

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO
AFRICA IN MICROFORM

General Editor: Neville Rubin

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO ZANZIBAR

1860 - 1963

Introduction by

H.F. Morris, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.

University of London

1979

Printed in Great Britain by Solaprint of Leeds Ltd.
and Published by EP Microform Ltd.,
East Ardsley, Wakefield,
Yorkshire, WF3 2JIM,
England.

ISBN 0 7158 5220 5

Government Publications Relating to Zanzibar, 1860-1963

Relations between Great Britain and Seyyid Said, the ruler of Oman and Zanzibar, had extended back to the early years of the 19th Century,¹ but it was not until 1841, nine years after Said had transferred his capital from Oman to Zanzibar, that a British consulate was opened in the latter. Said died in 1856² and, during the reigns of his successors, British influence over the Sultanate of Zanzibar steadily increased, culminating in the establishment of British protection in 1890. This was a period during which, despite the Anglo-French Declaration of 1862 guaranteeing the Sultan's sovereignty, this sovereignty was progressively eroded with the loss to the Sultan of his possessions on the East African mainland and the pressures put upon him to curtail the slave trade. The appropriation by Germany in 1885 of a large part of the Sultan's mainland territory led to the formal partition of these territories in the following year; the Sultan's sovereignty was recognised over the islands of Zanzibar, Pemba, Mafia and Lamu together with a coastal strip ten miles deep running from the river Mninjani to Kipini and certain towns with areas around them to the north;³ the rest of his mainland dominions were allocated as British and German spheres of influence respectively. Then in 1888 the northern part of the coastal strip was leased to the Imperial British East Africa Company and the southern part to the German East Africa Company. Zanzibar thus lost the last of her mainland possessions for, although the Sultan remained the nominal sovereign and lessor of the strip obtained by Britain throughout the colonial period, it was administered as an integral part of the British East Africa Protectorate established in 1895,⁴ whilst in 1890 the Sultan was persuaded to sell his sovereignty in the southern part of the strip to Germany.

In 1890 British protection was formally established over the Sultanate. Although normally referred to as a "protectorate", strictly speaking, Zanzibar was from then on until the end of colonial rule, unlike the areas under British protection on the mainland, not a protectorate but a "protected state".⁵ In practice, however, although the title and ceremonial of the Sultan were preserved and the government was

1 In 1822, for example he had signed the Moresby Treaty restricting his slave trading activities.

2 On his death Oman went to his eldest son, Thwain, and Zanzibar to a younger son, Majid.

3 A ten-mile radius around Kismayu, Barawa, Merka and Mogadishu and a five-mile radius around Warsheikh.

4 Although from 1920 it was termed the Protectorate of Kenya, the rest of the territory forming the Colony. At Kenya's independence, the Sultan lost his nominal ownership, the Protectorate being absorbed in the Kenya state.

5 Sir Kenneth Roberts-Wray, *Commonwealth and Colonial Law*, 1966, p. 49.

carried out, and legislation issued, in his name, the Resident, in actual fact, exercised on the Crown's behalf as extensive and all-pervading authority as in a mainland protectorate, or indeed a colony.⁶

On 10 December, 1963 British protection came to an end and Zanzibar became once more an independent Sultanate. This status lasted, however, no more than a month; on 12 January, 1964 a revolution dethroned the Sultan and three months later the Federal State of Tanzania came into existence.

The publications contained on this microfilm consist of four series. First there is the series of annual reports between the years 1860 and 1912, published as Command Papers. This series consists almost entirely of reports by the Consul-General on the trade and commerce of Zanzibar, although there are a couple of reports of a general nature, such as that by Gerald Portal for 1892.

In 1913 responsibility for Zanzibar was transferred from the Foreign Office to the Colonial Office and, as a result, the Zanzibar authorities became responsible for presenting each year to the Secretary of State for the Colonies an Annual Report and a "Blue Book". Nineteenth century Colonial Regulations required the submission of an

"Annual *Blue Book* containing accounts of the Civil Establishment, of the Colonial Revenue and Expenditure and of the various statistical particulars etc.", which had to be accompanied by a Report "exhibiting generally the past and present state of the Colony and its prospects under the several heads specified in the *Blue Book*". That Report shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament. It should be, as much as may be, complete within itself."⁷

The *Blue Book* consisted of closely packed statistics without comment and the *Annual Report* made use of, and interpreted, this statistical material in presenting in a narrative and readable form a review of the territory's progress during the preceding year. After 1919 the *Zanzibar Annual Report* ceased to be a Command Paper. The publication of *Blue Books* ceased shortly after the Second World War, the last for Zanzibar being that for 1947, and when the *Annual Reports* reappeared in 1947, after an intermission in all territories during the war years, they took a rather different form. Considerably expanded, they reflect changed attitudes towards colonial administration and the realisation by

6 A protectorate was, of course, in theory a foreign country, but, in practice, the degree of control exercised by the Crown in an East African protectorate was indistinguishable from that in a colony; see H.F. Morris and James S. Read, *Indirect Rule and the Search for Justice*, 1972, ch. 2.

7 *Revised Edition of Rules and Regulations for H.M.'s Colonial Service*, 1845, p.59; see H.F. Morris, *Introduction to Government Publications Relating to Uganda*. 1973, pp. 14-6.

the Imperial Government of the need to publicise its colonial policies and achievements. Zanzibar is exceptional in that, after 1948, it produced its report biennially instead of annually. The second and third series in this microfilm collection are the *Colonial Annual Reports* published for Zanzibar for the years 1913—1960 and the *Blue Books* compiled for the territory from 1913 to 1947.

The fourth series in the collection is the *Zanzibar Gazette*, with its supplements, from 1892 to independence. The publication of an Official Gazette, normally fortnightly, was a common feature of colonial administration and fulfilled various functions. It was the means whereby the Government could make announcements to members of the public and, where it was thought necessary or desirable, keep them informed of its decisions, and, in particular, it was the means whereby legislation was published. In the early years, these Gazettes also played the part of an official newspaper in which information of a more general nature, often including international news, could be imparted to the English-reading public, and in Zanzibar this was an aspect of the *Gazette* which was retained for a much longer period than in most other territories. Among all the East African Official Gazettes that for Zanzibar is of particular interest on account of the comparatively early date of its appearance. Started first as a commercial venture in 1892 and taken over by the Zanzibar Government in 1894, the *Gazette for Zanzibar and East Africa* was, as its name implies, originally the official organ not only for Zanzibar but for the East Africa and Uganda Protectorates as well, which did not establish their own Gazette until 1899. As Matson indicates in his introduction to the Gazette 1892-1909,⁸ its content is varied and fascinating, making the *Gazette* one of the most important sources of information for any study of East African affairs during this period.⁹

Together these four series of official publications provide a fund of varied material for any study—historical, political, legal or economic—of colonial rule in Zanzibar. Needless to say, a full picture of government policy in a colonial territory cannot be obtained without research through the archival material in the Public Record Office in London and in the local archives; but the *Colonial Annual Reports* (and *Blue Books*), particularly if supplemented by the annual reports which each department in the territory was also required to produce, provide an outline of such policy as seen by those responsible for implementing it, together with a wealth of facts and figures, valuable

⁸ See pp. 15-20.

⁹ The *Gazette for Zanzibar and East Africa, 1892-1909*, with an introduction by A.T. Matson, was published on two reels of microfilm by EP Microform in 1972.

both in themselves and as a guide to further research. The territory's *Gazette* (with its supplements) provides material of perhaps wider interest, for not only is the bulk of the material far greater, but its content is more varied. The particular interest of the *Zanzibar Gazette* in its early years has already been referred to and when this *Gazette*, like its counterparts elsewhere, changes its character during the course of the present century, it is in its supplements that the most valuable information usually lies. These supplements deal *inter alia* with Legislative Council proceedings and, most important of all, with legislation. As in other territories, it is legislation—in the case of Zanzibar, Decrees and subsidiary legislation enacted under them—that form the bulk of the *Gazette* material. Although a bound volume of the legislation enacted during the past year was normally published annually, very few United Kingdom libraries have a complete set of these annual volumes. No proper understanding of the development of legal policy, itself so integral a part of colonial policy as a whole, is possible without access to the legislation in the form in which it was actually enacted; complete sets of the existing laws at a particular date were published periodically (usually at ten-year intervals), but these are no real substitute, since they do not contain repealed legislation or the portions of surviving legislation which had earlier been amended. Then there are the legislative Bills, which, unlike the legislation itself, were not subsequently produced in annual volumes and copies of which are as rare as those of the *Gazette* itself. These Bills often contain considerable differences from the Decrees which followed them, as a result of amendments made before enactment by, for example, the Zanzibar Legislative Council, or the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and for the legal and political historian they have a particular interest in that they contain statements of "Objects and Reasons" from which the policy behind the enactments may be deduced.

As in the case of corresponding government publications for other colonial territories, copies in the United Kingdom are difficult to locate. The trade reports and the *Colonial Annual Reports* for 1913-1919, being Command Papers, can, of course, be traced in any library having a set of Parliamentary Papers. The *Annual Reports*, since they were published in the United Kingdom by the Colonial Office, should, moreover, be available in any well-stocked library specialising in colonial history and administration, though few have, in fact, complete

sets. The real problem, however, arises in respect of the *Gazette* and *Blue Books*. Of the *Gazette/or Zanzibar and East Africa*, Matson writes:

"It...has not been consulted by scholars as widely as it deserves, presumably because so few copies of the original publication have survived. Long but incomplete sets are held in the State Paper Room of the British Museum, the Royal Commonwealth Society, and the National Central Library.¹⁰ Much shorter runs are to be found at Rhodes House, Oxford, and the University of Durham." No comparable collections have been traced anywhere on the East African mainland; as far as can be ascertained, no early runs have survived in Zanzibar or Pemba."¹²

As regards the *Gazette* for the period after 27 January, 1909 (when the last issue of *The Gazette for Zanzibar and East Africa* came out) once more the Royal Commonwealth Society has an outstandingly fine collection. The rest of 1909 is missing and so is the period June-December, 1910, but otherwise, apart from a mere 16 gazettes and a comparatively small number of supplement issues, the run of the *Gazette* to 1963 is complete. A reasonably good run of the *Gazette* is held by the British Library and the Public Record Office has the complete set from 1913 onwards. The only complete set of the *Zanzibar Blue Books* is in the Public Record Office, though the runs in both the Royal Commonwealth Society and the British Library have very little missing. Using the Royal Commonwealth Society's collection as a base for the third and fourth series and filling gaps from the other sources mentioned, it has been possible to put together in this microfilm collection virtually a complete run of all four series. This has only been possible through the generous co-operation of the holders of the material used which lies in the following centres: the Royal Commonwealth Society, Northumberland Avenue, London; the Public Record Office; the British Library and the Institute of Advanced Legal Studies (University of London).

10 Since absorbed in the British Library. The copy was previously held by the Foreign Office, which presumably did not receive the *Gazette* regularly until 1897. The copy is now held by the British Library Lending Division, Boston Spa, West Yorks.

11 For details of these runs, see N. Alman, supplement to *Library Materials on Africa* 6/3 (1969), and B.C. Bloomfield, *A Tentative List of African Newspapers in some British Libraries*, November 1969 (both published by the Standing Conference on Library Materials on Africa). Although it lacks the advertisement sections, by far the best set is held by the Royal Commonwealth Society Library.

12 See note 9 above.

The Trade Reports, 1860-1912

Among the Commercial Reports received at the Foreign Office from Her Majesty's Consuls between 1 July, 1862 and 30 June, 1863 there is one headed "Muscat. Zanzibar",¹³ submitted by Lieut.-Col. C.P. Rigby, H. M.'s Consul and British Agent, on the trade of Zanzibar for the year 1860, consisting of 12 pages.¹⁴ This report presented a fairly optimistic picture regarding the trade of Zanzibar, which had grown up so successfully during the previous few years that Zanzibar was now the chief market in the world for the supply of ivory (brought from the interior of the mainland in exchange for American cottons, Venetian beads and brass wire), gum copral and cloves. Cloves, which had been introduced into Zanzibar and Pemba about thirty years before, were Zanzibar's principal source of wealth and the degree to which the prosperity of the Sultanate depended upon this single crop was soon to alarm the consular authorities. The revenue of the Sultanate was derived entirely from an import duty of five per cent on all articles (farmed to an Indian Banian for 196,000 German crowns a year), apart from "a tax of 10,000 German crowns per annum paid in lieu of corvee by the 'Mukhadim' who were the possessors of the island previous to its conquest by the Arabs". There was no direct trade between Britain and Zanzibar, but most of the imports, from India, Singapore and Hamburg, were articles of British manufacture. The climate of Zanzibar had an evil reputation and some years previously "sleeping even one night ashore usually proved fatal" to ships' European crew; the town had now, however, become much more healthy..

19,000 slaves had been imported into Zanzibar during the year and the tax of one dollar a head had been doubled by the Sultan. The supply of slaves from the coastal area of the African mainland had now been almost exhausted and about three quarters of the number had come from "the neighbourhood of the great lake of Nyassa about forty days' journey inland....This miserable traffic is fast depopulating vast tracts of fertile country which might yield great quantities of cotton and gums. The mortality of the slaves after capture is very great, owing to starvation and neglect." A great number of the slaves imported were afterwards secretly sold "to northern Arabs and conveyed to Persia and Arabia where they sell for £15 to £20." During the year Rigby had redeemed 3,562 slaves from slavery to British subjects residing in

¹³ Although a consulate had been opened in 1841, this is evidently the first report of this nature to have been submitted.

¹⁴ C. 3229.

Zanzibar. There had been a number of disturbing events which had discouraged trade; invasion had been threatened from Muscat;¹⁵ one of the most powerful Arab tribes in Zanzibar was in rebellion; and an outbreak of cholera had carried off 20,000 persons. Nevertheless, Rigby was able to conclude with the prediction that "should the Zanzibar dominions remain at peace under the rule of the present liberal-minded Sultan, the trade of this port will probably continue to increase".

The next three reports, those for 1863, 1864 and 1864/5,¹⁶ show that Rigby's optimism as to the growth of trade had not on the whole been justified. In 1859 the total value of imports and exports had amounted to £1,664,577. This had never been equalled in the succeeding years and in 1864/5 amounted only to £1,234,238 having fallen as low as £801,424 in 1861/2.

The following report, submitted by Captain Prideaux for 1873 and 1874,¹⁷ is in two parts, the first of which deals with the trade of Zanzibar. This, like its predecessors, did not present a very satisfactory picture, though Prideaux added that the situation was largely attributable "to the existing transitional state of affairs. The action taken by Her Majesty's Government with regard to the slave trade has unsettled the minds of the mercantile community, who scarcely know whether to consider the present arrangements as final or not, and it will probably be some time before confidence is restored."¹⁸ The falling off in the ivory trade was due partly to the war with Mirambo¹⁹ and partly to the prohibitory duties recently imposed by the Sultan, which tended to divert the trade to Mozambique and the Somali country. The second part is a report by F. Holmwood, the Vice Consul on the northern part of the Sultan's coastal possessions on the mainland, with some interesting observations on the people of the area.

Kirk's report for the year 1881 contains the first return on the work of the Consul's Court.²⁰ Only thirty-seven criminal cases had been disposed of during 1879, serious cases of crime coming within the

15 On Said's death in 1856, his eldest son Thwain succeeded in Oman and his second son, Majid, in Zanzibar. Thwain disputed his brother's right and invaded Zanzibar in 1861. The dispute was settled by the Canning Award of that year, which confirmed each brother in the territory he possessed.

16 C. 3393, C. 3488, C. 3761.

17 C. 1421.

18 In June, 1873 the Sultan had been persuaded to enter into a treaty with Great Britain whereby there was to be a total cessation of the export of slaves from the East Coast, and natives of India under British protection were to be prohibited from possessing slaves in Zanzibar; L.W. Hollingsworth, *Zanzibar under the Foreign Office 1890-1913*, 1953, p. 14.

19 Mirambo had established his rule west of Tabora and levied tribute on Arab caravans passing through his territory, which brought him into conflict with Zanzibar.

20 C. 3344, containing statistics for the Court for the years 1877, 1878 and 1879.

jurisdiction of the court being "very rare, while the civil disputes are kept in many cases out of court by the encouragement of arbitration in every matter in which this can be done".

In August, 1885 the United Kingdom Government set up a Royal Commission to inquire into "the extent, nature, and probable causes of the depression now or recently prevailing in various branches of trade and industry". The Commission submitted two reports, the second of which contains, as Appendix E,²¹ the questionnaire sent to Her Majesty's representatives abroad and their replies. Among the recipients of the questionnaire was the Consul-General of Zanzibar and the report and answers to the questionnaire (prepared by Holmwood) which Kirk submitted in reply²² come next in this series. Here the difficulties which had retarded the satisfactory development from Britain's point of view of Zanzibar's trade are set out. European merchants had in the past been unable to obtain any real footing in the direct trade, which lay in Indian hands. Although trade had rapidly increased following the 1873 treaty for the suppression of the slave trade, there had built up "a vast fabric of over-trading and speculation which collapsed at the end of 1883". No concerted attempts had been made to develop new markets in the interior of the mainland or to wrest any portion of the direct trade from Indian hands. The problems of developing trade with the interior of the mainland were immense with the absence of proper communications, the difficulties of portage and the tsetse fly. Yet the interior possessed several ivory districts and included "immense tracts of pasture teeming with cattle, sheep and goats", whilst the remainder consisted "largely of rich alluvial country densely populated, well irrigated by nature, and adapted for the cultivation of unlimited supplies of grain as well as the most valuable productions of the tropics". Although recently there had been many determined attempts to open up communications on a small scale—"hand carts, mule carriages, bullock wagons, camels and even elephants have been tried"—in each case failure had resulted. There was only one solution, Holmwood was convinced: a railway must be constructed from the coast. The advent of the railway should, moreover, be combined with "a comprehensive scheme for administering and developing the mountain region, in which its inland terminus would be situated in such a way that the two undertakings would mutually support each other, and become at the same time the best means for extending British trade without creating any further monopolies than those that

21 C. 4715-1, p. 99.

22 Ibid, pp. 425 ft.

must necessarily be inherent in the concession which capital invested without security in a remote country is entitled to seek...A combined and comprehensive scheme supported by an influential association will enable the country and its inhabitants to be dealt with in a way which, while securing their true interests, will effectively develop the immense resources they possess, and at the same time extend trade and civilization over a new and vast area....One half of the sum known to have been wasted and virtually lost in reckless overtrading during the past four years in connection with this district alone would have sufficed for the completion of the proposed railway."

In 1890 a protectorate was formally declared by Britain over Zanzibar and in August 1891 Gerald Portal arrived as Consul-General with the task of re-organising the government of the Sultanate. His report for 1891" is a full account of the "situation and prospects of the Protectorate from a commercial standpoint". From this we learn that the clove crop now accounts for about four-fifths of that of the whole world. The cultivation of the crop had until recently been so remunerative that every available acre of ground had been given over to clove trees; the inevitable result was that the Sultanate was in the critical position of being dependent on one form of cultivation and, whereas a few years before the price had ranged from seven to ten dollars a frasila, it now ranged from two-and-a-half to two-and-three-quarters dollars a frasila and export had been reduced to twenty-five per cent; as a result "the clove plantations will soon cease to bring in more than a very small profit and it may be prophesied that in the course of a very few years a great quantity of land will pass from Arab into Indian and European hands".

Then in December, 1892, just before leaving Zanzibar for Uganda, Portal submitted a report²⁴ on the financial situation in Zanzibar together with "a summary of the administrative progress which has been made by the Government during the past year", which makes it clear that, although the Sultan might have retained his nominal sovereignty, it was the protecting power which determined and enforced all matters of policy. Previously "no organised government can be said to have existed", Portal wrote. The duties had in the past brought in ample revenue for such administration as had existed, but, with the loss of the mainland dominions, the richest part of his possessions, the Sultan found his revenue reduced to about one third and, since he did not know how to economise, the island was approaching bankruptcy.

23 C. 6550-44, supplemented by C. 6550-53. This was followed by a brief report for the month of February, 1892, 6550-133.

24 C. 6955.

The Sultan was induced by Portal to accept a fixed stipend for his personal expenses and to agree that distinct government departments should be created and placed under the control of British officials, irremovable without the Consul-General's consent. Import duties were abolished and Zanzibar became a free port and so remained until 1899 when a five per cent import duty was re-imposed. Since the terms of earlier treaties prevented the consequent loss of revenue being made good "in the usual way by an equitable system of taxation", ²⁵ new sources of revenue had to be found by imposing a variety of indirect taxes.

Throughout the period during which Zanzibar was a protectorate under the control of the Foreign Office, that is until 1913, trade reports continued to be produced, though now strictly annually, on the same basis as those of the earlier period.²⁶ They are, as their name implies, commercial reports and, as in the case of those submitted before the protectorate was established, it is matters of economic, not political, interest that are contained in them. On the momentous events in the years following the establishment of the protectorate—the installation of the Sultan Hamed after the ejection of his rival Khaled in 1893, the sordid episode of the pressure put upon the Sultan to agree to buy out the Imperial British East Africa Company's interest in the coastal strip for the benefit of the protecting power in 1895, Khaled's second attempt to become Sultan and the bombardment of the palace in 1896—these reports are silent. Nor does the report for 1897 give any direct account of the abolition of the legal status of slavery—reference to it being merely in relation to its effect on the supply of labour required for the cultivation of the clove plantations—or refer to the re-organisation of the judicial system in that year.

The reports tell principally of a precarious economic situation. The principal source of wealth of the Sultanate lay in the cultivation of cloves, the twenty-five per cent duty on this commodity being the chief source of revenue. But this was a crop at the mercy of wide fluctuations in world prices, one "whose cultivation is more than ordinarily risky and whose produce is still little more than a luxury".²⁷ The Arab owners of the plantations were steadily sinking deeper and deeper into

25 Until well into the 20th century, the treaties which Zanzibar had entered into with European powers giving their nationals exemption from taxation were a constant irritant to the British authorities not only in Zanzibar but also in the East Africa Protectorate.

26 Report for 1892, C. 6855-81; 1893, C. 7293-52; 1894, C. 7581-96; 1895, C. 7919-133; 1896, C. 8277-179; 1897, C. 8648-151; 1898, C. 9496-22; 1899, Cd. 352-16; 1900, Cd. 429-111 and 786-22; 1901, Cd. 786-197; 1901/2, Cd. 1386-108; 1902, Cd. 1386-140; 1903, Cd. 2236-7; 1904, Cd. 2236-119; 1904, Cd. 2682-42; 1905, Cd. 2682-202 and 241; 1906, Cd. 3727-23; 1907, Cd. 3727-141; 1908, Cd. 4446-136; 1909/10, Cd. 5464-109; 1911/12, Cd. 6665-134.

27 Report for 1893.

debt to their Indian creditors and finding increasing difficulty in obtaining adequate labour, particularly after the abolition of slavery. The report for 1901/2 in respect of the Island of Pemba (the principal home of the clove), after reiterating the old fears of dependence on this single crop, advocates its substitution by coconut palms. The principal European importer into Zanzibar was Great Britain, but other European powers were increasing their share of the trade, for, as the report for 1897 pointed out, the East African or Zanzibar! purchaser was concerned rather with cheapness than quality and with the exception of piece goods foreign countries were able to undercut the British. In the report for 1911/12, the last of this series, the trading position of the island is summarised as follows:

"As the centre of the Arab power Zanzibar, from the beginning of the nineteenth century until quite recently, dominated the trade of East Africa. The island contributes comparatively little to the actual commerce of the world beyond a very considerable export of cloves worth on an average £300,000 per annum, but it serves as a gigantic go-down or warehouse for the whole East African coast."

The Colonial Annual Reports and Blue Books

With the transfer of responsibility for Zanzibar from the Foreign to the Colonial Office in 1913, the British authorities in Zanzibar became responsible, as has already been mentioned, for submitting to the Colonial Office an annual report and, until 1947, a *Blue Book* containing for each year the statistics upon which the annual report was based. This transfer to the Colonial Office was accompanied by radical changes in the system of administration designed to bring Zanzibar more into line with the administrative framework operating in the mainland Protectorates of Uganda and British East Africa for which the Foreign Office had handed over responsibility to the Colonial Office in 1905. The posts of Consul-General and First Minister to the Sultan were abolished and the new post created of British Resident, who was to be under the general supervision of the Governor of the East Africa Protectorate, acting as High Commissioner for Zanzibar. Appeals would no longer lie to Bombay but to the Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa sitting at Mombasa.

It is not surprising that such changes alarmed the Sultan who foresaw a further erosion in his status, and the Report for 1914 gives the text of a speech by the High Commissioner in which the Sultan is assured that the changes were not

"in the nature of a first step towards amalgamation of the Protectorate with any other possession, but will secure for His Highness's dominions the same position which they have held up to the present time...Under the old system the administration suffered from the disadvantages attendant upon a divided control."²⁸

It was clearly hoped that the Sultan would be mollified by the fact that:

"His Majesty has approved of the formation of a Protectorate Council of which His Highness will be the President, assisted by the British Resident, the Chief Secretary, the Treasurer, and the Attorney-General as official members, while three unofficial members will be selected from gentlemen who are representative of different classes of the community. The Council will not be vested with legislative authority, but will meet at such time as it may be convened by the British Resident and will consult with and advise His Highness the Sultan on all questions which may be brought up for consideration."²⁹

In the first report, that for 1913, we find, under the heading "Land" the following interesting observations on the prospects of white settlement.³⁰

"Practically no land was alienated by the Government during the year...The main drawbacks to European exploitation have hitherto been the unhealthiness of the islands, which renders living in the interior practically impossible for whites, the absence of roads, and the lack of labour. Of recent years, however, sanitation has made great progress, and has been accompanied by a corresponding improvement in the health of the European population. Roads suitable for motor traffic have been constructed throughout the island of Zanzibar. Consequently the European planter or overseer in Zanzibar could supervise his plantation in the interior and have his dwelling place on the coast. The population of the islands is not increasing and labour difficulty is as acute here as on the mainland. There is a considerable area of undeveloped coconut land as well as clove land attached to nearly all private properties. Much land is also available for sisal. The policy of the Government is to give every encouragement to the genuine white settler."

By the early nineteen-twenties, however, it had become evident that Zanzibar was not a country for white settlement.

28 P. 28.

29 P. 29.

30 P. 13.

In 1923 the East Africa Commission was set up under the chairmanship of Ormsby-Gore to consider, *inter alia*, the general economic development of East Africa, and, having visited Zanzibar, recommended the abolition of the post of High Commissioner and the establishment of executive and legislative councils. These councils were set up by the Zanzibar Councils Decree of 1926. The Executive Council consisted of officials presided over by the Sultan; the Legislative Council consisted of five ex-officio members, five nominated officials and six nominated non-officials. The first meeting of the Conference of East African Governors (an outcome of the Ormsby-Gore Commission and the precursor of the post-war East Africa High Commission) took place in this year and was attended by the Resident of Zanzibar.

The period of Colonial Office control over Zanzibar was, until after the Second World War, one of remarkable political calm when compared with the mainland territories, and to this the annual reports bear witness.

We read, it is true, in the 1936 report³¹ of a riot of "Manga" Arabs "mainly due to discontent amongst Arab traders and copra makers at the Government's efforts to improve the quality of Zanzibar copra", but it is not until the following year that the first case of well organised defiance of government policy is recorded. The Clove (Purchase and Exportation) Decree of that year, which dealt with the licensing of persons engaging in the buying and export of cloves and, in effect, restricted the granting of such licences to the Clove Growers' Association, resulted in a boycott of cloves by Indians, not only in Zanzibar but also in India. The result was that "sales overseas were considerably reduced"³² and in the following year the Government had to modify its legislation so as to give general freedom to all to purchase and export cloves under licence.

The next, and more ominous, threat to the Government came in 1948 when a strike of wharfage workers developed into a general strike and emergency powers had to be invoked. Political pressures upon the Government from then on increased steadily, its principal opponent being the Arab Association which, originally founded in the nineteen-twenties and concerned with the protection of Arab interests generally,

³¹ PP. 38-9.

³² Annual Report, 1937, p. 42.

now assumed an increasingly militant anti-colonial complexion. The Report for 1953 and 1954" refers to the prosecution of the executive of the Association for sedition and states, somewhat guardedly,

"Progress (in agreeing upon constitutional reform) was impeded latterly by an attitude of non-co-operation adopted by Arab leaders following the prosecution of the Zanzibar Arab Association's committee on charges arising out of matter published in a newspaper owned by the Association. This trial aroused much public interest and it seemed possible at one time that a breach of the peace might occur. Thanks to effective police action and wiser counsels on the part of the Arab leaders themselves this was happily averted."

The next report noted that "the Arab community continued throughout 1955 to withhold from His Highness's Government the co-operation of its members on the Legislative Council and other administrative bodies".³⁴ Constitutional changes, implemented by the Councils Decree of 1956 were, however, accepted by the opposition. These established a Privy Council consisting of three official and three appointed members with advisory functions and widened the composition of the Executive and Legislative Councils. Of the 12 non-official members on the latter six were to be elected from a common roll. The election of these members took place in the following year and the Report for 1957 and 1958 comments:³⁵

"It is singularly unfortunate that though a common roll was used racial differences between Arabs on the one hand and Africans and Shirazi on the other became more and more apparent as electioneering went on so that by the time polling took place there was considerable racial tension."

In the face of joint African and Shirazi opposition, the Arab Zanzibar Nationalist Party failed to win any of the six seats.

The death in 1960 of the Sultan Khalifa, who had been on the throne since 1911, removed a stabilising influence. It was with apprehension that the Government perceived that "during the year there were clear signs that the East-West cold war had reached Zanzibar" and that "some Zanzibaris visited Communist China or Russia or other countries behind the Iron Curtain".³⁶ In the same year further constitutional changes provided for a fully elected unofficial majority on the Legislative Council together with a ministerial system under a Chief Minister.

³³ P. 4.

³⁴ P. 1.

³⁵ P. 1.

³⁶ Annual Report, 1959/60, p. 3.

The 1959/60 Report, the last in the Colonial series, extends its review slightly beyond the end of 1960. Elections in January, 1961 produced a stalemate between the Arab Zanzibar Nationalist Party and the Afro Shirazi Parties: "thus further elections were required in the middle of 1961". Independence came about on 10 December, 1963 after a general election in which the Zanzibar Nationalist Party were the victors; a month later the Sultan and his Government were overthrown.

The Official Gazette

Portal in his report to Rosebery of December, 1892 writes:³⁷

"On the same day as the Free Port declaration, the first newspaper of East Africa made its appearance, under the name of the *Zanzibar Gazette*. I gave every encouragement to this paper, and induced the Government of Zanzibar to recognise it as their official means of communication with the public. Its growing importance, and the rapid increase of its circulation, have proved that it supplied a want which had already been felt, and as a means of publication it has on several occasions been useful to the Government of this Protectorate."

The *Gazette* which became an official government organ in 1894 was published under the title of *The Gazette for Zanzibar and East Africa* until February, 1909, and an account by A.T. Matson of the publication during this period is given below.³⁸

"*The Gazette for Zanzibar and East Africa* has a notable place in African journalism and history as the first periodical to be published in either the British or German spheres in East Africa.³⁹ It was launched on 1 February 1892 as a commercial venture by a London-based merchant house, Forwood Bros. & Co., which disposed of its Zanzibar interests to the London and Colombo firm of Boustead, Ridley & Co. on 15 November 1894. The *Gazette* had been taken over by the Sultan of Zanzibar's Government on 22 October 1894, when the weekly newspaper became the first official gazette to be published in the East African territories. Title, format and content were not affected by the change of ownership, or by the transfer of editorial responsibility from commercial to official hands. From its inception the *Gazette* had fulfilled some of the functions of an official publication, and had been used as the recognised medium for announcements and legal notices issued by the Sultan's Government, the British Agency, and the consular representatives accredited to Zanzibar. A different format was introduced on 3 February 1909, when the title was belatedly changed to the *Gazette for Zanzibar*.

³⁷ C. 6955, p. 6.

³⁸ See note 9 above.

³⁹ See A.T. Matson, "Early Newspapers of East Africa", *Kenya Weekly News*, 14 and 21 July, 1961, and the introduction to the microfilm of *Taveta Chronicle*, EP Microform 1969.

Sheets of poor quality paper measuring roughly 12 by 9Vi inches were used for printing the *Gazette*, and illustrations were rare. The number of pages of text varied considerably, but the space taken up by advertisers remained surprisingly constant, even after the appearance of rival publications on the mainland. The advertisement section contained announcements by shipping lines, merchants, insurance agencies, safari outfitters, hotels and professional firms, as well as descriptions of proprietary brands of imported food, drink, clothing and medicaments. The Bombay-recruited staff contrived to print the paper with creditable regularity, despite the fact that "things are sooner broken than mended in Zanzibar",⁴⁰ and the multiplicity of languages employed. Items were accepted in any European language, in Gujarati and, after October 1894, in Arabic. The *Gazette* circulated chiefly among officials, missionaries and traders in the Zanzibar islands, although a number of copies were posted overseas or retailed through agents in Europe, India and on the East African mainland. The launching of the *East Africa and Uganda Mail* and the *Official Gazette of the East Africa and Uganda Protectorates* towards the end of 1899 presumably reduced the circulation of their Zanzibar predecessor, which suspended free issues and notices in December of that year. Despite increasing competition in subsequent years, the price of the *Zanzibar Gazette*, which had been raised from one to two annas on 7 February 1894, remained at the latter figure until 1908 when it became twelve cents in the newly denominated currency.

The first editor of the *Gazette* was F.W. Campin, the local principal of the sponsoring firm. He was followed in May 1894 by his colleague, Arthur Marsden, and from October 1894 onwards by a succession of government officials, including Dr. O'Sullivan-Beare, D.J. Wilson, J. Makertich and Mrs. Gunning. Dr. A.H. Spurrier, the Health Officer of the Sultan's Government, often occupied the editorial chair between 1896 and 1908 when he was not on leave or absent on special assignments. Most of the part-time editors, none of whom was a professional journalist, found it difficult at times to provide enough copy to fill the paper. Despite the bewildering changes of editors, continuity was maintained largely through Simon Figueira, who took over management of the *Gazette* from Campin in 1893.

The bulk of the news items describe the activities of the Government, consulates, missions, associations and trading firms in Zanzibar and Pemba. Although the *Gazette* contains descriptive accounts of almost all aspects of island life, many of which are not recorded elsewhere, most of the items relate to the doings of the European, Indian and Arab communities. An authoritative Annual Review of Zanzibar and Pemba affairs was included in the earlier issues; and, from 1901

40 The *Gazette/or Zanzibar and East Africa*, No. 279, 2 June, 1897.

onwards, the *Gazette* seems to have incorporated *The Shamba*, which had been launched as a monthly agricultural journal in April 1897. Coverage on the mainland extended geographically to the British, German, Italian and Portuguese spheres in East Africa, to British Central Africa, to South Africa, and to continental enterprises such as the Cape to Cairo railway and telegraph. There are also a number of news items and articles on Egypt, Abyssinia and the Sudan, as well as accounts of events on the West Coast, including expeditions in which Zanzibar porters took part. Development projects in the Seychelles and other Indian Ocean islands are also described, and there are a number of entries relating to affairs in India and the Persian Gulf.

Trade reports, statistics and prospects naturally occupy a prominent place in a newspaper that was founded to forward the interests of mercantile houses, and to provide the trading company with a medium for advertising its wares. Accounts are given of the changing fortunes of merchant firms of several nationalities, and much useful information is included on currency, banking, and mineral discoveries.

In addition to the decrees, regulations and notices promulgated by the Zanzibar Government, the Imperial British East Africa Company and the mainland protectorates, the *Gazette* contains well-informed commentaries on most of the major political, military and economic events on the continent. Several of these commentaries include accounts by eye-witnesses which have not been published elsewhere. The items relating to German East Africa and the Benadir Coast are particularly valuable, as in many cases they provide the fullest accounts in English of the early processes of pacification and development in these territories. Slavery is another topic with political undertones which is given wide coverage in the *Gazette*, where abolition is discussed in its polemical and practical aspects, and with special reference to the activities of the Royal Navy.

The importance of communications in the opening up of Africa is emphasised by the attention paid to the subject in the pages of the *Gazette*. The topics described include caravan organisation, porters' regulations, descriptions of routes and the experiences of travellers. In addition to accounts of the progress of such projects as the Mackinnon and Sclater's Roads, extensive coverage is given to the Uganda Railway, the Zanzibar Railroad, and similar undertakings in German East Africa. Detailed reports are to be found of the movements of ships calling at Zanzibar and East Coast ports, and there are also several entries relating to the provision of vessels for the inland lakes. Other subjects that are given detailed treatment are the extension of postal and telegraphic facilities, the installation and maintenance of submarine cables, and the introduction of wireless telegraphy.

The lengthy accounts of cases heard before the British, consular and Sultan's courts are of particular value to scholars, especially as the judgments are recorded verbatim in a number of instances. Few of these cases appear in the local Law Reports;⁴¹ and the same is true of the East African cases heard on appeal by the High Court of Judicature at Bombay, as well as those referred to the Court of Appeal for British East Africa, which also decided appeals from British Central Africa. Among the *causes celebres* fully reported in the *Gazette* are *Imperatrix v. Juma and Urzee* (1896-1897), which helped to expedite the extension of British protection to much of Uganda;⁴² the Charlesworth, Pilling case (1897) on the acquisition of land for the Uganda Railway; the *Bienenfeld v. Mackinnon* appeal (1901) on caravan losses on the Uganda Road; and the notorious Wehner case (1905-1906) in the East Africa Protectorate.

The editor of the *Gazette* was able to view the advent of European settlers to the British and German mainland protectorates with detachment. There are a few references to land acquisition procedures, labour problems, and Indian claims for equal treatment; but in the main the editor concentrated his efforts on recording the progress of the settlers, and on publishing information on crop and livestock prospects in the settlement areas. The Zionist proposals, H.M. Stanley's plan to introduce Welsh colonists, and other abortive settlement schemes prompted some editorial comment, and there is a particularly full account of the aspirations and activities of the Freelanders.

Precautions designed to prevent the introduction and spread of tropical diseases in the islands were published at frequent intervals in the *Gazette*, which also devoted a great deal of space to the *Bhundara* plague-ship incident and the establishment of the Zanzibar sanitary station. The important investigations into the origin and prevention of human and animal diseases undertaken by Dr. Koch, the Uganda Sleeping-sickness Commission and other experts are fully reported. Most of these accounts are supplemented by copious extracts from professional journals selected by Dr. Spurrier, who was himself associated with some of these projects.

A large proportion of the contents of the *Gazette* was contributed by missionary societies which were centred on the islands, or which made Zanzibar the point of departure for journeys into the interior. Much useful source material is recorded on the operations of the various

41 Collections edited by W. Murison and S. Abrahams (Zanzibar); R. Hamilton (East Africa Protectorate); J. Vaughan and G. Paterson (Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa); Law Reports of the Uganda Protectorate. Bombay heard appeals from EAP until 1902, from Uganda until 1904, and from Zanzibar until 1914.

42 See H.B. Scott, *Uganda Journal*, 7(1939), p. 70.

denominations, the activities of their members and the spread of missionary influence throughout East and Central Africa.

In addition to the activities of individual missionaries, the *Gazette* contains a wealth of information about the careers of leading members of all communities. These entries are particularly valuable as regards Arab, African and Asian notables. The shipping lists provide a convenient means of checking the movements of travellers passing through Zanzibar on the way to the East African mainland, or to countries to the north and south.⁴³ In several cases the lists are supplemented by biographical sketches of visiting worthies. The number of passengers passing through Zanzibar decreased from 1897 onwards, when ships began to call more regularly at Mombasa, but increased with the temporary revival of Zanzibar as a shipping centre during the Boer War.

A number of the news paragraphs and articles can be classified under the heading of items of general interest. These include ethnographic and historical contributions, notably the reminiscences of elderly residents, the vicissitudes of towns and firms, and the characteristics of island and mainland tribes. Most of the important East African books are reviewed, either by a local commentator with special knowledge of the subject, or in the form of extracts from the London and provincial press. There are a number of articles on the habits of game animals, and the experiences of hunting parties on the East African mainland. Official ceremonies, sporting and social events, and cultural activities are fully reported, and much space is devoted to descriptions of exhibitions and shows held in Zanzibar and in the mainland territories.

Most of the copy for the *Gazette* was supplied by local residents, who were encouraged to describe the journeys they made and the projects upon which they were engaged. These contributions, which came principally from missionaries, were supplemented from time to time by items submitted by local correspondents at Pemba, Mombasa and elsewhere. A less prolific but most valuable source of copy was tapped by the editor's practice of persuading visitors to be interviewed, and participants in important events on the mainland to record first-hand accounts of their experiences. When these local sources failed to fill the *Gazette*, lengthy extracts were inserted from the London and provincial press, Indian newspapers, East African contemporaries, and the journals of learned societies.

The *Gazette* was markedly different from the normal type of newspaper, and in particular from its mainland contemporaries in the British and German spheres, in two important respects: the paucity and tactful nature of its criticism of the policies of the government of

43 The shipping lists need to be used with care, as some of the items are mutilated or incorrect.

Zanzibar and the neighbouring territories; and the restrained tone and sectional interests of the few contributors to its correspondence columns. These differences can be attributed partly to the official status of the publication and partly to the nature of Zanzibar society. The editor could hardly be expected to comment adversely on the actions of his official colleagues, or to censure the practices of friendly governments. As far as Zanzibar was concerned, freedom of editorial expression was restricted mainly to criticism of the lack of public spirit displayed by certain organisations and sections of the community in safeguarding the public health, and in creating and preserving local amenities. Controversial questions affecting the mainland territories were sometimes introduced by means of extracts from periodicals such as *The African Review*. Criticism even on matters that were outside government control was kept to a minimum, although the editor did comment adversely on rare occasions on the conduct of European settlers, and express his regret at the vituperative outbursts that were a typical feature of most of the mainland contemporaries. The Mombasa and Dar-es-Salaam newspapers were operating in very different emotional conditions from those experienced by the small, closely knit community of Zanzibar. Very few major controversial issues arose in the islands to disturb the settled routine of the inhabitants, the most literate sections of whom were temporary, salaried residents indisposed to adopt the aggressive, ebullient attitudes that characterised the mainland colonists.

The parochial, inter-dependent nature of Zanzibar society was also reflected in the correspondence columns of the *Gazette*, which seldom ventilated controversial issues and never rivalled the mainland organs as vehicles for sustained, scurrilous attacks on individuals and governments. Almost all the subjects raised in letters to the *Gazette* were concerned with local, community and mission interests and disputes. Although there were sporadic contributions on Indian demands for equal opportunities and similar tendentious questions, these rarely provoked any response from other readers.

Despite these limitations, the *Gazette* remains a most important source for East African studies in many fields."

The change in name from the *Gazette for Zanzibar and East Africa* to that of the *Gazette for Zanzibar*⁴⁴ did not mark any immediate change in the substance of the publication which Matson has described above. The *Zanzibar Gazette*, in fact, retained for a longer period than did its mainland counterparts one of its main characteristics, that of a purveyor of news. The inclusion of Reuters telegrams, expanded from a couple of pages of the *Gazette* to about six in 1910, continued until the

44 The title changes in 1914 to the *Official Gazette of the Zanzibar Government*.

end of 1918, whilst the section on "local news", retaining its intimate, if parochial, flavour, continued until 1934, appearing either within the body of the *Gazette*, or later as a loose-leaf supplement. For the lawyer and legal historian, the reporting of cases, which continues until the mid nineteen-twenties, is particularly valuable in that the majority of these cases do not appear in the published law reports.

As in the case of the other territories, one of the chief purposes of the *Gazette* was to give effect to the publication of legislation and it is in this respect that the *Gazette* is of the greatest value to the student of history, whether legal or general.⁴⁵ As has been mentioned, Zanzibar, although normally termed a Protectorate, was strictly speaking a Protected State and this status, which differed from that of the protectorates on the mainland, is reflected in the mechanics of the law-making process. Although control over, and normally initiative for, legislation enacted in Zanzibar lay with the British Resident and his staff, such legislation did not, as in the British territories on the mainland, take the form of Ordinances promulgated on behalf of the Crown, but of Decrees promulgated in the name of the Sultan and countersigned by the British Resident. Until 1908 these Decrees were only enforced in Her Britannic Majesty's Court for Zanzibar set up by the Zanzibar Order in Council of 1897; in the Sultan's courts the only law enforced was Islamic law. After 1908, however, although Islamic law remained the fundamental law in civil matters, the Sultan's Decrees were also applicable in all courts. It may be mentioned here that originally the imported law, and, in fact, the whole legal system in respect of the Consular Court (which in 1897 became Her Britannic Majesty's Court), was based upon that of India; indeed, so close was the nexus between the two countries that, according to Tarring, it was "hardly too much to say that (Zanzibar was) made, so far as concerns the administration of justice to British subjects, a part of Her Majesty's Indian Empire".⁴⁶ In the first place, from 1866 until 1914 appeal lay from the Consular Court (and then from Her Britannic Majesty's Court) to the High Court of Judicature at Bombay. In the second place, the bulk of the imported law at the beginning of the present century consisted of Indian Codes applied to Zanzibar by Orders in Council, the earliest of these applications being that of the Indian Penal Code in 1867. During the second decade of this century these Indian Acts were all replaced by Sultan's Decrees, though these were identical in content to their Indian predecessors. It may be added that, although

⁴⁵ See p.4.

⁴⁶ C.J. Tarring, *British Consular Jurisdiction in the East*. 1887, p. 43.

the ukase of the Secretary of State for the Colonies in the nineteen-twenties ordering the mainland territories to adopt Codes based more closely on English criminal law and procedure to replace the Indian legislation on this subject⁴⁷ did not extend to Zanzibar, the latter in 1934, in order to bring its law into line with the mainland, replaced the Penal Decree and the Criminal Procedure Decree, which had reiterated the Indian law, with Decrees modelled on the legislation of Kenya.

The Sultan's Decrees, like the Ordinances in the mainland territories, steadily proliferated, not merely replacing the applied Indian law, but also replacing and supplementing the residual general law, which comprised the substance of the common law, the doctrines of equity and the statutes of general application in force in England on 7 July, 1897. With the setting up of a Legislative Council in 1926, Decrees had to be passed by the Council (the proceedings of which form a series of supplements to the *Gazette*) and the formula used in the Decrees changes from a "Decree by His Highness" the Sultan, countersigned by the Resident, to a Decree "passed in the Legislative Council", countersigned by the Resident, which the Sultan endorses with the words "We assent". After the establishment of the Council, Decrees appear first in the form of Bills, which form a new series of supplements to the *Gazette*.

Until 1932 legislation normally appeared within the body of the *Gazette*, although in certain of the early years the Decrees appear as loose-leaf supplements. In 1932, however, Zanzibar adopted the same pattern for publication of legislation as that employed by the mainland territories and three separate series of loose-leaf legislative supplements were enclosed with the Gazettes as they were issued throughout the year: the first series comprised Decrees, the second series comprised subsidiary legislation and the third series consisted of Bills. On 5 December, 1963 a *Gazette Extraordinary* published, as a legal supplement, the short-lived Constitution of the State of Zanzibar and four days later the last two issues of the *Gazette*^{*9} which were to appear before the period of British protection came to an end were issued.

47 See Morris and Read, op. cit., pp. 119-126.

48 Nos. 4323 and 4324 in Volume 72.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO ZANZIBAR
1860-1963
INDEX TO FILMS

Group I) Orié 1860-1924

Reel 1	Annual Reports	1860-1924
Reel 2	Blue Books	1913-1916
Reel 3	Blue Books	1917-1920
Reel 4	Blue Books	1921-1924
Reel 5	Zanzibar Gazette	1892-1900 January
Reel 6	Zanzibar Gazette	1900 February- 1909 February
Reel 7	Zanzibar Gazette	1909
Reel 8	Zanzibar Gazette	1910
Reel 9	Zanzibar Gazette	1911
Reel 10	Zanzibar Gazette	1912
Reel 11	Zanzibar Gazette	1913
Reel 12	Zanzibar Gazette	1914
Reel 13	Zanzibar Gazette	1915
Reel 14	Zanzibar Gazette	1916
Reel 15	Zanzibar Gazette	1917
Reel 16	Zanzibar Gazette	1918
Reel 17	Zanzibar Gazette	1919
Reel 18	Zanzibar Gazette	1920
Reel 19	Zanzibar Gazette	1921
Reel 20	Zanzibar Gazette	1922
Reel 21	Zanzibar Gazette	1923
Reel 22	Supplements to Zanzibar Gazette	1923
Reel 23	Zanzibar Gazette	1924
Reel 24	Supplements to Zanzibar Gazette	1924

Group Two 1925-1939

Reel 25	Annual Reports	1925-1938
Reel 26	Blue Books	1925-1928
Reel 27	Blue Books	1929-1933
Reel 28	Blue Books	1934-1936
Reel 29	Blue Books	1937-1939
Reel 30	Zanzibar Gazette	1925
Reel 31	Supplements to Zanzibar Gazette	1925
Reel 32	Zanzibar Gazette	1926
Reel 33	Supplements to Zanzibar Gazette	1926
Reel 34	Zanzibar Gazette	1927
Reel 35	Supplements to Zanzibar Gazette	1927
Reel 36	Zanzibar Gazette	1928
Reel 37	Supplements to Zanzibar Gazette	1928
Reel 38	Zanzibar Gazette	1929
Reel 39	Supplements to Zanzibar Gazette	1929
Reel 40	Zanzibar Gazette	1930
Reel 41	Supplements to Zanzibar Gazette	1930
Reel 42	Zanzibar Gazette & Supplements	1931 January-June
Reel 43	Supplements to Zanzibar Gazette	1931 July-December
	Zanzibar Gazette	1932
Reel 44	Supplements to Zanzibar Gazette	1932
Reel 45	Zanzibar Gazette and Supplements to Zanzibar Gazette	1933
		1933 (part)

Reel 46	Supplements to Zanzibar Gazette	1933 (continued)
	Zanzibar Gazette	1934
Reel 47	Supplements to Zanzibar Gazette	1934
Reel 48	Zanzibar Gazette & Supplements	1935
Reel 49	Zanzibar Gazette & Supplements	1936
Reel 50	Zanzibar Gazette & Supplements	1937
Reel 51	Zanzibar Gazette & Supplements	1938
Reel 52	Zanzibar Gazette & Supplements	1939

Group Three 1940-1963

Reel 53	Annual Reports	1946-1960
Reel 54	Blue Books	1940-1947
Reel 55	Zanzibar Gazette plus Supplements to Zanzibar Gazette	1940 1940 (part)
Reel 56	Supplements to Zanzibar Gazette Zanzibar Gazette	1940 (continued) 1941
Reel 57	Supplements to Zanzibar Gazette	1941
Reel 58	Zanzibar Gazette & Supplements	1942
Reel 59	Zanzibar Gazette & Supplements	1943
Reel 60	Zanzibar Gazette & Supplements	1944
Reel 61	Zanzibar Gazette & Supplements	1945
Reel 62	Zanzibar Gazette & Supplements	1946
Reel 63	Zanzibar Gazette & Supplements	1947
Reel 64	Zanzibar Gazette & Supplements	1948
Reel 65	Zanzibar Gazette & Supplements	1949
Reel 66	Zanzibar Gazette & Supplements	1950
Reel 67	Zanzibar Gazette & Supplements	1951
Reel 68	Zanzibar Gazette Supplements to Zanzibar Gazette	1952 1952 (part)

Reel 69	Supplements to Zanzibar Gazette	1952 (continued)
Reel 70	Zanzibar Gazette & Supplements	1953
Reel 71	Zanzibar Gazette & Supplements	1954
Reel 72	Zanzibar Gazette & Supplements	1955
Reel 73	Zanzibar Gazette & Supplements	1956
Reel 74	Zanzibar Gazette & Supplements	1957
Reel 75	Zanzibar Gazette & Supplements	1958
Reel 76	Zanzibar Gazette & Supplements	1959
Reel 77	Zanzibar Gazette & Supplements	1960
Reel 78	Zanzibar Gazette & Supplements	1961
Reel 79	Zanzibar Gazette & Supplements	1962
Reel 80	Zanzibar Gazette & Supplements	1963

<https://microform.digital> - International Digital Scanning & Archiving Services