonia and arrived on 22 December 1891.¹²³

The death of Captain Cecil Montgomery Maguire had a significant impact on the crew that participated in the raid, as well as on Harry Johnston. In an emotional letter to Cecil Maguire's mother, Johnston wrote, "Everybody in the British colony here mourns your son's death with a personal sorrow."¹²⁴ He had endeared himself to all by his bright, winning manner, and his remarkable bravery had become a proverb among the native. 'That is indeed a man,' has been said to me about him by several chiefs in Nyasaland, and his memory here will probably

¹¹⁹ House of Commons Sessional Papers, Statement Made by Mr. W.M. Keller as to the Death of Captain Cecil Maguire, and Other Circumstances from the 15th to the 20th of December 1891. Inclosure in No. 2, "Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland," Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

¹²⁰ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Commissioner Johnston to the Marquis of Salisbury*, (Received April 6th, 1892.), "Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland," No. 2. Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

¹²¹ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Commissioner Johnston to the Marquis of Salisbury*, (Received April 6th, 1892.), "Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland," No. 2. Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

¹²² House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Africa*, "Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland," No. 5, Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

¹²³ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Africa*, "Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland," No. 5, Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

¹²⁴"The Disaster on Lake Nyassa," *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 12 (1892): 75.

become sustained as half legendary hero.”¹²⁵ Though only in the British colony for a short while, Captain Cecil Maguire impacted the way the British Protectorate approached the slave trade. Johnston took great care to acknowledge that Maguire was not just an officer at his disposal but his companion and friend. The loss would continue to haunt him throughout the rest of his life. Johnston mentioned Captain Maguire in many reports to the Marquis of Salisbury. Johnston often used “Where Captain Maguire was killed” as a reference to a geographical location.¹²⁶ Johnston also notes that soon after the news of Maguire’s death reached the surrounding chiefs, he experienced a brief time of peace with the leaders as if they respected Maguire enough to let Johnston mourn the loss of his dear friend.¹²⁷

¹²⁵“The Disaster on Lake Nyassa,” *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 12 (1892): 75.

¹²⁶ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Commissioner Johnston to the Marquis of Salisbury*, (Received April 6th, 1892), “Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland,” No. 2. Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

¹²⁷ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Commissioner Johnston to the Marquis of Salisbury*, (Received April 6th, 1892.), “Papers Relative to the Suppression of Slave-Raiding in Nyasaland,” No. 2. Vol. 74, C. 6699, (1892).

CHAPTER 4: HOW CAPTAIN MAGUIRE'S DEATH IMPACTED THE USE OF THE STEAMER ON LAKE NYASA AND CREATED NEW GLOBAL COMMERCE

The continent of Africa holds a unique place in worldwide politics, economics, and culture. Modern civilization arose from the harsh landscape and passionate people who thrive in Africa. With an abundance of wildlife, picturesque mountains, valleys of grass, and cultures unique to a landmass that covers twenty percent of the Earth, Africa has been and remains the center of worldwide attention. As an attempt to correct the wrongs of the past, the British government, in the nineteenth century, created global dialogue against slavery while spearheading action against slave-raiders. Individuals like Captain Cecil Maguire and Harry Johnston, who fought to prevent slave trading and the continuation of the practice of slavery, need to be remembered in the pages of historical writings. Though a delicate subject, African slavery has been a widely neglected topic when exploring the origins, nations involved, and those who spent their lives putting a stop to the practice.

Harry Johnston and Cecil Maguire's actions in Nyasaland proved to Parliament that the Protectorate required more funding and reinforcements if peace and suppression of the slave trade was the goal. To further incentivize the British government into action, word reached Parliament of Captain Maguire's death in the battle on Lake Nyasa. The day after Maguire's death at the hands of Makinjira's men, reports came in regarding the impossible odds that Maguire and his "little party" endured.¹ While preparing for the punishment of Makinjira, a second report was received by Parliament describing an attack on Fort Johnston in which two Europeans and an unknown number of Sikhs were wounded and a seven pounder gun stolen by

¹ W.M. Laird Clowes, "The Pacification of Nyasaland," *The New Review* 10 (1894): 418.

hostile Arab natives.² Now, more than ever, the British government was seeing the most authentic picture of the need for regular steamship patrols and reinforcements.

The steamship allowed for policing action in the heart of Nyasaland and Lake Nyasa. After the incident at Lake Nyasa, the British government realized the necessity of steamships for patrolling the shores of Lake Nyasa. Building new vessels on Lake Nyasa, however, would prove an impossible task and, therefore, in 1893, three boats commissioned by the British government, the “Dove,” “Adventure,” and “Pioneer,” each measuring 60 ft. by 16 ft. and fitted with six quick-firing guns and eight 45 inch machine guns were built in England and shipped to Lake Nyasa.³ It would not be until 1898 when the gunboat “Guendolen” measuring 136 feet in length, assembled at Fort Johnston and successfully launched on Lake Nyasa, that steamships saw regular production in Nyasaland.⁴ Between 1898 and 1900, the African Lakes Corporation Sharrer's Zambesi Traffic Company, The African International Flotilla Company, and Administrative gunboats owned 27 steamers always running on Lake Nyasa.⁵ The vessels carried a variety of goods, transported workers, and ran policing expeditions on Lake Nyasa and the surrounding rivers. The British Central Africa police consisted of 247 British, 18 French, German, Dutch, Italian, and Austro-Hungarians, 214 Indians, and 130 Arabs all working together to protect Nyasaland and Lake Nyasa.⁶ The Armed Forces of the Protectorate at Fort Maguire

² “The Disaster on Lake Nyasa,” *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 12, (1892): 72-6.

³ Clowes, "The Pacification of Nyasaland," *The New Review*, 418.

⁴ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Trade and Finance*, “Reports from H.M. Diplomatic and Consular Officers Abroad on Trade and Finance,” C.1, C.9044 (1899).

⁵ House of Commons Sessional Papers, Africa, “Reports from H.M. Diplomatic and Consular Officers Abroad on Trade and Finance,” Vol. 92, Cd.1, (1900).

⁶ H.H. Johnston, “British Central Africa,” *The New Review* 11 (1894): 14-23.

consisted of 6 Sergeants, 6 Corporals, 107 rank and file soldiers, and a British officer selected from the British service.⁷ Continuing to play an essential role in the protection of Nyasaland, a Sikh sergeant was placed with each company to assist with drill and as section commanders.⁸ The dress uniform issued free of charge, consists of a khaki shirt and short khaki loose trousers cut just above the knee. Also issued for free and kept up by enlisted soldiers was the blue uniform. Sergeant pay consisted of 10 shillings; Corporals received 7 shillings, and Privates 5 shillings monthly with a ration containing grain, salt, and rice, as well as a blanket and haversack.⁹ Each man was armed with a Snider rifle and worked closely with native gun crews who operated four seven-pounder mountain guns, two nine-pounder field guns, and one Maxim gun, led by Sikh instructors.¹⁰ Sikhs remained vital to Nyasaland well after the death of Captain Maguire. The Sikh contingent consisted of 175 men from the Indian Staff Corps within the Punjab Army.¹¹ The Sikhs, as well as Protectorate soldiers, policed Lake Nyasa in the gun-boats “Dove,” “Adventure,” and “Guendolen,” carrying out expeditions to transport materials and troops wherever the need arises.¹² One of the essential goals was to keep the Zambesi open and free of Arab slave-raiders, and second, to strengthen the African Lakes Company to create an honest and legitimate trade with natives in Central Africa.¹³ Arab attacks were frequent on the north end of Lake Nyasa because the African Lakes Company posed a severe commercial rivalry

⁷ “Nyasaland,” *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 9, (1889): 120-2.

⁸ “Nyasaland,” *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 9, (1889): 120-2.

⁹ “Nyasaland,” *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 9, (1889): 120-2.

¹⁰ “Nyasaland,” *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 9, (1889): 121.

¹¹ “Nyasaland,” *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 9, (1889): 120-12.

¹² “Nyasaland,” *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 9, (1889): 120-2.

¹³ “Nyasaland,” *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 9, (1889): 120-2.

with the native people of Nyasaland.¹⁴ By 1898, almost all attacks on the African Lakes Company stations had ceased due to the increase in policing operations on Lake Nyasa and the Zambesi river.¹⁵

Steamships not only raised the bar for policing but also in local and global commerce by allowing a more significant British presence in Central and East Africa. In 1845, while navigating the waters of the Parana River in Paraguay, Lieutenant Lachlan Bellingham Mackinnon, observed that steamers opened all navigable waters to commerce and removed “obscurity” that once kept trade from reaching the shores of rivers and streams across the globe.¹⁶ The Zambesi River, one of the largest rivers in Africa, challenged British explorers because of the various dangers involved in navigating the waters. Not only did the Zambesi have sandbars, river debris, rapids, waterfalls, and naturally dammed passageways, but of the seven mouths that emptied into the sea, five are impassable during all tides and under all conditions.¹⁷ The Zambesi remained important to European nations because it also linked other important channels and streams such as the Chinde River, one of the mouths of the Zambesi. Initially navigated by Daniel Rankin in 1888, the channel posed a difficult journey as the water was particularly shallow even during high tide. Parliament questioned Rankin's claim of navigating the Chinde. Still, in 1890, in an attempt to show the validity of Rankin's claim, Harry Johnston

¹⁴ “Nyasaland,” *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 9, (1889): 120-2.

¹⁵ “Nyasaland,” *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 9, (1889): 122.

¹⁶ “Steam Warfare in the Parana,” *New Monthly Magazine and Humorist* 24 (1845): 320-8.

¹⁷ D.J. Rankin, “The Discovery of the Chinde Entrance to the Zambesi River,” *Fortnightly Review*, 52 (1892): 826.

ascended the Chinde in the steamer “Stork” while only in thirteen feet of water.¹⁸ The steamship allowed for modernization and trade to occur in areas of Africa that were previously untouched. In 1892, Daniel J. Rankin wrote about the change that globalization had brought to East Africa. He stated, “Today [along the Chinde River] a populous and rapidly increasing town occupies the site of the bushes and jungle I camped amid three years ago...ocean steamers are anchored by new ports, and the whole wilderness has been transformed into a hive of civilized industry.”¹⁹ Steamers caused the swift eradication of corporate monopolies on trade and created competition for individual wealth, which allowed for the rise of small business ownership by everyday people. In 1892, *The Scottish Review* reported that the use of steamers for commerce had grown exponentially across the globe in as little as sixty years.²⁰ Not only had the use of new technology grown, but it revolutionized and altered the conditions in which goods and correspondence transported from one side of the globe to the other.²¹ By the end of the nineteenth century, Britain's supremacy on trade was fading quickly as other nations raced to develop their technology and resources. Henry Dyer, a Scottish Engineer, and Professor wrote, “Practically, the world has been shrunk to very small dimensions, and the younger generation must look forward to a time, when the center of magnitude of the world's industry and commerce

¹⁸ “Navigating the Zambesi River: The First Ocean Steamer Enters It Through the Newly-Discovered Channel,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 1890.

¹⁹ D.J. Rankin, “The Discovery of the Chinde Entrance to the Zambesi River,” *Fortnightly Review* 52 (1892): 829.

²⁰ Steam Warfare in the Parana, “*New Monthly Magazine and Humorist*” 82 (1845): 320-328.

²¹ Henry Dyer, “The Race Across the Atlantic,” *The Scottish Review* 19 (1892): 1-26.

will be very much nearer newer countries than Britain, and also when the conditions of that commerce and industry will be very different from those which at present exist.”²²

By 1908 the entire façade of the Zambesi transformed into a European commercial hub. The town Quillmane, a town on the Kwa-Kwa River, was now separated from the Indian Ocean by a bar.²³ The Chinde was also subjected to the European commercial market as European steamers passed goods through towns along the channel.²⁴ Transportation companies took advantage of the newly discovered passageways by using the Shire River as a gateway to Nyasaland, where British goods and passengers disembarked.²⁵ A report by Mr. H.C. McDonald, Collector of the Ruo District, stated that the native population was increasing as a significant number were coming from Portuguese territory and building new villages.²⁶ The increasing population of Europeans occupying Nyasaland for commercial and personal gain, however, came with a price as British Protectorate control became increasingly applied to the native people.

²² Dyer, “The Race Across the Atlantic,” 1-26.

²³ “Harnessing the Zambesi; Their Force is Five Times That of Niagara, and Equal to All Our Coal Mines—Business on the Zambesi—Electricity in Nyasaland,” *The Nashville American*, (1908): 17.

²⁴ “Harnessing the Zambesi; Their Force is Five Times That of Niagara, and Equal to All Our Coal Mines—Business on the Zambesi—Electricity in Nyasaland,” *The Nashville American*, (1908): 17.

²⁵ “Harnessing the Zambesi; Their Force is Five Times That of Niagara, and Equal to All Our Coal Mines—Business on the Zambesi—Electricity in Nyasaland,” *The Nashville American*, (1908): 17.

²⁶ House of Commons Sessional Papers, Africa, “Reports from H.M. Diplomatic and Consular Officers Abroad on Trade and Finance,” Vol. 92, Cd.1, (1900).

The British Protectorate imposed the “hut-tax in Nyasaland and in 1898 reported a large increase in revenue related to the “cheerful” natives paying their dues.²⁷ In 1897 the Protectorate collected 8,083£ by the hut-tax, and by 1898 the amount had risen to 12,648£.²⁸ Beginning in 1899, the amount of tax collected soared to 28,572£ in the district of Gaza. In the region of Inhambane, the hut tax amounted to a staggering 49,285£.²⁹ In most districts of Nyasaland, the hut-tax was the highest generator of revenue for the Protectorate with industrial taxes making up the second-highest revenue source.³⁰ Debates in Parliament in 1910, found that leadership in Nyasaland abused the hut-tax and doubled the amount against natives who were to emigrate to Rhodesia or South Africa.³¹ The Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, Colonel Seely, was questioned by Sir Gilbert Parker in regards to the collection of 12 shillings a year from natives trying to emigrate as opposed to 6 shillings a year to those who remained in the country.³² Taxation remained the most effective way to control the native population in Nyasaland by burdening those whose wages could not cover the taxes with working labor jobs owned by

²⁷ The hut-tax was taxation by the British Protectorate in Africa on huts and households. Though settled in a variety of ways, native Africans usually were forced into labor work, which used native people to build railways, towns and digging in the mines.

House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Trade and Finance*, “Reports from H.M. Diplomatic and Consular Officers Abroad on Trade and Finance,” C.1, C.9044 (1899).

²⁸ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Trade and Finance*, “Reports from H.M. Diplomatic and Consular Officers Abroad on Trade and Finance,” C.1, C.9044 (1899).

²⁹ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Trade and Finance*, “Reports from H.M. Diplomatic and Consular Officers Abroad on Trade and Finance,” C.1, C.9044 (1899).

³⁰ House of Commons Sessional Papers, *Trade and Finance*, “Reports from H.M. Diplomatic and Consular Officers Abroad on Trade and Finance,” C.1, C.9044 (1899).

³¹ House of Commons Hansards Sessional Papers, *Commons Sitting of Wednesday, 30th March*, “Nyasaland (Hut Tax and Emigration),” Vol. 15, (1910).

³² House of Commons Hansards Sessional Papers, *Commons Sitting of Wednesday, 30th March*, “Nyasaland (Hut Tax and Emigration),” Vol. 15, (1910).

European companies or white landowners. The solution to the problem of debt was forced labor to pay back any monetary debt owed.

There was much debate on the topic of forced labor in Parliament. The Anti-Slavery Reporter stated that the labor question resulted from natives being attracted to wages only to find that they have to work for white men, who “are completely ignorant of the proper treatment for the particular tribe to which the [native] men belong.”³³ White business owner’s did not understand the customs and cultural taboo’s that native tribes had adhered to for generations, and therefore found themselves at odds with the native workers. As more native tribes from the Great Lakes and other parts of Africa ascended on Nyasaland for work, business owners neglected differences in food, language, habits, and customs while housing workers of different tribes together resulting in terrible consequences.³⁴ Many in Parliament were fearful that conditions for workers in the British Protectorate would create a new form of slavery. In 1903, Sir J. Gorst drew attention to the situation stating, “There could be no doubt that there is a great danger at present of a new species of slavery being established in tropical Africa.”³⁵ Though Parliament dismissed the actions of the British Protectorate as being a form of slavery, reports from Nyasaland were contradicting debates in the House of Commons. White business owners were experimenting with transferring native laborers from Nyasaland to gold mines in other colonies such as Rhodesia for work.³⁶ The transfer of the workers, however, was highly unregulated, with many native workers refusing to transfer and being jailed, dying in mines away from their native

³³ “Parliamentary,” *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 7(1903):109.

³⁴ “Parliamentary,” *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 7(1903):108.

³⁵ “Parliamentary,” *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 7(1903):110.

³⁶ “Parliamentary,” *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 7(1903):111.

land, or running away from what is essentially a labor camp.³⁷ Workers who refused to leave Nyasaland to work in the mines were fined £1 or two weeks in prison.³⁸ The British government was indecisive on how to handle the situation of labor work in the British Protectorate. Still, it was adamant that if allegations of mistreatment could be proven, the British government would do everything in its power to remedy the situation.³⁹ Ultimately, Parliament decided that the inhabitants of Nyasaland had to decide for themselves if the work completed and the treatment given was too much. British involvement through the Protectorate would be governed by those in authority, and not up to Parliament to intervene.⁴⁰ Britain profited from the native workers and the cheap labor that created high production. Both imports and Exports saw a dramatic rise in output and profit between 1888 and 1900, which would solidify Nyasaland's place as an essential trading center in Africa.

Imports from Nyasaland created a profit that Europeans had not seen before. Nyasaland American cotton was gaining a price of 2 ½ d. per pound in Britain, which was more than American “middling” cotton was bringing in.⁴¹ Other products such as tobacco, rubber, and coffee were also bringing in higher revenue to British companies than American counterparts. In 1898 the export of tobacco by British company Messrs, Hynde, and Stark was 2,073 pounds, and local consumption was approximately 2,500 pounds, and by 1899 the total shipping of tobacco

³⁷ “Parliamentary,” *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 7(1903):111.

³⁸ “Parliamentary,” *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 7(1903):111.

³⁹ “Parliamentary,” *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 7(1903):112.

⁴⁰ “Parliamentary,” *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 7 (1903): 112-13.

⁴¹ Hon. Allan F. Kidney, “The Agricultural Development of Nyasaland,” *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 58 (1909): 97.

rose to 4,207 pounds.⁴² The exportation of rubber was a means for the native population to subsidize labor during times of need. Even though rubber was not a primarily exported commodity, the production of rubber between 1889 and 1900 rose 40 percent.⁴³ The rubber vine, or *Cryptostegia Grandiflora*, contains a commercial quality rubber, but the number of vines was not enough to warrant mass production.⁴⁴ Part of the reason that rubber vine cultivation struggled is that planters neglected systematic cultivation during planning, resulting in a lack of vines growing. Interestingly, the soil was very fertile for growing the rubber vine and only needed minimal water and sunlight to grow.⁴⁵ Even with the ease of growing rubber vine, planters focused more on profit-producing crops such as the coffee bean. During times of devaluation, the superior quality of coffee grown in Nyasaland still produced record profits.⁴⁶ Local revenues, for example, rose from zero to over £20,000 per annum.⁴⁷ The largest plantation owner, Mr. E.C.A. Sharrer, owned and cultivated three hundred and sixty-five thousand acres with nine hundred acres for coffee.⁴⁸ Between 1889 and 1896, the exportation of coffee rose from 5 tons to

⁴² House of Commons Sessional Papers, Africa, "Reports from H.M. Diplomatic and Consular Officers Abroad on Trade and Finance," Vol. 92, Cd.1, (1900): 11.

⁴³ House of Commons Sessional Papers, Africa, "Reports from H.M. Diplomatic and Consular Officers Abroad on Trade and Finance," Vol. 92, Cd.1, (1900): 11.

⁴⁴ House of Commons Sessional Papers, Africa, "Reports from H.M. Diplomatic and Consular Officers Abroad on Trade and Finance," Vol. 93, C.9044 (1899): 9.

⁴⁵ House of Commons Sessional Papers, Africa, "Reports from H.M. Diplomatic and Consular Officers Abroad on Trade and Finance," Vol. 92, Cd.1, (1900) 11.

⁴⁶ House of Commons Sessional Papers, Africa, "Reports from H.M. Diplomatic and Consular Officers Abroad on Trade and Finance," Vol. 92, Cd.1, (1900):15.

⁴⁷ H.D. Herd "Coffee-Planting in British Central Africa," Chambers Journal of Popular Literature, Science and Arts 13 (1897): 646.

⁴⁸ H.D. Herd "Coffee-Planting in British Central Africa," Chambers Journal of Popular Literature, Science and Arts 13 (1897): 646.

approximately 350 tons, proving the demand for Nyasaland grown coffee in Britain and abroad.⁴⁹

A report by the British Diplomatic and Consular Office showed the total number of exports between 1808 to 1900 had risen by approximately 110% within the East Africa British Protectorate.⁵⁰ The African Lakes Company considered Nyasaland the “Cinderella Protectorate” because of the revenue produced from exports. Nyasaland's geographic position had opened the gateway to international trade. The rivers and streams that led to the Indian Ocean now populated with ocean steamers were light enough to carry goods into Nyasaland, and out to foreign ports. Trade between Britain and Germany sprang up between the Songwe river and Langenburg, which was German territory.⁵¹ Duties collected on imports and exports allowed nations to grant trading licenses between Britain and Germany, expanding the types of goods traded in the region but also allowed for local trade to thrive.⁵²

What was once the center of the slave trade in East Africa became the most crucial trade region in the British Protectorate. Nyasaland and Lake Nyasa hold strategic importance to British East Africa and globalized trade within Africa. The actions of the men who fought and died to rid Lake Nyasa of slave-raiders opened a gateway to trade and modernization within the region. Nyasaland, now modern-day Malawi, gained its independence in 1964 and has struggled to gain

⁴⁹ H.D. Herd, “Coffee-Planting in British Central Africa,” *Chambers Journal of Popular Literature, Science and Arts* 13 (1897): 646.

⁵⁰ House of Commons Sessional Papers, Africa, “Reports from H.M. Diplomatic and Consular Officers Abroad on Trade and Finance,” Vol. 92, Cd.1, (1900).

⁵¹ House of Commons Sessional Papers, Africa, “Reports from H.M. Diplomatic and Consular Officers Abroad on Trade and Finance,” Vol. 92, Cd.1, (1900).

⁵² House of Commons Sessional Papers, Africa, “Reports from H.M. Diplomatic and Consular Officers Abroad on Trade and Finance,” Vol. 92, Cd.1, (1900).

back the strength it once held under British control.⁵³ It is currently one of the poorest countries in the world, with 50 percent living in extreme poverty.⁵⁴ To make matters worse, flooding and governmental shock within the surrounding regions keep Malawi's economy unstable.⁵⁵ Lake Nyasa, however, still holds its glory and is recognized for its sheer size and beauty. The story of Nyasaland and Lake Nyasa must be known so that future generations may honor the memory of those who fought and died to protect those forced into slavery.

⁵³ "International Monetary Fund," *Malawi Economic Development Document* (2017):1-3.

⁵⁴ "International Monetary Fund," *Malawi Economic Development Document* (2017):1-3.

⁵⁵ "International Monetary Fund," *Malawi Economic Development Document* (2017):1-3.

CONCLUSION: GLOBALIZATION AND EAST AFRICA IN THE MODERN DAY

Chapter 1 shows the importance of the geographic location of Nyasaland and Lake Nyasa as well as the problem of slave-raiding in the area. The chapter reveals why it was important for the British to first secure Nyasaland and Lake Nyasa before trade and commerce could thrive. Chapter 2 highlights the vital role that the steamship played in colonizing East Africa and opening strategic waterways through the interior of Africa and into the Indian Ocean. Chapter 3 describes the difficulties in securing Lake Nyasa because of the resistance from Arab slave raiders. The chapter also tells about the incident on Lake Nyasa where Captain Cecil Maguire was killed. Chapter 4 shows how Harry Hamilton and Captain Cecil Maguire's heroic actions led to Nyasaland and Lake Nyasa becoming a trading center for East Africa. Without the actions of Harry Hamilton Johnston and Captain Cecil Maguire, Nyasaland would have remained closed off to outside commerce as well as continuing to be a slave port in East Africa.

The research conducted in this thesis is important because it shows how East Africa was unintentionally used to create global trade. More importantly, the research also shows the difficulties in suppressing the slave trade while simultaneously bringing in commerce to an otherwise untouched region of the world. Nyasaland and Lake Nyasa were not only strategic geographically, but financially as well. The area once cleared of slave raiders became a global port for Europe. Harry Hamilton Johnston, and Captain Cecil Maguire's work to rid the area of the slave trade is the most important event in Nyasaland as it brought attention to the horrors of the slave trade and caused the British Government to take action to help free the enslaved people of the region.

Initially, the British Government saw an opportunity to capitalize on the abundance of natural resources such as palm oil, gold, and wildlife, but soon realized that the area was to

unstable to secure any competitive trade. British policies moved from treaty making with the Sultan of Zanzibar and focused on suppression of the slave trade to bring British forms of government to the area as well as commerce. Once the area was stable, because of the actions of Harry Hamilton Johnston, and Captain Cecil Maguire, trade in the area grew exponentially. Once East Africa became stable enough for trade, British and European powers quickly moved into the area to secure land and ports along Lake Nyasa creating, almost overnight, a global trading hub for Europeans and changing Nyasaland from a land rife with conflict, to a modernized trading area.

Britain's ambitions in East Africa during the nineteenth century changed dramatically. At first, the imperial mind was to conquer lands in strategic locations so that other European powers would not be able to bring their influence into the area. Once in East Africa, however, it became clear that simple conquest, which the British has become accustomed to, would not be the strategy to win over East Africa. The British Government had to rely not only on treaty making, but also military action as well as customizing government control to specific regions within East Africa. Military action used by the British during the formation of the British Empire was found to be ineffective when fighting native tribes and slave raiders in East Africa. This led to the formation of the Protectorate as well as using policing actions to suppress slave traders. The British imperial mind was forced to reevaluate how and why the British intended to populate East Africa. It also caused the British to realize that direct government control of East Africa was not as important to the Empire as were the benefits of trade in the area. East Africa was a new challenge for Britain that caused changes to British policy, government control, military actions, and trade.

Current global grievances towards the treatment of the black community in the United States as well as abroad make the research presented a valuable steppingstone for future research. Africa is important to the stability of a globalized civilization and because of this, the history of how Africa became such an important region is vital to the current political, social, and economic stage. More research on the life and career of Captain Cecil Maguire has the potential to show how fiercely he wanted to suppress the slave trade in East Africa. As Harry Hamilton Johnston, and Cecil Maguire passionately pursued the demise of the slave trade, heroes were made from within the ranks of the Hyderabad Lancers. This highly respected, but enigmatic group of soldiers from India should be researched to reveal the depth in which they served the British Government.

The research in this thesis is to bring the suffering of the enslaved East Africans of the nineteenth century into academia as well as to show how East Africa became important to Europe through the actions of those who gave their lives, and spent their lives fighting for the people of East Africa.

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